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THE TRIAL
OF
WARREN
HASTINGS

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MINUTES

OF THE

EVIDENCE

TAKEN AT

THE TRIAL

OF

WARREN HASTINGS Esquire,

Late Governor General of BENGAL,

At the Bar of the HOUSE OF LORDS, in Westminster Hall,

UPON

An Impeachment against him for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled, in the Name of themselves, and of all the Commons of Great Britain.

MDCCLXXXVIII.

Bayerische
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München

MINUTES of the Evidence taken at the Trial of WARREN HASTINGS Eſquire, late Governor General of Bengal, at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords in Weſtminſter Hall, upon an Impeachment againſt him for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled, in the Name of themſelves, and of all the Commons of Great Britain.

Die Lunæ, 25° *Februarij* 1788.

THE Managers for the Commons having finiſhed their Opening of the Firſt Article, acquainted the Houſe, that, previous to their entering into Proof of the Facts alledged in the ſaid Firſt Article, they would give Evidence of the general Matter ſtated in the Preamble; after which, they would proceed to call Evidence in ſupport of the ſeveral Allegations of the ſaid Firſt Article, as nearly in the Order of the Facts therein ſtated, as the Nature of the Circumſtances would admit; beginning firſt with general Evidence of the Situation of the Rajah Bulwant Sing, and of the Rajah Cheyt Sing, at the ſeveral Times in the ſaid Firſt Article reſpectively mentioned:

And thereupon they called

THOMAS MORTON, who being ſworn, was examined as follows:

Q. What Situation are you in under the Eaſt India Company?
A. I am their Secretary.

Q. What Papers are thoſe which you have in your Hands?
A. The Charter of the Eaſt India Company under the Great Seal of England, dated 5th September 1698. Anno 10 Gul. III.

The Managers for the Commons deſired, that that Part of the Charter might be read which grants to the Eaſt India Company a Power to appoint their own Officers and Governors in the Eaſt Indies.

Accordingly, the Charter being delivered in at the Table, the following Extract was read by the Clerk.

" And Wee doe, of Our moſt eſpeciall Grace, certain Knowledge, and meere Motion, for Us, Skin 21.
Our Heires and Succeſſors, give and grant unto the ſaid Engliſh Company tradeing to the Eaſt Indies, that the ſaid Company for the Time being ſhall and may have the Ordering, Rule, and Government of all ſuch Forts, Factories, and Plantations, as ſhall be att any Time hereafter ſettled by or under the ſaid Engliſh Company, within the Eaſt Indies and Parts before mentioned; and ſhall and may name and appoint Governours and Officers from Time to Time in and for the ſaid Forts, Factoryes, and Plantations; and them to remove and diſplace att their Will and Pleaſure. And that ſuch Governours and Officers ſhall and may, according to the Directions of the ſame Company, raiſe, traine, and muſter, ſuch Military Forces as ſhall or may be neceſſary for the Defence of the ſaid Forts, Places, and Plantations reſpectively, (the Soveraigne Right, Power, and Dominion over all the ſaid Forts, Places, and Plantations, to Us, Our Heires, and Succeſſors, being always reſerved)."

Then the Witneſs was directed to produce the Minutes of the Committee of Correſpondence of the Eaſt India Company of the 9th April 1771.

The Witneſs produced a Book, marked with the Letter A, and intituled, " Minute Book 1770;" which being delivered in, an Extract from a Minute of the Court of Directors, held on Tueſday the 9th April 1771, in Page 498 of the ſaid Book, was read by the Clerk, and is as follows *:

* To avoid Repetition, it may be proper to obſerve in this Place, that where an Extract only is ſet forth from a Minute, Conſultation, Letter, or other Document produced, it is to be underſtood as including every Thing in ſuch Minute, Conſultation, Letter, or other Document, relative to the Subject Matter of the ſaid Extract.

" Minutes of the Committee of Correſpondence, dated the 8th inſtant and this Day, being read;

" Reſolved by the Ballot, That Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Second of Council at Fort Saint George, be appointed to the ſame Station in the Council at Fort William, and to ſucceed to the Government in caſe of the Death or Abſence of John Cartier Eſquire."

Then the Witneſs was aſked;

Q. Whether that is, or is not, the uſual Mode by which the Eaſt India Company appoint their Servants abroad without any other Inſtrument?

A. Yes.

Q. (from a Lord.) Without any other Inſtrument?

A. An Inſtrument follows.

Q. Have you got that Inſtrument here?

A. The uſual Inſtrument is a Commiſſion under the Company's Seal, which is tranſmitted to the Preſident and Council at Bengal in the Original.

Q. Have you a Copy of it?

A. There was no Inſtrument accompanying this Appointment. There is a Paragraph appointing Mr. Haſtings to the Government of Bengal in a General Letter of the 10th April 1771.

The Managers for the Commons deſired, That the 162d Paragraph of the Letter mentioned by the Witneſs, of the 10th April 1771, which contains the original Appointment of Warren Haſtings Eſquire, to be Second of Council at Fort William, and to ſucceed Mr. Cartier as Preſident and Governor of Bengal, might be read.

The Counſel for the Defendant obſerved, That in point of Regularity, the Receipt of this Letter in Bengal ought to be firſt proved.

The Managers for the Commons being heard in anſwer to this Obſervation, the Paragraph was ordered to be read *de bene eſſe*, and not to be conſidered as Evidence, unleſs it ſhould appear by ſome ſubſequent Letter from Bengal that the Letter of the 10th April 1771, was received there.

Then the Witneſs produced a Book marked with the Letter B, and intituled, " Bengal Diſpatches 23 March 1770, to 10 April 1771;" and the ſame being delivered in, the 162d Paragraph of a General Letter from the Court of Directors to the Preſident and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated the 10th of April 1771, beginning in Page 721 of the ſaid Book, was read by the Clerk, and is as follows:

Paragraph 162. " Conſidering the Importance of the Government of Bengal, and being well perſuaded of the Abilities of Warren Haſtings Eſquire for the due Diſcharge of the Office of Governor; we do hereby appoint him Second of Council at Fort William, and to ſucceed Mr. Cartier as Preſident and Governor of Bengal: And we have accordingly directed Mr. Haſtings to proceed to Fort William as expeditiouſly as poſſible, to take his Seat in Council at your Preſidency.

We are your loving Friends,
G. Colebrooke,
J. Purling,
Thomas Rous,
Henry Crab Boulton,
Frederick Pigou,
Edward Holden Cruttenden,
George Cuming,
Henry Savage,
John Harriſon,

Ja. Cockburn,
Daniel Wier,
Wm. James,
John Michie,
Wm. Devaynes,
Robert Gregory,
Benj. Booth,
John Roberts,
Charles Chambers jun.
Pet. Laſcelles.

London,
10th April 1771.

Then the Witneſs was directed to produce a Letter from the Court of Directors, of the 25th of April 1771.

The Managers for the Commons being aſked, if they were appriſed whether there was or was not a Commiſſion upon this Occaſion, anſwered, They were appriſed that there was no Commiſſion upon this Occaſion, nor even any upon the Appointment of Mr. Haſtings to the Preſidency of Fort William.

Then the Witneſs produced a Book, marked (C), intituled, " Bengal Diſpatches, from the 25th April 1771, to 10th December 1773;" and the ſame being delivered in, the 4th Paragraph of an additional General Letter from the Court of Directors to the Preſident and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated 25th April 1771, from Page 3 in the ſaid Book, was read by the Clerk, and is as follows:

" By

" By the before-going Removal of Mr. Becher from the Council, and of Meſſ. Ruſſell and Floyer to their reſpective Stations upon the Fort St. George Eſtabliſhment, and the Appointment of Mr. Haſtings (by our Letter of the 10th inſtant) to ſucceed Mr. Cartier at your Preſidency; and having likewiſe re-admitted Meſſ. Rumbold and Dacres into our Service, it becomes neceſſary to make a new Arrangement of our Council; We therefore direct that, upon the Receipt hereof, it be compoſed of the following Gentlemen, notwithſtanding our Orders of the 23d March 1770, for limiting the Number of Council to Nine Members, excluſive of the Commander in Chief.

" John Cartier Eſquire, Preſident and Governor.
Warren Haſtings Eſquire—Second; and to ſucceed to the Government, in caſe of the Death, or coming away of Mr. Cartier.
Brigadier General Sir Robert Barker, Third (or the Commander in Chief for the Time being), but not to riſe higher.

Mr. James Alexander,	Fourth.
Thomas Rumbold,	Fifth.
Samuel Middleton,	Sixth.
William Alderſey,	Seventh.
Thomas Kelſall,	Eighth.
John Reed,	Ninth.
Francis Hare,	Tenth.
Joſeph Jekyll,	Eleventh.
Philip Milner Dacres,	Twelfth.
Thomas Lane,	Thirteenth.
Richard Barwell,	Fourteenth, and laſt of Council."

Then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

To prove that, in conſequence of the Extracts read from the above-mentioned Letters, Mr. Haſtings took his Seat at the Board of Council at Fort William, and acted in virtue thereof, the Managers for the Commons deſired Mr. Robert Hudſon might be called.

The Managers for the Commons being aſked, if it would not be proper that Mr. Cartier's Commiſſion ſhould be read, in order to ſhew what the Nature and Deſcription of the Authority of the Preſident of the Council at Fort William was; anſwered, That, if it was thought material, they would produce it To-morrow.

Then Mr. ROBERT HUDSON was called in; and, being ſworn, was examined as follows:

Q. What Book do you hold in your Hand?
A. The Bengal Conſultations in the Year 1772, as ſent to the Court of Directors.

Q. Is that the Correſpondence tranſmitted to the Court of Directors from Bengal?
A. Yes.

The Managers for the Commons deſired the Conſultation of the 20th February 1772 might be read.

The Witneſs produced a Book, marked with the Letter D, intituled, " Fort William Conſultations, Public Department, from 3d January to 7th April 1772," and indorſed Vol. I.

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Is the Conſultation you are going to read ſigned?
A. It is ſigned, Warren Haſtings, William Alderſey, Thomas Lane, Richard Barwell, Henry Goodwin.

The Managers for the Commons demanded of the Counſel for the Defendant, Whether they would put them upon proving the Defendant's Hand Writing?

To which the Counſel anſwered, That, in Point of Regularity, the Managers for the Commons ought to prove the Defendant's Hand Writing; but that they would not put them to it.

Then the following Extract was read by the Clerk from the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, 20th Feb. 1772.

" At a Conſultation; Preſent,
The Hon. John Cartier, Eſq.

Warren Haſtings, James Alexander, William Alderſey, John Read, Eſquires.
Philip M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, Richard Barwell, James Lawrell, Henry Goodwin.

" Mr.

" Mr. Haſtings being arrived, now takes his Seat at the Board, after having the cuſtomary Oaths adminiſtered." [Signed, at the End of the Conſultation,
Warren Haſtings, Richard Barwell,
W. Alderſey, H. Goodwin.]
Tho. Lane,

Q. Have you got the Form of the Oaths in that Book?
A. It is not in this Book.

Then the Witneſs produced a Book marked with the Letter E, and intituled, " Beng. Lett. Rec. 30 Aug. 1771, to 24 April 1772;" and the ſame being delivered in, the 9th Paragraph of a General Letter from Bengal, dated the 13th April 1772, to the Court of Directors, was read by the Clerk, and is as follows:

Par. 9. " In Conformity to your Orders, our late Preſident, Mr. Cartier, this Day reſigned the Charge of this Government to Mr. Haſtings, and has availed himſelf of your Permiſſion to remain in the Country until the next Seaſon. We ſhall be careful that, during his Stay, every Reſpect and Attention be paid to him, according to your Orders.

Signed, Warren Haſtings,
Wm. Alderſey,
P. M. Dacres,
Thomas Lane,
Richard Barwell,
James Lawrell,
H. Goodwin,
J. Graham."

Fort William,
the 20th April 1772.

Then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

To prove the Appointment of a Governor General and Council for the Government of the Preſidency of Fort William in Bengal, by an Act paſſed in the 13th Year of His preſent Majeſty, the Mode of Deciſion preſcribed by the ſaid Act, in caſe of a Difference of Opinion of the ſaid Governor General and Council, the Powers thereby given to the ſaid Governor General and Council, and that Warren Haſtings Eſq. was, by the ſaid Act, nominated to be the Firſt Governor General of the ſaid Preſidency of Fort William, the Managers for the Commons deſired the Stat. 13 Geo. III, Cap. 63, Sect. 7, 8, 9, 10, might be read. The ſame was accordingly read at the Table by the Clerk, as follows:

" An Act for eſtabliſhing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the Eaſt India Company, as well in India as in Europe.

Sect. 7. " And for the better Management of the ſaid United Company's Affairs in India, be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That, for the Government of the Preſidency of Fort William in Bengal, there ſhall be appointed a Governor General and Four Counſellors; and that the whole Civil and Military Government of the ſaid Preſidency, and alſo the Ordering, Management and Government of all the Territorial Acquiſitions and Revenues in the Kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, ſhall, during ſuch Time as the Territorial Acquiſitions and Revenues ſhall remain in the Poſſeſſion of the ſaid United Company, be, and are hereby veſted in the ſaid Governor General and Council of the ſaid Preſidency of Fort William in Bengal, in like Manner, to all Intents and Purpoſes whatſoever, as the ſame now are, or at any Time heretofore might have been exerciſed by the Preſident and Council, or Select Committee, in the ſaid Kingdoms.

Sect. 8. " And be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That in all Caſes whatſoever, wherein any Difference of Opinion ſhall ariſe upon any Queſtion propoſed in any Conſultation, the ſaid Governor General and Council ſhall be bound and concluded by the Opinion and Deciſion of the major Part of thoſe preſent; and if it ſhall happen that, by the Death or Removal, or by the Abſence of any of the Members of the ſaid Council, ſuch Governor General and Council ſhall happen to be equally divided, then, and in every ſuch Caſe, the ſaid Governor General, or, in his Abſence, the eldeſt Counſellor preſent, ſhall have a caſting Voice, and his Opinion ſhall be deciſive and concluſive.

Sect. 9. " And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That the ſaid Governor General and Council, or the major Part of them, ſhall have, and they are hereby authoriſed to have, Power of ſuperintending and controuling the Government and Management of the Preſidencies of Madraſs, Bombay, and Bencoolen reſpectively, ſo far, and inſomuch as that it ſhall not be lawful for any Preſident and Council of Madras, Bombay, or Bencoolen, for the Time being, to make any Orders for commencing Hoſtilities, or declaring or making War, againſt any Indian Princes or Powers, or for negotiating or concluding any Treaty of Peace, or other Treaty, with any ſuch Indian Princes or Powers, without the Conſent and Approbation of the ſaid Governor General and Council firſt had and obtained, except in ſuch Caſes of imminent Neceſſity as would render

render it dangerous to poſtpone ſuch Hoſtilities or Treaties until the Orders from the Governor General and Council might arrive; and except in ſuch Caſes where the ſaid Preſidents and Councils reſpectively ſhall have received ſpecial Orders from the ſaid United Company; and any Preſident and Council of Madras, Bombay, or Bencoolen, who ſhall offend in any of the Caſes aforeſaid, ſhall be liable to be ſuſpended from his or their Office by the Order of the ſaid Governor General and Council; and every Preſident and Council of Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen, for the Time being, ſhall, and they are hereby reſpectively directed and required to pay due Obedience to ſuch Orders as they ſhall receive touching the Premiſes from the ſaid Governor General and Council for the Time being, and conſtantly and diligently to tranſmit to the ſaid Governor General and Council Advice and Intelligence of all Tranſactions and Matters whatſoever that ſhall come to their Knowledge, relating to the Government, Revenues, or Intereſt of the ſaid United Company; and the ſaid Governor General and Council for the Time being ſhall, and they are hereby directed and required to pay due Obedience to all ſuch Orders as they ſhall receive from the Court of Directors of the ſaid United Company, and to correſpond from Time to Time, and conſtantly and diligently tranſmit to the ſaid Court, an exact Particular of all Advices or Intelligence, and of all Tranſactions and Matters whatſoever, that ſhall come to their Knowledge, relating to the Government, Commerce, Revenues, or Intereſt of the ſaid United Company; and the Court of Directors of the ſaid Company, or their Succeſſors, ſhall, and they are hereby directed and required, from Time to Time, before the Expiration of Fourteen Days after the receiving any ſuch Letters or Advices, to give in, and deliver unto the High Treaſurer, or Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury for the Time being, a true and exact Copy of ſuch Parts of the ſaid Letters or Advices as ſhall any way relate to the Management of the Revenues of the ſaid Company; and in like manner to give in, and deliver to one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State for the Time being, a true and exact Copy of all ſuch Parts of the ſaid Letters or Advices as ſhall any way relate to the Civil or Military Affairs and Government of the ſaid Company; all which Copies ſhall be fairly written, and ſhall be ſigned by Two or more of the Directors of the ſaid Company.

Sect. 10. "And it is hereby further enacted, That Warren Haſtings Eſquire, ſhall be the firſt Governor General; and that Lieutenant-General John Clavering, the Honourable George Monſon, Richard Barwell Eſquire, and Philip Francis Eſquire, ſhall be the Four firſt Counſellors; and they, and each of them, ſhall hold and continue in his and their reſpective Offices, for and during the Term of Five Years, from the Time of their Arrival at Fort William in Bengal, and taking upon them the Government of the ſaid Preſidency, and ſhall not be removeable in the mean Time, except by his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, upon Repreſentation made by the Court of Directors of the ſaid United Company for the Time being; and in caſe of the Avoidance of the Office of ſuch Governor General by Death, Reſignation, or Removal, his Place ſhall, during the Remainder of the Term aforeſaid, as often as the Caſe ſhall happen, be ſupplied by the Perſon of the Council who ſtands next in Rank to ſuch Governor General; and in caſe of the Death, Removal, Reſignation, or Promotion of any of the ſaid Council, the Directors of the ſaid United Company are hereby empowered, for and during the Remainder of the ſaid Term of Five Years, to nominate and appoint, by and with the Conſent of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to be ſignified under his or their Sign Manual, a Perſon to ſucceed to the Office ſo become vacant in the ſaid Council; and until ſuch Appointment ſhall be made, all the Powers and Authorities veſted in the Governor General and Council, ſhall reſt and continue in, and be exerciſed and executed by the Governor General and Council remaining and ſurviving; and from and after the Expiration of the ſaid Term of Five Years, the Power of nominating and removing the ſucceeding Governor General and Council ſhall be veſted in the Directors of the ſaid United Company."

To prove that Mr. Haſtings afterwards took the Oaths in the uſual Form, the Managers for the Commons deſired Mr. ROBERT HUDSON might be again called in; who appearing, produced a Book, intituled, "Fort William Council Proceedings, from 20th Oct. to the 28th Dec. 1774;" and the ſame being delivered in, the following Extract was read by the Clerk.

"Fort William, 24th Oct. 1774. Pub. Dep. Monday.

"At a Conſultation; Preſent,

The Hon. Warren Haſtings Eſq. Governor General, Preſident;
Lieut. Gen. John Clavering,
The Hon. George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, } Eſqrs.
Philip Francis, }

"Mr. Barwell being come down to the Preſidency, takes his Seat as Member of the Council. Mr. Barwell arrives.

"The Book of ſtanding Orders upon the Table.

"Read and approved the Conſultation of the 20th inſtant.

"The Oaths of Allegiance, of Office, and of a Juſtice of the Peace, being prepared in the uſual Form, are now taken by each of the Members of this Board reſpectively." Oaths adminiſtered.

To

To prove that certain Proviſions in the Stat. 13 Geo. III, c. 63, which were made for a limited Time only, were continued, revived, and further continued, by ſeveral ſubſequent Acts, the Managers for the Commons deſired the Stat. 19 Geo. III, c. 61, ſect. 5, might be read. The ſame was read at the Table by the Clerk, as follows:

"An Act for continuing in the Poſſeſſion of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, for a limited Time, and under certain Conditions, the Territorial Acquiſitions and Revenues lately obtained in the Eaſt Indies; and for continuing, for a limited Time, ſo much of an Act made in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, 'An Act for 'eſtabliſhing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the 'Eaſt India Company, as well in India as in Europe,' as will expire in the Courſe of the preſent Year.

Sect. 5. "And whereas by another Act, paſſed in the ſame Seſſion of Parliament, intituled, 'An 'Act for eſtabliſhing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the Eaſt India 'Company, as well in India as in Europe,' it was, among other Things, enacted, That for the Government of the Preſidency of Fort William, in Bengal, there ſhould be appointed a Governor General and Four Counſellors; and that the whole Civil and Military Government of the ſaid Preſidency, and alſo the Ordering, Management, and Government of all the Territorial Acquiſitions and Revenues in the Kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, ſhould, during ſuch Time as the Territorial Acquiſitions and Revenues ſhould remain in the Poſſeſſion of the ſaid United Company, be veſted in the ſaid Governor General and Council of the ſaid Preſidency of Fort William in Bengal; and alſo that the Governor General and Four Firſt Counſellors, appointed by the ſaid Act, ſhould each of them hold and continue in his and their reſpective Offices for and during the Term of Five Years, from the Time of their Arrival at Fort William in Bengal, and taking upon them the Government of the ſaid Preſidency, and ſhould not be removeable in the mean Time, except by his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, upon Repreſentation made by the Court of Directors for the ſaid United Company for the Time being: And whereas it may be expedient that the ſaid Regulations ſhould be extended to the Perſon and Perſons who, at the Time of paſſing this Act, ſhall have and enjoy the reſpective Offices of Governor General and Counſellors of the ſaid Preſidency; be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That the Perſon and Perſons who, at the Time of the paſſing of this Act, ſhall have and enjoy the Office and Offices of Governor General and Counſellors of the ſaid Preſidency, ſhall hold and continue in his and their reſpective Offices, for and during the Continuance of this Act, and ſhall not be removeable in the mean Time, except by his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, upon Repreſentation made by the Court of Directors for the ſaid United Company for the Time being; and ſhall have and enjoy all and ſingular the Powers and Authorities veſted by the ſaid Act in the Firſt Governor General, and Four Firſt Counſellors, by the ſaid Act appointed, and ſhall be ſubject to the ſaid Reſtrictions and Limitations as by the ſaid Act the Firſt Governor General, and Firſt Four Counſellors, were made ſubject; and that in caſe of the Avoidance of the Offices of ſuch Governor General, or any of the ſaid Counſellors, ſuch Office ſhall be reſpectively ſupplied in the ſame Manner as the ſame Office would by the ſaid Act have been ſupplied during the Remainder of the Term of Five Years, which was computed from the Time that the Firſt Governor General, and Four Firſt Counſellors, took upon them the Government of the ſaid Preſidency."

Alſo the Stat. 20 Geo. III. Cap. 56. Sect. 5. And the ſame was read as follows:

"An Act for continuing in the Poſſeſſion of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, for a further Time, and under certain Conditions, the Territorial Acquiſitions and Revenues lately obtained in the Eaſt Indies; and for reviving, and continuing for a further Time, ſo much of an Act made in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of his preſent Majeſty, (intituled, 'An Act for eſta-'bliſhing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the Eaſt 'India Company, as well in India as in Europe),' as hath expired in the Courſe of the preſent Year; and for indemnifying the ſaid Company for any Money they have paid, or may pay, in or about the building of Three Ships of the Line for the Service of the Publick.

Sect. 5. "And whereas, by another Act paſſed in the ſame Seſſion of Parliament, (intituled, 'An 'Act for eſtabliſhing certain Regulations, for the better Management of the Affairs of the Eaſt India 'Company, as well in India as in Europe),' it was, among other Things, enacted, That, for the Government of the Preſidency of Fort William in Bengal, there ſhould be appointed a Governor General and Four Counſellors, and that the whole Civil and Military Government of the ſaid Preſidency, and alſo the Ordering, Management, and Government of all the Territorial Acquiſitions and Revenues in the Kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, ſhould, during ſuch Time as the Territorial Acquiſitions and Revenues ſhould remain in the Poſſeſſion of the ſaid United Company, be veſted in the ſaid Governor General and Council of the ſaid Preſidency of Fort William in Ben-

gal;

gal; and alſo that the Governor General and Four firſt Counſellors appointed by the ſaid Act ſhould each of them hold and continue in his and their reſpective Offices for and during the Term of Five Years, from the Time of their Arrival at Fort William in Bengal, and taking upon them the Government of the ſaid Preſidency, and ſhould not be removeable in the mean Time, except by his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, upon Repreſentation made by the Court of Directors for the ſaid United Company for the Time being: And whereas it may be expedient that the ſaid Regulation ſhould be revived, and extended to the Perſon and Perſons who, at the Time of paſſing this Act, ſhould have and enjoy the reſpective Offices of Governor General and Counſellors of the ſaid Preſidency; be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That the Perſon and Perſons who, at the Time of the paſſing of this Act, ſhall have and enjoy the Office and Offices of Governor General and Counſellors of the ſaid Preſidency, ſhall hold and continue in his and their reſpective Offices, for and during the Continuance of this Act, and ſhall not be removeable in the mean Time, except by his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, upon Repreſentation made by the Court of Directors for the ſaid United Company for the Time being, and ſhall have and enjoy all and ſingular the Powers and Authorities veſted by the ſaid Act in the Firſt Governor General and Four Firſt Counſellors by the ſaid Act appointed, and ſhall be ſubject to the ſaid Reſtrictions and Limitations, as by the ſaid Act the Firſt Governor General and Firſt Four Counſellors were made ſubject; and that in caſe of the Avoidance of the Offices of ſuch Governor General, or any of the ſaid Counſellors, ſuch Office ſhall be reſpectively ſupplied in the ſame Manner as the ſame Office would by the ſaid Act have been ſupplied during the Remainder of the Term of Five Years, which was computed from the Time that the Firſt Governor General and Four Firſt Counſellors took upon them the Government of the ſaid Preſidency."

Alſo the Stat. 21 Geo. III. Cap. 65. Sect. 35. And the ſame was read as follows:

> " An Act for the eſtabliſhing an Agreement with the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, for the Payment of the Sum of Four hundred thouſand Pounds, for the Uſe of the Publick, in full Diſcharge and Satisfaction of all Claims and Demands of the Publick, from the Time the Bond Debt of the ſaid Company was reduced to One million five hundred thouſand Pounds, until the Firſt Day of March One thouſand Seven hundred and Eighty-one, in reſpect of the Territorial Acquiſitions and Revenues lately obtained in the Eaſt Indies; and alſo for ſecuring to the Publick, in reſpect thereof, for a Term therein mentioned, a certain Part or Proportion of the clear Revenues and Profits of the ſaid Company; and for granting to the ſaid Company, for a further Term, the ſole and excluſive Trade to and from the Eaſt Indies, and Limits therein mentioned; and for eſtabliſhing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the ſaid Company, as well in India as in Europe, and the recruiting the Military Forces of the ſaid Company.

Sect. 35. " And whereas, by another Act paſſed in the Thirteenth Year of his preſent Majeſty, ' intituled, An Act for eſtabliſhing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of ' the Eaſt India Company, as well in India as in Europe,' it was among other Things enacted, That for the Government of the Preſidency of Fort William in Bengal there ſhould be appointed a Governor General and Four Councillors, and that the whole Civil and Military Government of the ſaid Preſidency, and alſo the Ordering, Management, and Government of all the Territorial Acquiſitions and Revenues in the Kingdom of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, ſhould, during ſuch Time as the Territorial Acquiſitions and Revenues ſhould remain in the Poſſeſſion of the ſaid United Company, be veſted in the ſaid Governor General and Council of the ſaid Preſidency of Fort William in Bengal; and alſo that the Governor General and Four Firſt Councillors appointed by the ſaid Act ſhould each of them hold and continue in his and their reſpective Offices for and during the Term of Five Years, from the Time of their Arrival at Fort William in Bengal, and taking upon them the Government of the ſaid Preſidency, and ſhould not be removeable in the mean Time, except by his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, upon Repreſentation made by the Court of Directors for the ſaid United Company for the Time being; and in caſe of the Avoidance of the Office of ſuch Governor General by Death, Reſignation, or Removal, his Place ſhould, during the Remainder of the Term aforeſaid, as often as the Caſe ſhould happen, be ſupplied by the Perſon of the Council who ſhould ſtand next in Rank to ſuch Governor General; and in caſe of the Death, Removal, Reſignation, or Promotion of any of the ſaid Council, the Directors of the ſaid United Company were thereby impowered, for and during the Remainder of the ſaid Term of Five Years, to nominate and appoint, by and with the Conſent of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to be ſignified as therein is mentioned, a Perſon to ſucceed to the Office ſo become vacant in the ſaid Council; and until ſuch Appointment ſhould be made, all the Powers and Authorities veſted in the Governor General and Council, ſhould reſt and continue in, and be exerciſed and executed by the Governor General and Council remaining and ſurviving: And whereas it may be expedient that certain Parts of the ſaid recited Act which are expired ſhould be revived and continued, ſubject to ſuch Variations as herein-after are mentioned; be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That the Perſon and Perſons who at the Time of the paſſing

of this Act shall have and enjoy the Office and Offices of Governor General and Councillors of the said Presidency, shall hold and continue in his and their respective Offices for and during the Continuance of this Act, and shall not be removeable in the mean Time, except by his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, upon Representation made by the Court of Directors for the said United Company for the Time being; and shall have and enjoy all and singular the Powers and Authorities vested by the said Act in the First Governor General and Four First Councillors by the said Act appointed, and shall be subject to the same Restrictions and Limitations as by the said Act the First Governor General and First Four Councillors were made subject; and that in case of the Avoidance of the Offices of such Governor General, or any of the said Councillors, such Office shall be respectively supplied in the same Manner as the same Office would by the said Act have been supplied during the Remainder of the Term of Five Years, which was computed from the Time that the First Governor General and Four First Councillors took upon them the Government of the said Presidency."

The Managers for the Commons also referred to the Stat. 24 Geo. III. c. 25. and Stat. 26 Geo. III. c. 16. but did not desire the same to be read.

Then the Managers for the Commons stated, that having, for the Sake of Regularity, gone through the several Matters contained in the Preamble of the Charge, although the same are admitted by the Defendant in his Answer, they would next proceed to prove the several Facts alledged in the First Article.

It was suggested to them by the House, whether it would not be better, for the Sake of Clearness, that they should first produce the Instrument by which the President of Fort William was appointed, in order to shew what his Authority as President was, and then apply the Stat. 13 Geo. III, c. 63. to it, that Statute making express Reference to such his Authority as President *.

* Vide Sect. 7.

The Managers for the Commons said, they meant to have proceeded in that Manner, but that the Book which contained the Instrument was left by Mistake at the India House, and that they would produce it the first Thing To-morrow Morning.

To prove the Situation of Bulwant Sing in the Year 1764, and that the Object of the then President and Council was to make a Treaty, by which Bulwant Sing was to be made independent, Mr. ROBERT HUDSON was again called; and produced a Book marked No. 37, and intituled, "BENGAL SELECT CONSULT. 8 Dec. 1763, to 31 Dec. 1764;" and the same being delivered in, the following Extract was read by the Clerk, beginning at Page 111.

"Fort William, 29th March 1764.

Sec. Dep. Thursday.

"At a Consultation; Present,
The Honourable Henry Vansittart Esquire, President;
Commodore Tinker,
Warren Hastings Esquire,
Randolph Marriott Esquire,
John Burdett Esquire,
Messrs. Middleton and Leycester indisposed.

Mr. Tinker takes his Seat at this Consultation.

"The Commodore having been requested to assist at this Consultation, now takes his Seat at the Board.

"The Book of Standing Orders on the Table.

"The Consultation of the 26th instant being wrote fair, was now read and approved.

Major Carnac's Letter, J. L. R. No. 33.

"Received a Letter from Major Carnac, dated 18th instant, enclosing one he has received from Shitabroy, to which he refers us for Information of Shuja Dowla's Intention against us, and expressing his Concern to find that by the Advices from Calcutta of the 8th, the Reinforcement under the Command of Captain Pemble had not yet begun their March, that their being so late renders it next to impossible for them to join him in Time, and that he must therefore put every Thing to Risk with the Force he has at present, however little to be depended on, after what has passed; further advising us, that he would fain cross the Carumnassa, and give the Enemy a Meeting as far as possible from the Boundary; but that he fears the Distress they are in for Provisions, being only supplied from Day to Day, will not permit his doing so, and that he shall be obliged to keep close by the Ganges to secure a Conveyance by Water, having had Intimation that the Enemy's Design was to hover at a Distance around them, and endeavour to cut off their Supplies—That a Treaty of Alliance has been some Time in Agitation between the Nabob and Bulwant Sing the Rajah of Benares. That the Nabob is now very axious † for its being brought to a Conclusion,

† Sic in Orig.

and

and propoſed to him that Evening ſetting his Seal thereto on the Part of the Engliſh, without which the Rajah will not enter into any Engagement. That he ſhall be very unwilling to take a Step of ſuch a Nature, without firſt knowing whether it be agreeable to us; but that the preſent Exigency will not admit the Delay of waiting our Anſwers.

Tranſlation of Shitabroy's Letter enclоſed, read and entered.

" A Tranſlation of Shitabroy's Letter to the Major being here read,

" Ordered it be entered in the Books of Country Correſpondence.

The Major's Letter conſidered, with the Opinion of the Board on the Advices contained therein.

" Having duly conſidered this Letter of Major Carnac's, we are unanimouſly of Opinion, that as Shuja Dowla has now openly eſpouſed the Cauſe of Coſſim Aly Cawn, and encourages his Deſign of an Invaſion into Bengal, we can entertain no further Thoughts of entering into a Treaty with him. On the contrary, we think it our Duty to form againſt him all the Enemies we poſſibly can; that the propoſed Alliance with Bulwant Sing will therefore be a very proper Meaſure, and prove as well now, as in all Time to come, a ſtrong Barrier and Defence to the Bengal Provinces.

And anſwered, J. L. S. No. 37.

" Agreed therefore, that we write to Major Carnac, adviſing him that we ſhall approve entirely of his entering into the intended Treaty in Concert with the Nabob, and of his engaging to protect and maintain Bulwant Sing independent, both now and hereafter."

To prove the Allegation in the Charge, " that the Court of Directors were of Opinion, " that the Rajah Bulwant Sing was of ſignal Service to the Affairs and Intereſts of Great Britain *;"

* Vide printed Articles, p. 3, par. 1.

The Witneſs produced a Book marked with the Figure 2, and intituled, " Bengal Diſpatches 17th May 1766, to 16th March 1768."——Read the following Extracts (p. 65 of the ſame Book) from " The Company's Letter to the Preſident and Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal," dated London, 17th May 1766.

Signed, at the End of the Letter,

Charles Chambers,
J. Pardoe,
Joſ. Du Pré,
Thomas Saunders,
George Cuming,
John Harriſon,
J. Purling,
John Roberts,
Peter Du Cane ſen.
George Wombwell,
Robert Jones,

Geo. Sudley,
Tho. Rous,
John Stephenſon,
Charles Cutts,
Henry Savage,
Chriſtopher Baron,
Frederick Pigou,
F. W. Barrington,
Edward Wheler,
Luke Scrafton,
E. H. Cruttenden,

Per Mercury and overland.

Par. 6. " From the Sentiments we expreſſed in every one of our late Letters, you will eaſily judge the great Pleaſure it gave us to ſee the War with Souja Dowla ended ſo conformable to our Wiſhes. We always eſteemed the Power of that Soubah the ſtrongeſt Barrier we could have againſt the Invaſions of the Northern Powers and of the Morattas, which have ſo long laid deſolate the Northern Provinces; and had the impolitick, injudicious Views of our late Governor and Council been followed, and the King or Nudjief Cawn been left in Poſſeſſion of Souja Dowla's Country, we are convinced they would not have had Weight and Abilities to have ſupported themſelves; and we muſt either have had their Wars to maintain at that immenſe Diſtance, or they would have been drove back on us, and brought the War down to our own Frontiers, or even into our own Provinces. Nothing could ſo effectually reſtore that Country to its former State, as putting its natural Prince in the full Poſſeſſion of his Dominions; and we are equally pleaſed to ſee the Care that has been taken of all thoſe who ſhewed their Attachment to us in the Courſe of the War; Bulwantſing's joining us at the Time he did was of ſignal Service, and the Stipulation in his Favour was what he was juſtly entitled to.

Par. 7. " Equally politick and prudent are the Conceſſions in favour of the King, whoſe Intereſt was beſt conſidered by the reſtoring Souja Dowla to his Country, the only Soubah in Indoſtan who is ever likely to ſupport him in his Pretenſions to the Empire. The Revenue agreed to be paid him muſt be, in the Eyes of the Indian Powers, a Mark of our Reſpect to the Royal Blood, and an Acknowledgement of his Right. We approve alſo the being Guarantee for Nudjief Cawn; and finally we hope the Moderation and the Attention paid to all thoſe who have eſpouſed our Intereſt in this War, will reſtore our Reputation in Indoſtan, and that the Indian Powers will be convinced no Breach of Treaty will ever have our Sanction."

Then the Witneſs produced a Treaty between the Nabob Shujah ul Dowlah, the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowlah, and the Engliſh Company, executed at Illahabad the 16th of Auguſt 1765; and the ſame being delivered in, was read by the Clerk, and is as follows:

" Whereas

Sha (L. S.) Aalum.

[On this Side is the Perſian].

" Whereas the Right Honourable Robert Lord Clive, Baron Clive of Plaſſey, Knight Companion of the moſt Honourable Order of the Bath, Major General and Commander in Chief of the Forces, Preſident of the Council, and Governor of Fort William, and of all the Settlements belonging to the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, and John Carnac Eſquire, Brigadier General, Colonel in the Service of the ſaid Company, and Commanding Officer of their Forces upon the Bengal Eſtabliſhment, are inveſted with full and ample Powers, on the Behalf of his Excellency the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, Subadar of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, and likewiſe on the Behalf of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, to negociate, ſettle, and finally to conclude a firm and laſting Peace with his Highneſs the Nabob Shuja ul Dowla, Vizier of the Empire: Be it known to all thoſe to whom it may or ſhall in any Manner belong, that the abovenamed Plenipotentiaries have agreed upon the following Articles with his Highneſs.

I.

A perpetual and univerſal Peace, ſincere Friendſhip, and firm Union, ſhall be eſtabliſhed between his Highneſs Shuja ul Dowla and his Heirs on the One Part, and his Excellency Nudjum ul Dowla, and the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, on the other; ſo that the ſaid contracting Powers ſhall give the greateſt Attention to maintain between themſelves, their Dominions, and their Subjects, this reciprocal Friendſhip, without permitting on either Side any Kind of Hoſtilities to be committed from henceforth for any Cauſe, or under any Pretence whatſoever; and every Thing ſhall be carefully avoided which might hereafter prejudice the Union now happily eſtabliſhed.

II.

In caſe the Dominions of his Highneſs Shujah ul Dowla ſhall at any Time hereafter be attacked, his Excellency Nudjum ul Dowla and the Engliſh Company ſhall aſſiſt him with a Part or the Whole of their Forces, according to the Exigency of his Affairs, and ſo far as may be conſiſtent with their own Security: And if the Dominions of his Excellency Nudjum ul Dowla, or the Engliſh Company, ſhould be attacked, his Highneſs ſhall in like Manner aſſiſt them with a Part or the Whole of his Forces: In the Caſe of the Engliſh Company's Forces being employed in his Highneſs's Service, the extraordinary Expence of the ſame is to be defrayed by him.

III.

His Highneſs ſolemnly engages never to entertain or receive Coſſim Aly Cawn, the late Subadar of Bengal, &c. Sumbroo, the Aſſaſſin of the Engliſh, nor any of the European Deſerters, within his Dominions, nor to give the leaſt

leaſt Countenance, Support, or Protection to them: He likewiſe ſolemnly engages to deliver up to the Engliſh whatever Europeans may in future deſert from them into his Country.

IV.

The King Shah Aalum ſhall remain in full Poſſeſſion of Cora, and ſuch Part of the Province of Illahabad as he now poſſeſſes, which are ceded to his Majeſty, as a royal Demeſne, for the Support of his Dignity and Expences.

V.

☞ [His Highneſs Shujah ul Dowla engages in the moſt ſolemn Manner, to continue Bulwund Sing in the Zemindarries of Benares, Gazypore, and all thoſe Diſtricts he poſſeſſed at the Time he came over to the late Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn and the Engliſh, on Condition of his paying the ſame Revenue as heretofore.]

VI.

In conſideration of the great Expence incurred by the Engliſh Company carrying on the late War, his Highneſs agrees to pay them Fifty Lacks of Rupees, in the following Manner; viz. Twelve Lacks in Money, and a Depoſit of Jewels to the Amount of Eight Lacks, upon the ſigning of this Treaty; Five Lacks One Month after; and the remaining Twenty-five Lacks by monthly Payments; ſo as that the Whole may be diſcharged in Thirteen Months from the Date hereof.

VII.

It being firmly reſolved to reſtore to his Highneſs the Country of Benares, and the other Diſtricts now rented by Bulwund Sing, notwithſtanding the Grant of the ſame from the King to the Engliſh Company, it is therefore agreed, that they ſhall be ceded to his Highneſs in the Manner following, viz. They ſhall remain in the Hands of the Engliſh Company, with their Revenues, till the Expiration of the Agreement between Bulwund Sing and the Company, being on the 27th of November next; after which his Highneſs ſhall enter into Poſſeſſion, the Fort of Chunar excepted, which is not to be evacuated until the Sixth Article of this Treaty be fully complied with.

VIII.

His Highneſs ſhall allow the Engliſh Company to carry on a Trade, Duty-free, throughout the Whole of his Dominions.

IX.

All the Relations and Subjects of his Highneſs, who in any Manner aſſiſted the Engliſh during the Courſe of the late War, ſhall be forgiven, and no ways moleſted for the ſame.

X.

As ſoon as this Treaty is executed, the Engliſh Forces ſhall be withdrawn from the Dominions

☞ It may be proper to obſerve here, that where any Paragraph or Extract in a Conſultation, Minute, Letter, or other Document produced, is marked with this Bracket [, and a Hand pointing to it, it is to denote that ſuch Paragraph or Extract was the particular and only Matter referred to by the Managers for the Houſe of Commons in ſuch Conſultation, Minute, Letter, or other Document: And where this Bracket] appears either in the Middle or End of a Paragraph or Extract, it is to denote that the Matter ſo particularly referred to by the Managers for the Commons leaves off there.

nions of his Highneſs, excepting ſuch as may be neceſſary for the Garriſon of Chunar, or for the Defence and Protection of the King, in the City of Illahabad, if his Majeſty ſhould require a Force for that Purpoſe.

XI.

His Highneſs the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, his Excellency the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowlah, and the Engliſh Company, promiſe to obſerve ſincerely and ſtrictly all the Articles contained and ſettled in the preſent Treaty, and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective Subjects; and the ſaid contracting Powers generally and reciprocally guarantee to each other all the Stipulations of the preſent Treaty.

Clive (L. S.)

John Carnac (L. S.)

Signed, ſealed, and ſolemnly ſworn to, according to their reſpective Faiths, by the contracting Parties, at Illahabad, this 16th Day of Auguſt, in the Year of our Lord 1765, in the Preſence of us,

Edmund Maſkelyne.
Archibald Swinton.
George Vanſittart.

Shujah (L. S.) ul Dowla's Seal and Ratification.

Mirza Coſſim Khan.
Rajah Shitabroy.
Meer Muſhala.

The Counſel for the Defendant obſerved, that in the *Fifth* Article of the Treaty juſt read, the Word "Revenue" was uſed; and deſired to draw the Attention of the Houſe to the Word "Malguzary," which would afterwards occur in the Sunnuds granted to the Rajah Bulwant Sing, and which was there uſed as deſcriptive of the particular Sort of Revenue paid by the ſaid Rajah to Shujah ul Dowlah. That the Original was in the Perſian on one Side of the Inſtrument, and the Tranſlation on the other.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Fifth Article which had been read from the Engliſh, was not read as a Tranſlation. That the Treaty was written both in Engliſh and in Perſian; that both Parts were Originals, both executed at the ſame Time, and they choſe to read the Engliſh Original.

Then Mr. JOHN BENSON was called in, and being ſworn, was deſired to produce the original Petition of Warren Haſtings Eſquire, preſented to the Houſe of Commons on the 26th April 1786; and the ſame being delivered in, was read by the Clerk, as follows.

"To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled.

"The humble Petition of Warren Haſtings, late Governor General of Bengal,
"Sheweth,

"That your Petitioner obſerves, by the Votes of this Honourable Houſe of the 4th and 12th Days of this inſtant April, that 'Mr. Burke, in his Place, has charged your Petitioner 'with ſundry high Crimes and Miſdemeanours to this Honourable Houſe; which Articles are 'referred to the Conſideration of a Committee of the whole Houſe.'

"Your Petitioner, therefore, humbly prays this Honourable Houſe, that he may be heard, in his Defence, to the ſaid Articles, and that he may be allowed a Copy of the ſame.

"And your Petitioner, as in Duty bound, ſhall ever pray.

WARREN HASTINGS."

Then the Witneſs produced the Journal of the Houſe of Commons of the 26th April 1786, and the following Entry was read therefrom.

"*Mer-*

" *Mercurii, Die* 26° *Aprilis, Anno* 26° *Georgii* III. *Regis*, 1786.

" And a Motion being made, and the Queſtion being propoſed, That the ſaid Warren Haſtings Eſquire be permitted to be heard on the Matter of the ſaid Charges, and that he be allowed a Copy of the ſame;

" The Houſe was moved, That the ſeveral Entries, in the Journal of the Houſe, of the 20th, 25th, and 26th Days of November 1680, of the Proceedings of the Houſe on the Articles of Impeachment of High Crimes, Miſdemeanors, and Offences, delivered in againſt Edward Seymour Eſquire, might be read.

" And the ſame being read accordingly;

" Ordered,

" That the ſaid Warren Haſtings Eſquire be permitted to be heard on the Matter of the ſaid Charges, and that he be allowed a Copy of the ſame."

Then the following Entry from the ſame Journal was read.

" *Lunæ*, 1° *Die Maij*, *Anno* 26° *Georgii* III. *Regis*, 1786.

" The other Order of the Day being read;

" Warren Haſtings Eſquire, late Governor General of Bengal, was called in to the Bar, and, in Part, heard on the Matter of the ſeveral Charges of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors preſented againſt him.

" And then he was directed to withdraw."

Then the following Entry from the ſame Journal was read.

" *Martis*, 2° *Die Maij*, *Anno* 26° *Georgii* III. *Regis*, 1786.

" Ordered,

" That the Order of the Day, for the further Hearing of Warren Haſtings Eſquire, late Governor General of Bengal, on the Matter of the ſeveral Charges of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors preſented againſt him, be now read.

" And the ſaid Order being read accordingly;

" The ſaid Warren Haſtings Eſquire was called in to the Bar, and further heard on the Matter of the ſaid Charges; and having requeſted that he might have Permiſſion to deliver in the Minutes, from which he read what he had now offered to the Houſe.

" The ſaid Warren Haſtings Eſquire was directed to withdraw.

" Reſolved,

" That the ſaid Warren Haſtings Eſquire be at Liberty, according to his Requeſt, to deliver in the Minutes from which he read what he has now offered to the Houſe upon the Matter of the ſaid ſeveral Charges of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors preſented againſt him.

" The ſaid Warren Haſtings Eſquire was again called in to the Bar; and Mr. Speaker acquainted him with the ſaid Reſolution.

" Then the ſaid Warren Haſtings Eſquire having delivered in the ſaid Minutes, the ſame were brought up to the Clerk's Table.

" And then he was again directed to withdraw."

Then the Witneſs produced the original Petition of Warren Haſtings Eſquire, preſented to the Houſe of Commons 8th May 1786; and the ſame was read, and is as follows:

" To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled.

" The humble Petition of Warren Haſtings, late Governor General of Bengal,

" Sheweth,

" That your Petitioner obſerves, by the Votes of this Honourable Houſe, that on the 5th of this inſtant May, Mr. Burke, in his Place, delivered in an Article of Charge of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, againſt your Petitioner.

" Your Petitioner humbly prays this Honourable Houſe, that he may be furniſhed with a Copy of the ſaid Charge, and that he may be permitted to be heard on the Matter of the ſaid Charge, in ſuch Manner as this Honourable Houſe ſhall be pleaſed to direct.

WARREN HASTINGS."

Then the following Order made by the Houſe of Commons thereupon was read from the Journal.

" *Lunæ*,

" *Lunæ*, 8° *Die Maij*, *Anno* 26° *Georgii* III. *Regis*, 1786.

" Ordered,

" That the ſaid Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, be permitted to be heard on the Matter of the ſaid Charge, and that he be allowed a Copy of the ſame.

" Ordered,

" That the ſaid Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, be heard at the Bar of this Houſe upon Wedneſday Morning next on the Matter of the ſaid Charge."

Then the following Extract from the ſame Journal was read.

" *Mercurij*, 10° *Die Maij*, *Anno* 26° *Georgii* III. *Regis*, 1786.

" Ordered,

" That the Order of the Day for the hearing of Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, late Governor General of Bengal, on the Matter of the Charge of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors preſented againſt him upon Friday laſt, be now read.

" And the ſaid Order being read accordingly;

" The ſaid Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, was called in to the Bar, and heard on the Matter of the ſaid Charge; and having requeſted that he might have Permiſſion to deliver in the Minutes, from which he read what he had now offered to the Houſe;

" The ſaid Warren Haſtings Eſquire, was directed to withdraw.

" Reſolved,

" That the ſaid Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, be at Liberty, according to his Requeſt, to deliver in the Minutes, from which he read what he has now offered to the Houſe upon the Matter of the ſaid Charge of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors preſented againſt him.

" The ſaid Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, was again called in to the Bar; and Mr. Speaker acquainted him with the ſaid Reſolution.

" Then the ſaid Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, having delivered in the ſaid Minutes, the ſame were brought up to the Clerk's Table.

" And then he was again directed to withdraw."

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired that the Introduction, and ſo much of the Minutes delivered by Warren Haſtings Eſquire, to the Houſe of Commons on the 2d May 1786, might be read from the ſaid Journal.

The ſame was objected to by the Counſel for the Defendant, ſtating, that, in Point of Form, the original Minutes delivered by the ſaid Warren Haſtings, and ſigned by him, and not the ſaid Journal, which is only a Copy of the ſame, might be produced.

The Managers for the Commons anſwered, That the Minutes being a Proceeding in their Houſe, and a Declaration of the ſaid Warren Haſtings in the ſame, they conſidered their Journal as the beſt Evidence thereof.

The Counſel for the Defendant replied, That they conceived the Journals were not in this Caſe the beſt Evidence that the Nature of the Thing admitted of; it being in Proof from the Journal itſelf, that the original Minutes were delivered in by the Defendant in his own Hand Writing, and that it never was held in a Criminal Caſe that a Party ſhall be bound by Entries in the Journals of the Houſe of Commons.

To which the Managers for the Commons ſaid, That thinking it their Duty to ſpend as little Time as poſſible, they had no Objection to produce the original Paper.

Whereupon Mr. BENSON was again called in; and was aſked,

Q. What Paper is that you have in your Hand?

A. The original Minutes delivered by Mr. Haſtings at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons in the Year 1786.

The Managers for the Commons deſired the Paper might be delivered in, and that ſo much of it as relates to the Charge of Benares might be read.

Q. (from the Counſel.) Who has had the Cuſtody of thoſe Papers ſince the Time you ſaw them put in and delivered at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons?

A. They have been officially in my Cuſtody as Clerk of the Papers, except when they went to the Preſs.

Q. How long were they out of your Cuſtody?

A. Four or Five Days.

Q. (from a Lord.) Have you any Doubt of their being the ſame?

A. Not in the leaſt.

Q. (from

Q. (from the Counſel.) I underſtood the Witneſs to ſay, he ſaw them delivered in. He was aſked, Whether he ſaw them delivered in, and I underſtood him to ſay ſo.—He now ſays, he did not ſee them delivered in?

A. I did not, I believe.

Q. (from a Lord.) Are they ſigned?

A. No, they are not.

Q. (from the Managers.) The Managers for the Commons wiſh the Witneſs to be aſked, Whether Mr. Haſtings himſelf was ever in the Witneſs's Office?

A. He was.

Q. Did he look at thoſe Minutes in your Office?

A. He did at Part of them, I believe.

Q. Did he ſay any Thing upon the Subject of them?

A. He, or ſome other Perſon for him at the Time, gave Directions, before they went to Preſs, in what Manner the Printer ſhould print them.

Q. Was that Perſon, who gave the Directions, preſent with him at the Time?

A. Yes.

Q. Then the Managers for the Commons wiſh to know, Who that Perſon was that came with him?

A. I don't exactly recollect who he was; I believe there might be more than One Perſon with him.

Q. (from a Lord.) They were in his Preſence when he gave that Direction?

A. Yes.

The Managers for the Commons ſaid they would leave it there; and deſired, Firſt, that the Introduction to the ſaid Minutes, and then as much of the Matter as relates to the Charge of Benares, might be read.

The ſame were read by the Clerk, as follows:

"*Introductory Defence.*

"Before I enter upon my General Defence, I humbly ſolicit the Indulgence of this Honourable Houſe, to be permitted to preface it with a few neceſſary Obſervations relative to the Circumſtances which have progreſſively conſpired to make me an Object of the preſent Enquiry. In the Firſt Place, I beg Leave to remark, that I am here by no Obtruſion of my own. I have too humble a Senſe of my own Conſequence, to conſider either my Reputation, Honour, Fortune, or Life, or all theſe Intereſts collectively, as having any Claim to the ſmalleſt Portion of the valuable Time of this Houſe, on any Ground, however juſt in itſelf, which has theſe only for its Object. I have been brought before the Notice of this Honourable Houſe by the Acts of others, independant of my Will or Deſire; and all the Participation which I have in it, is in the Requeſt made by a Member of this Houſe on my Behalf, and at my Suggeſtion, that ſince it was determined that my Conduct was to be arraigned before this Honourable Houſe, my Arraignment might be ſpeedy, and that I might have the Time and Means afforded me to provide the Materials for my Defence: For after having been, during a Courſe of Five Years, the continued Subject of the ſame Criminations, and from the ſame Quarter, with the Name of the Almighty ſolemnly invoked to atteſt the Pledge given to this Houſe that the moſt undoubted Proofs ſhould be produced to authenticate them—I allude, Mr. Speaker, to no Declarations made in this Houſe, but to Publications out of it—I may ſurely be allowed, even with a Conſciouſneſs of the pureſt Integrity, to wiſh for a ſpeedy Accompliſhment of a Menace thus made, and for ſuch profeſſed Purpoſes; and that it might not hang the Denunciations of Parliamentary Vengeance over my Head for ever.

"Of the Firſt Effects of this Injury I have a Right to complain; for in theſe the Injury affected the Public alone, through their Intereſts committed to my Charge. During a long and deſperate Struggle, with an Accumulation of Difficulties, and a Hoſt of natural Enemies combined againſt our National Poſſeſſions in India, when I required all the Support and Confidence of my Superiors in the Parent State to give Effect to my Exertions, all my Actions were reprobated at Home, and my Name linked to the foulеſt Invective, even in Places of the higheſt Authority; and every Diſpatch from England brought Orders oppoſing my Meaſures in their Courſe, and the Sentences of my Diſgrace and Diſmiſſion. Yet theſe cauſed no Alteration in my Conduct, or Relaxation of my Zeal for a Service in which my Labours had met ſo ill a Requital, except from my reſpectable Conſtituents, in whoſe Applauſe alone I receive a Conſolation under all my Diſcouragements. I ſteadily purſued that Line which my Senſe of Duty had preſcribed; and ſometimes availing myſelf of the tranſitory Moments of Power which the Hand of God afforded me, at others uſing the Reſiſtance which the Influence of Poſſeſſion or Opinion enabled me to make, or the Caution of

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Oppoſition permitted; or endeavouring to temper its Violence by qualified Submiſſion, where the Means of Reſiſtance failed me; never poſſeſſing the Allowance of Authority, but always charged with Reſponſibility; I perſiſted in the Formation and Proſecution of every Meaſure, which the Emergency of the Service rendered neceſſary in my Judgment, and had the conſcious Triumph of ſeeing them all invariably terminate in their deſigned Objects: Nor did I reſign my Charge, until I had fulfilled every Duty which required my Continuation in it; and I reſigned it in a State of eſtabliſhed Peace and Security, with all the Sources of its Abundance unimpaired, and even improved, notwithſtanding the vaſt Drains which were made of its Treaſures, and the multiplied Diverſions of its Strength, in the Support of the dependant and remote Poſſeſſions of the Company, and in the Maintenance of their Wars, and of Wars in which the Company were involved by the Policy of Great Britain. I parted from the Scene of my public Life with the expreſſed Regrets of my Fellow Servants and Countrymen; which were followed by a like Declaration from all the Officers of the Army who had ſerved during my Adminiſtration; and on my Return to my own Country, I was received by the Court of Directors, my immediate Maſters, with their Thanks; and I gratefully remember the Chairman's emphatical Pauſe on the Epithet which was joined to them, their *Unanimous Thanks*, for my Services; with a Notification of thoſe which had been ſome Time before beſtowed on me by the Votes of the Proprietors, my honoured Employers, which were not the leſs acceptable for their Conſiſtency with the uniform Tenor of their Sentiments and Conduct reſpecting me through the whole Courſe of my Adminiſtration. If this Honourable Houſe is deſirous of knowing in what Eſtimation I ſtood with the Princes and Rulers of India, and with the Subjects of our own Dominion, the Opinions of both may be eaſily obtained, by Enquiry of the Witneſſes whom my Proſecutor has called to eſtabliſh his Charges againſt me: And I will anticipate their Evidence—It will ſtate, that my Political Conduct was invariably regulated by Truth, Juſtice, and good Faith; that all Perſuaſions of Men were impreſſed with a ſuperſtitious Belief that a fortunate Influence directed all my Actions to their deſtined Ends; and that my Departure was ſcarcely leſs regretted by the Inhabitants of the Provinces of my late Dependency, than it was by my own Countrymen. I believe this Honourable Houſe is in Poſſeſſion of One Teſtimony of the former, in the Letters which Mahdajee Sindia wrote to His Moſt Gracious Majeſty, and to the Company. Theſe were written many Months after my Departure, and contain much more of my Praiſe than his own Wants or Requiſitions, unleſs the former is inſerted as an Implication of his Deſire that others may be inſtructed to govern themſelves by my Example:—And who will queſtion ſuch an Authority?

" With ſuch Teſtimonies in my Favour, and with the internal Applauſe of my own Mind ſuperſeding all Evidence, what was my Surprize to find, on my Arrival in England, that my Character ſtill continued to be aſſailed with the bittereſt Calumnies and Invectives, and a formal Notice given before the Cloſe of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament to this Honourable Houſe, that I ſhould be arraigned as a Criminal before it on the Opening of the preſent?

" I am ſince told that no ſuch Intention exiſted; and that my own Intemperance, and the Zeal of my Friends, has forced my Accuſer to verify his own Declaration.

" I have no Right to credit ſuch an Aſſertion, nor will I believe, new and unpractiſed as I am in the Modes of Life in which I am now become a Participator (and I have learnt by it to know more Things than were dreamt of in my Philoſophy) that ſo daring an Impoſition could be either practiſed upon this high and dignified Aſſembly, or permitted by it. Though I might have thought myſelf entitled by my Services to a different Reception, and my Body and Mind, worn down by the Labours of Thirty-five Years, to an Interval of Repoſe; and though I might erroneouſly imagine that no Power upon Earth had a Right to impeach me for the Exerciſe of a Truſt which thoſe for whom I held it had repeatedly declared, and in the moſt authentic Terms, that I had diſcharged to their Benefit and entire Satisfaction; yet I was glad to ſee ſome ſubſtantial Ground on which I could build my Hopes of a ſpeedy Trial and definite Termination. There too my Expectation failed me. The Proſecution began, not as is the univerſal Practice of every Syſtem of Juriſprudence eſtabliſhed either in this or any other civilized Nation, by the Introduction of ſpecific Charges, and the Examination of Witneſſes to prove them: For the latter indeed there was little Need, ſince my Accuſer had long before aſſerted, that he was in the actual Poſſeſſion of Proofs, and of ſuch Proofs as were to fill the Breaſts of this Honourable Aſſembly with Horror. Why therefore aggravate them with new Proofs? But Witneſſes were ordered to attend, and Rheams of Official Documents demanded, produced, and printed; Additions were daily made to theſe during the Courſe of many Weeks; and the Eyes of the World were fixed upon me as a Man blackened by the Imputation of ſome unknown Guilt, which was the blacker for its Concealment. No Grounds were alledged for the Accumulation of ſuch a Maſs of Evidence againſt me; no ſpecific Objects to which it was to be applied; nor was it known to this Honourable Houſe, perhaps not even to that Member of the Houſe who had required theſe Materials, what the Charges were to be, which he was to eſtabliſh by them.

" At length I heard that a Day was fixed for the Production of the Charges; but here too I experienced a freſh Cauſe of Diſappointment and Mortification. Three Weeks were aſſigned for the Term of their Appearance; and when that Term expired, this Honourable Houſe knows (for I may not perhaps affirm what I have heard) whether even then any of the Charges were preſented, and whether, when they were preſented, they were Optionally given.

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« In all this long and painful Interval I myſelf, though the Object of the Enquiry, remained in total Inaction, a mere Spectator of the paſſing Scene; for I knew not, nor could I know, what Defence to prepare, not knowing what Charges were to require my Defence. And when they were produced, I was told that I could not be admitted to my Defence, becauſe, by the Rules of the Houſe, I could not know the Charges exhibited againſt me, nor that any had been exhibited; nor indeed were all exhibited at the ſame Time, but followed tardily, and the Three laſt (if indeed theſe are the laſt) not till laſt Wedneſday. But though it might be informal in me to know the Charges, the Public are certainly in Poſſeſſion of all but the Three laſt, for they have been printed and publicly ſold, and Purchaſers invited, by an Advertiſement made in all the public Papers, which ſtated them " Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors" againſt me by Name, and the Name of my Accuſer inſerted by a Conſtruction marking him not as the Preſenter of the Charge, but as the Publiſher of it. How much my Reputation muſt have ſuffered in the Opinion of all Mankind from this Publication; how ſeverely my Feelings muſt have been wounded by ſo unfair and iniquitous an Appeal to their Judgment, while the Charge itſelf, loaded as it was with Crimination againſt me, yet waited its ſlow Term of Maturity for the Examination of it before its allotted Judges, I leave to the Deciſion of every Member of this Honourable Houſe, who will bring the Queſtion home to his own Judgment and his own Paſſions, by ſuppoſing that Caſe to be his own which I have deſcribed as mine.

« Nor is this the only Injury of the Kind that I have ſuffered. Every Daily Paper has teemed with Reflections upon me; and Pamphlets, filled with the moſt ſcandalous and libellous Abuſe, have been written on various Subjects of the Charge, to influence the Prejudices of the Public againſt me; and it has been boaſted that they have produced the Effect.

« Preſſed by the Load of Slander thus heaped upon me, I reſolved to try the only Reſource which afforded me a Chance of Redreſs; and in Oppoſition to many and weighty Diſcouragements, I threw myſelf upon the Juſtice of this Honourable Houſe, and petitioned to be allowed to make my Defence in Perſon, and I ſucceeded. Whether I owe this Indulgence to your Goodneſs, or your Juſtice, I accept it with equal Gratitude.

« Of the Diſcouragements to which I allude, I ſhall mention but Two Points; and theſe it is incumbent on me to mention, becauſe they relate to Effects which the Juſtice of this Honourable Houſe may, and I truſt will, avert. The Firſt is an Objection to my being at all Perſonally committed in my Defence, ſince in ſo wide a Field of Diſcuſſion it would be impoſſible not to admit ſome Things of which an Advantage might be taken to turn them into Evidence againſt myſelf: Whereas another might as well uſe as I could, or better, the ſame Materials of my Defence, without involving me in the ſame Conſequences. But I am ſure that this Honourable Houſe will yield me its Protection againſt the Cavils of unwarranted Inference; and if the *Truth* can tend to convict me, I am content to be *myſelf* the Channel to convey it.

« The other Objection lay in my own Breaſt. It was not till Monday laſt that I formed the Reſolution; and I knew not then whether I might not in Conſequence be laid under the Obligation of preparing and completing in Five Days, and in Effect ſo it has proved, the Refutation of Charges which it has been the Labour of my Accuſer, armed with all the Powers of Parliament, and at One Time greater, to compile during as many Years of almoſt undiſturbed Leiſure. But I knew myſelf equal to the Undertaking; and I now only revert to my Difficulties, that the Conſideration of them may beſpeak the candid Allowance of this Honourable Houſe for any Inaccuracies, or for any Thing defective which may appear in my Defence; but I claim no other Indulgence on this Account.

« It might perhaps be expected, that I ſhould object to the Conſtruction of the Articles of which the Charge is compoſed; for, in Truth, they are not Charges, but Hiſtories and Comments. But they are yet more; they are made up of mutilated Quotations; of Facts which have no mutual Relation, but are forced by falſe Arrangement into Connection; of Principles of pernicious Policy and falſe Morality; Aſſertions of Guilt without Proof, or the Attempt to prove them; Interpretations of ſecret Motives and Deſigns which paſſed within my own Breaſt, and which none but myſelf could know; Actions of others imputed to me, in which I had no Concern, or which paſſed in Oppoſition to me; and Epithets and Invectives affixed to Acts aſcribed to me, equally to thoſe which in the Conſtruction are bad, as to thoſe which are indifferent, or even meritorious.

« Theſe are Artifices by which the moſt wary Judgment might be ſurprized, that had nothing before it to repel their Effects, but which on the Touch of Truth diſappear, and leave, not merely the Conviction of their own Fallacy, but the ſtrong internal Preſumption that the Charges themſelves were formed under the Conviction of their Want of Foundation; and as far as my Feelings as a Man will allow me to conſider them in that Tendency only, I am glad that they wear the Form which they do wear.

« With reſpect to the general Subject of the Charge, I muſt beg Leave to obſerve to this Honourable Houſe, that it has been compoſed from a laboured Scrutiny of my whole Official Life, during a moſt important and weighty Adminiſtration of Thirteen Years, comprehending perhaps a greater Variety of intereſting Events than have fallen to the Lot of any Man now living: Events not brought to the public View by their Notoriety alone, but all, the Subjects of minute Record;—Meaſures propoſed, with all their Motives and Objects diſtinctly laid down in Writing, with their Effects diſplayed

played by Letters and Official Reports through every Proceſs of their Operation;—oppoſed by every Objection, and thoſe too written, that the Judgment or Ingenuity of my Colleagues in Office, among whom I had always Opponents, could deviſe;—at Times weakened, at others ſuſpended, and again reſumed with their Effect enfeebled; but my own Reſponſibility ſtill attending their Iſſue. Yet all my Actions have undergone, and even during the actual Progreſs of them, they underwent, ſuch a Severity of Inveſtigation, as could ſuit only a Mind poſſeſſing in itſelf an abſolute Exemption from Error. In the preſent Occaſion, I am put to a harder Teſt; for not my Actions alone, but my Words, and even my imputed Thoughts, as at the final Day of Judgment, are wreſted into Accuſation againſt me. And from whom is this State of Perfection exacted? From a Man who was ſeparated, while yet but a School Boy, from his native Country, and from every Advantage of that Inſtruction which might have better qualified him for the high Offices, and arduous Situations, which it became his Lot to fill; and left to form his Rule of Conduct on his own Practice, and the Light of ſuch an Underſtanding as it had pleaſed God to beſtow on him.

"I paſs over the Firſt Years of my Life.—Theſe no otherwiſe relate to the preſent Purpoſe, than as they recommended me ſucceſſively to the Succeſſion of the Government of Fort St. George, to the Government of Fort William, and virtually to all the Appointments which have ſince followed.

"I received the Government of Bengal with Incumbrances, which might have intimidated a firmer Spirit than mine; and I felt the perilous Situation in which it placed me.

"I found myſelf the titular Head of a numerous, and not always accordant, Council, appointed to manage the Affairs of a great State, which yet wore the Marks of recent Acquiſition; but had neither a determinate Form nor Syſtem, nor any Orders or Inſtructions which could enable them to give it either.

"I attempted, and with the Aids of my Colleagues, where I was allowed them, I gave it both Form and Syſtem; for every Office into which it was diſtributed, to the Time of my Departure, received its Inſtitution during the Period of my Adminiſtration, and all the Tranſactions of it have, except the Firſt Two Years of the General Government, in ſome Part of their Progreſs, received their Direction from my Guidance.—Yet in every Step I had Difficulties to ſurmount, which are unknown to the Rulers and Miniſters of other Governments. Beſides the Conciliation of diſcordant Opinions, and their more frequently confirmed Oppoſition, I had my Conduct circumſcribed by Orders which would apply to few of the Caſes which occurred, and thoſe Orders uncertain in the Conſtruction.

"I beg Leave to extend this Reflection. During the long Exerciſe of a Charge ſo conſtituted, and with ſuch Exigencies attending it, how, may I aſk, was it poſſible to keep Affairs in one even Line, or to avoid Contradictions both in Meaſures and Expreſſions? At ſome Times Affairs were forced into a Direction diametrically oppoſite to my Views, by the Power of a Majority; ſometimes they received their Bias from my being obliged to ſubmit to the Opinions of thoſe on whom I depended for Support: And whenever the Courſe of Buſineſs was thus diverted from the ſtrait Line, it was often difficult to bring it back, without ſome Degree of Irregularity, of Violence, or of general Inconſiſtency.

"Where I ſuffered them to proceed in that devious Line, I am charged with purſuing Meaſures which my own Opinions have condemned; where I attempted to reſtore them to their proper Channel, I am accuſed of Innovations. Many Meaſures, which it would be now difficult to explain from written Documents, were founded on Circumſtances of ſuch Notoriety, that no one could doubt their Propriety at the Time, and no one ever thought it neceſſary to record the Reaſons, or to eſtabliſh the Proofs of Facts and Events, which were then certain, and univerſally admitted.

"The Miniſter of this Empire (if I may compare great Things with ſmall) had, in the various Emergencies of his Adminiſtration, the learned Judges of the Land, General Officers of the firſt Authority and Experience, and the Merchants of the greateſt Commercial City in the World, to whom he might apply, and whoſe Opinions he might command, on every doubtful Queſtion, whether of Law, Military Operation, Trade, or Finance.—He could not err.

"I poſſeſſed no ſuch Profeſſional Aids, but had only my own Mind for my Reſources, and Minds as little inſtructed as my own to aſſiſt me, and to be the Inſtruments of my Meaſures.

"That this Deſcription of my Situation may not be imputed to me as the Invention of Difficulties made up for the Occaſion, I beg Leave to appeal to the following Extract of a Letter which I wrote to the Court of Directors ſo early as the 11th November 1773, which was before I knew of the Formation of the new Syſtem for the Government of India.

Paragraph 4. "May I be permitted, in all Deference and Submiſſion to your Commands, to "offer it as my Opinion, that whatever may have been the Conduct of Individuals, or even of "the collective Members of your former Adminiſtrations, the Blame is not ſo much imputable "to them, as to the Want of a Principle of Government adequate to its Subſtance, and a "coercive Power to enforce it. The Extent of Bengal, and its poſſible Reſources, are equal to "thoſe of moſt States in Europe. Its Difficulties are greater than thoſe of any; becauſe it wants "both an eſtabliſhed Form and Powers of Government; deriving its actual Support from the "unremitted Labour and Perſonal Exertion of Individuals in Power, inſtead of the vital Influence "which flows through the Channels of a regular Conſtitution, and imperceptibly animates

"every

" every Part of it. Our Conſtitution is no where to be traced, but in ancient Charters, which " were framed for the Juriſdiction of your Trading Settlements, the Sales of your Exports, and " the Proviſion of your Annual Inveſtment. I need not obſerve how incompetent theſe muſt " prove for the Government of a great Kingdom, and for the Preſervation of its Riches from " private Violence and Embezzlement."

" I will content myſelf with this Quotation in this Place; though I could wiſh that the whole Letter were attentively peruſed, as it is ſtrongly expreſſive of the Difficulties and Embarraſſments of my late Situation in India. To what I have ſaid let me add, that in a newly eſtabliſhed Government many Occaſions will conſtantly occur, which can be regulated by no Precedent; and even the Uncertainty of the Conſtitution, and the unknown Limits of the Authority belonging to its various Branches, will often provoke Reſiſtance, and produce Events, which never could happen under a Government long eſtabliſhed, and with its Powers clearly defined, and univerſally underſtood.

" Under ſuch Circumſtances I humbly apprehend, that ſince it is not, as I have ſaid, the Lot of human Nature to be exempt from Error, ſome notorious Calamity, affecting the Intereſts of which I had Charge, or ſome well-aſcertained Ground of Corruption, or other moral Deviation from my Duty, the Loſs of National Reputation, or of ſubſtantial Property, ought to have appeared, before I became the Subject of a Parliamentary Impeachment. But what Loſſes has the Nation ſuſtained through my Miſmanagement? Have Provinces been diſmembered from it? Have its Armies been defeated in Operations of my Formation? or War or Famine waſted the Countries of my Juriſdiction?—No: The Reverſe has been the Attendant of my Fortune in every Stage of it; and ſo little Ground have I afforded, from the Notoriety of my Character, for ſuch an Inquiſition into it, that I dare affirm that I ſtand, even at this Hour (notwithſtanding the Prejudices excited againſt me) as high in the Eſtimation of the World, I mean not to confine the Aſſertion to this Kingdom alone, as any Man of my own Rank and Pretenſions in it.

" Yet I mean not to avail myſelf of this Plea. I aſſert my general Claim to the Approbation of this Honourable Houſe, and of my Country, for my Services; but I neither deſire, nor will admit, of their being placed in Balance againſt my Faults, if I have Faults to ſtand in Oppoſition to them.

" I entreat the Houſe, that each Article of the Charge may be diſtinctly tried, and that they will be pleaſed to give their Sentence upon each.

" *Anſwer to the Third Charge.* Part Iſt.

" B E N A R E S.

" IT has been the Faſhion to give Hiſtories of Benares; but as far as I have had Occaſion to peruſe them in Reports of the Select Committee, or in anonymous Pamphlets, they are, for the greater Part, fanciful and unſupported. I ſhall here detail as much as I am warranted by certain Knowledge of its former and preſent Situation, adopting, where I poſſibly can, the very Words of the Third Charge againſt me.

" The Territory of Benares is a fruitful, and has been " *(and is at this Day)*" an orderly, well-" cultivated, and improved Province. Its Capital City may rather be conſidered as the Seat of the " Hindû Religion than as the Capital of a Province." I am not certain of the Period at which it was annexed to the Mogul Empire; but it is clear, by the *Ayeenee Acberee*, that it was a Part of the Subah of Allahabad in Acber's Time.—Catrou (Page 119) mentions a Raja *Carn* to have been ſubdued by Acber, whom I conceive to have been Raja of Benares. However, the ſame Ayeenee Acberee aſſerts, that Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavee (the firſt Mahommedan Invader of India) came to Benares in the 410th Year of the Hejirah, above 750 Years ſince. After Acber, his Son Jehân Gueer was undoubtedly Maſter of it; and Daia Shekuh, the eldeſt Son of Shâh Jehân, Son and Succeſſor of Jehân Gueer, reſided a conſiderable Time at Benares in a Station of Authority, as we learn from his own Preface to a Book he compiled during his Reſidence there. Aurengzeeb, his youngeſt Brother, and Succeſſor to the Empire after Shâh Jehân, has effectually diſplayed to Poſterity the Power and Sovereignty which *he* exerciſed in Benares, with a ſavage Bigotry characteriſtic of his Temper and Policy, by a magnificent Moſque which he erected on the Site (and even admitted into his Plan a conſiderable Part of the Edifice) of an ancient and moſt ſuperb Hindû Temple. This Moſque continues perfect to this Day, and with its neighbouring Minarets (which *he* alſo erected) overlooks the whole City. If Benares, in Acber's Time, was a Diſtrict of the Subah of Allahabad, it continued annexed to the ſame Province in the Time of Aurengzeeb, as we learn from Catrou (Page 362): it therefore never was conſidered a Capital of any conſiderable Kingdom, nor yet as a Province annexed to the *Subah of Oude*. Benares is a naked defenceleſs City, ſituated ſo near to the almoſt-impregnable Fortreſs of Chunar, that the Poſſeſſor of the *one* may at all Times be Maſter of the other; and this accounts for its having been annexed to the Subah of Oude, ſome Time ſince the Invaſion of Nadir Shah. Rajah Bulwant Sing, who reſided at Benares with ſome Degree of Authority (but who never had Permiſſion to coin Money, nor even the Adminiſtration of criminal Juſtice in the City itſelf) when the Incurſions of the Shahzàdah, now the King Shah Allum, firſt drew the Attention of the Engliſh to that Quarter; and, far from being a

great Lord (or *any* Lord) of the Empire, he was a mere Dependant on the Nabob of Oude, *Shujah ud Dowlah*. He was originally Zemindar of a ſmall Pergunneh, called *Gungapoor* (by *Purchaſe*, not by *Inheritance*, for his Father, Munſeram, was *not* a Zemindar) yielding a Revenue of about £.500 a Year. He had been patronized and employed by Sefdar Jung, the Father of Shujah ud Dowlah, and was gradually promoted to be *Aumil* or Collector of Benares and Gazipoor. He continued in that Capacity to the Day of his Death, and *never was Zemindar of either Diſtrict*. In the Year 1764, when Shujah ud Dowlah's Affairs were on the Decline, Bulwant Sing made Overtures to the Nabob of Bengal, Meer Jaffier, to join his Army with ſuch Troops as he could muſter. General Carnac, who commanded our Army at that Time, warned the Governor and Council of Calcutta of the Rajah's Perfidy; and ſo well were thoſe Gentlemen convinced of the Truth of thoſe Allegations, that on the Sixth of November of the ſame Year, they wrote thus to Major Munro: "With reſpect to Bulwant Sing, *the double* "*Part he acted in the Beginning of the War* ſufficiently warns us to put no Confidence in him; and "therefore, if he has not already been permitted to join you, or you have entered into no Engage-"ments with him, *we would have him diſpoſſeſſed of his Country, and his Perſon, if poſſible, ſecured.*" ——My Predeceſſors, it may be here obſerved, both in *Language* and *Conduct*, equalled at leaſt, or rather exceeded, every Thing of which I am now accuſed. I have ſaid that Bulwant Sing *never* was *Zemindar* of Benares or Glazipoor (a); in Proof of this, I appeal to Bulwant Sing's own Propoſals to Major Munro, dated the 21ſt November 1764: "If you, Gentlemen, chuſe to poſſeſs your-"ſelves of Shujah ud Dowlah's Country, I will agree to hold the Sircars of Benares, Gauzipoor, "Joinpoor, Bidigur, &c. on the ſame Terms as I hold them from Shujah ud Dowlah." Of *whoſe* Country were the Engliſh ſuppoſed to intend a Seizure?—*Of Shujah ud Dowlah's. Who* held the Four Sircars here mentioned?—*Bulwant Sing*. Of *whom* did he hold them?—*Of Shujah ud Dowlah*. By what Denomination are they deſcribed?—*As Parts of Shujah ud Dowlah's Country*. Every Word of the Propoſal proves that Shujah ud Dowlah was *Sovereign of thoſe Sircars*, and that a Seizure of Shujah ud Dowlah's Country neceſſarily include (b) the Seizure of Benares, Gauzipoor, Joinpoor, Bidjigur, &c. Had Bulwant Sing poſſeſſed a ſeparate Territory, the Conqueſt of *Shujah ud Dowlah's Country* would not have been tantamount to *a Seizure of Bulwant Sing's*. Had *he* been *Prince* or *Zemindar* of thoſe Provinces, he would naturally and of courſe have named them, in his Propoſals, "*my* Sircars," or "*my* Zemindary;" and his *Arzee*, or Propoſal, muſt, according to the univerſal Cuſtom of the Country, have been ſigned by him "Zemindar of the Mahàls of "Benares, &c. &c." Through that whole War, which terminated in the entire Defeat of Shujah ud Dowlah, Bulwant Sing's Conduct was alternately treacherous to his Maſter and to us. His Firſt Junction with us is acknowledged by the Court of Directors, in the Letter of the 26th of May 1768, to have been "*of ſignal Service* to us," and I do not deny it; but the whole Correſpondence of the Bengal Government in the Years 1764 and 1765, proves that he *never did us any other Service*: That he was ſuſpected, a faithleſs and a dangerous Ally; and that but for the Treaty made with him by the Commander of our Army, the Governor and Council would have "*ſeized his* "*Perſon, and transferred his Diſtricts to another.*" (See 2d Report of the Select Committee, Pages 4 and 5, &c.) Bulwant Sing dying in the Year 1770, his Son Cheyt Sing ſucceeded to his Rights, as *Zemindar of Gungapoor*. The Appointment of Farmer or Collector of Benares and Gauzipoor reverted of Courſe to the Vizier his Sovereign: I muſt obſerve, that in the Tranſlations of the Perſian Papers, both of thoſe and the preceding Times, great Confuſion occurs, in the Application of peculiar and definite Terms, with a looſe and unguarded Signification; for in Twenty different Documents at leaſt, quoted in the Second Report of the Select Committee, Bulwant Sing's Farm or *Collection*, is ſtyled his "*Zemindarry*." I need go no farther than the 5th Article of the Treaty of Illiabad: (See 2d Report, 10th Page): "His Highneſs Shujah ud Dowlah engages in the "moſt ſolemn Manner to continue Bulwant Sing in the *Zemindaries* of Benares, Gauzipoor, &c. &c.;" and in the 7th Article of the ſame Treaty, it is reſolved "*to reſtore to his Highneſs the Country of Be-*"*nares*, and the other Diſtricts now *rented* by Bulwant Sing:" *Both* of theſe Articles *cannot* be admitted in their true and literal Senſe. If the *Zemindary* belonged to Bulwant Sing, he could not be ſaid to *rent* it: he paid Tribute only. If the Country did not *belong* to Shujah ud Dowlah, it could not be *reſtored* to him. In ſhort, the Word 'Zemindary' is uſed by our Tranſlators in a lax Senſe, to ſignify *Diſtrict* or *Province*: This is evident from the Letter of the Bengal Government to the Court of Directors of 11th September 1770 (ſee 2d Report, 10th Page): "In our former Letter, Gentle-"men, we expreſſed our Sentiments of the Conſequence it was to your Affairs, that the *Succeſſion* to "the Zemindary of Benares ſhould *continue in the Family*; *but that it was a delicate Point to accom-*"*pliſh with the Vizier.*"—Why was this a *delicate Point?* The Third Paragraph of Mr. Burke's Third Charge, *peremptorily* ſtates, that on the Death of Bulwant Sing "his Son Cheyt Sing *ſuc-*"*ceeded* to his Rights and Pretenſions." The *Delicacy* of the Point conſiſted preciſely in the *Want of Right*, for had Bulwant Sing been real and hereditary Zemindar, the Succeſſion would have gone to his Son *of courſe*, there being in India no ſuch Cuſtom as Diſinheritance: *This Circumſtance* proves alſo, that Bulwant Sing was *not* the *Zemindar*; for in that Caſe it muſt have devolved to *him* by Inheritance: Inſtead of which, he writes to Rajah Shitabroy (ſee 2d Report, Page 5): "If it is "the Intention of the Engliſh Gentlemen to take Poſſeſſion of Shujah ud Dowlah's Dominions,

(a) Sic in Orig. (b) Sic in Orig.

"I will

" I will agree to hold Benares and Gauzipoor, &c. *which have long been under my Jurisdiction*, on the " same Terms from the Company as I did from Shujah ud Dowlah." *Here* was precisely the Place to have pleaded his *Right of Possession*, and his *Title by Inheritance:* Instead of which, he only says, those Places had *long* been under his Jurisdiction, which (if *any* Meaning be annexed to the Words) must imply that they were not *always so*. I must quote another Part of this Bengal Letter of 10th September 1770 (2d Report, Page 11): " A jealous, suspicious Disposition of the old Rajah, " assisted by the Distrust of their own Children, inherent in the Minds of the People of this Country, " may *possibly* have been the Reason why the Son was not included in the Treaty of 1765; *for had* " *he expressed a Wish to secure the Zemindary in his own Family*, a Doubt can scarcely be formed, " &c.—But suspicious, *probably*, of the Consequences that *his Son* " *should think he had a Right to* " *the Succession*, his whole Aim seemed to center in Self-security, without the least Attention to the " Good of his Posterity."—I answer, every Word of this, if it be really applicable to Bulwant Sing's State of Mind, proves beyond a Doubt, that *he was not the Zemindar*; for, *as Zemindar*, his Son *must* have succeeded, in the Language of the Charge itself; and it was a Matter perfectly indifferent to the State of the Case, whether Bulwant Sing expressed or did not express his Wishes on that Head: But if he really were " *suspicious of the Consequences that his Son should* THINK *he had a* RIGHT *to* " *the Succession*," it is demonstrable that he knew the Son to have *no Right*; for had he a Right, Bulwant Sing could neither suppress a Knowledge of it from his Son, nor controvert its Effects. It would have been a clear, entailed, hereditary Estate, of which it was mutually indifferent to the Father and to the Son what each might separately *think*.—When Cheyt Sing, by the Influence of the Company, was confirmed in the Place which his Father had held as Farmer or Collector for the Vizier, he paid, as a Gift or Nuzzeranah, a Sum amounting to nearly 200,000 Pounds, and increased his Rent near 30,000 Pounds per Annum; " by which" (Mr. Burke says) " he became " a *Purchaser*, for valuable Considerations of his Right and Inheritance in the Zemindary aforesaid." I do not profess to understand *how* a Man can be said to *purchase* of another that which the other *has not to sell*. To the *Rights*, the Charge expressly declares Cheyt Sing to have *succeeded* by the Death of his Father: The Inheritance itself is that very Right; so that Cheyt Sing purchased what he had already; and the actual Functions of his Office, the Collection of the Rents, and the Government of the Districts, &c. were obligingly thrown into the Account. But why did the Vizier exact £. 200,000 on the Death of Bulwant Sing?—Assuredly because, as Sovereign of the whole Country, he possessed and exercised the Right of *levying Fines*, and that to an arbitrary Amount, as appears by the 2d Report of the Select Committee. I know not how we can deny the Existence of many *despotic Principles* in the Mogul System of Government; but wherever *those* exist the *Powers* of the Prince will be every Thing, and the *Rights* of the Subject nothing. Shujah ud Dowlah *fined* Cheyt Sing £. 200,000, and £. 30,000 per Annum; which, at only Ten Years Purchase, is £. 300,000; in all, £ 500,000 for the mere Investiture of what in the Charge is stated to be his *Right of Inheritance*. I, who was vested by my Station with exactly the same Powers as were exercised by Shujah ud Dowlah, never thought of a *greater Fine* as a Punishment for the most flagrant Offences. Cheyt Sing *succeeded of course to his Father's Treasures* (See Lieut. Colonel Harper's Evidence, Appendix to 2d Report), not by any Testamentary Form, not by any Permission of the Vizier, not by any Intermediation of his Friends, but by *Right of Inheritance. Are there Two or more Species of Rights of Inheritance?* All that the Father could call his own came to the Son; what he held of his Sovereign reverted to its Owner. The Dignity, the Power, the Profit consequent on the Government, were Matters which the Vizier had a Right to sell, and which Cheyt Sing might have a Preference in purchasing, if the Two Parties could settle their Terms. Bulwant Sing had saved great Sums of Money out of his Government, by Colonel Harper's Evidence; it was therefore an Object of Cheyt Sing to succeed to his Father's Lease, even on Terms somewhat less advantageous. The Government, or Lease (or by whatever other Title of Possession Bulwant Sing had exercised Authority in Benares) was, at the Father's Death, procured for the Son; and as the General Letter from Bengal, dated 31st October 1770 (See 2d Report, Page 11th) expressly states, Cheyt Sing was " considered by the Vizier as holding that Country *on the same Terms* as his Father." Bulwant Sing, I have proved above, held only *in Capite*; the Son therefore, at this Time, held only *in Capite* also: And Colonel Harper, who acknowledges that Bulwant Sing had but *a Life Interest* in the Lands, must be mistaken, where, in quoting from Memory, he gives Evidence, that " the Sunnud to Cheyt Sing was granted *to him and his Heirs*." It is allowed on all Sides, that the *Letter of the Treaty* of Allahabad *did not extend to Bulwant Sing's Heirs* (see 2d Report, Page 12th). The Vizier therefore was perfectly justifiable in refusing to acknowledge it farther; and in my Deputation to Benares, in 1773, I procured a new Treaty, for the express Purpose of settling this Point to Cheyt Sing's Satisfaction. It may be remarked, that all the governing Powers of Hindostan are extremely averse to any Treaties or Agreements which are declared to be *binding on Posterity*; and I have had frequent Difficulties in many Negociations with the native Princes on this Head; they have always pleaded " that it was against the Custom " of their Country."—It must be admitted, that the Council in 1773 conceived *some* Doubts to exist *somewhere* respecting the Validity or the Extent of the First Stipulations in Behalf of Cheyt Sing, or they would not have empowered me to *renew* them. And I am warranted in having declared in my Narrative, " that Cheyt Sing obtained from our Influence, *exerted by* myself, the " First legal Title that *his Family* ever possessed of *Property in the Land*, of which he, till then,

" was only the *Aumil*, and of which he became the acknowledged *Zemindar*, by a Sunnud granted " to him by the Nabob Sujah Dowlah, *at my Inſtance*, in the Month of September 1773." The Father was no more than *Aumil*, as I have amply proved; on his Deceaſe the Son preciſely ſucceeded to his Rights and Pretenſions, as the Charge ſtates—*he* therefore became *Aumil*; and if he ever was Zemindar, it could only be derived from the Sunnud of 1773. In 1774 the Majority of the new Council General adopted, in the Caſe of Shujah ud Dowlah's Son, the Syſtem formerly ſupported by Shujah ud Dowlah in the Caſe of the Son of Bulwant Sing. *They decided* that the Treaty made with the *Father* did *not* bind them with reſpect to the *Son*. In *both* Caſes my Opinion had been uniform and conſiſtent. In 1770 I thought that the Agreement made between Shujah ud Dowlah and Bulwant Sing was virtually in Force, though one of the contracting Parties were dead, and that Cheyt Sing ſtood preciſely in the Place of his Father. In 1774, I thought that the Treaty we had entered into with Shujah ud Dowla continued to bind the Company; and that his Son, Aſoph ud Dowlah, had in every Reſpect ſucceeded to his Father's Engagements, as well as his Dominions. In both Caſes my Judgment has been unfortunate; the *latter*, however, procured the Company a large Addition of Territory and Revenue, on the Appropriation and Management of which, as the Majority of the Council decided *againſt my Opinion*, their Sentiments alone, and *not mine*, are to be conſidered in whatever relates to the Tranſaction. I muſt therefore *except* to the Uſe made by Mr. Burke, and to *any* Uſe whatever being made, of any Minutes delivered in Council *by me* on that Occaſion, as thoſe Minutes were no Part of the Cauſe or Motive on which the Majority acted; and therefore, as far as any Good or Evil aroſe out of the Act itſelf, I am totally unconnected with it. General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis, in their Minute of 7th December 1775 (ſee 2d Report, 23d Page), fully acquit *me*; " the Meaſure" (they ſay) " is ſtrictly and excluſively *ours*. The original Plan was " *oppoſed in every Step by the Governor General* and Mr. Barwell." Upon the ſame Principle I ſolemnly diſclaim all Connection with, and even all Knowledge of, any " improper and fraudulent " Tranſactions with regard to the Symbols of Inveſtiture which ought to have been given to the " Rajah; and the Form of the Deeds by which the ſaid Zemindarry ought to have been granted," as ſtated in the 13th Article of the Charge. I am not reſponſible for the Acts of the Majority, nor for the Acts of Mr. Fowke *their* Reſident at Benares, who acted wholly under their Authority, and over whom I had not the Shadow of an Influence; I was at that Time but a Spectator of what was doing, a mere Cypher at the Board.

" If there were any Miſtakes in the Modes of Inveſtiture, or the Forms of the Deeds, they were without my Concurrence; and as I cannot even now conceive what Purpoſe ſo pitiful an Artifice could be ſuppoſed to anſwer, I will poſitively aſſert they could not be *fraudulent*. Mr. Francis, who is the ſurviving Member of that Majority, " *to which the Meaſure ſtrictly and excluſively belonged*," is alone amenable for every Part of it, for its *Informalities*, as well as for its Merits; for any " *com-* " *plicated, artificial, and fraudulent Management*," that might take Place in the Courſe of its Execution, as well (a) for the Grounds on which it was propoſed: For my own Part (after diſclaiming all Pretenſions to any particular and excluſive Duty on *me* to attend to the due Inſertion of all Tranſactions on the Company's Records, which Duty I conceive to be that of the *Secretary*, under the Direction of thoſe who had the Authority; and alſo after profeſſing moſt religiouſly that I did never, either directly or indirectly, procure the Omiſſion of a Syllable of any public Document whatever, which ought to have been tranſmitted to the Court of Directors) I do moſt ſolemnly affirm and declare, that *I did not*, at the Time ſpecified, meditate to make *any evil Uſe whatever* of the Deeds which are ſtated to have been withholden from the Company;—that I did *not* (until the very Day when I firſt read it in the Charge) know that ſuch Deeds had been withholden, and that I ſhould at all Times have loathed and ſpurned at the mere Idea of grounding any Meaſure of mine on ſo ſhallow and baſe a Manœuvre; I may be allowed to add, that while the Counterparts of the Deeds exiſted, all Concealment on our Side was equally ridiculous and ineffectual; it is an invariable Form, that the Cabooliet, on (b) Agreement with the Zemindar, is always Word for Word the ſame as the Potta or Leaſe. After all, I have been combating with a Shadow, for what were theſe Deeds which were ſuppreſſed? The only Deed or Inſtrument of Cheyt Sing's Inveſtiture was the *Sunnud* or Charter, and the Potta or Leaſe, which are expreſſed in the Charge to have been regularly made out, and tranſmitted; I know of no other. *No Sunnuds* were ever ſent to the Court of Directors, nor any Papers in the original Language.

" P A R T IId.

" I MEAN to *prove fully*, in its proper Place, that I never gave Permiſſion to any Agent to reſign for me the Office of Governor General, I can here only *aſſert* it; but when General Clavering attempted to aſſume the Chair which I had *not* vacated, I was warranted in ſupporting my Authority by every Means in my Power: I was warranted in ſtyling him " *my Opponent*," and warranted in treating every miſplaced Mark of Homage to *him* as a Perſonal Diſreſpect to myſelf:—When, therefore, I affirmed that Cheyt Sing had deputed an Agent, with an expreſs Commiſſion to compliment General Clavering on his Acceſſion to the Government, I affirmed a Fact certainly criminal and offenſive to the

(a) Sic in Orig. (b) Sic in Orig.

Company's

Company's Government, inaſmuch as it was an officious and premature Interference on the Part of the Rajah,—pregnant in itſelf with very great Diſadvantages to the due and orderly Adminiſtration of Affairs, and deeply injurious, by the Example it held out to others, for taking Part in the Diſſenſions which at that Time harraſſed our Councils. In Cheyt Sing's Caſe it was particularly obnoxious, becauſe all Correſpondence with *him* (as with other native Powers) was by the Company's Orders conducted through the Medium of the Governor General; the Rajah, therefore, had no Right, no Pretext, for paying ſuch a Compliment to General Clavering, until his Acceſſion to the Chair had been notified *in Form*; nor can it be urged, in the preſent Inſtance, that ſuch Notification was duly made; for, granting (as I believe I may) that General Clavering had iſſued, in his aſſumed Character of Governor General, Information to that Purport, Cheyt Sing had a Vakeel in Calcutta, whoſe expreſs Buſineſs it was to ſet his Maſter right, and for that Purpoſe he might have had, *and had*, at all Times free Acceſs to my Houſe and Apartment; and *I alſo* cauſed immediate Official Diſpatches to be ſent off to the different Country Powers to aſſure them of my Continuance in Adminiſtration. I urged this Act of the Rajah *at the Time it took Place*, and *I now urge* it, as a Proof of the Readineſs which he ſhewed to foment, or even to take Part in any Diviſions of our Government; it always appeared to me indecent with reſpect to *my* Office, unjuſtifiable with reſpect to *his* Situation, and a Proof of his rooted Diſaffection to the Engliſh Adminiſtration. Whether or not *I Perſonally* forgave him, is of no Conſequence: I never ſought to puniſh him but on *public Grounds*. And had he faithfully diſcharged his Duty to the Company, he would never have heard a Syllable of my Reſentment. Implacability to my Inferiors is no Part of my Character. I am accuſed "That having obtained, in my Caſting Vote, a Majority in Council on the Death "of Sir John Clavering and Mr. Monſon, I did ſuddenly, and without any previous general "Communication with the Members of the Board, by a Minute of Conſultation of the 9th of "July 1778, make an extraordinary Demand, namely, that the Rajah of Benares ſhould conſent "to the Eſtabliſhment of Three regular Battalions of Sepoys, to be raiſed and maintained at his "own Expence." I anſwer, that on the 6th of July *at Night* a Packet was received from Mr. Baldwin at Cairo, with an Account (deemed fully authentic by the whole Council) that War had been actually declared and commenced between Great Britain and France. It was my Duty to propoſe Meaſures in Conſequence of this Intelligence, *without Loſs of Time*. Accordingly, on the 9th of July, after an Interval of only Two Days, I gave in at the Council Board a Plan of *General Increaſe* for our Military and Marine Eſtabliſhments, to meet the Exigencies of the Moment. Every Member of our Government felt the Neceſſity of the Meaſure, and we were for Once unanimous. My Propoſitions, which embraced every Part of the Company's Dependencies on that Side of India, could not, without glaring and very ſuſpicious Partiality, have omitted the Territories of Cheyt Sing. I allotted what I thought (and *ſtill think*) a very moderate Portion of the newly-incurred Burthen of the War to him: Had my Colleagues been of a different Opinion, they might have propoſed a Modification, or a total Exemption. They did neither. While they admitted the Neceſſity of the actual Demand, they did *not* object to the Sum: And the *Deciſion of future Right* (on which there appeared ſome Shadow of Heſitation) *was*, by General Conſent, *referred to our Superiors* (ſee 2d Report, 26th Page). On this Right our Superiors *did never decide* while Cheyt Sing continued at Benares, though our Minutes on the Subject arrived in London the 12th of April 1779.—*Their Silence had all the Effect of Acquieſcence*. The Rajah is ſaid to have aſſerted, that I had promiſed this Exaction ſhould continue *but for One Year, and ſhould not be drawn into Precedent*.—I now moſt ſolemnly declare, *that I never made any ſuch Promiſe*; and that I had effectually precluded myſelf from making it, the Minutes themſelves will teſtify: for in our Firſt Debate on the Subject, I agreed to add to my original Motion for raiſing the Troops the following Words, "and *to be diſbanded at the End of the War*," (ſee 2d Report, 26th Page). After this I muſt have affected a Spirit of Prophecy, to pretend that the Demand ſhould exiſt *only for One Year*. The War continued in 1779, and the Demand was accordingly renewed. It met with Prevarication, Excuſe, and Procraſtination on the Part of the Rajah. On the Third Year his Delays grew ſtill more perplexing, and indicated the ſtrongeſt Signs of determined Diſobedience. See all the Bengal Conſultations of that Period, as exhibited in the 2d Report of the Select Committee. By this Time I conſidered myſelf as *acting on the ſureſt Grounds*. The Letters from our Superiors, in Anſwer to thoſe of the Two preceding Years from us, contained no One Sentence which could be deemed a Diſapproval of our Tranſactions with the Rajah of Benares. As the Subject had been fully and repeatedly before them, it was impoſſible to ſuppoſe they had overlooked it. *With my Hands thus ſtrengthened by the implied Approbation of my Employers*, as the Exigencies of the War grew daily more preſſing, I moved in Council, "That Cheyt Sing might be required to furniſh ſuch Cavalry as he could "ſpare, with an expreſs Declaration to him, that they ſhould be returned at the Cloſe of the War:" and this was done by the Advice and Recommendation of Sir Eyre Coote. The Rajah certainly maintained a conſiderable Body of Cavalry. *He admitted Thirteen* hundred, and I know they were many more. In the War with the Rohillas he furniſhed Five hundred to his then Sovereign, Shujah Ud Dowlah (ſee Supplement to 2d Report, 12th Page), and General Clavering would have recommended to him to keep up *Two Thouſand*: *This* was the Number I demanded; but on his repeated Repreſentations, I gradually lowered my Requiſition to *One thouſand*. He acknowledged to have *Thirteen hundred*, and yet offered but *Five hundred* to the Company. My Patience was exhauſted by ſuch repeated Acts of Contumacy, and I determined (I

repeat it) to convert them into an Advantage for the Company's Affairs. I conſidered the Light in which ſuch Behaviour would have been viewed by his native Sovereign, and I reſolved he ſhould feel the Power he had ſo long inſulted. Forty or Fifty Lacks of Rupees would have been a moderate Fine for Shujah Ud Dowlah to exact; he who had demanded 25 Lacks for the mere Fine of Succeſſion, and received 20 in Hand, and an encreaſed Rent tantamount to conſiderably above 30 Lacks more: And therefore I rejected the Offer of Twenty, with which the Rajah would have compromiſed for his Guilt when it was too late. If I ever talked of ſelling the Company's Sovereignty over Benares to the Nabob of Oude, it was but *in terrorem*; and no ſubſequent Act of mine warrants me to have ſeriouſly intended it: If I ever threatened to diſpoſſeſs the Rajah of his Territories, it is no more than what my Predeceſſors (without Rebuke from their Superiors, or Notice taken of the Expreſſion) had wiſhed and intended to have done to his Father, even when the Company had no Pretenſions to the Sovereignty of the Country; it is no more than ſuch a *legal Act of Sovereignty* as his Behaviour juſtified, and as I was juſtified in by the Intentions of my Predeceſſors. If I pretended to ſeize upon his Forts, it was in full Conviction that a Dependant on the Company, guaranteed, maintained, and protected in his Country by the Company's Arms, had no Occaſion for *Forts*, had no Right to them, and could hold them for no other than ſuſpected and rebellious Purpoſes: None of the Company's other Zemindars are permitted to maintain them; and even our Ally, the Nabob of the Carnatic, has the Company's Troops in all his Garriſons; Policy and Public Safety abſolutely require it. What State could exiſt, that allowed its inferior Members to hold Forts and Garriſons, independent of the ſuperior Adminiſtration?—It is a Soleciſm in Government to ſuppoſe it.

"PART IIId.

"I REMOVED Mr. Fowke from Benares on Political Grounds, againſt the Orders of the Court of Directors, becauſe I thought it neceſſary that the Reſident there ſhould be a Man of my own Nomination and Confidence; I avow the Principle, and think no Government can ſubſiſt without it. The Puniſhment of the Rajah made no Part of my Deſign in Mr. Fowke's Removal, or Mr. Markham's Appointment, nor was his Puniſhment an Object of my Contemplation at the Time. I removed Mr. Fowke, to appoint Mr. Markham; an Appointment of my own Choice, and a Signal to notify the Reſtoration of my own Authority, as I had before removed Mr. Fowke, and appointed Mr. Graham, for the ſame Purpoſe.

"The Charge adds, "It was ſoon after that I prepared for a Journey to Benares." This is not true:—The Interval of Time is evidently ſhortened, for the Purpoſe of forcing the Inference before drawn from my Appointment of the new Reſident. This Appointment was made early in February, and I left Calcutta in July.

"I deny that the Deſign of exacting a Penalty from Rajah Cheyt Sing for his contumacious Behaviour, was either "wicked" or "perfidious," as is ſtated in the Charge. I admit that I did not enter it on the Conſultations, becauſe it was not neceſſary; even this Plan itſelf of the Fine was not a fixed Plan, but to be regulated by Circumſtances, both as to the ſubſtantial Execution of it, and the Mode: Nay, I will aver, that I had drawn up a Review of our whole Political Connexions, extended even as far as Guzzerat, and given a Copy of it to Mr. Wheler, containing a Variety of Modes, from which I meant to draw ſome Relief of Alliance, Power, or Finance, to ſave them from the Ruin which was accumulating around them; and this Plan of the Fine, as I recollect, made a Part of it. But was it neceſſary, as an Official Obligation upon me, or would it have been prudent that I ſhould enter upon our Conſultations every ſpeculative Reſource to which the Exigency of our Affairs might eventually compel me to have Recourſe? And was I precluded from availing myſelf of any ſuch Reſources, when the Occaſion required them, and the Means were afforded me, becauſe the Deſign of them had not before been entered on our Conſultations? In what Part of the Company's Standing Orders, nay, I may add, in what Code of Common Senſe, is ſuch a Rule preſcribed to me? In this Charge I am blamed for "the long Concealment, and "late Communication" of this Intention (viz. of the Fine), Time not being allowed to my "Colleague to conſider the Nature and Conſequences of ſuch a Project, or to adviſe any Precau-"tion concerning the ſame."—The Grounds on which this Charge is founded are, that although I communicated my Intentions to Major Palmer in June, it does not appear that I communicated them to Mr. Wheler till the Eve of my Departure. It is ſuppoſed that the Eve means the preceding Night: Aſſuredly it will admit of a larger Conſtruction. From my Recollection, at this Diſtance of Time, I will venture to affirm, that my Intentions were communicated to Mr. Wheler *ſome Weeks before my Departure*; I believe I may ſay, almoſt as ſoon as they were formed, for I was then in the Habit of the moſt confidential Intercourſe with him; nay, I think it probable that they were communicated to him even before they were to Major Palmer, as that Gentleman arrived in Calcutta only a very ſhort Time before my Departure, which was on the 7th of July. I avow my Intention of fining Cheyt Sing Fifty Lacks. *This* was the "Improvement of the Intereſt which "the Company poſſeſſed in the Zemindarry," alluded to in my Minute on the Occaſion. And as I own myſelf not to have foreſeen Cheyt Sing's Flight or Rebellion, I *did* conceive it poſſible to have formed an Arrangement of this Kind "*with* the Rajah,"—and it was certainly "fit "and conſonant to the mutual Engagements *ſubſiſting between the Company and the Rajah*."

This

This I will prove at large: A *Fine* was what I meant to exact—and *to fine* was a *Right* expreſsly reſerved to the Company (ſee a Secret Letter from the Governor General and Council of Bengal, dated 15th January 1776—i. e. General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis): "We "thought it adviſeable to fix a proper Weight and Standard, to be invariably obſerved by the "Rajah in all Money which might be coined, on Pain of *forfeiting the Mint*, and *being liable to* "*any Penalty the Board might think fit to impoſe*, on the Firſt Inſtance of any Deviation." The ſame Sovereignty which could dictate ſo authoritatively on one Occaſion, muſt have had an equal Right in others; and therefore the Exaction and Payment of a Penalty was *conſonant to the Engagements between the Company and the Rajah*. Shujah ud Dowlah levied a *Fine*, on the Death of the Father, for inveſting the Son. *Here* then we have a *Second Right* made over, with the other Appendages of Sovereignty, to the Company. Had not our powerful Interpoſition prevented the Conſequences of Bulwant Sing's Treachery to his Maſter, in 1764, Shujah ud Dowlah would probably have exerted, with ſignal Rigour, a *Third Right of Fining*, and have furniſhed me with a Precedent full in Point to my Treatment of Cheyt Sing. The Inference therefore is, that the *Right of Fining* was general—perhaps arbitrary; but for *that* I am not reſponſible: It is a Defect woven into the Texture of the Mogul Syſtem—It will no Doubt be moſt happy for the Inhabitants of Aſia, when the deſpotic Inſtitutes of Jengheez Khawn or Tamerlane ſhall give Place to the liberal Spirit of a Britiſh Legiſlature; and I ſhall be amply ſatisfied in my preſent Proſecution, if it ſhall tend to haſten the Approach of an Event ſo beneficial to the great Intereſts of Mankind. In my Narrative of the ſubſequent Tranſactions between Cheyt Sing and myſelf, compoſed while all the Circumſtances were ſtrong in my Recollection, I have detailed every Particular neceſſary for a complete Comprehenſion of the painful Part I had to ſupport.—To the *Colourings* which are put upon many of my Expreſſions by the Subtilties of Conſtruction, I ſhall make few or no Objections. Truth is my immediate Aim, and I cannot ſtep out of my Way to glean up every caſual Inſinuation; otherwiſe I might obſerve, that I cannot well conceive why, on my Refuſal to ſee the Rajah, it ſhould be pronounced that I "*rudely* and *inſolently forbad his Viſit*." Is it rude to be peremptory? or is Reſolution Inſolence? if he were a *great Prince*, I, as repreſenting his Sovereign, ſhould ſeem *a great King*. I gave the Rajah in Writing my Charges reſpecting his Conduct, "*informal*" perhaps, and "*irregular*;" for where ſhould *I* have acquired the *legal Preciſion* requiſite for a *Special Pleader?* but certainly *ſubſtantial*, and *momentous*, and *juſt*. I have ſaid that his *Anſwer* was "not only unſatisfactory in Subſtance,—but offenſive in Style." I repeat the Aſſertion *now*, that near Five Years ſince elapſed have cooled my Reſentments (if I ever had any) and that my Feelings are no longer intereſted by concomitant Circumſtances. It was filled with ſhuffling Excuſes and palpable Falſehoods. It ſtated that the Rajah had furniſhed the additional Five Lacks of Rupees "*with the utmoſt Readineſs*;" and that he had "taken *a Penalty Bond* from his Aumils that "they ſhould *keep no Thieves in their Diſtricts*." Was all this *true*, or *ſatisfactory*, or *decent?*—I had now Reaſon to ſuſpect that the Rajah would never come to ſuch "an Arrangement" as I wiſhed, till he had, at leaſt in ſome ſlight Degree, felt the Hand of Authority; and I accordingly put him under an Arreſt. No Inſult, no Menace, no Violence of any Kind, was intended or applied: I even wrote to him to calm any Apprehenſions for Perſonal Safety which he might be weak enough to entertain; and I received his Anſwer, that "he was entirely free from Concern and "Apprehenſion." What followed I need not here particularize. My Conduct was regulated by Events which I could neither foreſee nor controul. All my original Meaſures were broken through, all my Deſigns annihilated, by the barbarous Maſſacre of my unarmed Troops, and the unexpected Flight of Cheyt Sing. Every Step which I had taken before that fatal Moment is an incontrovertible Proof, that I had *formed no Deſign* "of ſeizing upon the Rajah's Treaſures, or of "depoſing him;" and certainly, at the Time when I *did* form the Deſign of making the Puniſhment of his former ill Conduct ſubſervient to the Exigencies of the State, by a large Fine, "*I did* "*not believe him guilty of that premeditated Project for driving the Engliſh out of India*, with which I "afterwards charged him."—Had I been forewarned of this Project in the Extent which I afterwards diſcovered, I moſt aſſuredly would have anticipated his Schemes with more ſolid Effect, and *without Perſonal Hazard:* I would never have propoſed to "ſettle his Zemindary upon him," *on any Footing at all.* Nothing therefore can equal my Surprize at the Tenor of this Part of the Charge, except my Incapacity to anſwer, without Contradiction, Two Accuſations *totally contradictory*. In the 13th, 14th, and 15th Clauſes of this 3d Section of the 3d Charge, I am accuſed of *Implacability* to all the Rajah's humble Submiſſions; of *Perſeverance* in rejecting all Accommodation (though ſeveral Offers were made); and of "*being filled with Inſolence and Malice*," in not replying to the Rajah's Letters, after he had ſo notoriouſly drawn the Sword of Rebellion. And in the 27th Clauſe of the ſame Section of the ſame Charge, it is aſſerted, that if I "had conceived "him (Cheyt Sing) to have entertained traiterous Deſigns againſt the Company, from whom he "held his tributary Eſtate, or had been otherwiſe guilty of ſuch enormous Offences as to make it "neceſſary to take extraordinary Methods for coercing him, *it would not have been proper* to ſettle "upon ſuch a Traitor and Criminal the Zemindary of Benares, or any other Territory, upon the "moſt eligible, or upon any other Footing whatever." Thus am I in one and the ſame Charge accuſed of being *ſevere*, and told it "*would not have been proper*" for me to have been *lenient*;—Cenſured for intending to ſettle the Zemindary upon Cheyt Sing, and Cenſured for having rejected

all

all his Offers towards a *Settlement*.—I can only anſwer to this formidable Dilemma, that ſo long as I conceived Cheyt Sing's Miſconduct and Contumacy to have *me* rather than the Company for its Object, at leaſt to be merely the Effect of pernicious Advice or miſguided Folly, without any formal Deſign of openly reſiſting our Authority, or diſclaiming our Sovereignty, I looked upon a conſiderable Fine as ſufficient both for his immediate Puniſhment, and for binding him to future good Behaviour: I therefore entertained no ſerious Thoughts of expelling him, or proceeding otherwiſe to Violence; but when *he* and his People broke out into the moſt atrocious Acts of Rebellion and Murder; when the *Jus fortioris et Lex ultima Regum* were appealed to on his Part (and without any ſufficient Plea afforded him on mine) I from that Moment conſidered him as the Traitor and Criminal deſcribed in the Charge; and no Conceſſions, no Humiliations, no Submiſſions, could ever after induce me "to ſettle the Zemindary of Benares, or any other Territory, upon him, on any Footing whatever."

"Minutes delivered by me at the Council Board during the Time that the Ceſſion of the Sovereignty of Benares and Gauzipoor was negociated with the Vizier, are quoted *againſt me* in the 28th Clauſe of this Part of the Charge. The Minute in Queſtion does undoubtedly contain my Sentiments at that Period, but thoſe *Sentiments* went *for Nothing*: General Clavering and his Majority decided againſt my Opinion; "*the Meaſure is ſtrictly and excluſively their own*;" I, therefore, have nothing to do with it. But when, by the Death of Two who compoſed that Majority, I became ſomewhat more than a mere Pageant in the Adminiſtration, I neceſſarily reſumed the Buſineſs where they had left it; I conſidered Cheyt Sing preciſely what *they had made him*, a tributary Landholder; not what *I would* have made him (but was over-ruled) an independent Prince, and a powerful Ally, placed as a Barrier between the Vizier and Government of Bengal.—*I* would have cauſed the Company's Tribute to be received at Patna within the Company's Provinces: *They* cauſed it to received *at Benares*.—*I* would have renounced the Sovereignty of his Country: *They* aſſumed it. The *Sovereignty* which they *aſſumed*, it fell to my Lot, very unexpectedly, to *exert*; and whether or not "ſuch Powers, or Powers of that Nature, were delegated to "me by any Proviſions of any Act of Parliament," I confeſs myſelf too little of a Lawyer to pronounce. I only know, that the Acceptance of the Sovereignty of Benares, &c. is not acknowledged or admitted by any Act of Parliament; and yet, by the particular Interference of the Majority of the Council, the Company is clearly and indiſputably ſeized of that Sovereignty. That if, therefore, the *Sovereignty* of Benares, as ceded to us by the Vizier, have *any Rights whatever* annexed to it (and be not a mere empty Word without Meaning) thoſe Rights muſt be ſuch as are held, countenanced, and eſtabliſhed by the Law, Cuſtom, and Uſage of the Mogul Empire, and not by the Proviſions of any Britiſh Act of Parliament hitherto enacted. *Thoſe Rights* (and none other) I have been the involuntary Inſtrument of *enforcing*. And if any future Act of Parliament ſhall poſitively, or by Implication, tend to annihilate thoſe very Rights, or their Exertion, as I have exerted them, I much fear, that the boaſted Sovereignty of Benares, which was held up as an Acquiſition almoſt obtruded upon the Company, againſt my Conſent and Opinion (for I acknowledge that, *even then*, I foreſaw many Difficulties and Inconveniences in its future Exerciſe), I fear, I ſay, that this Sovereignty will be found a Burthen inſtead of a Benefit; a heavy Clog rather than a precious Gem to its preſent Poſſeſſors. I mean, unleſs the Whole of our Territory in that Quarter ſhall be rounded and made an uniform compact Body, by One grand and ſyſtematic Arrangement; ſuch an Arrangement as ſhall do away all the Michiefs, Doubts, and Inconveniences (both to the Governors and the Governed) ariſing from the *Variety* of Tenures, Rights, and Claims in all Caſes of Landed Property and Feudal Juriſdiction in India; from the Informality, Invalidity, and Inſtability of all Engagements in ſo divided and unſettled a State of Society; and from the unavoidable Anarchy and Confuſion of different Laws, Religions, and Prejudices, moral, civil, and political, all jumbled together in One unnatural and diſcordant Maſs. Every Part of Hindoſtan has been conſtantly expoſed to theſe and ſimilar Diſadvantages ever ſince the Mahomedan Conqueſts. The Hindoos, who never incorporated with their Conquerors, were kept in Order only by the ſtrong Hand of Power. The conſtant Neceſſity of ſimilar Exertions would increaſe at once their Energy and Extent, ſo that Rebellion itſelf is the Parent and Promoter of Deſpotiſm.

"Sovereignty in India implies nothing elſe; for I know not how we can form an Eſtimate of its Powers but from its viſible Effects—and thoſe are every where the ſame, from Cabool to Aſſam. The whole Hiſtory of Aſia is nothing more than *Precedents* to prove the invariable Exerciſe of arbitrary Power. To *all* this I ſtrongly alluded in the Minutes I delivered in Council, when the Treaty with the new Vizier was on Foot in 1775; and I wiſhed to make Cheyt Sing independent, becauſe in India *Dependance* included a Thouſand Evils, many of which I enumerated at that Time, and they are entered in the 9th Clauſe of the Firſt Section of this Charge. *I knew the Powers with which an Indian Sovereignty is armed, and the Dangers to which Tributaries are expoſed.* I knew, that from the Hiſtory of Aſia, and from the very Nature of Mankind, the Subjects of a deſpotic Empire are always vigilant for the Moment to rebel, and the Sovereign is ever jealous of rebellious Intentions. A *Zemindar* is an Indian Subject, and *as ſuch* expoſed to the common Lot of his Fellows. "*The mean and depraved State of a mere Zemindar*" is, therefore, this very Dependance above-mentioned on a deſpotic Government—this very Proneneſs to ſhake off his Allegiance, and this very Expoſure to continual Danger from his Sovereign's Jealouſy, which are conſequent

ſequent on the Political State of Hindoſtanic Governments. Bulwant Sing if he *had been*, and Cheyt Sing as long as he *was*, a *Zemindar*, ſtood exactly in this "*mean and depraved State*," by the *Conſtitution of his Country*. *I* did not make it for him, but would have ſecured him from it. *Thoſe who made him a Zemindar* entailed upon him the Conſequences of *ſo mean and depraved a Tenure*. Ally Verdy Khaun and Coſſim Ally *fined* all their Zemindars, on the Neceſſities of War, and on every Pretence, either of Court Neceſſity, or Court Extravagance.

"I have but few Words to alledge in my own Behalf on the Depoſitions, Affidavits, and other Teſtimonies annexed to my Narrative. Every Man will ſee that in ſo ſingular a Situation I could do no otherwiſe. If the Means I made uſe of were *the beſt in my Power*, I ſtand acquitted of Neglect or ill Intention. The Perſons who have given their ſeveral Teſtimonies on the Occaſion were not ſelected for the Purpoſe *by me*, but are ſuch as were on the Spot, and who owed their Knowledge of the Tranſactions either to actual Inſpection, or to ſharing a Part of the common Difficulties: How ſuch of the Evidence as was atteſted upon Oath could be "*not fit or decent to be taken by a "Britiſh Magiſtrate, or to be tranſmitted to a Britiſh Government*," I am ſtill at a Loſs to comprehend. I have always thought that an Affidavit might be ſworn to *before any of His Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace*, whether *in* or *out* of the particular and local Juriſdiction of that Magiſtrate. Britiſh Subjects could certainly ſwear with Propriety *before no other Perſon whatever*, while ſuch a Magiſtrate was on the Spot; and if I had neglected this Precaution, I cannot doubt but it would have been converted into a much more formidable Charge againſt me, "that, with every Opportunity for compleatly "vindicating all the Steps I had taken in this Affair, I had moſt *ſhamefully*, and *fraudulently*, and "*unjuſtifiably* omitted to have the ſeveral Circumſtances detailed in Writing and upon Oath, "*although One of His Majeſty's Juſtices was upon the Spot at the Time*." In a Matter of mere Affidavit (no Trial in a Court of Juſtice then pending) I never have heard that it was uſual, or expected or neceſſary to have a Perſon preſent "to object to the Competence or Credibility, or Re-"levency of the Affidavit." To the Admiſſion of *ſuch Objections*, a Juſtice of Peace, *out of his local* Juriſdiction, is certainly *not competent*: It alters the very Nature of the Function; and would conſtitute a Judicial Proceſs between Two Parties, before a Judge who holds no Court, and to whom neither Party is amenable. But theſe are Sophiſtries totally unconnected with the main Queſtion. I deemed Cheyt Sing a *Rebel* and a *Traitor*; I accordingly rejected his Submiſſions, and expelled him from his Zemindary. The Affidavits are meant as *Proofs* of his Rebellion for the Satisfaction of *others*: *My own Conviction* wanted no ſuch Aſſiſtance; nor would any Objections *he could have made* ever ſhake a Tittle of my Opinion. My Superiors, the Court of Directors, in their Letter to Bengal of the 28th January 1784, have ſaid, "After the Reſiſtance which the "Rajah had made, *no Countenance could be conſiſtently ſhewn him*; nor was any Meaſure for his "Reſtoration every propoſed." *To them*, therefore, and to *their* Senſe of the Rajah's Guilt, I may appeal for the Propriety of tranſmitting thoſe Teſtimonies. It was a Maſs of Evidence, which on the Whole proved the Sufficiency of the Grounds on which I have acted.

"PART IVth. and Vth.

"I AM here accuſed of having cauſed a *Second*, and then a *Third* "Revolution in Benares:" That is, the Removal of a Collector or Receiver General of the Province is put on the Footing of a Diſpoſſeſſion of the immediate Landholder and Zemindar; which amounts nearly to aſſerting, that the Diſmiſſion of a Miniſtry in this Country is *as complete a Revolution* as the Abdication of James the Second. The Expulſion of Cheyt Sing was indiſputably a "Revolution." I have always called it ſo. The ſubſequent Arrangements were mere internal Corrections of a Syſtem which Experiment proved to be imperfect. When a new Syſtem was to be formed with the Succeſſor of Cheyt Sing (who, not being his Heir, *had no Claim of Right*) I ſaw no Objection to making the Company's Intereſts my firſt Principle of Action. The eaſy Accumulation of too much Wealth had been Cheyt Sing's Ruin; it had buoyed him up with extravagant and ill-founded Notions of Independence, which I very much wiſhed to diſcourage in the future Rajah. Some Part therefore of the ſuperabundant Produce of the Country I turned into the Coffers of the Sovereign, by an Augmentation of the Tribute. To the Mint, and the Exerciſe of Criminal Juſtice, we were excluſively entitled by the very *Act of Ceſſion from the Vizier*; and they were both given up to Cheyt Sing as a Matter of Perſonal Favour *only*: That we had not given up to him the *Right* as well as the *Function*, is proved by the Paragraph above quoted, where an arbitrary Penalty, and *actual Deprivation*, are denounced againſt him for the very firſt Abaſement of Coin, by the Authority of the Council, without my Participation in the Act. Theſe Two, therefore, I reſumed, from Conviction of it's being proper and neceſſary ſo to do. The *One* is held by the Britiſh Reſident, nominated and appointed by the Company, Mr. Fowke, by whom I believe it to have been moſt honourably conducted; the *other* I entruſted, with ſome new and neceſſary Modifications, to a Mahommedan of the firſt Abilities in India, and of the moſt unimpeachable Integrity; under whoſe Adminiſtration Tranquillity, good Order, and Security have taken Place in a Degree never before experienced in Benares. The Inhabitants have greatly increaſed ſince that Period, and upwards of 2,500 Houſes (as he informs me in a Letter I have lately received from him) have been added to the City. To obviate Miſunderſtanding, I muſt obſerve, that the Adminiſtrator of Criminal Juſtice in Benares has always been of the Mahommedan Religion, and was always appointed by Shujah ud

Dowlah himſelf to the Day of his Death. Of the Events ſubſequent to Cheyt Sing's Expulſion, I conceive a very ſlight Account to be ſufficient. I ſettled the Affairs of the Zemindary at that Period with as much Care and Circumſpection as the Shortneſs of the Time, and the Variety of my Employments, would permit. It happened (for which I was by no Means blameable) that the Perſons in whom I entruſted the executive Powers of the Zemindary, and whom I choſe becauſe they were the neareſt Relations to the Rajah, were inadequate to the Duty. I had Reaſon to doubt their Integrity as well as Capacity, and therefore I cauſed them to be removed. A *Second* Experiment proved equally unſatisfactory, and from the ſame Cauſes. I was therefore reduced to exert the ſame Remedy; but during theſe neceſſary, and *by no Means extraordinary*, Changes of Miniſtry, the Rajah himſelf and his People were in perfect Security: The very Removal of the effective Adminiſtrator, on his oppreſſive Conduct and Official Peculation, has operated on the Minds of the Inhabitants very greatly in Favour of Britiſh Integrity and good Government. It is a Fact, and I can adduce very many Gentlemen now in London to confirm my Aſſertion, that the Countries of Benares and Gauzipoor were never, within the Memory of Engliſhmen, ſo well protected, ſo peaceably governed, or more induſtriouſly cultivated, than at the preſent Moment: And as for the City of Benares, I appeal to the Letters which have been lately received from Madajee Scindia, by His Majeſty and the Eaſt India Company, and which were written Months after my Departure, to prove, that my Regulations had not only contributed greatly to the Peace and good Order of that City, but had extended the Credit and Reputation of the Engliſh Government to every Part of Indoſtan and Deccan.

Die Martis, 26° *Februarii* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons that they might proceed with their Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons informed the Houſe that they ſhould begin with what they left unfiniſhed Yeſterday, and firſt produce the Form of the Commiſſion to former Preſidents of the Council at Bengal. That upon Inquiry they found that Governor Cartier, who immediately preceded Mr. Haſtings as Preſident of the Council at Bengal, had no Commiſſion as Preſident, but was appointed to that Office in the ſame Manner Mr. Haſtings himſelf was: Therefore they would produce the Commiſſion to Mr. Verelſt, who was the immediate Predeceſſor of Mr. Cartier, and alſo the immediate Succeſſor of Lord Clive, the latter of whom had been appointed by a ſimilar Commiſſion with that now about to be produced.

For this Purpoſe they called Mr. ROBERT HUDSON, who produced a Book, intituled, "Bengal Diſpatches;" which being delivered in, the following Extracts from it were read by the Clerk, viz. Paragraph 7. of the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 12th January 1768, Page 388 of the ſaid Book—alſo the Company's Commiſſion, conſtituting Harry Verelſt Eſq. Preſident and Governor of Fort William, Page 394 of the ſaid Book; and the ſame are as follow:

"Our Preſident and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

12th January 1768.
Sent per Dutton,
Queen,
Ankerwyke.

7. "By the Ship Dutton we ſend a Commiſſion under the Company's Seal; and an atteſted Copy thereof in the Queen's Packet, conſtituting and appointing the Preſident and Governor and the reſt of the Council at our Preſidency of Fort William in Bengal, in the Order and in the Manner they are hereunder directed and deſcribed, viz.

Harry Verelſt Eſquire,	Preſident and Governor.
John Cartier Eſquire,	Second in Council, and to ſucceed to the Government in caſe of a Vacancy therein, by the Deceaſe, or otherways, of Mr. Verelſt.
Colonel Richard Smith,	Third, but not at any Time to riſe higher in the ſaid Council than Third.
Mr. Francis Sykes,	Fourth.
Mr. Richard Becher,	Fifth.
Mr. James Alexander,	Sixth.
Mr. Claud Ruſſell,	Seventh.
Mr. Thomas Rumbold,	Eighth.
Mr. William Alderſey,	Ninth.
Mr. Thomas Kelſall,	Tenth.
Mr. Charles Floyer,	Eleventh.
Mr. Alexander Campbell,	Twelfth, and laſt of the ſaid Council.

"12th January 1768.
Per Dutton,
Queen,
Ankerwyke.

"The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, to all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, ſend, greeting. Know ye that the ſaid United Company, repoſing eſpecial Truſt and Confidence in the Fidelity, Prudence, Juſtice, and Circumſpection, of Harry Verelſt Eſquire, have made, conſtituted, and ordained, and, by theſe Preſents, do make, conſtitute, and ordain the ſaid Harry Verelſt Eſquire to be Preſident and Governor of and for all the ſaid Company's Affairs in the Bay of Bengal, and other the Places and Provinces thereunto belonging in the Eaſt Indies, and alſo to be our Governor and Commander in Chief of our Fort William in the Bay of Bengal, and all the Towns and Territories thereunto belonging, and of all and ſingular the Forts, Factories, and Settlements, Lands, Territories, Countries, and Juriſdictions, belonging to us within the Subahſhip of Bengal, and of all the Forces which now are, or hereafter may or ſhall be employed for the Service of the ſaid United Company, in the ſaid Forts, Towns, and Places, and to execute all and every the Powers and Authorities thereunto appertaining, by Order and Direction of the Court of Directors of the ſaid United Company for the Time being, and to

continue

continue in the Exercise of the same during our and their Pleasure, and until the contrary thereof shall be signified, under the Seal of the said United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, or under the Hands of Thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said Company for the Time being. And to the End the said Harry Verelst may be better enabled to order and manage all the Affairs of the said United Company, we do, by these Presents, constitute and ordain John Cartier Esquire to be Second of our Council of Fort William, next after our said President Harry Verelst; Colonel Richard Smith to be and continue Third of our said Council, and not to rise to a superior Rank therein; Mr. Francis Sykes to be Fourth, Mr. Richard Becher to be Fifth, Mr. James Alexander to be Sixth, Mr. Claud Russell to be Seventh, Mr. Thomas Rumbold to be Eighth, Mr. William Alderscy to be Ninth, Mr. Thomas Kelsall to be Tenth, Mr. Charles Floyer to be Eleventh, and Mr. Alexander Campbell to be Twelfth, and last of our said Council of Fort William, for governing and managing all the said Company's Affairs in Bengal, and the Places and Provinces belonging to us as aforesaid; and we do hereby give and grant unto our said President and Governor Harry Verelst, and to our Council aforenamed, or the major Part of them (the Council being duly summoned), full Power and Authority from Time to Time, to rule and govern all and every our Factors and Servants under the said Presidency, and all the Soldiers and Inhabitants of our said Fort William, and all the Towns and Territories thereunto belonging, and of all and singular the Forts, Factories, and Settlements, Lands, Territories, Countries and Jurisdictions belonging to us within the Subahship of Bengal, to administer lawful Oaths as Occasion shall require, and to do and perform all such other Acts and Things, and to use and exercise all such other Powers and Authorities as the said President and Governor, and his Council, in their several and respective Places, where the said United Company have or shall have Factors, or any Places of Trade, are authorised to do, according to such Instructions and Directions as the said Harry Verelst, our President and Governor, and Council aforesaid, shall, from Time to Time, receive, under the Hands of Thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the Time being. And we the said United Company do hereby order and require all our Factors, *Servants*, Officers and Soldiers within the Limits of the said Presidency, and all the People and Inhabitants of the said Fort William, and all the Towns and Territories thereunto belonging, to *conform, submit and yield due Obedience unto him the said Harry Verelst*, our said President and Governor, and his Council accordingly. And forasmuch as it is altogether necessary, that in case of the Death or Removal of the said Harry Verelst, our Presidency should be provided for the Defence and Government thereof, we do therefore, by these Presents, ordain and appoint, that in such Case the said John Cartier Esquire shall immediately be and succeed in the Place and Charge of President and Governor of Fort William aforesaid; and, in case of his Death or Removal, the next in Degree of Council below the said Colonel Richard Smith shall succeed in the said Presidency and Government, in as full and ample Manner, and with as large and ample Powers, Privileges, and Authorities, as are hereby granted unto the said Harry Verelst, until our further Pleasure be known therein. And we do hereby revoke, repeal, annul, and make void, every former Commission or Commissions, given and granted by us, whereby any other Person or Persons was and were constituted and ordained President and Governor, and any other Persons therein named were constituted and ordained to be of the Council at Fort William aforesaid. In Witness whereof, we the said United Company have caused our common Seal to be affixed to these Presents the Twelfth Day of January, in the Eighth Year of the Reign of his Most Excellent Majesty George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, and in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight.

L. S.

Signed by Order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.
Rob. James, Secretary.

To prove that the Country of Bulwant Sing was always reckoned a Zemindary, that Bulwant Sing was considered as a Zemindar, and that he held and enjoyed the same through Shujah ul Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, and Vizier of the Mogul Empire*,

* Vide 1st Par. of the 1st Article of the Charge.

The Witness was directed to produce the Bengal Secret Consultations of the 6th December 1764.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the House, That it might tend to Elucidation, if they stated, that about this Time, namely, the latter End of the Year 1764, a Project was formed for obtaining the Sovereignty over Bulwant Sing for the Company; which Project, however, was given up, and the Sovereignty left with Shujah ul Dowlah, the same not being transferred to the Company till some Years after, viz. in the Year 1775.

Then the following Extract from the Consultation, 6th December 1764, was read by the Clerk, and is as follows:

" Fort William, 6th December 1764.

" At a Conſultation; Preſent,

The Honourable John Spencer Eſquire, Preſident;
Charles Stafford Playdell Eſquire,
Warren Haſtings Eſquire,
John Johnſtone Eſquire,
Samuel Middleton Eſquire,
Ralph Leyceſter Eſquire,
John Burdett Eſquire.

" The Book of Standing Orders on the Table.

" The Conſultation of the 26th *ultimo*, being wrote fair, was now read, and approved.

" Mr. Vanſittart having ſince our laſt Meeting embarked for Europe, and Mr. Spencer received from him the Charge of the Government, he now takes his Seat as Preſident of the Council, after having the Oath of Office adminiſtered to him.

" Received the following Letter from the Commander in Chief of the Army.

" To the Honourable Henry Vanſittart Eſquire, Preſident and Governor, &c. Council of Fort William.

" Gentlemen,

" Before my Arrival here, Bulwant Sing wrote me a Letter, offering his Services, and that he would pay the Revenues of the Country regularly, the ſame as he did to the Vizier. I deſired to ſee him; but he would not come, unleſs I ſent him Articles ſigned, which I did; knowing well that if I left him in our Rear with 15 or 20,000 Horſe which he has, he would prevent our Grain from coming to us, and every Thing elſe, did the Army march to Iliabad; notwithſtanding he did not come, but put me off from Day to Day, which made me ſend Munier Dowla from the King to him, and alſo Captain Stables from myſelf. And now that he finds the King is under our Protection, and that no Peace is to be made with the Vizier, he has began to croſs his Troops to this Side, and has promiſed to be with me the Day after To-morrow, and proceed, whenever I pleaſe, with the Detachment that is to take Chinargur. He has ſtopped Grain going to that Fort, and has ordered his People to ſeize ſuch of the Vizier's Troops as they may meet with in the Country. As the King wiſhed ſo much for this Man's joining us, I ſhall look upon it a lucky Circumſtance if he keeps his Word; for, if I was obliged to drive him out of the Country, it would take up a great deal of Time, having the Ganges to croſs again; and I neither could ſet about taking Chinargur, or march to Iliabad, till that was done, for the Reaſons already mentioned; beſides this, there are very few People in the Country who had any Appointments, but ſuch as have been turned out formerly by Bulwant Sing, and have no Weight in the Country or Troops at Command; ſo that the Conſequence of putting any of them as Phouſdars or Jemadars to collect the Revenues, and aſſiſt the King againſt any of his Enemies, would be keeping the Army here I don't know how long, and would require, at all Times, a ſtronger Detachment of the Troops remaining in the Country than you would chooſe, or would, in all Probability, be convenient for the Honourable Company to keep up. Upon my receiving your Letters of the 6th current, I waited on the King, who is very happy at his preſent Proſpect, and will do any Thing we pleaſe to preſcribe to him. He has wrote you Letters which I now ſend, and were wrote before he knew of your Intentions towards him, as was alſo the encloſed Paper, which he deſired me to forward to Calcutta, and have been by me for ſome Days, waiting till I would receive a Letter from the Board, by which you will find his Propoſals, in a great Meaſure, agree with your Inclinations. I moved our Camp Three Coſs Yeſterday, ſo as to be in Front of the King's Encampment, and between him and Iliabad. He is to write immediately to the Chiefs of the Rohillas, and all his Friends, not to join the Vizier; and aſſures, that if he once got Benibahadre and Bulwandſing to come in, the Vizier would leave the Country immediately, and never make any Head again; and, at any Rate, if once we got Iliabad, and take Chinargar Fort, he will be anſwerable ſoon after to diſpoſſeſs the Vizier of all the Reſt of this Country. I am convinced, from what I have ſeen and heard, the Vizier will not agree to your Demands, and muſt be drove out of the Poſſeſſion of his Country. The Methods you propoſe for doing of it are undoubtedly the beſt could be thought of, and what muſt, I think, ſucceed. I ſhall therefore, before my Departure from the Army, which I propoſe, with your Conſent, ſhall be the Beginning of January, ſo as to go home with the Detachment of the Eighty-ninth on the February Ship Captain (Maitland), do my utmoſt to leave Affairs here in the following Situation; how ſoon a Boat from Patna arrives with Stores, which I expect daily, I will ſend a proper Detachment from the Army to take Chinargur, and when it is taken, ſhall put a proper Garriſon of the Troops in it. I am to write to Mr. Billers this Night to ſend Grain up for the Army, which I intend to lodge in that Fort. In a few Days hence, after I have waited on the King, I ſhall proclaim him Superior and Poſſeſſor of all Shuja Dowla's Country, and ſend Letters jointly with him to all the Rajahs, &c. between this and Delly, acquainting with it, and deſiring they will pay due Obedience to the King, and not join Shuja Dowla, but aſſiſt in driving him out of the Country. But, before this is done, I ſhall take care to have it from under the King's Hand, that he holds theſe Rights from the Engliſh; that he will agree to whatever the Governor and Council of Calcutta

Culcutta will preſcribe to him; and pay the Honourable Company yearly ſuch Part of the Revenues of the Country, as the Preſidency of Fort William will deſire. I will then proceed to Iliabad with the Army, taking care that we ſhall, on the March, be properly ſupplied with Proviſions; and that our Boats can proceed up alſo: And, after being in Poſſeſſion of that Place, I think the Troops ſhould go no further; nor do I imagine there will be any Occaſion for it. I would recommend leaving a ſtrong Detachment of the Troops at Iliabad, till the Army is properly eſtabliſhed, and that Shuja Dowla has no more Power or Country; and afterwards leave always with the King a ſmall Detachment as he deſires, and to be at his Expence, which he alſo propoſed. This, Gentlemen, is the Situation I intend to leave Affairs in when I take my Departure from the Army, if my Time will permit of it; and wiſh it may meet with your Concurrence and Approbation.

" I am, with Eſteem,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble Servant,
Hector Munro."

" Camp at Banaraſs,
the 22d Nov. 1764.

" Read the Tranſlations of Paper of Propoſals from the King, encloſed therein, as follows:

" If this Country is to be kept, put me in Poſſeſſion of it, and leave a ſmall Detachment of the Troops with me, to ſhew that I am protected by the Engliſh, and they ſhall be at my Expence, that if any Enemy come any Time againſt me, I will make ſuch Connections in the Country, that, with my own Troops and the aforementioned ſmall Detachment, defend the Country without any further Aſſiſtance from the Engliſh, and I will pay them of the Revenues of the Country what Sum they ſhall demand yearly. If the Engliſh will, contrary to their Intereſt, make Peace with the Vizier, I will go to Delli, for I cannot think of returning again into the Hands of a Man who has uſed me ſo ill. I have no Friends I depend on more than the Engliſh; their former Behaviour to me will make me ever reſpect and regard them. Now is their Time to be in Poſſeſſion of a Country abounding with Riches and Treaſure. I ſhall be ſatisfied with whatever Share they pleaſe of it. The Rohillas H. H. were always Enemies to the imperious Vizier; they are all my Friends."

" Read alſo Tranſlations of the King's Letters encloſed, to the Preſident, the Council, Major Carnac, the Nabob, and Shitabroy, repreſenting in general that Shuja Dowla has met with the juſt Puniſhment of his Perfidy and Diſobedience of his Commands; that conformably to our Advice and Letters which he received after the Defeat from Major Munro, he ſeparated himſelf from him, and remained at Benaris, and urging us to eſtabliſh ourſelves and him in the Poſſeſſion of Shuja Dowla's Country.

" Ordered theſe Letters to be entered on the Books of Country Correſpondence.

" And having now maturely conſidered the Contents of the Whole;

" Agreed we write the following Letter in Anſwer to the Commander in Chief.

" To Major Hector Munro, Commander in Chief of the Army.

" Sir,

" We have received your Letter of the 22d *ultimo*, with the ſeveral Papers encloſed, and, having maturely conſidered the Contents of the Whole, we are now to give you our Sentiments and Inſtructions thereupon.

" We are extremely glad to find the King has joined you, and approve of the Plan which you have laid down for eſtabliſhing him in the Poſſeſſion of Shuja Dowla's Country, to which we are reduced by Shuja Dowla's having again refuſed a Compliance with our Terms, and the King's having in Conſequence received our Protection. We do not however mean to enter into any Connections which would engage us further than fixing the King as aforeſaid; and altho', for the Completion of this Object, we wiſh not to be carried to a greater Diſtance than Iliabad, yet we cannot preſcribe that Place as the utmoſt Limit to which the Army ſhall advance, as Circumſtances may poſſibly intervene to render your proceeding further neceſſary.

" As to the King's Requeſt for having a ſmall Detachment of our Forces ſtationed with him, we ſhall be better able to judge of the Neceſſity or Propriety of ſuch a Meaſure, when he is entirely eſtabliſhed in theſe Poſſeſſions, and we know the State of his own Army.

☞ [" With regard to Bulwant Sing, we ſhall adhere to the Terms which you may have thought " it neceſſary to make with him; but it is our View, ſo far as it can be done conſiſtently with " your Engagements, to have the Power and Authority over this Rajah and his Zemindarries, " veſted in the Company by Sunnuds from the King, holding them under him with the ſame " Rights, and in as full a Manner, as enjoyed by Shuja Dowla; and that the whole Rents ſo " collected ſhall be appropriated for the Uſe of the Company, and wrote off from the Books of " the King's Revenues (*)."]

" This, you will obſerve, will extend the Limits beyond thoſe mentioned in our laſt of Benaris and Chinargur: The Tract of Country including thoſe Places was conſidered as a Ceſſion ☜

to

(*) For the Purpoſe of more diſtinctly marking the Concluſion of the Matter particularly referred to by the Managers for the Commons, it has been thought proper to add a Hand pointing to the inverted Bracket], thus ☜.

to be made by Shuja Dowla on our acceding to a Peace with him; but what we now mean to require for the Company, we demand as a Conqueſt to be ſecured to them from being obliged to continue the War, and as ſome Recompence for the Hazard their Property has been and may be expoſed to in the Courſe of it.

" With regard to the other Parts of Shuja Dowla's Country, as the King has been declared Supreme, he will of courſe take Poſſeſſion, and collect the Revenues thereof; but as his Authority becomes eſtabliſhed, we think it proper to demand, that ſuch Proportions of them as his Neceſſities will permit, ſhould be applied to aſſiſt in defraying the Expences of the War; and when he is in full Poſſeſſion, we ſhall expect to have the Whole reimburſed us.

" In the mean Time, as the King, in ſome of his Letters, expreſſes great Diſtreſs for Money, and as his Collections may not for ſome Time come in, we permit, ſhould he apply for it, that you advance him ſuch Sums as his Exigencies may abſolutely require, taking proper Care not to expoſe yourſelf to any want for the Payment of our own Army; by this, however, we only mean to contribute to the Support of his Dignity, by advancing for the neceſſary Expences of his Houſehold, and not to take upon ourſelves the Burthen of maintaining the Troops which he may raiſe; and we truſt to your Diſcretion, as you know our Reſources, for not engaging us in too heavy an Expence.

" As the King intimates, that when we have once put him in Poſſeſſion, he ſhall be able to maintain himſelf with very little Aſſiſtance from us; we deſire you will inform yourſelf, as well from the King himſelf, as from his Officers, what Views he has, in this Reſpect, and what Proſpects of forming Connections, that ſhall anſwer ſuch Expectations.

" To avoid giving any Umbrage or Jealouſy of our Power to the King, or the Nobles of the Empire, we would have every Thing done under the Sanction of his Authority, and that we may appear as holding our Acquiſitions from him, and acting, in the War, under his Authority, in ſupporting his Rights, and not he as holding thoſe Rights from us.

" The Paper from the King, which you mention to have incloſed, was not received with your Letter, only a Tranſlation of it. We deſire, therefore, you will ſend us the Original, or an exact Perſian Copy, and obſerve this Method in future.

" With reſpect to the Agreements entered into by the Inhabitants of Benaris for the Ranſom of the City, we are glad that ſuch an Opportunity has offered of obtaining a Reward to the Army for the very ſignal Service which they have rendered the Company, as well as a Compenſation for the Loſs which they ſuſtained of their Baggage in the Action of the 23d of October; nor can we have any Objection to it in this particular Occaſion; but as we would conſider the Country, not as a Conqueſt, but belonging to the King, whom we have engaged to ſupport againſt the common Enemy, no future Conſiderations of this kind ſhould be demanded from the Inhabitants, or expected by the Army, but every Care taken to conciliate the Affections of the People.

" We have cauſed the Articles which we mean the King ſhould accede to, to be drawn up in proper Form, in the Perſian Language, and we now encloſe them, together with an Engliſh Copy, for your Information, deſiring you will preſent them to him for their being executed; in caſe he ſhould not have already agreed to them on Mr. Marriott's Arrival, we have deſired him to co-operate with you in engaging his Majeſty to a Compliance with them.

" In Anſwer to the Intention, which you intimate, of quitting the Army with the Detachment of the 89th Regiment in order to embark for Europe; we can only ſay, that we muſt requeſt the Continuance of your Services, as long as the Seaſon, and your Orders from his Majeſty, will poſſibly permit of your remaining with the Army.

" The Delivery up of Meer Coſſim Sombre, and the Deſerters, has always been a principal Object with us, and we muſt requeſt that you will make it a Point with the King, that he will jointly with you uſe his utmoſt Endeavours for ſecuring their Perſons, and bringing them to the juſt Puniſhment of their atrocious Behaviour; and that his Majeſty will, on no Account, conſent to the granting them any Protection throughout his Dominions, but publicly declare them outlawed.

" We have appointed Mr. George Vanſittart to proceed up to the Army with all Expedition, and attend you in the Capacity of Perſian Interpreter.

" *P. S.* The Preſident has wrote a Letter to the King, in Anſwer to thoſe received from him, which you will receive herewith, together with an Engliſh Copy for your Information."

" The Articles mentioned in the foregoing Letter to be executed by the King.

☞ [" In conſideration of the Aſſiſtance and Fidelity of the Engliſh Company, which has freed us from the Inconveniencies we laboured under, and ſtrengthened the Foundations of the Empire which God has given us, we have been graciouſly pleaſed to grant to the Engliſh Company our royal Favours, according to the following Articles, which ſhall remain firm both at preſent and in future.

" As the Engliſh Company have been put to great Expence, and their Affairs expoſed to Danger, by the War which the Nabob Shuja ul Dowlah unjuſtly, and contrary to our royal Pleaſure, waged againſt them, we have therefore aſſigned to them the Country of Gazypoor, and the reſt of the Zemindarry of Rajah Bulwant Sing belonging to the Nizamût of the Nabob Shuja ul Dowla; and the Regulation and Government thereof, we have given to their Diſpoſal in the ſame Manner as it

was

was in the Nabob Shuja ul Dowla's. The aforeſaid Rajah having ſettled Terms with the Chiefs of the Engliſh Company, is according thereto to pay the Revenues to the Company, and the Amount ſhall not belong to the Books of the Royal Revenue, but ſhall be expunged from them. The Army of the Engliſh Company having joined our Standard, ſhall put us in Poſſeſſion of Iliabad and the reſt of the Countries belonging to the Nixâmut of Shuja ul Dowlah, and the Revenues, excepting thoſe of Rajah Bulwand's Zemindarry, ſhall be in our entire Management and Diſpoſal.]

" As the Engliſh Company will be at a further Expence in putting us in Poſſeſſion of Iliabad, and the reſt of the Nizamut of the Nabob Shuja ul Dowlah, we will therefore, as we get Poſſeſſion, grant to them out of our Treaſury ſuch a Proportion of the Revenues as the Exigencies of our Affairs will admit of; and when we are put in full Poſſeſſion, we will reimburſe the whole Expences of the Company in this Buſineſs, from the Time of their joining the royal Standard."

" Agreed further, that we write to the Chief and Council at Benaris, adviſing them, for their Information and Government, of our having demanded for the Company all the Rights and Juriſdiction over Bulwant Sing's Country, and encloſing them a Copy of the Articles which we have ſent to Major Munro to get executed by the King, deſiring, if he ſhould not have already agreed to them when Mr. Marriott arrives, that he will accordingly co-operate with the Major in engaging his Majeſty to a compliance with them.

Signed at the End,

J. Spencer.
C. S. Playdell.
R. Leyceſter.
John Burdett."

To prove that Rajah Cheit Sing, on the Death of his Father Bulwant Sing, ſucceeded to the ſaid Territories, and was fully inveſted with the Government thereof in the Year 1770,

The Witneſs produced Book 4, intituled, "Bengal Letters received 21ſt April } 1769. 12th April } 1771."

Read, Paragraphs 30, 31, 32, and 33, from a General Letter of the Preſident and Council at Fort William in Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated the 31ſt Oct. 1770; and ſigned,

" John Cartier.
Claude Ruſſell.
Charles Floyer."

[Par. 30. " In our Letter of the 11th ultimo we informed you of the Death of Rajah Bulwand Sing, and of the Meaſures we were taking with the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah to induce him to ſettle the Succeſſion of the Zemindarry of Benares on the late Rajah's Son. The Nabob immediately diſpatched Allage Cawn as his Agent to Benares, in order to open a Negotiation with the young Rajah, which he in Perſon had at firſt ſeemed deſirous of concluding, and accordingly fixed a Day for his Departure from Fayzabad; but being prevented from his Purpoſe by Indiſpoſition, and wiſely judging that the March of his Retinue through the Country might at that Time be prejudicial to the new Crop, he deſired Captain Harper, immediately on Receipt of the Preſident's Letter, to proceed as expeditiouſly as poſſible with his Battalion of Sepoys to Benares, and to be preſent at the Conferences held between his Agent and the late Rajah's Son. The Demands made by the Nabob's Agent were Twenty Lacks of Rupees, as a Nazerannah, and Five Lacks per Annum, as an Addition to the Sum ſtipulated by the Treaty of 1765. The Terms were however finally concluded on the 8th inſtant, when the Nazerannah was ſettled at 17 Lacks, and the required Increaſe was reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ Lacks of Rupees. Permit us, Honourable Sirs, to congratulate you on ſo very happy a Concluſion of an Event we deem highly important to your Intereſt.

Par. 31. " The Vizier's Readineſs in complying with this our earneſt Recommendation and Requeſt has afforded us the greateſt Satisfaction, and is a Circumſtance the more pleaſing, as it muſt give Strength to the Opinions of the ſeveral Powers in Hindoſtan of the ſtrict Friendſhip ſubſiſting between the Engliſh and him, and his having conſidered Captain Harper as a neceſſary Witneſs to the Negotiation carrying on between his Agent Allage Cawn and the young Rajah Chait Sing, will ſerve as a Proof to the World, that he meant not to take any Meaſure therein that might give the leaſt Cauſe for Suſpicion on our Part. And here we muſt expreſs our Belief, that ſo delicate a Matter being brought to a ſpeedy Iſſue without thoſe Altercations and Difficulties which generally take place in Treaties of this Nature, has been in great Meaſure owing to the prudent Conduct of Captain Harper.

Par. 32. " The Preſident was requeſted to acquaint the Vizier with the proper Senſe we entertain of the Attention he has paid to our Recommendation, and that we conſider it as an additional Proof of his Friendſhip.]

Par. 33. " Captain Harper informs us, there were ſeveral Competitors for the Zemindary of Benares, amongſt whom was a Grandſon of the late Rajah Bulwant Sing, who was ſtrongly ſupported

ported by the Bramins, becauſe his Mother is the Wife of a Bramin, and to whom he gives the prior Right of Succeſſion, for this Reaſon, that Chait Sing is not the Iſſue of Bulwant Sing's Wife, but of a Rageport Woman, whom the Rajah took into his Family.—This Matter does not ſeem to be properly underſtood by Captain Harper; for when it is conſidered that by the Tenets of the Gentoo Laws, the Right of Inheritance is confined to the Iſſue of the Male Line, to the utter Excluſion of that of the Female, it is evident, the Pretenſions of the Grandſon can only be urged by Bramins, who are ever partial to their own Sect."

Read alſo, from the ſame Book, Paragraph 18, of a General Letter from the Select Committee at Bengal, to the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 24th Dec. 1770.

" No. I.

" Received per Duke of Kingſton, 12th July 1771.

Signed,

John Cartier,
Sam. Middleton,
Claude Ruſſell,
Charles Floyer.

Par. 18. " With reſpect to the Son and Succeſſor of Bulwand Sing, the Vizier has, as we before informed you, acted agreeably to our Deſire. Chaet Sing is now fully inveſted with the Government, to the entire Satisfaction of every one, and is conſidered by the Vizier as holding that Country on the ſame Terms as his Father, the Difference in the Revenue excepted. The Whole are now ſettled at Benares Rupees 22,48,449, 2,50,000 more than were paid by his Father. The Vizier expreſſed a Deſire of ſeeing the young Rajah at the Marriage of his eldeſt Son Mirza Amany; the Rajah, ſenſible how much this Mark of Reſpect was due from him at that Time, promiſed to attend; but at length excuſed himſelf, perhaps by the Advice of his Father's Counſellors, who had kept alive the Family Enmity."

To prove the next Allegation in the firſt Article, namely, that, in the Year 1773, the Defendant was empowered by the Preſident and Council to renew, on Behalf of the Rajah Cheit Sing, the Stipulations formerly made with the Vizier in Favour of his Father Rajah Bulwant Sing *;

The Witneſs was directed to produce the Bengal Secret Conſultations of the 4th of October 1773.

* Vide 1ſt Article, page 3. par. 4.

The Managers for the Commons being aſked, Whether there was any Inſtrument by which the Rajah Cheit Sing was inveſted with his Zemindarry,

Made anſwer, That if any Inſtrument of that Sort did paſs, it was probably in the Hands of Shujah ul Dowlah, or of the Rajah Cheit Sing.

Being further aſked, If there was any Paſſage ſtating ſuch Inſtrument,

They made anſwer, None that they had been able to find.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 3, intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, 18th January to 30th December 1773."—Read, Extract from a Conſultation of the 4th October 1773, Page 521, of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 4th October 1773.

" At a Conſultation; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, being returned, now reſumes his Seat at the Board as Preſident;

William Alderſey
Philip M. Dacres
Henry Goodwin
John Graham, and
} Eſquires;

George Vanſittart Eſquire, who is alſo returned with the Governor, and takes his Seat accordingly.

" Read and approved the Proceedings of the 27th *ultimo*.

" The Inſtructions given to the Governor before his Departure for Benares, which the Board, at that Time, thought proper to ſeal up and depoſit in the Cuſtody of Mr. Alderſey, are now opened, and recorded, as follows, with the Letters written in Conſequence.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Preſident and Governor of Fort William, &c. &c.

" Honourable Sir,

Par. 5. " We empower you to renew, in Behalf of Raja Cheyt Sing, the Stipulation which was formerly made with the Vizier, in Favour of his Father Rajah Bulwand Sing, in conſideration of his Services to the Company in the Year 1764."

Then

Then the Witneſs produced Book V. intituled, "Bengal Letters received 14th April 1773, to 21ſt March 1774."

Read, Paragraph 5, of a General Letter from the Secret Department at Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated, Fort William, 12th October 1773 (received by the Mercury, 26th March 1774.)

Signed, Warren Haſtings,
R. Barker,
Wm. Alderſey,
P. M. Dacres,
H. Goodwin,
J. Graham,
George Vanſittart.

Par. 5. "We have obtained from the Vizir a Renewal of the Sunnuds in Favour of Raja Cheit Sing and his Poſterity, on the ſame Footing as it was granted to his Father Bulwant Sing, excepting only the Increaſe of 2 ½ Lacks to his annual Tribute, which the Raja had agreed to at his Acceſſion in 1770."

The Managers for the Commons propoſed next to ſhew the Proceedings of the Defendant in the Year 1773, when he was at Benares, from his own Report of them at his Return to the Board. For which Purpoſe,

The Witneſs produced Book 3, intituled, "Bengal Secret Conſultations."

Read, the following Extract from Page 522, of the ſaid Book:

Sec. Dep.

"Fort William, the 4th October 1773.

"At a Conſultation; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, being returned, now reſumes his Seat at the Board as Preſident;

William Alderſey,
Philip M. Dacres,
Henry Goodwin,
John Graham,
} Eſquires.

"The Governor delivers in to the Board the following Report of his Negotiations with the Nabob Sujah ul Dowla at Benares, and of his other Proceedings during his Abſence from the Preſidency, with all the Papers referred to in the Report."

Read alſo, from ſame Book, Page 527.

"To William Alderſey Eſquire, &c. Council at Fort William.

"Gentlemen,

"I have already adviſed you in my Letter of the 7th of September from Benares, of the Iſſue of my Negociations, and the Sum of the Treaty concluded with the Vizir. I now lay before you No. 1. the Treaty itſelf, a Counterpart of which remains in his Poſſeſſion. The other Papers which accompany this I ſhall refer to.

"No. 3. is a Perſian Copy of a Cowlnâma, or Engagement, which I obtained from the Vizir, confirming to the Raja Cheyt Sing, and his Poſterity, the Stipulations formerly made in Behalf of his Father Bulwant Sing. No. 4. Is an Engliſh Tranſlation of it. No. 5. A Copy of the Vizir's Pottah, or Rentroll, fixed with Raja Cheyt Sing for the Year 1178, and alluded to in the Cowlnâma. No. 6. An Engliſh Tranſlation of the Pottah. No. 7. The Tranſlation of a Letter which I wrote to Rajah Cheyt Sing, as a further Aſſurance of the Conditions promiſed in the Cowlnâma.

"The Cowlnâma was executed in my Preſence, and atteſted by me. The Vizier deſired, that the Stipulations made in favour of the Rajah might be executed in this Mode, rather than by an Article in the Treaty; and it was equally ſatisfactory to the Rajah. I muſt remark, that he had already given the Rajah a Cowlnama of this Tenor, ſoon after the Death of Bulwunt Sing, through the Solicitation of Captain Harper, by the Orders of the Select Committee. He could, therefore, have no reaſonable Plea to refuſe the Confirmation of it. Nevertheleſs, he ſeemed to think his former Act of ſo little Validity, that he preſſed me, in very earneſt Terms, for my Conſent, that he ſhould diſpoſſeſs the Rajah of the Forts of Luteefgur and Bidgygur, and take from him Ten Lacks of Rupees over and above the ſtipulated Rents; and he ſeemed greatly diſſatisfied at my Refuſal. He argued, that the Treaty of Illahabad related to Bulwunt Sing ſolely, and was never meant to extend to his Poſterity. I confeſs, the Letter of the Treaty expreſſes no more; yet, I cannot conceive that either the Rajah or Lord Clive, when the Treaty was made, could have intended it in that Senſe. It has certainly been differently underſtood both by the Company, and by this Adminiſtration; and the Vizier himſelf had before put it out of all Diſpute, by the ſolemn Act paſſed in the Rajah's favour on his Succeſſion to the Zemindarry. I am well convinced, that the Rajah's Inheritance, and perhaps his Life, are no longer ſafe than while he enjoys the Company's Protection, which is his due by the Ties of Juſtice, and the Obligations of public Faith, and which Policy enjoins us to afford him ever moſt effectually.

His

His Country is a ſtrong Barrier to ours, without ſubjecting us to any Expence, and we may depend upon him as a ſure Ally, whenever we may ſtand in need of his Services."

Read next, the ſeveral Inſtruments referred to in the above Extract, p. 543 of the ſame Book, and from the ſame Conſultation; as follow:

" Fort William, 4th October 1773.

" Tranſlation of the new Cowlnama, or Agreement, given by the Nabob Shujah ul Dowlah to Rajah Cheyt Sing. No. 4.

" The Affairs of the Zemindarry and Tahud of the Sircar of Benaras, and Sircar Chunarah, and of the Mehalls of Juanpoor, Bejeypoor, Buddohy, Sukneſegurrah, Mulboos Khans, Sircar Gazeypoor, Lekinderpoor, Khereed Shadeyabad, and Jopfoch Serinch, &c. which were under the Charge of Rajah Bulwund Sing deceaſed; I do hereby grant and confirm unto you, upon their former Footing. It is neceſſary that, after deducting the Nanker, and Half of the Jaghier of Buddohy, you monthly and annually pay into the Treaſury of the Sircar the eſtabliſhed and ſtated Payments. By the Favour of God, whatever is promotive of your Honor ſhall be performed; and, excluſive of the Jumma ſpecified in the Cabooleat of the preſent Fuſſelly Year 1178, no Increaſe ſhall ever hereafter be demanded; and if you remain firm, and ſteady in your Obedience, and in the Payment of your Rents, no Harm ſhall, by any Means, happen to your Ryots or Country. By the Word of God, and the holy Coran, and of the bleſſed Imaums, this Agreement is made between me and my Heirs, and you and your Heirs, and it ſhall never be deviated from. Dated this 18th Day of the Moon Jemmady ul ſami, in the Year 1177 Hegiree, anſwering to the 6th September 1773, Engliſh Style."

" A true Tranſlation.

" (Signed) Wm. Redfearn, Perſian Tranſlator."

" Tranſlation of the Potta given by the Nabob Shujah ul Dowlah to Rajah Cheyt Sing. No. 6.

" The Sircar of Benares and Chunarah, and the Mehals of the Sircar of Juanpoor, &c. including Land Rents and Syer Duties, and Havely Mahomed-abad Benares, Mulboos Khans Pergunnah Booder, &c. Talook of Sikinra Mow, in the Dependencies of the Pergunnah Khaundat, Pergunnah Buddoky Lukuneſegur Bejeypeoor, Sircar, Gazeypoor Pergunnah Sakinderpoor Khereed Shadey-abad, and Toppeh Seyriach, &c. Land Rents and Syer Duties included, after deducting the Duſtoor Dewanny, Nankar Half of the Jaghier of Buddohy, and the other exempted Jaghiers; and whatever has formerly been allowed as Deductions, I do now fully grant and make over to you, in the Terms of your Cabooleat, from the Firſt of Khareef 1178, in Conſideration of the Sum of Benares Cumſunna Rupees 22,48,449 Aſſil and Ezafa, as ſpecified underneath, clear of all Expences of Schbundy. It is neceſſary that you pay the above Sum to the Sircar, according to the ſtated and eſtabliſhed Kiſts Year by Year; and by the Favour of God, there ſhall never be any Deviation from this Agreement.

" Particulars, viz.

" Paid by Rajah Bulwund Sing as follows;

" Benares,	12,00,607	
" Buddochy,	1,30,000	
" Sukneeſgur,	16,000	
" Bejeypoor,	2,00,000	
" Gazeypoor,	5,00,000	
" Shadey-abad,	40,000	
		20,86607
" Deduct Nanker Half of the Jaghier of Buddochy and Alturngha, &c.		88158
" Neat Revenue paid by Rajah Bulwund Sing,		19,98,449
" Increaſe ſettled with Rajah Cheyt Sing,		2,50,000
" Nett Revenue to be paid by Rajah Cheyt Sing, Rupees,		22,48,449

" Dated the 27th of Rejub, in the Year of the Hegiree 1184.

" A true Tranſlation.

" Signed, Wm. Redfearn, Perſian Tranſlator."

" From the Governor to Rajah Cheyte Sing. No. 7.

" At this Time the Vizier of the Empire having given you an Agreement, under his Hand and Seal, which I have counterſigned, and alſo affixed my Seal to, it is neceſſary, that conformably thereto, and according to the Treaty concluded at Allahabad, by Lord Clive and the Vizier, reſpecting Rajah Bulwund Sing your deceaſed Father, you, with the greateſt Cheerfulneſs, pay to the Vizier the Rents thereby eſtabliſhed; in which caſe the Company will always attend

attend to your Welfare, and afford you their Care and Protection; and in the Agreements aforementioned, there ſhall never be any Breach or Deviation.

" A true Tranſlation.

" Signed, Wm. Redfearn, Perſian Tranſlator."

The Managers for the Commons propoſed next to ſhew the Light in which the Defendant underſtood theſe Agreements, and the Senſe he put upon them. For which Purpoſe,

The Witneſs produced Book 6, intituled, " Bengal Letters received 16th May 1775, 20th January 1776."

Read Paragraphs 7 and 8 of a General Letter, Secret Department at Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated, Fort William, 16th May 1775. (Received *per* Northumberland, 4th April 1776).

7. " We muſt not omit to mention, that the Nabob ſome Time ago paid in to Colonel Gailliez a ſecond Tunka on Rajah Cheyt Sing for Six Lacks of Rupees on the Company's Account, againſt
Deeſt in Orig. which the Raj did not fail to remonſtrate in the ſtrong Terms, alledging that he had made great
Deeſt in Orig. Advances already in the Payment of his Tribute; that if the Nabob continued to dr on him in this Manner, it would bring him under the greateſt preſent Diſtreſs, and eſtabliſh a Precedent that would be injurious to him in future, and therefore praying that we would not accept the Tunka, but return it to the Nabob.

8. " As we ſaw the Force of theſe Objections on the Part of the Raja, and conſidered him as under the particular Protection of the Company, we thought fit to order the Tunka to be returned, and conſequently directed Mr. Briſtow to remonſtrate to the Nabob againſt ſuch Proceedings. The Nabob at firſt received this Remonſtrance with Warmth, and alledged that the Raja was his Zemindar, and that he had a Right to draw his Revenue from him as he pleaſed; but at laſt ſeemed to acquieſce in the Juſtice of Mr. Briſtow's Repreſentation, and ſaid he would avoid giving any Uneaſineſs on that Account to the Raja in future."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 7, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, 24th March to 31ſt May 1775. (Received per Northumberland, 4th June 1776.")

Read, ſeveral Extracts from Bengal Secret Conſultations, Fort William, 30th March 1775, beginning at Page 625 of the ſaid Book, containing the Remonſtrance of Rajah Cheyt Sing, alluded to in the Extracts laſt read, and the Proceedings of the Governor General and Council upon it.

" Fort William, 30th March 1775.

Secret Dep. Thurſday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

" The Governor lays before the Board the following Tranſlations of Letters from Rajah Cheit Sing, One of which is addreſſed to himſelf, and the other to the Rajah's Vakeel.

" From Rajah Cheit Sing.

Rajah Cheite Sing diſſatisfied with the Tuncaws granted by the Nabob on him.

" I have been honoured by your gracious Letter, informing me that my ſo ready Compliance with your Deſire in the Payment of the Tunka of Five Lacks of Rupees gave you great Pleaſure, and alſo that you would write to the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah to expel Munneer and Oſſant Sing, and to put a Stop to the building of the Houſe at Benares. Munneer Sing is ſtill in the Preſence, and Oſſant Sing has left his Highneſs's Army, and taken up his Reſidence at Illahabad, and has an Intention of farming Two or Three Mahals of Noroze Ally Cawn, the Naib Soubah.

" With reſpect to the Letters which you were ſo kind as to promiſe to write to the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah on this Subject, if they are not yet ſent, I requeſt that there may be no Delay in forwarding them, that theſe Two rebellious and ungrateful Servants may be expelled from the Country. My ſole Dependence is in your Favour.

" The Deceaſe of the late Nabob has for the preſent put a Stop to the Building which was carrying on at Benares.

" I have written fully to Ally Nawaz Cawn on ſeveral Subjects, who will have the Honour of communicating every Particular to you."

" Extract of a Letter from Rajah Cheit Sing to his Vakeel.

" By a Letter from Mohukkim Sing I learn, that Mahomed Ellich Cawn has received a Tunkaw on me, to commence on the 7th Kikaſt, and that it has been determined to give another Tunka

on

on me for Six Lacks of Rupees in advance to the Engliſh Chiefs. You are well acquainted with the Nabob's Diſpoſition, and that he is continually deviſing Means to bring me under the Governor's Diſpleaſure. He has concluded in his own Mind that I will not conſent to the Payment of Advances, leſt it be conſidered as a Precedent; and that, by refuſing to do ſo, I ſhall fall under the Governor's Diſpleaſure. I have already paid Five Lacks of Rupees to the Government, and you are to conſider that, by the Payment of that, it makes good all that was due from me to the 6th Kiſt, Mahomed Elliah Cawn's Tunka commences the 7th Kiſt, and will be paid at the latter End of Suffer.

"The Tunka of Six Lacks in advance, which it has been determined to give the Engliſh Chiefs on me, is without any Precedent, except the One of Five Lacks of Rupees, which I lately diſcharged. I was then fearful of its becoming a Precedent, and was undetermined whether to comply with it or not; but, in conſequence of Letters from the Governor and you, preſſing me to the immediate Payment of it, I raiſed the Sum by Loans. I am now again plagued with Demands beyond my Power to comply with. As the Governor has been graciouſly pleaſed to honour me with the Appellation of his Son, I have the greateſt Confidence that he will exert himſelf to prevent any Tunkas in advance being given on me. Repreſent this Affair to him in private, and requeſt from me that he will not give his Conſent to this Tunka, but that he will be ſo kind as to write to the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla, that he may deſiſt from ever troubling me with ſuch kind of Tunkas, which it is not in my Power to comply with, but to take my Kiſts from me monthly."

Agreed that the following Directions be ſent to Mr. Briſtow, in conſequence of the above Repreſentation from Raja Chite Sing.

"To Mr. John Briſtow, Reſident at the Court of the Nabob of Oude.

"Sir,

"We have received a Letter from you of the 14th March ſince our laſt to you.

"Rajah Cheit Sing having complained to this Government of the Diſtreſs which he ſuffers from the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla granting Tuncaws upon him, particularly in the late Inſtances of One granted to Ellich Cawn, and another to the Company, for Six Lacks of Rupees, both of which encroach greatly upon the Kiſts which are not yet due, every Thing being paid up already by him to the 6th Kiſt, we direct that you remonſtrate to the Nabob againſt ſuch Proceedings, ſhewing that they are unjuſt, and contrary to his Engagements with the Raja, of which we are the Guarantees, and that you demand Payment from him for the above-mentioned Tuncaw to the Company which he delivered to Colonel Gailliez, and which the Raja thus declines to accept; and alſo that you require the Payment of the other Sums due by him without Delay.

"We deſire you may tranſmit with all poſſible Diſpatch the Account of the monthly Subſidy for the Troops received from the Nabob, for which we wrote you ſome Time ago.

"We are, &c.

"Fort William, 30th March 1775.

Signed, at the End of the Conſultation,
Warren Haſtings.
J. Clavering.
Geo. Monſon.
R. Barwell.
P. Francis."

To prove what Mr. Briſtow, the Reſident at Oude, did in conſequence of the above Letter,

Read, from the ſame Book, p. 2043, the following Extract from Bengal Secret Conſultation.

"Fort William, the 27th April 1775.

"At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

Secret Dep. Thurſday.

"Received the following Letter and Incloſure from the Reſident at the Court of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah.

"Rajepe Gaut, oppoſite to Konnogee, the 14th April 1775.

"To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, and the Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

Reſident at Oude.

"Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

"My laſt was on the 11th inſtant, ſince when I am favoured with your Letter of the 30th *ultimo*. I, in conſequence, waited upon his Excellency, and intimated your Commands to him. He, at firſt, expreſſed great Diſcontent at the Honourable Board's protecting Rajah Cheyte Sing; called

him

him his Zemindar, of whom he had a Right to require his Rents in advance; and told me that he did not think I was authoriſed to make any Repreſentation to him on this Head, or that of the Releaſe of the Rohilla Families; for the Governor General would have wrote to him, as well as to me, on theſe Matters. I hereupon quoted the Words of my Credentials, and requeſted his Excellency to conſider my Truſt was general; that it was intended he ſhould pay Attention to any Repreſentations I ſhould make in the Name of the Honourable Board; and this Mode of Negociation had been adopted to ſave Trouble on both Sides.

" I likewiſe quoted the Treaty ſubſiſting between the late Vizier and Rajah Cheyte Sing, and
Deeſt in Orig. their Heirs reſpectively, of which the Company were the Guara ſo long as the Raja paid his
Kiſts, when they and his Excellency, on his Part, could not dema
Encreaſe of Rent or Sums in advance.

" After a long Converſati his confeſſed he had, on my firſt mentio not recollect the Circumſtances I had explained to him; that his Reaſon for granting the laſt Tuncaw was, the Rajah having once before paid me in favour of the Company for Five Lacks of Rupees, and thought he would do it again; beſides this, he had, at the Time, no other Means of diſcharging ever ſo ſmall a Part of the Money due from him to the Company. I, upon this, told his Excellency (what he alſo pretended not to remember) that the Rajah had been induced to pay the Firſt Tuncaw of Five Lacks with great Difficulty, and did it ſolely to avoid Altercation; that he would not now, by a Repetition, eſtabliſh a Precedent ſo diſadvantageous to himſelf, and contrary to the Letter of the Treaty. I then explained the Orders of the Honourable Board, which I had juſt received, directing me to ſolicit for the immediate Payment of the Amount of the ſaid Tuncaw of Six Lacks, and the Balance in full, due to the Company: To which his Excellency replied, that he really had not Money at preſent; but if I would wait only Eight or Ten Days, agreeable to his Promiſe, he would liquidate the Balance; and ſhould eſteem it an Act of Friendſhip in the Honourable Board, ſtill to accept the Tuncaw; for although it was not immediately receiveable, yet the Money might be eſteemed ſecure, and would be paid out of the Rajah's enſuing Kiſts. His Excellency alſo aſſured me, that he would not draw in future upon the Rajah in advance.

" After the Inſtructions I had received from the Honourable Board relative to the new Treaty, I thought it adviſeable, in caſe the ceding of Benaras ſhould take Place, that it ought to be done without Incumbrances; for this Reaſon I ſhall write to Mr. Motte to return the Tuncaw to me, receive ſuch Part of it as is become due upon the Rajah's Kiſts, which I will get paſſed in Account with the Nabob, and endeavour to have the Balance paid me here.

" At my Interview this Day there were many People preſent. I therefore thought it neceſſary, after the Converſation which had paſſed, both to ſupport the Honour of the Government, and the Credit of my own Station, to tell his Excellency, that the Honourable Board would never ſuffer the Rights of their Dependants to be infringed; Rajah Chyte Sing was to be conſidered in this Light, and he muſt expect to ſee him protected; for that he was not to be put upon a Footing with his other Zemindars."

Signed, at the End of the Letter,
" John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Court of the Nabob of Oude."

Then the Witneſs produced Book VIII. intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, 2d January and 14th February 1775."

And the Managers for the Commons deſired an Extract from Bengal Secret Conſultation of the 13th February 1775, containing a Propoſition made by Mr. Haſtings relative to Cheyt Sing, and his own Obſervations upon that Propoſition, might be read.

The Counſel for the Defendant ſubmitted, that the Senſe would be mutilated if the Governor General's Propoſition alone were read, without reading the Whole of the Minutes preceding it.

The Managers for the Commons ſaid they thought it immaterial, but did not object to the reſt of the Minutes being read.

Accordingly read, the following Extracts of Secret Conſultation, 13th February 1775, beginning at Page 793 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, 13th February 1775.

Secret Dep. Monday. " At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell } Eſquires.
Philip Francis }

" The Board proceed to conſider the Subject of the further Inſtructions which it may be neceſſary to give to the Reſident at the Court of Aſoph ul Dowlah, Nabob of Owde.

" The

" The Governor General,— conceives it to be neceſſary, before the Board proceed any further on the Buſineſs now before them, that One Principle, upon which every other Reſolution muſt depend, ſhould be determined; and therefore deſires that the following Queſtion be put.

" Whether this Board conſiders the Treaties which were made with the late Nabob Sujah Dowlah, as remaining in Force, or as having expired at his Death?"

" Mr. Francis.—I think that the Obligations contained in the ſeveral Treaties with the Vizier, to ſupport him in the Poſſeſſion of his Territories, were confined to his Perſon, and conſequently expired with him.

" Mr. Barwell.—This Queſtion muſt be deciſively determined by the expreſs Letter of the reciprocal Engagements of the contracting Parties. I therefore deſire the Treaties may be referred to, the Board will then ſee how far the Obligations extend.

" Read the Treaties of Illahabad and Benares.

" Mr. Barwell.—I think the Treaties bind to his Heirs.

" Colonel Monſon.—I think the Treaties with the Vizir expire in his Perſon.

" General Clavering.—I deſire to know, whether the Governor in the Word " Treaties" comprehends the Engagement with the late Vizir reſpecting the Rohilla War?

" The Governor General.—I conceive, that my Opinion in this Point can be of no Uſe in deciding the Queſtion before us, becauſe it has been already decided by the Majority of the Board, that the Engagements with reſpect to the Rohilla War, formed by the late Adminiſtration with the late Vizir, had not the Obligation of Treaty, nor, if I rightly recollect the Declaration made on this Subject, were, in any reſpect, obligatory upon this Government.

" General Clavering.—I could have wiſhed to have heard the Governor General's Opinion upon the Queſtion I took the Liberty to ſubmit to him, on the Obligations of this Government to defend the Rohilla Country, as clearly given as that which Mr. Barwell gave in his Minute of the 31ſt October, becauſe I might have formed ſome Judgment of the Governor General's Ideas on the Force and Extent of the Treaties contracted with the late Vizir. I think the Treaty of Illahabad was broken by the ſubſequent Treaty of Benares, by which Corah and Illahabad were taken from the King and given to the Vizir; ſo that, whatever Conception I might entertain of the Validity of the original Treaty, I think it now no longer obligatory on this Government till the Court of Directors have given their Approbation of the Treaty of Benares, which entirely altered the Nature of the other.

" The Governor General.—I am of Opinion, that the Treaties which were made with the late Nabob Sujah Dowlah ſtill continue in Force, and have admitted of no other Change but in that of the Perſon of his Heir and Succeſſor ſtanding in his Place. The firſt Clauſe of the firſt Article of the Treaty of Illahabad, in my Conſtruction of it, extends the Obligation of that Treaty to the whole Line of the Nabob Sujah Dowlah's Heirs. The Treaty of Benares being but explanatory of the former, in the Article which reſpects the Part of the extra Charges of the Forces employed in his Defence, muſt be underſtood in the ſame Senſe with reſpect to that Article; and the firſt Article expreſsly granting the Poſſeſſion of Corah and Illahabad to the Vizir for ever, a Term excluding all Limitation;

" Reſolved, That the Treaties made with the late Vizier Sujah Dowlah do not remain in Force, but expired at his Death. — The Treaties of the late Vizier expired with him.

" The Governor General propoſes the following Queſtion.

" Whether a new defenſive Treaty ſhall be executed with the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, in caſe he himſelf ſhould ſolicit it?

" Mr. Francis.—Suppoſing the Nabob to require our Aſſiſtance in ſupport of his Succeſſion, I think that a new Defenſive Treaty ſhould be formed with him on the moſt advantageous Terms which can be obtained for the Company.

" Mr. Barwell.—Certainly.

" Col. Monſon.—I think a new Defenſive Treaty ſhould be executed with the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla on the moſt advantageous Terms for the Company.

" The General agrees with Colonel Monſon.

" The Governor General.—I am of Opinion there ſhould.

" Agreed, that a new Defenſive Treaty be executed with the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla, in caſe he ſolicits it. — A new Treaty to be formed with Aſoph ul Dowla.

" The Governor General propoſes that each Member of the Board deliver in his Sentiments of the Conditions to be required or acceded to for the new Treaty. Not having himſelf ſufficiently conſidered this Subject in the Latitude which has been given to it by the foregoing Reſolution, he wiſhes to prepare what he may have to offer himſelf, unleſs any immediate Propoſition ſhall be made by any Member of the Board, on which he ſhould be willing to give his Opinion. — Each Member to deliver his Sentiment on this.

" Reſolved to adjourn to the Evening, that every Member may prepare his Ideas on this Subject. — Adjourned.

" Met in the Evening at Six o'Clock, according to Adjournment. — Met again.

" Reſumed the Subject of the new Treaty to be formed with the Nabob of Oude.

" Agreeable to the Governor General's Propoſal in the Morning, the Members of the Board deliver in their ſeparate Opinions in Writing, as follows:

" Mr.

" Fort William, 13th February 1775.

" Mr. Francis.—Suppoſing it to be the Intereſt and Deſire of the preſent Nabob of Oude to enter into a new Defenſive Treaty with the Company, by which we may oblige ourſelves to guarantee to him the Poſſeſſion of any Part of his preſent Territories, I think that the following Articles ſhould be propoſed and inſiſted on for the Advantage of the Company.

" 1ſt. The Pay of our Troops in his Service to be made equal to their real Expence upon a new monthly Eſtimate, and to commence from the Acceſſion of the preſent Nabob.

" 2d. The Zemindarry of Benares to be made dependant as a Fief on the united Kingdoms of Bengal and Bahar, and the Tribute lately paid by the Rajah to the Vizier to be paid to this Government.

" 3d. The preſent Rajah of Benares to be confirmed in the Zemindarry, which may be perpetuated in his Family, under a fixed annual Tribute, and a fixed Fine at each future Inveſtiture. A free Trade to be opened between theſe Provinces and his Country. The Rajah's Authority in his own Government to be left free and uncontrouled.

" 4th. If the Poſſeſſion of the Rohilla Country, or any Part of it, be guaranteed by a future Treaty to the Nabob, that ſome favourable Terms be made for the ſurviving Chiefs of the Rohilla's, or their Repreſentatives.

" 5th. The Debts from Sujah Dowlah (ſuppoſing them not to be liquidated at the Concluſion of the new Treaty) to be conſidered and acknowledged by the preſent Nabob as due from himſelf, or the Repreſentative of the State of Oude for the Time being.

" 6th. Beſides the Guarantee to be ſtipulated in Return for the above Conditions, this Government ſhall undertake to obtain from the King a regular Confirmation of the Nabob in his Government, according to the Laws and Conſtitution of the Empire.

" 7th. I conceive that the Attachment of Nudjuff Cawn might be ſecured with the greateſt Advantage to this Government, if, through our Recommendation, the King would appoint him Vizier of the Empire with a Jaghire, which might eaſily be found for him either in the Donabe or the Rohilla Country. I underſtand that he is one of the ableſt Men and beſt Soldiers in the Empire; if properly placed in point of local Situation, and his Attachment ſecured, he might ſerve as a Barrier to the Subadary of Oude either againſt the Marattas, or any other Invaders, from the Weſtern or Southern Parts of India.

(Signed) P. Francis."

" Mr. Barwell.—The firſt Object to be attended to in a new Treaty is the future Strength and Security of our own Poſſeſſions. The Company have invariably declared againſt any further Acceſſion of Territory to themſelves, any Conditions of that Tendency are of Courſe out of the Queſtion.

" 1ſt. I think the Conditions of the old Treaty (the Article reſpecting Corah and Illiabad excepted) is a good Foundation for any we may now chuſe to form.

" 2d. As it may be poſſible to encreaſe the Subſidy for a Brigade employed in Oud, &c. that Increaſe ought if poſſible to be effected; but its Extent being arbitrary, and depending entirely on the Pleaſure of the Board, we ſhould conſider in which Way to make our Aid the leaſt burthenſome and moſt uſeful to our Ally.

" Our Military Eſtabliſhment is become an intolerable Burthen, and the Directors have expreſsly recommended that ſuch Reduction take Place in it as may be done with Safety to Bengal. To effect a Reduction appears here a ſecondary Object, the Safety of Bengal the Firſt; to anſwer both, we ſhould engage our Ally to pay a reſpectable Body of Troops, ſuch as we may at all Times be able abſolutely to command, and uſe as our own on any emergent Occaſion; if this can be effected, a proportionable Retrenchment of our own Forces may immediately take Place, and the Burthen be removed from our Shoulders to thoſe of our Ally; this is preferable, in my Opinion, to the hiring out any Part of our own Forces occaſionally to defend Oud, &c. and will equally ſtrengthen the Nabob againſt his foreign Enemies, while it renders him proportionably weak and dependant on us.

" 3d. The Independency of Gauzipore on Oud is a great political Object, and ought to be inſiſted on; and whatever may be reſolved reſpecting the Revenue paid by the Rajah of that Country, the Engliſh Government ought not to ſtand in the ſame Relation to it as the late Vizier, becauſe the Country of Benares and Gauzipore is a natural Barrier to theſe Provinces, and the Rajah ſhould have the ſtrongeſt Ties of Intereſt to ſupport our Government in caſe of any future Rupture with the Subah of Oud. To make this his Intereſt, he muſt not be tributary to the Engliſh Government, for from the Inſtant he becomes its Tributary, from that Moment we may expect him to ſide againſt us, and by taking Advantage of the Troubles and Commotions that may ariſe, attempt to diſburthen himſelf of his pecuniary Obligations.

" Mr. Monſon.—On the Death of a Suba, the Subdaree eſcheats to the Crown; before Stipulations are made with Aſif ul Dowla, his Right to the Nabobſhip of Oude ſhould be legally aſcertained.

" If the King nominates any other Perſon to the Nabobſhip of Oude, our Oppoſition to that Appointment is a Violation of the Laws of that Government under which we oſtenſibly hold the Dewannee.

" I think, therefore, in the preſent Inſtance, we ſhould act as Mediator between the King and Aſif ul Dowlah. This Meaſure will be ſerviceable to the young Nabob, reſpectful to the King, and obviate many Circumſtances that may hereafter appear inconſiſtent in our Conduct.

" Supporting

" Supporting Mirza Amanee in the Succeſſion without the King's Firmaund, will be an Act of Rebellion.

" The King's Firmaund therefore appears to be indiſpenſably neceſſary as a Sanction for our Conduct and Honour.

" For this Service done the Nabob, we ſhould require that Cheit Sing's Zemindaree be annexed to the Soubahſhip of Bengal or Bahar, or to both.

" To engage for the young Nabob ſtrictly to adhere to all Treaties made between the King and Soujah Dowlah, and to endeavour to prevail on the Nabob to give the Whole of the Rohilla Country to the King.

" The King Shaw Allum, for theſe Advantages, and for the Reſpect ſhewn him, ſhould make over the Sovereignty of Bengal and Bahar to the King of Great Britain, and relinquiſh all Claims to his Tribute.

" If theſe Terms are too ſevere on the Nabob, they may be mitigated, by relinquiſhing the Sums that remain due from him for the Conqueſt of the Rohilla Country.

" If the Nabob Aſif ul Dowlah requires the Aſſiſtance of a Brigade, he ſhould pay all Charges attending it.

" I mean by Charges, the Pay, Batta, and contingent Expences.

" General Clavering.—In conſidering the important Subject which is now before us, I have two Objects in View; firſt, the obtaining the greateſt poſſible Advantage to the Company, in Conſideration of the defenſive Aid propoſed to be given to the new Nabob; the Second is, the avoiding the greateſt probable Inconveniency to the State by virtue of the Engagements we may enter into with him.

" As the Baſis of all my Reaſoning, the following Premiſes muſt be granted to me: Firſt, That the Nabob Miza Ammanee poſſeſſes ſuch Diſqualifications of Character, that he cannot maintain himſelf in his Muſnud without our Aſſiſtance.

" 2d. That there is a political Neceſſity in this Government not to allow any other Prince to occupy the Subahſhip of Oude, and the Countries of Corah and Illahabad, without our Concurrence.

" It is well known that there will be as many Competitors for the Countries left by the late Vizier as there are Powers in that Part of Indoſtan. The King, the Mahrattas, the Jauts, the Rohillas, Nudjuff Cawn, and even ſome of the Nabob's own Family, and Commanders of his Armies, will probably all, or moſt of them, ſtrive to obtain ſome Share of his Dominions.

" The Queſtion then is, Will it be for the Intereſt of the Company to permit any of theſe Princes to eſtabliſh themſelves in the Provinces bordering on Bengal without our Conſent? I am of Opinion there would be great Danger in permitting it. In that Caſe, what Meaſure muſt be purſued to render us the Arbiters of thoſe Countries conſiſtently with thoſe Views which I firſt ſtated, the obtaining the greateſt poſſible Advantage to the Company, and avoiding the greateſt probable Inconveniency in the Undertaking?

" The greateſt Advantage, in my Conception, that can be obtained for the Company is, Firſt, the total Extinction of the King's Claim to the Tribute on theſe Provinces.

" That the Zemindary of Benares and Gauzipore ſhall be held by Cheit Sing of the Company inſtead of the Suba of Oude.

" To obtain the firſt, it ſhould be propoſed to the King that he ſhould renounce his Tribute on theſe Provinces; that he ſhould acknowledge the Nabob of Oude to be Soubah of that Country, and ſhould appoint him Vizier.

" In return for this Favour, we ſhould reſtore to him the Country of Corah and Illahabad.

" The Nabob, in return to the Favour ſhewn him, and procured by our Mediation, ſhould relinquiſh to the Company the Sovereignty of Benares and Gauzipore, to be held as at preſent by Cheit Sing, on his paying his Tribute to the Company.

" In order to attach this Rajah to the Company, his Tribute ought to be diminiſhed at leaſt Three Lacks of Rupees. Whatever Aſſiſtance ſhall be afterwards required by either the King or the Nabob for the Defence of their reſpective Countries of Corah, Illahabad, and the Province of Oude, not leſs than Three Lacks per Month ſhould be paid to the Company, as leſs than that will not defray the Expence of a Brigade ſerving out of the Provinces.

The Governor General.—On the Grounds already reſolved on, I propoſe the following Articles for the new Treaty, premiſing, that I conſider the Debts due from the late Vizir as not appertaining to the Subject of the intended Treaty. Theſe we claim as a Right exempt from any future Negotiation.

" 1ſt. That the Treaties of Illahabad and Benares be renewed on the Footing on which they ſtood at the Vizier's Death.

☞ ["2d. That the perpetual and independent Poſſeſſion of the Zemindarry of Benaris, and its Dependencies, be confirmed and guaranteed to Rajah Cheit

" By this Propoſition, the monthly Subſidy for our own Army will remain as ſettled with the late Vizir at 2,10,000 Rs. I am againſt augmenting it. The Expence ought not to exceed that Sum. If more be agreed on, it will either diſcourage the Nabob from employing the Brigade, or he will employ it, and moſt probably ſuffer it to run in Arrears.

" The Rajah of Benaris, from the Situation of his Country, which is a Frontier both to the Provinces of Oude and Bahar, may be made a ſerviceable Ally to the Company whenever their Affairs ſhall require it. He has

 always

Cheit Sing and his Heirs for ever, ſubject only to the annual Payment of the Revenue hitherto paid to the late Vizir, amounting to B^{s}. R^{s}. 23,71,656 : 12, to be diſpoſed of, as expreſſed in the following Article; that no other Demand be made upon him, either by the Nabob of Oude, or this Government, nor any Kind of Authority or Juriſdiction exerciſed by either within the Dominions aſſigned him.

" 3. That an equal Partition be made of the Revenue of the Zemindarry of Benaris between the Company and the Nabob of Oude; that is to ſay, that the Rajah ſhall pay monthly to each the Sum of 98,823 : 2 : 9, amounting on the whole to R^{s}. 23,716,56 : 12 per Annum; and that this Participation be expreſsly declared to be intended as a Pledge and Acknowledgment of the equal Relation in which the Rajah and his Succeſſors are hereafter to ſtand to both Governments.

" Agreed, that theſe ſeveral Opinions lie for further Conſideration."

always been conſidered in this Light, both by the Company and the ſucceſſive Members of the late Council; but, to enſure his Attachment to the Company, his Intereſt muſt be connected with it, which cannot be better effected than by freeing him totally from the Remains of his preſent Vaſſalage, under the Guarantee and Protection of the Company, and at the ſame time guarding him againſt any Apprehenſions from this Government, by thus pledging its Faith, that no Encroachments ſhall ever be made on his Rights by the Company.]

" I propoſe this Article with ſome Reluctance, as contrary to my Idea of the Right of the Nabob of Oude, in virtue of the Treaty originally formed between his Father and the Company; but it is conformable to the Principle adopted by the Board in the Reſolution paſſed this Morning, and may perhaps be obtained without much Oppoſition from the Nabob; at the ſame time, that it contributes to fix the Independency of the Zemindarry of Benaris on the moſt permanent Foundation."

The above Extracts being read, the Managers for the Commons ſubmitted to the Houſe, whether it would not be reaſonable, that, for the future, when a Paper was produced, ſuch Matter ONLY as they propoſed to read ſhould be read, unleſs the Counſel for the Defendant would ſtate that they wiſhed to read other Parts of the ſame Paper, as neceſſary to illuſtrate and to make intelligible the Matter particularly referred to by the Managers for the Commons.

The Houſe informed the Managers for the Commons and the Counſel, that the Rule ſtood thus: That if a Paper is produced, it muſt be read intire, if required by either Party; and that the Houſe for the preſent muſt put a Confidence in the Party who ſhall inſiſt upon its being ſo read intire, that they will not do it frivolouſly.

To prove that the 2d Propoſition abovementioned was agreed to by the Board,

The Witneſs produced Book 9, intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, 24th February and 20th March 1775."

Read, the following Extracts beginning at Page 1126 of the ſame Book*.

Secret Dep. Friday.

" Fort William, the 3d March, 1775.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering.
The Honourable George Monſon.
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

" Read and approved the Conſultation held Yeſterday.

" Reſumed the Conſideration of the ſeparate Minutes delivered in by each Member of the Board in Conſultation of the 13th ultimo, on the Subject of a new Treaty to be entered into with the Nabob of Oude, and of the Inſtructions to be given to the Reſident at his Court.

" It being reſolved that a new Defenſive Treaty ſhall be executed with the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, in caſe he himſelf ſhall ſolicit it; it remains to be determined, what Part of the Nabob's Dominions ſhall be included in this Defenſive Treaty.

" The Governor General remarks, that the Nabob's preſent Dominions conſiſt of the Subahdary of Oude, the Diſtricts of Corah and Illiabad, the Country lately conquered from the Rohillas, and the late Vizier's Conqueſts in the Duaube; to theſe may be added the Zemindarry of Rajah Cheit Sing, which is tributary to the Nabob; and the Government † propoſes, That the Queſtion be put which of theſe Territories ſhall be included in the propoſed Defenſive Treaty.

" Mr. Francis.—My Opinion is, That we may with Propriety guarantee to the preſent Nabob of Oude, for his Life, all the Countries guaranteed to the late Vizier by the Treaty of Illahabad, except the Dominions of Cheyt Sing. I think that this Guarantee may alſo be conditionally and pro tempore extended to the Countries of Corah and Illahabad, until we ſhall be informed whether

* See the Matter particularly referred to by the Managers for the Commons, Page 48.
† Sic in Orig.

the

the Treaty of Benares be ratified or disapproved of by the Court of Directors. I do not think it safe or precedent * to enter into any Engagements that may eventually carry the Company's Forces beyond the Limits of the Countries I have mentioned.

* Sic in Orig.

" Mr. Barwell.—In the different Resolutions that the Board have come to as a Ground-work for a new Defensive Treaty, it is acknowledged that this Government is bound to support the Rights and Pretensions of the Son of Sujah Dowlah to the Succession of his Father's Dominions, and Orders have, conformably to this Resolution, been sent to Colonel Galliez. Upon what Terms the Nabob of Oude was to have his Pretensions to succeed his Father supported by this Government, is not expressed; I therefore conceived, that the Aid of our Troops was hereafter to be settled by a Subsidy adequate to the Expence, and that the Intention of the Board was expressly declared of opposing any Competitor in Prejudice to the Rights this Government sanctify. And, as I do not suppose there is any Design in the English Government to withdraw the Countenance already shewn the Son of Sujah Dowlah, and by such Means render Commotions probable which may reduce him to that Distress to solicit our Interposition on any Terms, I imagine the Son of Sujah Dowlah is to be maintained in the Soubadarry of his Father, on the equitable Footing of his disbursing the just Charge of the Armament he requires for his Support; and if 2,10,000 Rs. are inadequate to the Expence of the Brigade, it should be rated as high as the real Charge. I premise this before I proceed to answer the Question, because every additional Advantage to be obtained to this Government, both upon Principles of Equity and Policy, must be in Proportion to the Advantages it gives to the other contracting Parties. If, therefore, we propose the Acquisition of Wealth to this Government, that Acquisition can only be in Proportion to the Policy which shall be adopted; and, as I conceive the English Government may be benefited both in its Finances, and its Powers of external Defence, by guaranteeing the Countries already in Possession of the Soubah of Oude, such Guarantee, in my Opinion, should take Place; if it does not, I must propose, equally for the mutual Defence of our Ally and this Government, that every after Persuasion shall be used to influence the Soubah to maintain a Body of 12,000 Sepoys, agreeably to the English Establishment, to be commanded by our Officers, and the Pay to be advanced to the Officers, who shall issue it to the Sepoys. Thus, either by guaranteeing all the Countries now depending on the Soubah of Oude, or the Alternative of furnishing him with the Means of maintaining his Conquests, some Advantage will result to the State; otherwise, I do not see any Means there is to influence a Prince to make such Concessions, as appear from the different Minutes of some of the Members to be expected from him.

" Colonel Monson.—I do not conceive it to have been the Intention of this Government, to support Mirza Amany in the Succession of the late Vizier's intire Dominions. The Intention was to acknowledge the Succession, and to support him under certain Stipulations in the Soubahdarry of Oude. The Defensive Treaty now proposed to be entered into with that Prince for the Guarantee of his Dominions, should not extend beyond those of Oude, Corah, and Illahabad, with the Proviso that the Treaty of Benaris is ratified by the Company. This Guarantee should only be granted on such Terms as may be advantageous for the Company. If the Guarantee is to extend beyond the ancient Dominions of the Soubahdarry of Oude, an Equivalent is to be given to the Company for that extraordinary Service granted to the Nabob. If, in this Defensive Treaty, the Nabob should make a Requisition of any Part of the Company's Military Force, he is to defray the whole Expence attending them.

" General Clavering.—The Opinion of the Majority of the Board, when the Question was agitated, Whether there was an Obligation by Treaty on this Government to interfere in regulating the Succession to the late Vizier, was absolutely, That there was no such Obligation; however, on Occasion of the Successions, it was agreed to acknowledge Mirza Amany to be the Heir and Successor to his Father, Sujah Dowlah. The Question is therefore at present open for any Resolution the Board pleases to take, in regard to the defensive Alliance it was agreed that we would enter into with Mirza Amany, provided he proposed it. On this Footing I am ready to consent to guarantee the Possession of the Province of Oude to the young Nabob; provided he, on his Part, consent to cede to the Company the Sovereignty of Cheyte Sing's Country; and whenever he requires the Assistance of the Company's Forces, to defend the Province of Oude only, and never to the Rohilla Country. I will give my Consent to such a subsidiary Treaty, on his paying Three Lacks of Rupees Monthly for a complete Brigade. With regard to the Province of Corah, I think, in Justice, it ought to be restored to the King, and a Negociation set on Foot, at the same Time, to obtain from him a Renunciation of his Tribute upon Bengal.

" The Governor General.—My Answer to the Question is short, as it can be of no Use. We ought, in my Judgment, to guarantee to the Nabob of Oude, the Soubadaree of Oude, the Districts of Corah and Illahabad, and the Country lately conquered from the Rohillas, but no more. I do not wish to see the Company's Forces carried within the Line of the Rohilla Country, for its Defence. I believe that an Engagement to defend that Country for him would render it unnecessary. I fear he may lose it; we shall in that Case have a greater Burthen imposed on us in the Defence of the Nabob of Oude, and he be less furnished with Means of discharging his Engagements with us.

" Resolved, That the Board will agree to guarantee to the Nabob Mirza Amaney the Province of Oude, and conditionally those of Corah and Illahabad, until the Pleasure of the Court of Directors on the Treaty of Benaris be known."

[" The

☞ [" The Governor General propoſes the following Queſtion:

" Whether it ſhall be made a Condition of the new Treaty, that Rajah Cheyt Sing ſhall exerciſe a free and independent Authority in his own Dominions, ſubject only to the Payment of his Tribute?

" Mr. Francis.—Yes.

" Mr. Barwell.—Yes.

" Colonel Monſon.—No, I think not, as I ſee no Advantage in it for the Company's Intereſt.

" General Clavering.—Provided he pays the Tribute to the Company, I think he ſhould be rendered independent.

" The Governor General.—Yes.

" Reſolved in the Affirmative.]

" The Governor General further propoſes;

" Whether it ſhall be made an Article in the Treaty, that, in Conſideration of the Engagement to be entered into by this Government to guarantee the Poſſeſſions of the Nabob of Oude, as before reſolved, he ſhall cede and make over to the Company the Whole or any Part of the Tribute due from the Zemindar of Gauzapoor.

" Mr. Francis.—I conſider the Ceſſion to the Company of the whole Tribute paid by the Zemindar of Gauzapoor to the late Nabob, as the firſt and moſt eſſential Condition of a Treaty with the preſent Nabob. The Advantage gained by the Zemindar will be alſo very conſiderable, as it has always been my Opinion that his Authority in his own Government ſhould be left free and uncontrouled. As long as this Advantage is preſerved to him, he muſt conſider it as his Intereſt to be the Tributary of the Company, rather than of the Nabob.

" Mr. Barwell.—The Pollcy which the Company have laid down to be purſued, orders us to confine our Views to the Territories of which we are already poſſeſſed, and of courſe precludes the pernicious Conſequences which another Syſtem might influence. The Company, it is obvious, never intended that, upon the Neceſſities of our Allies, we ſhould graſp at any Part of the Territory they poſſeſſed. The Son of a Man with whom we were ſo lately intimately connected, upon a Suppoſition of his ſtanding in Need of our Aſſiſtance, ought not, in my Opinion, to be ſtripped of any Part of his paternal Territory. I am therefore againſt any Separation of Gauzipore, as inconſiſtent with Equity and the Company's Inſtructions. If we can ſecure to the Son of Sujah Dowlah any Advantages as an Equivalent for ſuch a Ceſſion, I think in that Caſe it ought to be demanded; otherwiſe, that we ſhould be content with receiving from him whatever may be the Charge of the Armament that marches to his Aſſiſtance.

" Colonel Monſon.—As I conſider the Company's Intereſt as the Rule of my Conduct, I can have no Objection to the Whole or any Part of the Tribute of the Zemindar of Gauzipore being demanded for the Company; but I would by no Means conſider it as an abſolute Condition to be made in conſequence of the Defenſive Treaty, as I know of no Compenſation that is propoſed to be given to the Nabob for ſo conſiderable a Ceſſion.

" General Clavering.—It is equally repugnant to my Ideas of Juſtice, and to my Conception of the Company's Intentions of not enlarging their Territories, to ſtrip any Prince of his Poſſeſſions to enlarge the Company's Territories. I only wiſh to obtain the Sovereignty of Gauzipore by a Negociation for equivalent Services, and for the Protection to be given to the Nabob. If he pleaſes to cede it to us upon theſe Terms, it may be held by the Company without extending the Line of Defence which the Court of Directors has preſcribed for the Rule of our Conduct, beyond the Bounds of our preſent Engagements. By this Means the greateſt poſſible Advantage will be obtained for the Company, without either violating the Principles of Juſtice, or exceeding the Company's Orders, ſince the Poſſeſſion will ſtill remain in the Rajah of the Country, though the Sovereignty and Tribute to be drawn from it will devolve to the Company.

" The Governor General delivers his Sentiments upon the Queſtion as follows:

" I am of Opinion that a Demand ſhould be made of a Moiety of the Revenue paid by the Zemindar of Gauzipore; but I do not think that we ought to inſiſt on this Article, or that his Refuſal to conſent to it ſhould prove an Impediment to our proceeding on the Treaty. The Zemindary of Benares, whilſt the Nabob's Right to the Tribute paid in Acknowledgment of his Sovereignty is admitted, is but Security for the punctual and faithful Diſcharge of his Engagements with the Company.

" It is for ever within our immediate Reach, and may be attached at any Time in caſe of ſuch a Failure on the Part of the Nabob as ſhall render it neceſſary and juſtifiable. A Conviction of this Advantage, and a Dread of incurring ſo mortifying a Penalty, will at all Times, except in a Caſe of abſolute Inſolvency, bind the Nabob of Oude firmly to his Engagements, and eventually prove a greater Benefit to the Company, in his Poſſeſſion, than if the Revenue was converted entirely to their Uſe.

" Reſolved, That a Demand be made for the Tribute of Gauzipore, but that it be not conſidered an abſolute and indiſpenſible Article in the Negociation with the Nabob.

" The Governor General propoſes for the next Queſtion,

" Whether the Subſidy to be ſtipulated for the Aſſiſtance of our Troops, to the Nabob of Oude, by the propoſed Treaty, ſhall continue on the preſent Footing of 2,10,000 Rupees per Month, for a Brigade, or what other Sum ſhall be demanded?"

" Mr. Francis.—I think, that provided the whole Tribute from the Rajah of Benares be transferred to the Company, we may then be content with the Monthly Subſidy on its preſent Footing; this however ſhould be our Ultimatum.—The firſt Demand ſhould be, that the Pay of our Troops, while in the Nabob's Service, be made equal to the real Expence.

" Mr. Barwell is of Opinion, that if the 2,10,000 Rupees are not enough, the Subſidy ſhould be made equal to the real Expence.

" Colonel Monſon.—If the preſent Subſidy is not equal to the Expence, a Demand ſhould be made on the Nabob, to make the Subſidy equal to the Expence of the Troops he may require.

" General Clavering.—As I only conſented that he ſhould have the Aſſiſtance of our Troops on Condition of the Ceſſion of Gauzipoor to the Company, I am of Opinion, that without that Condition obtained, no Subſidy whatever will be equivalent to the Riſque and Expence which the Company may be drawn into, in conſequence of our affording Support to a Prince ſo incapable of governing as the young Nabob is repreſented to be, and who is ſurrounded on every Side by Competitors to the ſeveral Countries to which he has ſucceeded. The preſent Subſidy is thought to be inferior to the Expence of the Troops in the Field by 70,000 Rupees per Month, excluſive of the Coſt of bringing Recruits from Europe, and the Price of Military Stores; the Amount and the Value of which cannot be eſtimated.

" The Governor General.—I am of Opinion, that the preſent Subſidy is ſufficient, and that it ought not to be encreaſed. I doubt whether a larger Sum would in reality prove a Gain to the Company.

" Reſolved, That an Increaſe of the Subſidy be demanded from the Nabob, to make it equal to the Expence of the Troops.

" Ordered, That the Secretary prepare Inſtructions for the Reſident at the Court of Oude, agreeable to the above Reſolutions, and thoſe of the 13th Ultimo."

To prove that the before mentioned Reſolution particularly referred to by the Managers for the Commons, ſupra Page 48, relative to the Rajah of Gauzepoor being made independent, was communicated to the Court of Directors;

The Witneſs produced Book X. intituled, " Bengal Letters received from 12th April 1774, to 6th April 1775."

Read, 1ſt, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th Paragraphs of a General Letter, Secret Department, dated Fort William, 24th March 1775, to the Court of Directors.

" To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies.

" Honourable Sirs,

" 1ſt. We had the Honour to addreſs you in Duplicate from this Department by the Bute and Pacifick, under Date 24th of laſt Month. Secret Dep.

" 2d. Soon after the Departure of theſe Ships, we reſumed the Conſideration of the Conditions on which it would be expedient to renew our Treaties with the Nabob of Oude, ſhould he require it.

" 3d. The Subject was agitated in Council with every Degree of Attention and circumſtantial Diſcuſſion which its Conſequences demanded. The Opinions and Arguments of the different Members are fully recorded in the *Proceedings*, to which we beg leave to refer. The Reſolutions of the Board upon them were in Subſtance as follows:

" 1ſt, That we ſhould agree to guarantee to the Nabob the Poſſeſſion of his ancient Dominion of Oude, without any Limitation, and of thoſe of Corah and Illahabad conditionally, till your Determination on the Treaty of Benares be known.

" 2dly, That we ſhould not take upon us the Defence of the Conqueſts of the late Vizier in the Doaub, or in any Shape interfere in its Affairs.

" 3dly, That the Company having fulfilled in their Engagements with reſpect to the Rohilla Expedition, we ſhould not guarantee the Poſſeſſion of that Country to him.

☞ [" 4thly. That it ſhould be an Article in any new Treaty with him, that the Rajah of Gauzipore ſhould be rendered totally independent, and left to exerciſe a free Authority in his own Dominions, ſubject only to the Payment of his Tribute.] ☜

" 5thly, That in Return for the Guarantee and Protection, which we thus agreed to afford the Nabob, we ſhould demand from him the Ceſſion, in Favor of the Company, of the Tribute now paid to him by the ſaid Rajah of Gauzipore.

" 6thly, That it ſhould be ſtipulated in the new Treaty, That in caſe of our Troops marching to the Aſſiſtance of the Nabob, he ſhould pay a Monthly Subſidy equal to the real Expence.

" 4th. Theſe Reſolutions were communicated to the Reſident at the Nabob's Court, and he was inſtructed to regard them as the Ground Work of any Treaty which ſhall be negociated between the Nabob and this Government; but that he ſhould liſten to no Propoſals until all the Claims, in virtue of his late Father's Engagements with the Company, ſhall have been adjuſted, and Payment made, or Security given for the Sums which ſhall appear due. Conſ. 8th March.

" 5th. We alſo inſtructed Mr. Briſtow, in treating with the Nabob on the different Articles above ſpecified, to aſſure him of our ſincere and ſteady Attachment to him, and in a reſpectful and ami- Ditto.

table Manner to expoſe to him our Reaſons for the Limitations we propoſed in the Treaty, and for expecting the Equivalent we demand. We even gave him Liberty, in caſe he ſhould find the Nabob diſpoſed to comply with the Ceſſion of the Tribute of Gauzipore, which we look upon as an eſſential Article for the Company's Intereſt, to yield ſomething in the Article of the Subſidy for the Troops; and to intimate, as from himſelf, that we may content ourſelves with the preſent Stipulation, or ſome other Sum ſhort of the real Expence.

" 6th. But if the Nabob ſhould poſitively refuſe to treat on the Terms above mentioned, we then directed Mr. Briſtow to ſuſpend all further Negociations with him, informing him at the ſame time, that it is our Determination, in this Caſe, to withdraw our Troops from his Country, and to notify to us his preciſe Anſwer.

" Signed, Warren Haſtings.
J. Clavering.
Geo. Monſon.
Richd. Barwell.
P. Francis."

To prove that the Sovereignty of Benares was transferred to the Company, the Witneſs produced Book XI. intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, from 6th June to 31ſt July 1775."

Read, following Extracts, beginning at Page 1 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 6th June 1775.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires."
Philip Francis, }

" The Perſian Tranſlator ſends in the following Tranſlation of the Letter encloſed in Mr. Briſtow's laſt Letter, received and entered in Conſultation 31 ultº.

" Copy of a Repreſentation delivered to the Nabob Aſoph ud Dowlah, on the 15th of Rubbee-ul-Auwrel (16th May), from Mr. Briſtow, encloſed in that Gentleman's Letter to the Board, dated 17th May 1775.

" It occurs to me, that if your Excellency would grant the Company the Revenue and perpetual Juriſdiction of Rajah Chite Sing's Zemindarry, on Condition of their protecting the Countries of Oud, Corah, and Illahabad, as ſpecified above, and encreaſe the Sum formerly ſtipulated for the Pay of the Engliſh Troops, the Engliſh Chiefs would probably conſent thereto. The reſigning them ſo ſmall a Diſtrict, from which your Excellency derives ſo little Advantage, and where your Authority is ſo limited, in Compariſon of your other Dominions, is a Matter of no Conſequence to you.

" I have drawn up the Articles, which now occur to me, in the Form of a Draft of a Treaty, which I now ſend your Excellency; and ſuch as I do not at preſent recollect, when they occur to me, I will repreſent to you, and at the Time of concluding the Treaty betwixt your Excellency and the Engliſh Chiefs, I will inſert them therein.

" Draft of the propoſed Treaty.

" Whereas the ſincereſt Friendſhip and firmeſt Union ſubſiſted between the late Nabob Vizier ul Mammaluk Aſoph Jah Soujah ul Mulk, the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, and the Honourable Eaſt India Company; and as the Nabob Aſoph ud Dowlah Tahyau Khan Bahadre Huzzubber Jung is the immediate Heir to all the Dominions of the ſaid Nabob deceaſed, the Nabob Aſoph ud Dowlah and the Nabob Amad ud Dowlah, Mr. Warren Haſtings Bahadre Jelladur Jung, Preſident and Governor, and the other Members of the Council of Calcutta, in the Name and on the Part of the Engliſh Company, do engage, on their reſpective Parts, to obſerve the following Articles.

ARTICLE V.

" The ſaid Nabob engages to grant the Revenues and perpetual Juriſdiction of Rajah Chite Sing's Zemindary to the Engliſh Company, on Condition of their protecting his Country as aforementioned.

" Read a Letter from Mr. Briſtow, as follows:

" Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

" My laſt Addreſs was dated the 17th Inſtant, ſince when my Attention has been taken up in urging the Propoſals for the new Treaty.

" The Nabob did this Day give me a verbal Anſwer, that he acquieſced in them all, and would To-morrow finally ſettle every Article to my Satisfaction."

" Received a further Letter and Incloſures from Mr. Briſtow, the Reſident at the Court of Oude.

" Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

" I addreſſed the Honourable Board laſt on the 19th inſtant.

" Having

" Having finally ſettled the propoſed Treaty between the Nabob Auſſup-up-Dowlah and the Honourable Company, I herewith encloſe the Copy of it in the Perſian Language, and a Tranſlation in Engliſh; the Original I did not chuſe to truſt by the Dawk, for fear of Accidents.

" The Nabob objected to my inſerting any Thing concerning the Money Engagements of the Company with the late Vizier in the Treaty, upon the Pretence, That it (the Treaty) related only to what was to be perpetual. Such Matters as were only temporary and perſonal ought to be confirmed in ſeparate Papers of Agreement. In this Light too he was pleaſed to conſider the delivering over Benares without Incumbrances of Tuncaws, &c. The Copies of the Agreements in Perſian, and the Tranſlations in Engliſh, I herewith encloſe. That relative to the Money will be returned on his Excellency's performing it. The other, relative to Benares, ſhall be ſent along with the Treaty, by any Mode of Conveyance which the Honourable Board may be pleaſed to point out.

" Together with the Treaty, I received Perwannahs from the Nabob to Rajah Chyte Sing, the Cutwal, and the Daroga of the Mint at Benares, directing them to deliver over their ſeparate Truſts to the Company at the ſtipulated Time. I have encloſed the original Perwannas by this Night's Dawk to Mr. Motte, deſiring him and the other Parties to acknowledge the Receipt of them.

" The Nabob Auſſuf-ut-Dowlah, Icayaa Cawn, Behadre Hozebbur Jung, on the one Part, and the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, and the Members of the Supreme Council of Fort William, for and in the Name of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, on the other Part, agree to the following Articles.

☞ [" Fifth. The ſaid Nabob, for the Defence of his Country, as above ſpecified, declares, that he has given up, of his own free Will and Accord, unto the Engliſh Company, all the Diſtricts dependent on Rajah Cheyt Sing, together with the Land and Water Duties, and the Sovereignty of the ſaid Diſtricts, in Perpetuity. That the Engliſh Company ſhall, after One Month and a Half from the Date of this Treaty, take upon them the Sovereignty and Poſſeſſion of the Diſtricts under Rajah Cheyt Sing, as here-under ſpecified; viz.

Sirkar Benares — The Diſtricts of Juanpore.
Sirkar Chumar — Bijchpore Bahdow.
Sukteſſqun — Mullboſs Kawſs.
The Sirkah Gawzypore.
The Pergunnah of Seckunderpore Jeride Shaay, Abad, Toppa Surchehur, &c. as formerly, the Mint and Cutwally of Benares.

Compared with an atteſted Copy ſent down by Mr. Briſtow, and found to be an exact Tranſlation, except that the Word Bahdow, in the Liſt of Diſtricts, was omitted, which I have inſerted.

(Signed) J. H. D'Oyly,
Acting Pn Tr."

" Tranſlation of an Agreement under the Seal of his Excellency the Nabob Auſſup ul Dowlah.

" In caſe of any Perſons having any Demands, or having received Tuncaws, on Rajah Cheyt Sing, or on the Diſtricts under him, agreeable to my Orders, ſuch Demands * Tuncaws do not depend on the ſaid Rajah, or on the ſaid Diſtricts, but are due from myſelf.

" The Poſſeſſion and Sovereignty in Perpetuity of the ſaid Diſtricts under the ſaid Rajah, without Incumbrances, Delay, Dues, Debts, Tuncaws, &c. I wholly give up to the Engliſh Company, at the Expiration of One Month and a Half.

" Dated the 20th of Rubby ul Ewnt, 1189 of the Hegira, or the 21 of May 1775.

" A true Tranſlation.

" (Signed) John Briſtow, Reſident at the Court of the Nabob of Owd.

" Compared with an atteſted Copy ſent down by Mr. Briſtow, and found to be an exact Tranſlation.]

(Signed) J. H. D. Oyly,
Pn Tr."

" Agreed that the following Letter be written to Mr. Briſtow.

" To Mr. John Briſtow, Reſident at the Court of the Nabob of Owde.

" Sir,

" We have received your Letter, incloſing Copies of the Treaty propoſed to be entered into by the Company with the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, and of the ſeparate Engagements executed by him. We entirely approve of every Article in the Treaty, and the Negociation of it. We have ordered Two fair Copies to be immediately engroſſed in Form, which we ſhall tranſmit to you as ſoon as poſſible, with our Signature and the Seal of the Company affixed to each, that you may obtain the Seal and Signature of the Nabob in like Manner, to return them to us.

" In the mean Time, however, you will directly make known to the Nabob our Acceptance of this Treaty."

To prove that an Account of the abovementioned Treaty with the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah was communicated to the Court of Directors;

* Sic in Orig.

The Witneſs produced Book VI. intituled, " Bengal Letters received 16th May 1775, to 20th January 1776."

Read, 2d and 3d Paragraphs of a General Letter, Secret Department, from the Preſident and Council at Fort William in Bengal, to the Court of Directors. Dated 3d Auguſt 1775:

" Signed, Warren Haſtings.
J. Clavering.
Geo. Monſon.
Rd. Barwell.
P. Francis.

" 2d. It is now with the greateſt Satisfaction we can inform you, that the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah has conſented fully and totally to the Terms we propoſed for a new Treaty with him, as adviſed you in our Letter of the 24th of March laſt. The Treaty was finally adjuſted between the Nabob and the Reſident, at his Court, on the 21ſt of May laſt, and the Ratification executed by us immediately after the Receipt of the Treaty.

6th June. " 3d. In the Conſultation referred to in the Margin, is inſerted an exact Copy of the Treaty as ſigned by us. The Articles differ in nothing eſſential from thoſe agreed upon to be offered to the Nabob, when we firſt determined to renew our Alliance with him. The Ceſſion of Benares, and the other Territories of the Rajah Cheit Sing, to the Company, we flatter ourſelves will prove perfectly agreeable to your Ideas, as it conveys a valuable Acquiſition to the Company, without incumbering them with any new Engagements, or loading them with additional Expences; nor, indeed, is it liable to the Objection of involving them in the Trouble of new Collections, and new Eſtabliſhments, with all the Diſorders which attend them. The Revenue which accrues from this Acquiſition amounts to Rupees 23,72,656 : 12, and will be paid by the Rajah in monthly Payments as a neat Tribute, without rendering any Accounts of his Collections, or being allowed to enter any Claim for Deductions. You will obſerve, that the Ceſſion of the whole Zemindary of Chitſing, with all the Powers and Rights annexed to it, is made immediately to the Honourable Eaſt India Company, without any Participation with the Subah of theſe Provinces, or any formal Union of Title or Poſſeſſion between this and the Company's former territorial Acquiſitions. In the Treaties entered into with the late Vizier Suja Dowla, in the Years 1765 and 1770, the Company's Repreſentatives acted as Plenipotentiaries from the Nabob Nugum ul Dowlah, and his Succeſſor Syeful Dowla. We hope that our ſecuring to the Company the excluſive Right to the rich Zemindary of Benares, independent of the Sovereignty of Bengal, will be deemed a Service of Importance to their Intereſts, and favoured with their Approbation. It is not yet finally ſettled with the Rajah, whether the Tribute ſhall be paid at Patna or Calcutta. We wait his Anſwer to our Propoſal on this Head, as well as to ſome others regarding the Cutwally and Mint at Benares, and to our Recommendation of his keeping up a Body of Cavalry to be ready for our Aſſiſtance when called upon. When theſe Matters are adjuſted, we ſhall duly adviſe you; in the mean Time, the Governor General's Propoſals reſpecting them, and our Deliberations upon them, will be ſeen in the Conſultations."

12th June. 5th July.

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, That having traced the Buſineſs as far as the Transfer of the Sovereignty of Benares to the Eaſt India Company, and all the Rights of the different Parties, at the different Periods at which they held them, they would now proceed to ſhew what Acts of Confirmation and Extenſion of the various Rights of Cheyt Sing, were granted to him by the Eaſt India Company; and as the next Paper they propoſed to read would go to ſeveral of the Allegations in this Article, they thought it proper to appriſe the Houſe, that it related not only to the general Settlement propoſed with the Rajah Cheyt Sing, but to the Grants of the Cutwally and Mint, and to the Propoſal of his maintaining a certain Body of Cavalry.

The Witneſs was deſired to produce the Bengal Secret Conſultation of the 5th July 1775, in Book XI.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That the Minute of the Defendant, which they were about to read from this Conſultation, conſiſted of Five Propoſitions, with the Defendant's own Obſervations and Comments on each of the ſaid Propoſitions; it might, perhaps, therefore tend to Elucidation, if, inſtead of reading them ſucceſſively in the Order in which they appear to be entered in the Conſultation, each Propoſition, and the Obſervations on it, were read ſeparately and diſtinctly, one after the other, beginning with the Firſt Propoſition, then the Obſervation on that Propoſition, and ſo on. The ſame was agreed to.

Read, the following Extracts from Bengal Secret Conſultation, 12th June 1775. Book XI. p. 99.

" Fort

" Fort William, 12th June 1775.

" At a Council; Preſent,

Secret Dep. Monday.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering.
The Honourable George Monſon.
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

" Read and approved the Conſultation of the 8th inſtant.

" The Treaties with the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla being written fair in Engliſh and Perſian, agreed that they be ſigned and ſealed with the Company's Seal, and tranſmitted to Mr. Briſtow, with the following Letter. Treaty executed.

" To Mr. John Briſtow, Reſident at the Court of the Nabob of Owd.

" Sir,

" The Treaties being drawn out in Form, and ratified by us, we now incloſe them to be executed by the Nabob, after which you will return one of the Copies to us, and deliver the other to him.

" We are, &c.

" Fort William,
12th June 1775."

" The Governor General lays before the Board the following Minute and Obſervations for their Conſideration.

" The Sovereignty of the Zemindarry of Benaris, and its Dependencies, having been ceded in Perpetuity to the Honourable Company, by the Fifth Article of the Treaty lately formed with the Nabob Aſſof ô Dowla, it becomes immediately neceſſary to determine in what Manner this Right ſhall be exerciſed, and the regular Payment of the Revenue due from the Rajah ſecured.

" The Governor General moves, That this Subject be taken into the Conſideration of the Board, and ſubmits to their Correction and Approval, the following Plan of Settlement with Rajah Cheit Sing, to be obſerved until the Pleaſure of the Company reſpecting it ſhall be known, declaring his Readineſs to acquieſce in any other which may be propoſed on Terms by which more effectual Proviſion may be made for the Intereſt of the Company, without an Encroachment on the juſt Rights of the Rajah, or the Engagements actually ſubſiſting with him.

" Prop. 1. That Rajah Cheyt Sing ſhall pay into the Treaſury of the Honourable Company at Patna, in equal monthly Payments, the yearly Revenue of 22,48,449, Senewant R^{s}. being the Sum ſettled with the late Nabob Sheja Dowla, and confirmed by an Agreement executed by the ſaid Nabob, in Preſence of the Preſident of the late Council of Fort William, at Benaris, under Date the 6th September 1773.

" Obſerv. 1. There is no Queſtion that the Rajah can well afford to pay this Proportion of the Rents of his Zemindarry, which conſiſts of as rich and well cultivated a Territory as any Diſtrict perhaps of the ſame Extent in India.

" The Company have a clear and indiſputable Right to this Sum, nor is it likely that he will either conteſt it, or deſire any Remiſſion of it. Beſides, the other Conditions propoſed in this Plan will virtually prove both an Augmentation of his Means and a Diminution of his real Payments to Government, as will be ſhewn in the Remarks on the laſt Article.

" It is propoſed to receive the Payment of his Rents at Patna, becauſe that is the neareſt Provincial Station, and becauſe it would not fruſtrate the Intention of rendering the Rajah independent. If a Reſident was appointed to receive the Money as it became due at Benaris, ſuch a Reſident would unavoidably acquire an Influence over the Rajah and over his Country, which would in Effect render him the Maſter of both. This Conſequence might not perhaps be brought completely to paſs without a Struggle, and many Appeals to the Council, which, in a Government conſtituted like this, cannot fail to terminate againſt the Rajah; and, by the Conſtruction to which his Oppoſition to the Agent would be liable, might eventually draw on him ſeverer Reſtrictions, and end in reducing him to the mean and depraved State of a mere Zemindar.

" Prop. 2. That the Rajah ſhall be empowered to exerciſe a complete and uncontrouled Authority over his Zemindarry, under the acknowledged Sovereignty of the Honourable Company, in the Government of the Country dependent on him, in the Collection of the Revenues, and in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

" Obſerv. 2. The Advantages which the Rajah will receive from theſe Conceſſions, excluſive of the Gratifications which his Pride would obtain from the Poſſeſſion of a State of Power and Dignity, unknown to any of his Anceſtors, and the Security of his Perſon and Poſſeſſions from the Company's Protection, may be rated equal to many Lacks of Rupees, which, though ſaved to him, are no Loſs to the Government on which he depends, being all Articles of inviſible Expence in Fees to the Miniſters and Officers of the Nabob, in the Charges of a double Eſtabliſhment of Vackeels to both Governments, in Preſents and Charges of Accommodation to the Nabob during his Reſidence at any Place within the Boundaries of his Zemin-

darry,

darry, in the Frauds, Embezzlements, and Oppreſſions, exerciſed in the Mint and Cutwally, beſides the allowed Profits of thoſe Officers, and the Advantages which every Man in occaſional Power, or in the Credit of it, might make of the Rajah's known Weakneſs, and the Dread he ſtood in, both of the Diſpleaſure of the Nabob, and the Ill-will of Individuals among the Engliſh, who were all conſidered either in their preſent Stations or Connections, or the Right of Succeſſion, as Members of the State of Bengal. It would be ſcarce poſſible to enumerate all the Inconveniencies to which the Rajah was liable in his former Situation, or to eſtimate the preciſe Effect which they produced on his Revenue, and on the groſs Amount of his Expences; but it may be eaſily conceived that both were enormous, and of a Nature the moſt likely to leſſen the Profits of Government, inſtead of adding to them.

" Prop. 3. That Sunnuds be granted to the Rajah, ſpecially conferring upon him the Power of appointing Officers to the Charge of the Cutwally and the Mint of Benaris; the latter to be ſubject to ſuch Orders and Regulations as the Governor General and Council ſhall at any Time think proper to decree.

" Obſerv. 3. Theſe Offices have been conſidered as Marks of Sovereignty; at leaſt, this has ſerved for the Pretext to withhold them from the Poſſeſſion of the Rajah, to whom they have been a heavy Grievance, the Cutwally eſpecially, which, being held in Farm, and exerciſed under the Authority of a Prince who had no Intereſt in the Welfare or Eaſe of his People, has always been repreſented, as in its obvious Tendency it could ſcarce fail to prove, a Source of the worſt Corruption and Oppreſſion, from which there was no Appeal. If there be any Weight in the Plea for referring theſe Prerogatives to the Company, the Grant of them to the Rajah himſelf, by ſpecial Sunnuds, will be a ſufficient Expreſſion of their Sovereignty, although the ſolemn Renunciation of it already made by the Nabob of Owde, is the beſt and moſt valid Charter under which it can be claimed; and while they have Three Brigades and a full Treaſury to aſſert it, there is no Fear that their Right to it will be oppoſed by Reaſonings drawn from implied Symbols of Dominion.

" Some Regulations will be immediately neceſſary for the Mint, and others may occaſionally become ſo. No Alterations ſhould be made in the Weight or Alloy of the Coin to be debaſed, and the Rajah himſelf hold his Right to the Mint on Condition of his faithful Obſervance of theſe Rules.

" By the Cuſtom of Benares, all Rupees ſtruck in the Mint are called Siccas, and paſs as the current Coin of the Country for One Year; after which they are charged with a Batta, varying from 2 to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. according to their Dates, and paſs under the Denomination of Sunwants or Gowher Shakees. It is in theſe Species that the Rents are payable to Government; and while they continue of equal and proper Qualities, they may be introduced into Circulation in the Province of Bahar without Loſs to the Company, and with an Advantage to the Collections.

" But the greateſt Care ought therefore to be taken that the Rupees be not debaſed; for if they are, they will occaſion a double Loſs on the Company, by the immediate Diſcount on them in the Treaſury, and by a falſe Currency introduced into the Revenue.

" Prop. 4. That in Return for theſe Conceſſions, and for the Performance of his Duty as a Vaſſal to the Company, the Rajah ſhall engage to maintain in conſtant Pay, and ready at all Times for immediate Service, a Body of Two thouſand Horſe, on ſuch a fixed Eſtabliſhment as ſhall be preſcribed by the Governor General and Council; and that whenever the Service of this Corps ſhall be required by the Governor General and Council, it ſhall be conſigned to the Command of ſuch Officer or Officers as they ſhall appoint, and be allowed from the Company an additional Pay or Gratuity of Fifteen Rupees per Month for each private Man, and in Proportion for the Officers of the ſaid Corps, during the Time of ſuch Service.

" Obſerv. 4. I rather propoſe this for Conſideration, than recommend it. Such a Body of well-diſciplined and well-appointed Cavalry will give Credit to the Rajah, and may prove ſervice able to this Government, though the Occaſions will rarely happen in which we ſhall want it. The additional Pay will make them our own, when we do want them, and will be no great Expence.

" Prop. 5. That while the Rajah ſhall continue faithful to theſe Engagements, and punctual in his Payments, and ſhall pay due Obedience to the Authority of this Government, no more Demands ſhall be made upon him by the Honourable Company, of any Kind, nor on any Pretence whatſoever ſhall any Perſon be allowed to interfere with his Authority, or to diſturb the Peace of his Country.

" Obſerv. 5. The voluntary Reſtraint laid by the Government on its own Actions, will afford the Rajah the greateſt Confidence, and naturally inſpire him with Sentiments of Fidelity and Attachment, both from the Principles of Gratitude and Self-Intereſt. Without ſome ſuch Appearance, he will expect with every Change of Government additional Demands to be made upon him, and will of courſe deſcend to all the Arts of Intrigue and Concealment practiſed by other dependant Rajahs, which will keep him indigent and weak, and eventually prove hurtful to the Company. By proper Encouragement and Protection he may prove a profitable Dependant, a uſeful Barrier, and even a powerful Ally to the Company; but he will

will be neither, if the Conditions of his Connection with the Company are left open to future Variations.

" Ordered, That these Minutes be circulated to the Members of the Board, for their more attentive Perusal and Deliberation.

Warren Hastings.
J. Clavering.
Geo. Monson.
Rd. Barwell.
P. Francis."

To prove that the before-mentioned Plan was agreed to by the Council at Calcutta; Read, Extract of Secret Consultation, 5th July 1775, from the same Book, p. 420.

" Fort William, the 5th of July 1775. Secret Dep. Wednesday.

" At a Council; Present,

The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monson,
Richard Barwell, } Esquires.
Philip Francis, }

" Reconsidered the Governor General's Minute and Plan proposed for a Settlement with Raja Cheit Sing, for the Countries lately ceded by the Nabob, which Minute, &c. are recorded in Consultation the 12th June.

" Read the First Article of the proposed Plan.

" The Governor General.—When I proposed the Sum of 22,48,449, Rupees, as the Sum to be fixed for the Raja's annual Payments, I meant the Sum which the Raja actually paid to the late Vizier, being the Amount of the Agreement made with the Vizier on the Accession of this Raja to the Zemindary of Benares, and confirmed by the Vizier in my Presence; but I have since received from the Vackeel sundry Accounts, by which it appears that the Sum annually paid was 23,72,656 : 12. Settlement proposed with Cheit Sing.

" Ordered, That the Accounts be entered after the Consultation. The Vackeel of Raja Cheit Sing attending the Board in Consequence of the Desire of the Governor General to him, he is called in, and the following Questions put to him: His Vackeel attends.

" Q. In what Manner were the Payments of the Revenue made to the late Nabob, and how was the Money remitted to him?

" A. A Kistbundee was formed at the Commencement of every Year, for the Payment of the Revenue by Monthly Kists, or Instalments, into the Houses of Cushmery Mull, and Latta Bucharaje, Two principal Shroofs at Benares, who were appointed the Nabob's Receivers; they paid this Money to the Nabob partly by Tuncaws or Assignments, and partly by Remittances in Specie, through the Nabob's Agents who were deputed to Benares for that Purpose.

" Q. Whose was the Expence of the Shroffage and the Charges of the Receivers?

" A. The Nabob's.

" Q. Do you know whether it would be agreeable to the Raja, or will you undertake on his Behalf to answer for his Consent, to pay into the Company's Treasury at Calcutta, without Deduction, and punctually, in equal Monthly Payments, the same annual Sum which has been hitherto paid to the late Nabob Vizier, and to the present Nabob Asoph ull Dowlah?

" A. No. The Raja could not agree to it; the Risk, the Expence, and the Length of the Way, are insuperable Obstacles.

" Q. Do you know if the Raja would consent to pay his Rent at Patna?

" A. There are Two Objections; the Length of the Way, which would occasion a great Expence, and the Risk.

" Q. What Authority do you hold from the Raja, and under what Commission do you act?

" A. I have no other Authority than the Letter which I have delivered to you from my Master.

" The Vackeel now takes his leave and withdraws.

" Read again the First Article of the Governor General's Plan, and his Observations on it.

" Mr. Francis.—I agree to the Sum, upon the Supposition that it is equal to the Whole of what was paid by the Raja to the late Nabob, but I think it ought to be paid into the Company's Treasury at Calcutta, at the Raja's Risk and Expence.

" Mr. Barwell.—I agree to the Question, but prefer Calcutta; and if the Raja cannot be perswaded to make the Payments there, the Company might subscribe to the Difference of Exchange and Remittance.

" Colonel Monson.—I agree to the Question, but think the Raja should be asked to make his Payment at Calcutta.

" General Clavering is of the same Opinion.

" The

" The Governor General.—I agree with the Board that it would be more expedient, but as it will be attended with a great Expence, the Raja will no Doubt require an Allowance for the Difference. It may be propoſed to him.

" Agreed to the Firſt Article of the Plan, but that it be propoſed to the Raja to pay his Tribute at Calcutta inſtead of Patna.

" Read the Second Article of the Plan.

" Mr. Francis approves of this Article, reſerving only our Claim to a reaſonable Compenſation for the Surrender of the Cutwally and Management of the Mint to him, if the latter ſhould be left entirely to him.

" Mr. Barwell is of Mr. Francis's Opinion.

" Colonel Monſon.—No Conceſſion ſhould be made to the Raja; he ſhould remain exactly in the ſame State of Dependence and Subordination to the Company as he was in to the Nabob.

" General Clavering.—I am of Opinion that the Raja ſhould hold his Zemindary of the Company, on the ſame Footing preciſely that he held it of the late Nabob; and that, if the Adminiſtration of Juſtice be given to him, a ſuitable Equivalent may be obtained, equal to the Advantages that may accrue to him from it.

" The Governor General obſerves that his Opinion is included in the Queſtion.

" Agreed to the Second Article of the Plan, but that a Compenſation be demanded of the Raja for the Cutwally.

" Read the Third Article of the Plan.

" Mr. Francis.—The Grant of Sunnuds for the Cutwally ſhould be in Conſequence of a pecuniary Compenſation to be agreed upon between us and the Raja.—If it be thought fit to leave him in Poſſeſſion of the Mint, it may be neceſſary that the Company ſhould appoint a Mint Maſter to take Care that the Standard of the Rupees, to be coined there, ſhall not be altered, or that ſome other ſufficient Precaution be taken for that Purpoſe. He ſhould alſo, I think, pay ſome Compenſation for ſo great a Privilege as that of a Mint.

" Mr. Barwell.—I think the Raja ſhould be made the Officer of this Government, to exerciſe the Sovereignty in the Two Inſtances noticed in this Article, in preference to any other Perſon; he ſhould pay to the Government the Sum at which the Cutwally and Mint were leaſed for this laſt Year, or upon a Medium for theſe Three laſt Years, by the Nabob Vizier. It ſhould be particularly ſpecified in the Article for the Mint, the Standard at which the Coin is to be kept up; and that, in conſequence of any Abuſe proved upon the Officers entruſted with the Management, it ſhall be deemed a Breach of this Article, and render it void.

" Colonel Monſon.—Sunnuds may be granted to the Raja for appointing Officers to the Cutwally and Mint, on his paying an annual Compenſation for them. The Raja to be reſponſible that the Coin be not debaſed; if it ſhould, his Right to the Zemindarry to be forfeited, and to be diſpoſed of as the Company ſhall think proper.

" General Clavering.—I have no Objection to giving the Cutwally both of Benares and Juanpore to the Raja, upon his making a juſt Compenſation for all the Advantages which he will receive from it; and I am of the ſame Opinion with regard to the Mint, provided it ſhould be thought proper to eſtabliſh it at Benares, but in that Caſe there ſhould be either an Officer from this Government to ſuperintend it; or the Raja ſhould be ſubject to a very ſevere Penalty if the Superintendancy of it is left with him, and that he ſhould debaſe the Coin; but I think it is impoſſible to determine theſe Points till we know the Raja's Sentiments upon them.

" The Governor General's Opinion is comprehended in the Queſtion.

" Agreed to the Terms of the Third Article, on the Raja's paying an annual Compenſation to the Company for the Cutwally and the Mint, and obliging himſelf to coin Money of the preciſe Standard only, which ſhall be fixed by the Board.

" Read the Fourth Article.

" Mr. Francis.—I object to our compelling the Raja to keep up an extraordinary Force for our Service, conſidering it in Effect as an Encreaſe of the Tribute, which is contrary to the Principles which have guided my Judgement from the firſt Outſet of this Negociation: I have no Objection however, to its being made an Article of Agreement with him, that he ſhall either put the Troops, which he now keeps, upon a better Footing in point of Diſcipline, or diſband them, and raiſe an equal Number in their Stead. What will be the beſt Method of making ſuch Troops uſeful, or whether Cavalry ſhould be preferred to Infantry, are Military Points of which I do not pretend to judge. I underſtand that there are local Objections to the Utility of Cavalry in the Raja's Country.

" Mr. Barwell.—I am of Opinion, that the Raja ſhould keep up ſuch a Body of Forces, but entertain the ſame Sentiments with Mr. Francis reſpecting its being an Enhancement of his Tribute, and of any Degree of Compulſion to induce him to it.

" Colonel Monſon.—I am of Opinion, the Company ſhould receive the Raja's Aſſiſtance on the ſame Terms he gave it to the Vizier, or the preſent Nabob. Cavalry, I underſtand, is an improper Force for this Country, which is bounded on the North by the Gogra, on the South by the Mountains, on the Weſt by Aſoph ul Dowla's Territories, and on the Eaſt by Bahar. The Extent Weſtward from North to South is not above Fifty or Sixty Coſs, which is water d by Four Rivers, the Gogra, the Gumpty, the Say, and the Ganges; interſected by many very conſiderable Nullas,

and

and otherwiſe ſtrengthened by Woods, Encloſures, and Villages. That Part to the Weſt of the Frontier from the Gumpty to the Ganges, is almoſt an entire Jungle, inhabited by Robbers. There is no Ground in the Country, or its Environs, North, Weſt, and South, for ſome Diſtance, free from Mountains, Nullas, Toſſes, Bruſhwood, or Jungle Encloſures and Villages; I therefore think Infantry a more proper Force for this Country; but if the Raja ſhould be required to keep Cavalry, more for the Defence of theſe Provinces than his own, they ſhould be officered and diſciplined in the European Manner.

" General Clavering.—I underſtand that the Raja does keep up a large Body of Cavalry, and that 500 of theſe, which aſſiſted under the Command of the Captain of the Governor's Guards in the Conqueſt of the Rohilla Country, were abſolutely uſeleſs by their total Want of Diſcipline when they took the Field, but improved during the Campaign. I would not compel the Raja to keep up any Troops, but I would recommend it to him to maintain the Number which the Governor General has propoſed for his and our Aſſiſtance; and as the Country of Bahar is open, where Cavalry may always act with great Advantage, and as the Company does not maintain any, I think it ſhould be recommended to the Raja to appoint ſome Engliſh Officers to diſcipline and command his Troops, by the Means of which great Benefit may be derived from them in caſe of a War with the Mahrattas.

" The Governor General.—The Accounts which have been given to me of the Zemindarry of Benares, differ very much from Colonel Monſon's Deſcription of it, and repreſent it as open, perfectly well cultivated, and but little interſected with Rivers; the Gogra forms the Boundary of one Part of it, and the other Rivers are very inconſiderable; all theſe lie to the North of the Ganges; on the South Side, I do not remember one: It is on this Side that Proviſion ſhould be made for its Defence, as it is liable to Invaſion on the other from no Quarter but the Province of Oude. It was far from my Intention to propoſe this or any other Article to be impoſed on the Raja by Compulſion: I do not conceive he would object to this, but am willing to yield my Opinion of the Propriety of ſuch an Eſtabliſhment to the General and Colonel Monſon, who, from their Experience, muſt be the moſt competent Judges; I only propoſed it as an Article of Speculation.

" Reſolved, That it be recommended to Rajah Cheit Sing, to keep up a Body of 2000 Cavalry, to be diſciplined after the European Manner, but that there be no Obligation on him to do it.

" Read the Fifth Article.

" Approved the Propoſal in this Article."

Notice being taken, that, as the Clerk read, the Fifth Article appeared to be approved by the Board without Comment—The Managers for the Commons informed the Houſe it was.

The Managers for the Commons then ſtated, that they would next proceed to ſhew, that the Plan ſo approved of by the Board, was communicated to the Rajah Cheyt Sing, under the Orders and Authority of Mr. Haſtings, contained in certain Inſtructions to Mr. Fowke; which Inſtructions they ſhould alſo produce for the further Purpoſe of ſhewing the Senſe which the Council themſelves put upon the Words which have given riſe to ſo much Diſpute, viz. " The Sovereignty of the Company."

The Witneſs produced Book XII. intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, 10th Auguſt to 2d October 1775."

Read, the following Extracts from Bengal Secret Conſultations, 24th Auguſt 1775, beginning at Page 85 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, the 24th Auguſt 1775. Secret Dep. Thurſday.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering.
The Honourable George Monſon.
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

☞ [" The Secretary having prepared the Draft of Inſtructions to Mr. Francis Fowke, and not having ſpecified the Amount of the Sum of the Nuzzerana to be paid by the Rajah;

" Agreed, That it be fixt at 10,000 Rupees, as the Board conſider this Sum to be about equal to the Value of the Khelaat with which it will be neceſſary to inveſt the Rajah. Rajah Cheyt Sing's Nuzzerana to be 10,000 Rupees.

" The Inſtructions are amended and agreed to as follows:

" Inſtructions to Mr. Francis Fowke.

" 1. Having thought proper to appoint you to proceed to Benares to deliver to Raja Cheyt Sing his Sunnuds of Inveſtiture from this Government, of the Zemindarry lately ceded by the Nabob of Owde to the Company, and to make ſundry local Enquiries to enable us, from your Reports of the ſame, to form a final Settlement with the Raja of the Terms on Inſtructions to Mr. Fowke.

which he is to hold the Zemindarry, we now furniſh you with full Inſtructions to accompliſh theſe Ends.

" 2. On your Arrival at Benares you will wait on Raja Cheyt Sing, and preſent him with the Sunnuds which will be entruſted to you for that Purpoſe, having firſt notified to him the Sovereignty of the Company over all the Territories of his Zemindarry, and received from him, on account of the Company, and in their Name, a Nuzzerrannee, or Acknowledgment of his Vaſſallage, which we fix at 10,000 Rupees; you will then require him to publiſh this Act by Proclamation through his Country, and inveſt him with a Khelaat in his Palace, with all the uſual Formalities.

" 3. You will next inform the Raja that he is not to enter into any Alliance or Engagement with any Foreign Prince, on pain of forfeiting his Zemindarry.

" 4. It will be proper to aſſure the Rajah, that we do not mean to increaſe his Tribute, but to require from him the exact Sum, and in the ſame Species of Rupees, to be paid at Benares, as he paid to the late Vizier Suja ul Dowlah, beſides whatever Equivalent may be fixed for the Grant of the Mint and Cutwally to him, the Whole to be diſcharged by equal monthly Kiſts; and if we ſhould find it expedient hereafter to receive the Amount at the Preſidency, a ſuitable Deduction or Commiſſion ſhall be allowed to him for the Expence and Riſk of tranſporting or remitting it.

" 5. That under the acknowledged Sovereignty of the Company, we are determined to leave him the free and uncontrouled Management of the internal Government of his Country, and the Collection and Regulation of the Revenues, ſo long as he adheres to the Terms of his Engagements, and will never demand any Augmentation of the Annual Tribute which may be fixed.]

" 6. As we deem it very eſſential that the Raja, for the Protection of his Zemindary, ſhould maintain a Body of regular Troops, we would ſtrongly recommend to him the keeping in conſtant Pay, and ready at all Times for Service, Two thouſand Horſe, diſciplined and clothed after the European Manner; we cannot authorize you to inſiſt upon this Article; however, as it appears ſo obvious for his own Intereſt, we doubt not but he will readily agree to it; and it muſt be left to his Option to keep up or reduce his preſent military Eſtabliſhment: In Conſequence, and as an Inducement, we will agree, that whenever we may find Occaſion to call for the Aſſiſtance of this Corps, or any Part of it, we will pay a Gratuity of 15 Rupees per Month for each private Man, and in proportion for the Officers, during the Time that they may be in our Employ.

" 7. The Raja of Benares being very deſirous that the Mint ſhould be continued in that City, and that the Management of it ſhould be intruſted to him, and having offered to pay the Company a fixed annual Compenſation for that Privilege, we have thought fit to decline entering into any Agreement with him on the Subject of his Propoſal, until we ſhould receive ſome certain Information of the preſent State and Management of the Mint, and of the probable Value of the Privilege propoſed to be granted to the Raja.

" 8. We therefore direct you to make a ſtrict Enquiry into the following Points, and report to us the moſt exact Information you may be able to obtain thereon.

" 1ſt. What Sum the preſent Farmer of the Mint paid directly to the late or preſent Nabob of Oude, or in Preſents to his Miniſters, for that Farm.

" 2dly. What is the exact Standard and Weight of the Rupees coined in that Mint in the Courſe of the laſt Twelve Months.

" 3dly. What was the exact Standard and Weight of the beſt Rupees that have been coined there at any Time ſince the Year 1765 incluſive.

" 4thly. What Quantity of Bullion has been coined ſince the Year 1765 incluſive, ſpecifying the Number of Rupees coined in each Year.

" 9. In the mean Time you may obſerve to the Rajah, that it is to be made a neceſſary Condition, on our giving up the Mint to him, that the Weight and Standard of the Coins, which ſhall be ſtruck in it, be fixt by us; and that on Proof of any Deviation from them, or of his coining any other Specie in the Mint, the Grant of it ſhall immediately become void.

" 10. We alſo direct you to enquire, and report to us, what Sums were paid to the late or preſent Nabob by the ſeveral Cutwals in the Zemindarry of Raja Cheyt Sing, for the Privilege of holding thoſe Courts, in order that we may know what Compenſation the Company may reaſonably expect for making over the Cutwally to the Rajah.

" 11. It may be of Service alſo, that we ſhould be thoroughly informed of the Nature of the Weights and Meaſures in general Uſe in the Diſtricts of Gauzipore and Benares; we therefore deſire you will make yourſelf acquainted with theſe as early as you may have an Opportunity, and report a State of them to us.

" 12. We further think it neceſſary to direct, that you make ſuch Enquiry as you may be able into the State of the Trade of this Zemindarry for ſome Years paſt, but particularly into its commercial Intercourſe with the Company's Provinces, the Reſtrictions it lies under, whether it has been in the Increaſe or Decreaſe of late, and the Condition of it at this Time: You will endeavour to obtain a comparative Account of the Exports made to thoſe Parts by the different European Nations ſettled in Bengal, and report the Whole for our Information, with ſuch Propoſals as you may think fit to offer for its Relief or Improvement.

" 13. As it will be impoſſible for you to obtain a competent Knowledge of this Branch immediately, you may refer it for a future Report; firſt tranſmitting us the Information required reſpecting the Mint of Cutwally, in which we beg that no Time may be loſt; as we muſt wait the

Receipt

Receipt of it before we can fix the Annual Tribute to be paid by the Raja for the Ceſſion of thoſe Articles, of Courſe our Engagements with him will remain ſuſpended till that Time.

" 14. But the other Articles from which the Nabob of Owde uſed to draw a Revenue, as will appear from the encloſed Liſt, which is as accurate as our Information would enable us to form it, we empower you to make a Grant of to the Raja, upon ſuch Terms as you may deem equitable; and you will ſettle for theſe with him accordingly.

" 15. We have ordered the Commanding Officer at Chunar to ſtop all the Europeans who may be found within the Limits of his Command, if they are not furniſhed with proper Paſſports; and we enjoin you to give him Notice of any ſuch, of whom you may receive Information; and you will endeavour to engage the Rajah to uſe every Means in his Power for preventing Europeans, but particularly Foreigners, from travelling through his Diſtricts, without ſuch Paſſports from this Government.

" We are, &c.

" Poſtſcript.

" We have acquainted the Rajah, that it is neceſſary he ſhould take an Oath of Fealty or Allegiance to the Company, upon his being inveſted with the Grant of the Zemindarry; you will therefore require him to make the ſame on that Occaſion."

" Ordered, That the neceſſary Sunnuds for granting the Zemindarry of Benares and Gauzipore to Raja Cheyt Sing be immediately prepared and delivered to Mr. Fowke, with the foregoing Inſtructions." Sunnuds to be prepared for Rajah Cheyt Sing.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they would next produce a Letter from the Board to the Rajah Cheyt Sing, which accompanied Mr. Fowke's Inſtructions. Same Book, Page 90.

" Fort William, the 24th Auguſt 1775.

" Same Conſultation.

" Reſolved, That the following Letter be written by the Governor General to Raja Cheyt Sing, to be delivered to Mr. Fowke with his Credentials.

" To Raja Cheyt Sing.

" By the Treaty concluded with the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah on the 21ſt of May laſt, of which you are already apprized, the Diſtricts which you held as a Zemindarry from him, and from his late Father, the Vizier Suja ul Dowlah, have been ceded to the Engliſh Company.

" The Board have therefore thought proper to depute Mr. Francis Fowke, on their Behalf, to take Poſſeſſion of theſe Territories; but being willing to continue the Grant of the Zemindarry to you in as full and ample a Manner as you poſſeſſed it from the former Sovereigns, and upon the ſame Terms, that is to ſay, on your paying to the Order of the ſaid Company at Benares the annual Tribute of Rupees 23,72,656 : 12, by regular monthly Kiſts, or Payments of Rupees 1,97,721 : 6 : 4, in each Month, I have delivered to the Charge of Mr. F. Fowke a Sunnud in the Name of the Company, with a Kelaat, with which he is empowered to inveſt you in due Form, reſerving however to the Company, the Sovereignty of the Country to the full Extent that it was or might have been held by the late or preſent Soubah of Oude. Upon Occaſion of this Inveſtiture, after paying a Nuzzerranna for the Company, which I have fixed at 10,000 Rupees, it is neceſſary that you take an Oath of Fealty or Allegiance to the Company, by which you are to underſtand, that on forming any Alliance with a foreign Prince, or acting in any Manner contrary to the Fidelity which you have thus ſworn to maintain to the Company, your Zemindarry, with all the Rights and Privileges granted to you by the Company, will become forfeited; and it will be proper that a public Proclamation ſhould be made of theſe Tranſactions, that the Natives as well as Europeans may be fully informed of the Grant made to you, with the Reſervation of the Rights of Sovereignty to the Company.

" I mean, as ſoon as it is in my Power, to fix a proper annual Compenſation to be made by you for the Grants of the Mint and Cutwally, to tranſmit you Sunnuds for them, to continue in Force during your Life; but I muſt wait for Information from Mr. Fowke to enable me to ſettle theſe Matters.

" The other Sources from which the Nabob of Oude drew a Revenue will alſo be granted you, that you may poſſeſs an uncontrouled and free Authority in the Regulation and Government of your own Zemindarry; and Mr. Fowke is authorized to treat with you, to ſettle the moſt equitable Terms upon which you may obtain theſe Articles.

Warren Haſtings.
J. Clavering.
Geo. Monſon.
R. Barwell.
P. Francis."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 6, intituled, " Bengal Letters, received 16th May 1775 to 20th January 1776."

Read,

Read, following Extract of a Letter, intituled, " Addreſs from the Governor General, N° 20. dated Fort William, 21ſt July 1775." (Received per Northumberland, 4th April 1776.)

Signed, Warren Haſtings.

" With reſpect to the Country of Benares, &c. I think it ſhould be left entirely to the Management of Rajah Cheyt Sing, and that we ſhould no otherwiſe interfere with him than to receive the eſtabliſhed Tribute. This I deem to be the beſt Policy, at the ſame time that it is moſt conformable to your abovementioned Orders, and to the Engagements already ſubſiſting with him."

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, That as there had been ſome Diſpute whether the Inſtruments granted to the Rajah Cheyt Sing were in the Nature of the common Zemindarry Sunnuds, or in the Nature of a Treaty, they would next produce the Defendant's own Opinion upon that Subject.

Read, from Book XII. (before delivered in) the following Extract of Secret Conſultation on 4th September 1775, beginning at Page 123.

" Fort William, the 4th September 1775.

" At a Conſultation; Preſent,
Warren Haſtings.
J. Clavering.
Geo. Monſon.
R. Barwell.
P. Francis.

" The Secretary informs the Board that the Sunnuds for Raja Cheyt Sing being prepared, he circulated the following Propoſal of the Governor General for their Opinion.

Secretary. " The Governor General directs me to requeſt the Opinion of the Board, Whether the Patta, Sunnud, and Coulnama, for the Zemindarry granted to Raja Cheyt Sing, ſhould be ſigned by him only, or by the Board, remarking at the ſame time that it has been cuſtomary for Dewanny Sunnuds to receive only the Signature of the Governor; but he thinks, that as the Nature of the preſent Grant is different, and may be conſidered more in the Light of a Treaty, they ſhould be ſigned by the Board.

" Saturday Morning. Signed, J. P. A. Secretary.

" I think it ſhould be ſigned by the Board, for the Reaſons which the Governor General has given.
Signed, J. C.
Agreed, G. M. and P. F.

" Agreed that the Sunnud, Potta, and Coulnama, be now ſigned, and tranſmitted to Mr. Francis Fowke."

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they had now gone through that Part of the Charge which relates to the Rights of the Rajah Cheyt Sing, and alſo the ſeveral ſubſequent Acts of Confirmation and of Extenſion of thoſe Rights by the Company.

Being aſked, if there was any Copy of the Sunnud, Potta, and Coulnama, mentioned in the Extract juſt read;

The Managers for the Commons made Anſwer, that they thought it proper to obſerve that the Sunnud, Potta, and Coulnama there mentioned appear no where, as they could find, upon the Conſultations: That there was a Sunnud, Potta, and Coulnama, which were to be found in a Book which they ſhould have Occaſion in the Courſe of the Proceedings to give in Evidence, and which have been ſuppoſed to be the Sunnud, Potta, and Coulnama granted to Rajah Cheyt Sing: but they ſhould prove it impoſſible for them to be the ſame; and that in Truth the real Sunnud, Potta, and Coulnama granted to the Rajah Cheyt Sing did not appear.

Being aſked if the Proof then of the Fact did not appear?

The Managers for the Commons anſwered, That they ſhould prove *negatively* that the Sunnud, Potta, and Coulnama, in the Book alluded to, were not the Sunnud, Potta, and Coulnama granted to the Rajah Cheyt Sing.

They then ſtated, that it having been argued that the Appointment of a Reſident at Benares had changed the Nature of the Rajah Cheyt Sing's Tenure, they ſhould next proceed to ſhew who appointed the Reſident.

The Witneſs produced Book 39, intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, from 23 September to 30 December, 1776."

Read,

Read, Extract of Secret Conſultation on 2d December, 1776, beginning at Page 640 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, the 2d December, 1776. Secret Dep. Monday.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Hon. Warren Haſtings Eſq. Governor General, Preſident;
General Clavering,
Richard Barwell, and } Eſqrs.
Philip Francis, }

" Governor General.—That I may not furniſh Occaſion to the Board for the unneceſſary Waſte of Time in the further Motions which I have to lay before the Board, I now deliver them in Writing to the Secretary; and I hope that the Board will conſent to bring their Opinions written thereon at our next Meeting. The Motions are as follow:

☞ [" The Governor General alſo * moves, That Mr. Francis Fowke be recalled from Benares, and his Commiſſion annulled, the expreſs Purpoſes thereof having been accompliſhed.

" Mr. Francis.—I need not bring my Opinion in Writing upon either of theſe Motions. To the Firſt I make no Objection; but as to the Recall of Mr. Francis Fowke, I know no Motive for it; on the contrary, I am ſatisfied that his Preſence at Benares has been of ſignal Uſe in preventing the Delays of the Remittance of the Tribute, and to my Knowledge he has done nothing to incur the Diſpleaſure of the Board. I cannot therefore aſſent to his Recall.

" Mr. Barwell.—The expreſs Purpoſes to which Mr. Fowke was firſt appointed, were the Inveſtiture of the Raja, and the ſettling a Mode for the Remittance of his Tribute. His Commiſſion ceaſed the Inſtant the Object of it was accompliſhed, and Mr. Fowke ought then to have been remanded to Calcutta. He holds no Appointment, and therefore it cannot properly be ſtiled a Removal. I aſſent therefore to Mr. Fowke's being called to the Preſidency.

" General Clavering.—In regard to the Recall of Mr. Fowke, and the annulling of his Office, I cannot help conſidering it as a vindictive Meaſure, couched under the Appearance of Public Service, and therefore diſſent to the Motion.

" Governor General.—I agree to both Motions.

" Reſolved, That both the Motions propoſed by the Governor General be carried in the Affirmative."] ☜

Notice being taken that the Motion was reſolved in the Affirmative, though the Voices were equal; the Managers for the Commons were aſked, Whether Colonel Monſon was dead at that Time?

They informed the Houſe he was.

Then the following Letter, written by the Board to Mr. Fowke, was read by the Clerk, from the ſame Book, p. 647.

" To Mr. Francis Fowke.

" Sir,

" The Objects propoſed by your Appointment to proceed to Benares being now accompliſhed, we have thought it neceſſary to annul the Commiſſion which was given you for that Purpoſe. We therefore direct, that you return to this Preſidency immediately on Receipt hereof.

" We are, &c.

Signed, Warren Haſtings. Rich. Barwell.
J. Clavering. P. Francis."

Read, the following Extract from the ſame Book, p. 743:

" Fort William, the 23d December, 1776. Secret Dep. Monday.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
Richard Barwell, } Eſqrs.
Philip Francis, }

" The Governor General moves, That a Civil Servant of the Company be appointed to reſide at Benares on the Part of this Government, for the Purpoſe of tranſacting any occaſional Buſineſs which may ariſe between this Government and the Rajah of Benares; and that Mr. Thomas Graham may be nominated to this Office, and Mr. Daniel Barwell to be his Aſſiſtant. Governor General moves that Mr. Thomas Graham be appointed Reſident at Benares.

" Mr. Francis.—If a Civil Servant was neceſſary for the Purpoſe deſcribed in the Motion, I conceive that Mr. Francis Fowke was perfectly well qualified for that Office. I have no Objection, however, to either of the Gentlemen recommended by the Governor General.

" Mr. Barwell—Agrees to the Motion.

" General Clavering.—I object to it, and leave the Reſponſibility of the Meaſure with the Governor General, who muſt anſwer for it.

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* N. B. The Firſt Motion has no Relation to this Subject.

" Reſolved,

" Reſolved, That a Civil Servant of the Company be appointed to reſide at Benares, on the Part of this Government, for the Purpoſe of tranſacting any occaſional Buſineſs which may ariſe between this Government and the Rajah of Benares.

" Agreed, That Mr. Thomas Graham be nominated to this Office, and that Mr. Daniel Barwell be appointed his Aſſiſtant."

Mr. Thomas Graham appointed Reſident at Benares, and Mr. Daniel Barwell his Aſſiſtant.

To ſhew what the Opinion of the Court of Directors was upon this Proceeding, the Witneſs was directed to produce a Letter from the Court of Directors of the 30th of January 1778.

The Witneſs produced Book 41, intituled, " Bengal Diſpatches, 30th January to 28th December 1778."

Read, Paragraphs 65, 66, and 67, of a Draught of a General Letter from the Court of Directors to Bengal, No. 4, dated " London, 30th January 1778."

" Our Governor General and Council at Fort William, in Bengal.

Per Groſvenor, Oſterley, Godfrey, Mount Stuart.

Par. 65. " In your Secret Letter of the 19th of December 1776, you inform us, that the Purpoſes for which Mr. Francis Fowke was appointed to proceed to Benaris being fully accompliſhed, you had annulled his Commiſſion, and ordered him to the Preſidency. But it appears by your Letter of the 6th of January 1777, that in leſs than Twenty Days you thought proper to appoint Mr. Thomas Graham to reſide at Benaris, and Mr. Daniel Octavus Barwell to be his Aſſiſtant.

66. " If it were poſſible to ſuppoſe that a Saving to the Company had been your Motive for annulling Mr. Fowke's Commiſſion, we ſhould approve your Proceedings; but when we find Two Perſons appointed immediately afterwards, with Two Salaries, to execute an Office which had been filled with Reputation by Mr. Fowke alone, and that Mr. Graham enjoys all the Emoluments annexed to the Office of Mr. Fowke, we muſt be of Opinion, that Mr. Fowke was removed without juſt Cauſe, to make Room for Mr. Graham; and that the Addition of Mr. Barwell's Salary is a clear Loſs of Three hundred Rupees per Month to the Company.

67. " As it was not pretended that Mr. Fowke's Conduct had been exceptionable; as he had executed with the greateſt Punctuality and Exactneſs the like Office to which you have now appointed Mr. Graham; and as the Diſſent of Mr. Francis, and the Proteſt of General Clavering, on the Occaſion, had no Effect; we think it proper to interfere, and therefore direct, that Mr. Francis Fowke be immediately reinſtated in his Office of Reſident and Poſtmaſter at Benaris. We however think proper to declare, that though we mean by this Order to do an Act of Public Juſtice, we by no Means intend it as a Mark of Diſapprobation of the Conduct of Mr. Graham, whom we believe to be a very deſerving Servant of the Company.

[Signed at the End of the Draught]

Geo. Cumming,	Geo. Wombwell,
Tho. Cheap,	Wm. Devaynes,
Samuel Peach,	Frederick Pigou,
John Smith,	J. Purling,
Robert Gregory,	John Harriſon,
John Roberts,	Ben. Booth,
Nathaniel Smith,	Geo. Tatem,
H. Fletcher,	Charles Boddam."

" London, the 30th January, 1778.

Then the Managers for the Commons propoſed to read a Letter from the Court of Directors of the 27th of May 1779, to the Governor General and Council at Fort William, in Bengal, in conſequence of the Orders in the laſt-mentioned Letter being diſobeyed.

The ſame was objected to by the Counſel for the Defendant, as not being applicable to any Allegation in this Article.

The Managers for the Commons being heard in Anſwer to this Objection, the Counſel for the Defendant in Support of it, and the Managers for the Commons in Reply;

The Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Jovis, 28° *Februarij* 1788.

THE Houſe being reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor ſaid, Gentlemen, Managers for the Houſe of Commons, and you Gentlemen who are of Counſel for the Defendant, I am commanded by the Lords to inform you, that the Managers for the Commons are permitted to proceed, and to read the Letter dated 27th May 1779, from the Court of Directors to the Governor General and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

Gentlemen, Managers for the Houſe of Commons, you may proceed with your Evidence.

Whereupon they called Mr. ROBERT HUDSON, who produced Book 44, intituled, "Bengal Diſpatches 1779."

Read, Paragraph 40th of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor General and Council at Fort William, in Bengal, dated 27th May 1779; as follows:

40. "We have read with Aſtoniſhment your formal Reſolution to ſuſpend the Execution of our Orders relative to Mr. Francis Fowke; your Proceedings at large arenow before us; we ſhall take ſuch Meaſures as appear neceſſary for preſerving the Authority of the Court of Directors, and for preventing ſuch Inſtances of direct and wilful Diſobedience in Time to come. At preſent we repeat the Commands in the 67th Paragraph of our Letter of the 30th of January 1778, and direct that they be carried into immediate Execution.

"London,
27th May 1779.

Signed,
George Cuming, W. Devaynes,
Henry Savage, L. Sulivan,
Samuel Peach, John Harriſon,
Charles Boddam, J. Purling,
Francis Baring, H. Fletcher,
J. Stables, John Michie,
George Tatem, J. Manſhip,
Joſeph Sparkes."

To ſhew what the Proceedings of the Governor General and Council in Bengal, were, in conſequence of the Receipt of the abovementioned Letter, the Witneſs produced Book 53, intituled, "Bengal Council, 17th Jan. to 9th March 1780."

Read, the following Extract from the Bengal Public Conſultation of the 17th February 1780, beginning at P. 275 of the ſaid Book.

Pub. Dep. Monday.

"Fort William, 17th February 1780.

"At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Philip Francis, } Eſquires.
Edward Wheler, }
Mr. Barwell indiſpoſed.

"The Proceedings of the 14th inſtant read and approved.

"Read the 40th Paragraph of the General Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated 27th May 1779.

"Agreed, that Mr. Francis Fowke be appointed Reſident at Benares, in Conformity to the Intention of the Court of Directors, and that Mr. Thomas Graham be directed to deliver over the Charge of that Office to him on his Arrival there."

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, that in Point of Order and Regularity they ought next to proceed and ſhew that the above-mentioned Appointment of Mr. Fowke was annulled by Mr. Haſtings, and the Reaſon of its being ſo annulled; but, as that did not happen till the Year 1781, a very ſhort Time previous to Mr. Haſtings's going up the Country to Benares, it would be better to produce that Evidence in the Chain of Time when it would more regularly and properly come in; that they ſhould now therefore proceed to ſhew what was ſtated in the Charge, as the firſt

Breach

Breach of the Engagements entered into with the Rajah Cheyt Sing, namely, the firſt Demand of Five Lacks of Rupees, made upon him in the Year 1778 *: That they ſhould prove the Demand, the Compliance of the Rajah Cheyt Sing with that Demand, and the Debates of the Council in Conſequence of it.

Then the Witneſs was directed to produce Book 13, intituled, "Bengal Secret Council, 1 June to 10 Auguſt, 1778."

The Managers for the Commons informed the Houſe, that on the Day of the Conſultation they were now about to refer to, viz. the Bengal Secret Conſultation of the 9th July 1778, Mr. Haſtings laid before the Board a Variety of Propoſitions; but as they did not ſeem connected with each other, they ſhould only read that Part which related to the Rajah Cheyt Sing, namely, the Second Propoſition, with the Obſervations and Reſolution of the Council thereupon.

Accordingly the Second Propoſition, and the Opinions of the Board thereupon, were read by the Clerk; which done, the Counſel for the Defendant deſired that the Firſt Propoſition might be read.

They were informed by the Houſe, that by the Rule which had been laid down, they might call for any Part to be read which they thought material, eſſential, or giving a Colour; that that was the Rule, and the Houſe had great Confidence that nothing improper would be called for; but it was impoſſible for the Houſe to ſay what was or was not relevant in this Stage of the Buſineſs.

The Firſt Propoſition was read; after which the Counſel for the Defendant being aſked, if there was any other Part of this Conſultation that they deſired to have read, made Anſwer, "if they might expreſs a Wiſh it was, that the Whole of the Governor General's Minute might be read."

Read, the following Extracts of Bengal Secret Conſultation, 9th July 1778, beginning Page 1, of Book 13.

"Fort William, the 9th July 1778.

"At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }
Edward Wheler, }

Secret Dep. Thurſday.

"Read the Proceedings of the 7th inſtant.

"The Governor General having ſent the following Note to the Secretary on the Evening of the 7th Inſtant, it was immediately ſent round to the other Members of the Board, and the Meeting of the Council poſtponed accordingly till this Morning:

"Sir,

The Gov. Gen. to the Secretary.

"Fearing that the Shortneſs of Time will not admit of my being prepared for the propoſed Meeting of the Council To-morrow, I deſire that you will inform the Gentlemen of the Board, that it is my Wiſh to poſtpone it, with their Permiſſion, to Thurſday.

"I am, &c.

"J. P. Auriol Eſq." "(Signed) Warren Haſtings."

"The Governor General delivers in the following Minute:

Governor General's Minute.

"I ſtate the War with France as a Fact of undoubted Certainty. It is the Part of this Government to conſider in what Manner it is likely to affect the Britiſh Poſſeſſions in India, and to provide accordingly for their Security. This muſt compriſe and limit all our Operations. In the View of the opening Scene, the relative Conditions of the Parties engaged in it will merit our firſt Attention, and cannot fail to engage it by the ſtriking Contraſt which appears between them; and I mention it becauſe I think it an eſſential Point in the Conſideration of our firſt, and perhaps our future Meaſures.

"Great as the Power is which the Britiſh Nation has acquired in India, compared with that of its Rival, its general Line of Action is and muſt be purely defenſive. It can gain, the French loſe nothing. Even the Capture of Pondicherry, and of the other Poſſeſſions of the French, will yield no poſitive Advantage to the Engliſh, although it will deprive the French of their Inſtruments of Attack, and thereby affect our own Safety.

"From this Point, therefore, all our Concluſions muſt originate, and all our Meaſures be ſo laid as to obviate or to oppoſe the probable Deſigns of our Enemies. Their firſt Attempts will be againſt Bombay or Fort St. George. Bengal will be their laſt, at leaſt their diſtant Object.

"The Preſidency of Fort St. George poſſeſſes in itſelf the complete Means of Defence. We can add nothing to them, but in the Effects of our political Arrangements. We have always yielded it a large Supply of Treaſure. It requires no other preſent Aid.

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* Vide printed Articles, Bottom of Page 4, and Top of Page 5.

" Bombay requires every Thing. Weak in itſelf, and entangled rather than ſtrengthened by its diſſipated Poſſeſſions on the Continent, it can only defend itſelf againſt a direct Invaſion; and to that it is perhaps equal, if it has to contend with the French alone; but this is unlikely. The laſt Advices from Poona contain ſuch Evidence as the Event itſelf muſt ſoon refute or realize, of an Engagement actually made by the French Miniſter there to bring a large Military Force to Poona, profeſſedly deſigned to act with that Government againſt Ragoba, who at that Time reſided at Bombay, under the Engliſh Protection.

" In Effect, this is the obvious Policy which the French ought to adopt, if they ſeek to regain their Influence in India, and it is no longer to be doubted that they have adopted it. They have beſides an ancient Claim to the Alliance of Nizam Ally, which is inſured by their accidental Union in a common Cauſe, the Defence of the ruling Adminiſtration at Poona, of which his Letters to Mr. Rumbold and the Nabob of Arcot afford an undoubted Proof.

" It is then certain that the French mean to eſtabliſh a firm Intereſt at Poona. It is probable that they will effect it. The Conſequences may be the Attack of Bombay, or, without it, the Re-union of the vaſt Powers of the Maratta State under its preſent Government, ſtrengthened by ſo formidable an Alliance; and a predatory War brought by their united Force into the Dominions of our Ally the Nabob of Owd, or even into the Heart of our own.

" To guard againſt ſuch Conſequences ought, in my Opinion, to be our firſt Object, both for the immediate Defence of Bombay, and the further Security of Bengal. We cannot ſend Succours directly to Bombay. If Bombay ſhould be attacked by the French unſupported by a Maratta Alliance, I have already ſaid that I hope its preſent Force is equal to its Defence: But if it ſhould be attacked, or in certain Danger of being attacked, by the French and Marattas in Alliance, an offenſive War muſt be undertaken in Defence of Bombay.

" The Detachment under Colonel Leſlie may be employed in this Service. It can be ſpared without Danger to Bengal, which is ſecure from a preſent Invaſion, and can ſoon be replaced. But it conſiſts of a Force too inconſiderable to engage ſingly in ſuch a Conteſt. Unleſs it can be aſſiſted by an Ally equal in Power, or ſo nearly equal to that of the Peſhwa, as to give our united Strength a Degree of Superiority over the Combination to which it would be oppoſed, the Undertaking would be too hazardous. Modajee Booſla, the Chief of Berar, anſwers to this Deſcription. His Family has always borne a conſiderable Rank among the Powers of India. His Father, Ragojee, ſubjected the Provinces of Bengal to the Chout, under the Government of the moſt able Chief that ever ruled them. His elder Brother, Jannoagee, attacked and burnt the City of Poona at a Time when the Power of the Peſhwas far exceeded its preſent State, and the Maratta Conſtitution reſpecting Berar was undivided. His Dominions extend from the Sea Coaſt of Oriſſa, and from the Weſtern Borders of Bengal, to the Neighbourhood of Aurengabad. His Revenues, though not proportionate to their Magnitude, is * conſiderable, and his ſtanding Forces are numerous, excluſive of the Militia, which, in all the Maratta States, is always ready to join the regular Armies when they take the Field. While the Conteſt prevailed between Ragonaut Row and the Miniſterial Party, Moodajee ſided with the former, his Brother with the latter. This Conduct drew on him the Reſentment of the Miniſters, who, as ſoon as they were freed, by the Interpoſition of this Government, from the Dread of their great Competitor, encouraged and ſupported the Nabob Nizam Ally Cawn, in an Invaſion of his Country, which at that Time had not yet recovered from the Diſtractions occaſioned by the Contention between the Two Brothers. On this Occaſion he was glad to purchaſe a Peace of Nizam Ally Cawn, with the Loſs of ſome Forts of Conſequence, the Remembrance of which he ſtill retains, with a Determination to avail himſelf of the Firſt Opportunity to reclaim them.

* Sic in Orig.

" As the Provinces which are now united under the Government of Berar are a conſtitutional Part of the Maratta Empire, a natural Enmity muſt ever ſubſiſt between them who poſſeſs the Sovereign Authority, and the Rulers of Berar; the former looking to the Recovery of their unalienable Rights, the latter jealous of their Independency. Thus Moodajee may be conſidered as the certain Enemy of the Peſhwa, into whatever Hands the fluctuating State of the Parties at Poona may throw his Adminiſtration. But a late Event has given Modajee Pretenſions to a Rank even more elevated than that of the Peſhwa. I need not inform the Board, that the Power which the Peſhwa poſſeſſed for about Forty Years paſt, is an Uſurpation on the Sovereign Authority veſted by the Conſtitution in the Raja. Raja Sâboo, the laſt who retained it, having no Children, adopted Moodajee Booſla, and, as I am informed, deſigned him for his Succeſſor. But Ballajee, the Peſhwa or Prime Miniſter, had the Art to deprive Moodajee of the Benefit of this Intention, and to transfer the Inheritance to Ram Raja, who was alſo an adopted Son of Rajo Sâboo, and an Infant at his Death. Ragoojee, the Father of Modajee, inſtantly marched to Poona with a formidable Army, and by a Negotiation of a Day, obtained, for the Surrender of his Son's actual Pretenſions, a large Acceſſion of Territory and other Advantages, ſtill reſerving a future Claim to the Rajaſhip, and refuſing to commit himſelf by any formal Deed in an Acknowledgement of the Title of Ram Raja. From that Time the Grandeur of his Family may be dated. Ragojee continued to authenticate all his public Acts by the Name of Sâboo Raja; and on the Seals which have been affixed to all the Letters which I have received from Shabajee Booſla, and even ſince his Death from his Brother Moodajee, they are ſtiled the Vaſſals of Sahoo Raja. I know not with Certainty what are Moodajee's preſent Views. Ram Raja died in December laſt, and the Succeſſion is either ſtill vacant or but lately filled. Moodajee's Rights are ſtill in force, and unqueſtionably ſuperior to any other.

" I muſt ſuſpend the Thread of this Narrative to relate a Tranſaction which brings it nearer to the Concerns of this Government. An Alliance with the Booſla Family has been long its Object,

and conſiderable Advances were made to the Attainment of it in the Adminiſtration of Lord Clive. In the latter End of the Year 1773, Shabajee Booſla ſent a Vakeel to me with Letters containing general Profeſſions of Attachment, but expreſſed with ſuch Warmth as induced me to aim at a formal Connection with him. Finding the Vakeel an intelligent Man, I ſent him back with a Plan for that Purpoſe. Unfortunately Shabajee fell by the Hands of his Brother. But Moodajee himſelf ſoon after adopting his Brother's Line, again deputed the ſame Vakeel to Calcutta; but many Cauſes, which it is unneceſſary to enumerate, prevented me from improving the Diſpoſition of this Chief. A conſtant Intercourſe of Letters, and in ſome Degree confidential, has been kept up between us. On a falſe Rumour of the Death of Ram Raja, foreſeeing the Uſe which might be made of this new Diverſion in the Maratta Policy, I employed the Agency of the Vakeel to excite the Ambition of Moodajee to aſpire to the Sovereign Authority, which ſuch an Event, then probable at leaſt from the infirm ſtate of the Raja, and the Diſtractions at Poona, ſeemed to preſent to him; and I intimated the ſame Advice in a Letter which I wrote at the ſame Time to Dewargur Pundit, the Miniſter of Moodajee Booſla, and the Man whoſe Counſels have long guided the Affairs of that Government. While theſe Letters were on their Way, the Raja died: No Anſwers were given, for the Purport required none, but every Letter ſince received from Moodajee and his Dewan has repeatedly and urgently preſſed the Diſmiſſion of the Vacqueel, for the Purpoſe, as expreſſed, of communicating with him on Affairs of the greateſt Importance. The Vackeel is at this Time with Colonel Leſlie.

" From theſe Facts it will appear, that Moodajee Booſla is by Intereſt and Inclination likely to join in an Alliance with this Government, and that Two Advantages may be offered to him as the Inducements to it. The Firſt is the Support of his Pretenſions to the Sovereign Power; the Second, the Recovery of the Captures made on his Dominions by Nizam Ally. On our Parts we ſhall poſſeſs a powerful Barrier on our Frontier; an Alliance which may counterbalance, and if properly managed, may totally overthrow the preſent Power of the Maratta State, and give us a laſting Aſcendant in its Operations, and for ever diſſipate all the Deſigns which the French have at this Time ſo wiſely, and hitherto ſucceſsfully, concerted for their Aggrandizement and our Deſtruction. A more fortunate Concurrence of Events could ſcarcely have been conceived, than thoſe which appear of themſelves to draw the Two States of Berar and Bengal into a decided and laſting Union by the powerful Bonds of common Intereſt and common Danger. The Poona Government is the natural Enemy of Moodajee. It is ours by their Connection with our natural and declared Enemy, the French. Nizam Ally is the declared Enemy of both, and the Contiguity of our reſpective Territories, in the wildeſt and leaſt valuable Parts of both, and of Courſe the leaſt ſubject to Competition and Incroachment, renders them important and eſſential to the Strength of both.

" On theſe Grounds I recommend that a Company's civil Servant be deputed to Moodajee Booſla, with full Power to form a Treaty of Alliance between that Chief and the Company, on the Terms herein above ſtated. Theſe may be hereafter detailed in his Inſtructions.

§ (The Governor General*.—" It was my Intention, had the Time permitted it, to have extended " the above Minute into other Details, immediately required for the internal Defence of theſe Pro- " vinces. I can now only ſtate thoſe which are moſt urgent in ſhort Propoſitions. The Reaſons, " if neceſſary, may be given ſeparately.

" 1ſt. I propoſe that three additional Battalions of Sepoys be immediately formed upon the " Plan recommended by General Stibbert.") §

☞ [" 2dly. That Rajah Cheit Sing be required in Form to contribute his Share of the Burthen of the preſent War, by conſenting to the Eſtabliſhment of Three regular Battalions of Sepoys, to be raiſed and maintained at his Expence.] ☜

§ (" 3dly. That the Militia Corps be re-eſtabliſhed for the Defence of the City of Calcutta; " and for this Purpoſe, if it ſhall be found neceſſary hereafter, I would further recommend, that " the Commiſſioner of Law Suits, with the Aſſiſtance of the Company's Attorney and Standing " Council, be inſtructed to prepare a Bill for its legal Incorporation.

" 4thly. That the Maſter Attendant be directed to conſult ſome of the moſt able Seamen of " this Port, upon the Means of forming ſuch an Addition to our Marine Eſtabliſhment, as may " be moſt effectual for the Communication of immediate Intelligence of the Approach of an Ene- " my's Fleet, or ſingle Ships of War, and for cutting away the Buoys, and uſing ſuch other " Precautions as may be neceſſary for guarding this Port and its Commerce againſt the Effects of " a Surprize.

" 5thly. That the Opinion of the Chief Engineer be alſo taken with reſpect to the other Means " which may be neceſſary to prevent or impede the Progreſs of an Enemy by the Entrance of the " River.

" 6thly. That the Commander in Chief be requeſted to furniſh the Board with ſuch a general " Plan of Defence as he ſhall judge neceſſary, in Addition to the preſent Diſpoſition of our " Army, and in the Suppoſition that the Detachment now employed under Colonel Leſlie may " not return for a Length of Time into the Provinces, and to attend the Board with it when " prepared.

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* The Parts incloſed thus §( )§ and marked with inverted Commas at the Beginning of each Line, are the Extracts particularly referred to in this Conſultation by the Counſel for the Defendant, and the ſame Mark will be made uſe of, for the ſame Purpoſe in future.

" 7thly. The

"7thly. The Propoſition with which I ſhall now conclude, I offer with much Diffidence and "Heſitation. It has been the conſtant Subject of my Thoughts ſince our laſt Meeting, and, "though I now incline to recommend it, I ſee the Objections to it in ſo ſtrong a Light, as added "perhaps to thoſe which may be ſuggeſted by other Members of the Board, may induce me to "change it; but I will briefly ſtate it. The War having been notified to us, though not by Au- "thority, yet confirmed by Evidence of ſuch Strength as to amount to a Degree of Certainty next "to abſolute, ſhall we proceed upon it as upon the Grounds of a War declared and notified in all "its Forms? Or ſhall we wait the Confirmation of it, which it is probable we may not receive for "this Month or Six Weeks yet to come? The Conſequence of our Determination on this Que- "ſtion, if in the Affirmative, will be inſtantly to detach a Military Force to guard the Approaches "of Chandernagore, to demand the Surrender of that Town, and to appoint Commiſſaries to take "Poſſeſſion of the public Stores, Shipping, and private Effects of the Inhabitants. This com- "bined Queſtion I propoſe for the Determination of the Board.

"The Firſt Queſtion being conſidered, is agreed to.")

§ Three additional Battalions.

"Ordered, That the Secretary to the Military Department do prepare and lay before the Board an Eſtimate of the Expence of the above Augmentation, and of that which will ariſe from the Increaſe of Men to the preſent Eſtabliſhment lately ordered in the Military Department.

"The Second Queſtion conſidered.

☞ Rajah Cheit Sing to raiſe Three Battalions.

["Mr. Francis.—On the Suppoſition that the Detachment now employed under Colonel Leſlie will not return for a Length of Time into the Provinces, I acquieſce in the Propoſal relative to Raja Cheit Sing; but I think he ſhould be informed that this additional Charge will not be impoſed on him beyond the Continuance of the preſent War.

"The Governor General.—The Qualification propoſed by Mr. Francis is conſonant to my Intention in the Queſtion, and is implied in it. I ſhould have no Objection to it's being expreſſed in an additional Clauſe.

"That our Reſolution upon this Subject may be unanimous, I agreed to add to the Queſtion the following Words, "and to be diſbanded at the End of the War;" but perceiving that the Difference in our Opinion upon the Subject ariſes not from a Diſagreement reſpecting the Requiſition ſimply conſidered by itſelf, but from a different Underſtanding of the Right of the Company to exact, under any Preſſure of Affairs, more than the Sum ſtipulated by the Sunnud granted to Cheyt Sing, and the Cubbooleat given by him in return, I muſt adhere to the Queſtion as it ſtands, wiſhing to avoid the Queſtion of Right. If, however, we cannot agree upon the Point, ſtill I would wiſh to have the Requiſition made in the Words of the Queſtion, and leave the Deciſion of future Right to our Superiors.

"Mr. Wheler.—Wiſhing to avoid the Queſtion of Right, I acquieſce in the Motion; but I think it ſhould be qualified in the Manner propoſed by Mr. Francis.

"Mr. Barwell.—An Acquiſition of Revenue and Military Force I ſuppoſe to have been annexed to the Grant of the Zemindarry of Benares and Gauzipore to the Company. Any military Eſtabliſhment, independent of the Engliſh Adminiſtration, in the Heart of the Company's Dominions, may in the Time of Danger be turned againſt thoſe Intereſts which, under another Policy, it would protect. I have long regarded the Military Eſtabliſhment of Benares under the Rajah's native Officers, and not ſubject to the Diſcipline, Command, and Regulation of our own Battalions, as a Defect; I therefore moſt heartily agree to the preſent Propoſal, for Three diſciplined Battalions to be kept up, and paid by the Rajah, and ſincerely hope the Company will direct, that the whole Force of Benares and Gauzipoor, under the Zemindar, be placed upon the ſame Footing as the regular Military Force of the Preſidency.

"The Governor General.—I agree to the Queſtion in the original Form of it, deeming it a Right inherent in every Government to impoſe ſuch Aſſeſſments as it judges expedient for the common Service and Protection of all its Subjects, and we are not precluded from it by any Agreement ſubſiſting between the Raja and this Government.

"Reſolved, That Rajah Cheit Sing be required in Form to contribute his Share of the Burthen of the preſent War, by the Eſtabliſhment of Three regular Battalions of Sepoys, to be raiſed and maintained at his Expence, and the Governor General is to write to him to that Effect.]

"The Board agree to the Third Queſtion.

Militia eſtabliſhed.

Marine additional.

Engineer to be conſulted.

"To the Fourth Agreed.
"Agreed to the Fifth.
} Orders are accordingly iſſued by the Secretary.

"To the Sixth agreed. The following Letter is accordingly written to the Commander in Chief.

To the Commander in Chief.

"To Brigadier General Stibbert, Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c.

"Sir,

"Having received Intelligence, which we deem certain, that War has been declared between France and England, we think it proper to take the earlieſt Means to provide for the Safety and Defence of theſe Provinces. We have already agreed to raiſe and form Three additional Battalions of Sepoys upon the Plan recommended by you. We propoſe that Raja Cheit Sing ſhould be required to entertain Three regular Battalions at his Expence, for his Part of the Burthen of the War,

War, and we ſhall immediately give Orders for re-eſtabliſhing the Militia Corps for the Defence of the City of Calcutta.

" We have thought it neceſſary to acquaint you with the Preliminaries, and we now requeſt that you will furniſh us with ſuch a general Plan of Defence as you ſhall judge adviſeable, in Addition to the preſent Diſpoſition of our Army, and on the Suppoſition that the Detachment now employed under Colonel Leſlie will not return for a Length of Time into the Provinces. When the ſame ſhall be compleated, you will be pleaſed to notify it to us, that we may appoint a Day for your Attendance with it in Council.

" Fort William, 9th July 1778. We are, &c."

Chandernagore to be ſeized.

" The Seventh Queſtion is reſolved in the Affirmative: And

" Agreed, That Lieutenant Colonel Dow the Commanding Officer at Burruchpoor, be immediately ordered to ſtation Guards or Detachments of Sepoys on the Road leading to Chandernagore, with Orders to prevent the Tranſportation of any Goods or Effects from thence, and that he demand of Mr. Chevalier, the Commandant of Chandernagore, the Surrender of the Town, Shipping, Stores, and all other Effects, both public and private, into his Hands.

" Reſolved, That the Quarter Maſter General be directed to furniſh Lieutenant Colonel Dow immediately ſuch Boats as he may require by Indent for this Service.

Mr. Leonard Collings to be appointed Commiſſary.

" Reſolved alſo, That Mr. Leonard Collings be appointed Commiſſary to receive all ſuch Goods and Effects belonging to the French at Chandernagore as Lieutenant Colonel Dow ſhall conſign to his Charge, and that he be directed to form an Inventory of the Whole, as ſoon as poſſible, and tranſmit a Copy thereof to the Board.

" Agreed, That Mr. Collings be permitted to take with him any Writer in the Company's Service, who may, at this Time, be unemployed, if he ſhould require a Perſon to aſſiſt him.

" Reſolved, That the following Inſtructions be immediately iſſued to Lieutenant Colonel Dow.

" To Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Dow, commanding the Troops at Burruckpore.

" Sir,

" In conſequence of a Declaration of War, which has been made between France and England, in London on the 18th March, and in Paris on the 30th March 1777, We do hereby order and command you immediately to ſtation Guards or Detachments of Sepoys on the Roads leading to Chandernagore, with Orders to prevent the Tranſportation of any Goods or Effects from thence, and to demand from Mr. Chevalier, the Commandant at Chandernagore, the Surrender of the Town, Shipping, Stores, and all other Effects, both public and private, into your Hands. You will permit the Commandant, and ſuch of the Inhabitants as will paſs their Parole, to remain in quiet Poſſeſſion of their Houſes, and make Priſoners of them who ſhall refuſe or evade it.

" In caſe of a Refuſal to ſurrender the Town, Shipping, and Effects, as demanded, you will take Poſſeſſion immediately by Force.

" You will be furniſhed with an Order to the Quarter Maſter General to ſupply you immediately with ſuch Boats as you may require from him by Indent, for croſſing the Troops over the River, for taking Poſſeſſion of the Ships, and ſuch other Services as may demand the Employment of Boats for the Execution of theſe Orders.

" As it is not likely, from the defenceleſs State of Chandernagore, that any Oppoſition ſhould be attempted, we recommend it to you to ſhew all poſſible Lenity and Tenderneſs to the Inhabitants in the Execution of theſe Orders, which however muſt be executed without any Delay or Reſervation for further Inſtructions.

" We have appointed Mr. Leonard Collings, a Commiſſary, to take Charge of the Stores and Effects which may be delivered up to you. We therefore deſire that you will cauſe them to be made over to him.

" Fort William, 9th July 1778. We are, &c."

" Agreed, That Captain Robinſon of the Star Armed Veſſel do immediately proceed down the River, to ſeize all the French Veſſels and Pilots which he may be able to find, and bring them to Calcutta.

" The following Letter is therefore written to him by the Secretary.

" To Captain Robinſon, Commander of the Morning Star.

Order to Captain Robinſon to ſeize the French Pilots.

" Sir,

" You are hereby directed to proceed down the River with this Tide, to ſeize all the French Pilot Veſſels and Pilots which you may be able to find, and bring them up to Calcutta. A Pilot will be immediately ſent on board you by the Maſter Attendant, who will furniſh you with Orders to him, to point out to you ſuch Pilot Veſſels as may be in the Service of the French Nation.

" In the Execution of this Service the utmoſt Secrecy is to be obſerved.

" Council Chamber, 9th July 1778. I am, &c."

" Ordered, That the Maſter Attendant do immediately ſend a Pilot on board the Morning Star; that he deliver ſealed Inſtructions into the Hands of Captain Robinſon, to convey the Ship

down

down the River, and to point out all the Pilot Sloops or Veſſels belonging to the French, that he may ſee or be able to get Intelligence of in the River.

" Reſolved, That Orders be immediately diſpatched to the Provincial Councils of Patna, Moorſhedabad and Dacca, to take Poſſeſſion of the French Factories at thoſe Places, with all the Property belonging to that Nation, and to attach the Perſons of all the Subjects of the French Nation who ſhall refuſe to paſs their Parole.

" The following Circular Letter is accordingly written to Patna.

" Gentlemen,

" In conſequence of a Declaration of War which was made by the Court of Great Britain againſt France, on the 18th March laſt, and by France againſt England, on the 30th of the ſame Month, we do hereby order and command you to ſend a Military Force to the French Factory, to demand of the Chief the Surrender thereof, with all Stores and other Effects, both public and private, into your Hands. Such of the Inhabitants as will paſs their Parole may be permitted to remain in quiet Poſſeſſion of their Houſes; but all the Subjects of France, either within the French Factory, or in other Places within the Limits of your Authority, who ſhall refuſe or evade to give their Parole, are to be ſeized and made Priſoners.

" In caſe of a Refuſal to deliver up the Factory, &c. as demanded, you will immediately take Poſſeſſion by Force.

" You will cauſe an Inventory to be made of all the Effects which ſhall be delivered up, and tranſmit a Copy of the ſame to us, taking proper Care to preſerve them untouched.

" Fort William, 9th July, 1778. We are, &c."

" The ſame to Dacca and Coſſimbuzar.

" Reſolved, That the following Orders be immediately iſſued to the Commanding Officers of Berhampore and Dinapore:

" To the Commanding Officer at Burhampore.

To the Officers commanding at Dinapore and Berhampore.

" Sir,

" You are hereby commanded to pay immediate Obedience to ſuch Orders as you ſhall herewith receive from the Chief and Council at Moorſhedabad.

" Fort William, 9th July, 1778. We are, &c."

" The ſame to the Commanding Officer at Dinapore, to obey the Orders received from Patna.

" There being no Brigade Sepoys at Dacca, an Order to the Commanding Officer of the Militia Corps ſtationed there, ſimilar to the above, as that Corps is immediately under the Direction of the Provincial Council.

" Reſolved, That the following Letter be written to the Dutch and Daniſh Settlements, and that they be tranſmitted to Lieutenant Colonel Dow, to be forwarded by him whenever he ſhall think proper:

" To the Director and Council at Houghly.

" Gentlemen,

" We have received Intelligence too well authenticated to doubt its Veracity, that War was declared by the Court of Great Britain againſt France on the 18th of March laſt, and by the Court of France againſt Great Britain on the 30th of the ſame Month. We have therefore thought it incumbent on us to take Poſſeſſion of the Town of Chandernagore, and to attach all the French Property which ſhall be found in theſe Provinces; but as we think it probable that Endeavours will be uſed by the French to cover their Property under the Marks of Dutch or Daniſh Colours, to remove with it into the Limits of the Territories of thoſe Nations, we expect, from the Friendſhip ſubſiſting between your Nation and our's, that you will take effectual Means to diſcourage and prevent the Succeſs of any Attempts of that Nature.

" Fort William, 7th July, 1778. We are, &c.

" The ſame to Fredricknagore.

" Warren Haſtings,
Richard Barwell,
P. Francis,
Edward Wheler."

The Managers for the Commons being aſked, if they could produce the Inſtruments which paſſed on the Occaſion referred to in the Evidence given Yeſterday *; viz. the Sunnud, Potta, Coulnama, and Cabooleat, acquainted the Houſe that they could not; but wiſhed the Houſe to obſerve, that when the Governor General moved the Propoſitions read Yeſterday, they were declared to be without Encroachment of the Rights of the

* Vide Extract of Conſultation, 4th Sept. 1775.

Rajah, and that they had read the Deeds and Inſtruments which paſſed between Shujah ul Dowlah and the Rajah, from the Conſultation of the 4th of October 1773, given in Evidence on Tueſday †. However, with reſpect to the Sunnud, they believed they could make it out thus: That upon the 15th of April 1776, a Sunnud was prepared to be given to the Rajah Cheyt Sing: That that Sunnud was ſigned by the Board, but the Rajah refuſed to accept it on Account of a Clauſe contained in it, declaring all former Sunnuds to be null and void: That in conſequence of this Refuſal, the Board ordered a new Sunnud to be prepared, omitting the Clauſe to which the Rajah objected: That this new Sunnud did not appear; but that it ſeemed to be a fair Inference, that the Sunnud ſent up the ſecond Time, was the ſame as the former Sunnud rejected by the Rajah, omitting the objectionable Clauſes; and therefore they would now read that Sunnud.

† Vide ſupra, p. 37.

The Witneſs produced Book 50, intituled, "Bengal Secret Council, 4th March to 16th May 1776."

Read, the following Extracts from Bengal Secret Conſultations, 15th April 1776.

Secret Dep. Monday.

"At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieuenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

"Fort William, the 15th April 1776.

"The Secretary having prepared the Sunnud and Potta for Rajah Cheyt Sing's Zemindarry, now begs Leave to lay them before the Board, with a Copy of an Obligation to be executed by him for the Remittance of his Tribute.

"The Board having ſigned the former;

"Ordered, That they be tranſmitted to him, and Tranſlations of all of them entered in their Place.

"Tranſlation of the Sunnud granted to Rajah Cheit Sing, for the Zemindarry of Gauzipore, &c.

"Be it known to the Mutſudies in Office, preſent and to come, Canongoes Mukudums, Riotts Cultivators, to all the Inhabitants and People reſident, and belonging to Circar Benaris, Gazypore, and Chunar, in the Soubah of Allahabad, that, Whereas by virtue of a Treaty with the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla, concluded on the 20th of Rubby ul Awal 1189 Hejiree, or 21ſt May 1775, the Government and Sovereignty of the Circars abovementioned has been ceded to the Honourable Eaſt India Company, from the 4th of Jummaſly ul Awal 1189 Hejiree, or 4th July 1775. The ſaid Eaſt India Company therefore, in virtue of the Rights thereby obtained, do confirm unto Rajah Cheit Sing, the Zemindary, Aumeeny, and Fonjedarry, of the ſaid Sircars, agreeably to the Zemmin, together with the Cutwallies of Juanpoor and Benares, and the Mint of Benares, from the ſaid Date; whatever Gold and Silver ſhall be coined in the Mint, the ſaid Rajah ſhall coin in conformity to his Muchulka. He is not to be, in the ſmalleſt Particular, remiſs in the Obſervation and Execution of the ſeveral Duties incumbent on him; he is to behave with Moderation and Kindneſs to the Riotts and People, to promote the Cultivation and Increaſe of Inhabitants, and Produce of the Lands, expelling Thieves, nightly Aſſaulters and Robbers, and ſo effectually puniſhing the Diſturbers of the Peace, that no Trace of them may be ſeen; and he is to pay a Tribute of 23,40,249 Benares Mucklidar Rupees, or 22,66,180 Calcutta Siccars, annually to the Company's Treaſury. Should he receive Orders to pay the above Revenue at Benares, he ſhall, in that Caſe, pay the Sum of 23,40,249 Benares Mucklidar Rupees, each Rupee to weigh 10 Maſſa, and to contain two Ruttie, and two Chowl of Alloy, and no more. Should the Weight be leſs, or Alloy more, he ſhall make up the Deficiency. Whenever the Money ſhall not be wanted at Benares, he is to remit the annual Amount of 23,66,180 Sicca Rupees punctually, agreeably to his Kiſts, and *Muchulka* *, by Monthly Payments at Calcutta. In Conſideration of which, he ſhall be allowed a Deduction of Two per Cent. amounting in all to Sicca Rupees 44,434 : 14 : 5 Account Hindowany, or Exchange, which being deducted, the net Amount is 22,21,745 : 5 : 7 Sicca Rupees of Calcutta, which he is to pay at that Place. After the Settlements of Accounts at the End of the Year, he ſhall, in the cuſtomary Manner, receive Credit for his Payments; and he is by no means to collect the prohibited Abwaub of the Durgah of his Majeſty. This Sunnud being granted, is to remain in Force, and all former Sunnuds to become null and void. You the Mutſuddies, and Perſons above-mentioned, are to regard the ſaid Rajah as truly and lawfully poſſeſſed of the Zemindarry, Aumeeny, and Fonjedarry of the above Sircars; and to acknowledge his Authority in the ſeveral Acts appertaining thereunto. Know that we have here iſſued the moſt ſtrict and poſitive Commands, and obey them accordingly.

* "This Word afterwards ordered to be ſtruck out."

"Written on the 25th of Suffer, 17 Sun, or 15th April 1776.
(Signed) by the Governor General and Council.

"The

" The Zimmeen.

" The Office of the Zemindarry of Sircar Benares, Gauzipore, Chundara, the Cutwally, the Duties, and the Mint in the Soubah of Allahabad, have been conferred upon the great Chief Rajah Cheit Sing Behadre, alſo the Aumeeny and Foujedary.

" Mohals 19, viz.

" Sircar Benares.
" Chundara.
" Sircar Gauzipore.
" Mohals of Jaunpore, comprehending Maul and Duties.
" Havily Mahd abad Benares.
" The Caus Daums, or for ſupplying Clothing to the King.
" Pergunnah Bhadurry.
" The Talook of Sukramow in Chundara.
" Suktuſgur.
" Bidjeypore.
" Sekunderpore.
" Khireed Shadyabad.
" Tuppa Serringa.
" The Cutwally and Duties of Benares, Free.
" Ditto Ditto of Jaunpore, Ditto.
" The Mohal of the Mint of Benares, Ditto.
" The Benares Mukeemi, or Brokerage.
" The Sungurzenne, or Stone Weighing of Benares, and the other Mohuls.
" The Yantefauly, or Office of Muttuffaub of Benares.

" Copy of a Potta granted to Cheit Sing.

" This Potta, containing the underwritten Stipulations, is granted unto Rajah Cheit Sing Behadre. Sircar Benares, Gazypore, Chunar, and the Mohals of Sircar of Jaunpore, comprehending the Maul and Duties, Havily Mahomed Abad Benares, the Khaus Daums in Pergunna Bhadurry, Talook of Sunkeramow in Pergunna Chunara, Suktiſgurra, Bejeepore, Sircar Gauzipore, Pergunnah Sekunderpore, Kheireed, Shadyabaud, Putna, Sirrungen, including the Cutwally Duties of Jaunpore and Benares, the Mint of Benares, the Mookeymee, Yahtiſaule, and Stone Weighing, both Maul and Duties, and the Dewanny Duſtoor, excepting the Nancar of Half the Jaghier of Bhadurry, the exempted Jaghiers and Ayma which have been inſerted for a length of Time in the Accounts as Deductions; all the Articles of the Tahud are ſettled upon you from the 4th of Jamaudy ul Awil 1189 Hejiree, or the 4th of July 1775 Engliſh, at a Stipulation per Annum of 23,40,249 Mucklidar Benares Rupees, not ſhort of the Weight of Ten Maſſa each, and not containing a greater Portion of Alloy than Two Rutties, and Two Beringee, agreeably to your Mutchulka and Cabooleat. This Sum you will therefore pay, but ſhould it not ſuit the Conveniency of the Company to receive it at Benares, you are to pay it in Calcutta in Sicca Rupees of Calcutta, amounting in which Specie to 22,66,180 Sicca Rupees, the Amount of Hindoſaun, or Exchange allowed you, at the Rate of Two per Cent. is Rupees 44,434 : 14 : 5 which being deducted, the Net Sum will be 22,21,745 : 1 : 15 Sicca Rupees of Calcutta. This you are to pay, without the leaſt Deduction or Depreciation whatever, in the Courſe of each Year, by Monthly Payments, agreeably to your ſeparate Kiſtbundee. This you are to pay without any Allowance for Seebundey. You will remit the Money to Calcutta without fail conformably to the ſaid Kiſtbundee.

" Particulars of the Tribute, (viz.)

" Former Cabooleat, -		20,86,607
" Deduct——Nancar. - -	9,800	
" Exempted Lands. -	8,000	
" Moaffy Fourth Part and Siry Sicca.	2,358	
" One Half Jaghier of Bhadurry.	67,500	
" Altumgaw of Muſſaummut Muraud Barnoo. -	500	
		88,158
		19,98,449
" Add——Nuzzeranna. - -	90,000	
" Tuppa. - - -	34,207 12	
" Mukeeme, &c. - -	1,800	
		1,26,007 12
" Encreaſe——Total	250,000	
" Deduct	34,207 12	
		2,15,792 4
Carry over, —	" Benares Rupees,	23,40,249

Brought over, —	" Benares Rupees,	23,40,249
	" Batta to reduce them into Siccas	74,069
	" Remains, Sicca Rupees	22,66,180
	" Deduct Hindooaun	44,434 : 14 : 5
	" Remains net Amount in Siccas	22,21,745 : 1 : 15

" Written on the 26th of Suffer 17th Year, or 15th April 1776.
Warren Haſtings.
J. Clavering.
R^d Barwell.
P. Francis."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they would next proceed to ſhew the Objections made to this Sunnud and Potta, by the Rajah Cheit Sing, as contained in a Letter from Mr. Fowke, the Reſident at Benares, dated 17th July 1776, and the Proceedings of the Council thereupon.

The Witneſs produced Book 52, intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, 1ſt July to 30th September 1776."

Read, the following Extracts from Bengal Secret Conſultations, 29th July 1776.

" Fort William, the 29th of July 1776.

Secret Dep. Monday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering.
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }
The Honourable George Monſon, indiſpoſed.

" Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

" I am honoured with the Receipt of your Commands, dated 24th June, directing the Eraſement of the Word " *Muchulka*," in the Sunnud and Potta which accompanied Mr. Auriol's Letter of the 26th April. I have, in Conſequence, acquainted the Rajah with your Orders upon this Subject, and have called upon him to receive the new Sunnud and Potta, and to execute his Cabooleat. He has declined the Acceptance of the Sunnud and Potta, for which he aſſigns theſe Reaſons; that any Eraſement in a Sunnud or Public Deed is totally unprecedented in the Uſages of this Country; that the Clauſe in the Sunnud by which the former Sunnuds are declared to be null, is likewiſe contrary to Cuſtom and Practice; and further, that in the above Clauſe, the Word "*Sunnud*" being uſed in the plural Number, the Coulnama, which he received with the former Sunnud and Pottah, is thereby likewiſe rendered void and of no Effect. The Rajah objects to the Execution of the Caboleat on Account of the Clauſe it contains, by which the former Sunnuds are annulled. He declares himſelf ready to return the old Sunnud and Pottah upon Receipt of the new ones; and has requeſted that a Repreſentation of the above Circumſtances may be made to your Honourable Board.

" Benares, 17th July 1776.

" I am, &c. &c.
" (Signed) Francis Fowke."

" Ordered, That the Secretary prepare a new Sunnud and Pottah, omitting the Word " Muchulka," and the Sentence declaring the former Sunnuds to be null, and that theſe be tranſmitted to Mr. Fowke, with Directions to receive back the temporary Pottah and Grant which were firſt allowed him."

" Reſolved, That the following Letter be written to Mr. Fowke.

" Sir,

" We have received your Letters of the 15th and 17th inſt.

" In Compliance with the Requeſt of Rajah Cheit Sing, we have ordered the Sunnud and Pottah for his Zemindarry to be made out anew, with the Omiſſions which he has ſolicited, and we ſhall retain theſe Grants to be exchanged for the Caboleat to be executed on his Part, which his Vackeel has promiſed to obtain from him.

" You will receive back from the Rajah the temporary Grants which you delivered to him on your Arrival at Benares, and return them to us, or let him do it through his Vackeel; the Sunnud and Pottah, formerly ſent you by the Secretary, you will alſo tranſmit to us.

[At the End of the Letter]

" We are, &c. *"

6

* N. B. No Signature.

The

The Managers for the Commons being aſked, if they had any Evidence to ſhew whether the Firſt Sunnud was returned, according to the Order of the 29th July 1776, juſt read; and alſo, whether the Second Sunnud was ever executed, acquainted the Houſe that they had laid before them all they knew, or could find upon the Subject. That they would now return to the Evidence they were about to give when the above Enquiry after the Sunnuds, &c. was made, namely, to ſhew that the Demand of Three Battalions from the Rajah Cheyt Sing, propoſed by Mr. Haſtings in the Conſultation of the 9th July 1778 *, was converted into a Demand of Five Lacks of Rupees.

* Vide ſupra, Page 66.

The Witneſs produced Book 14, intituled, "Bengal Secret Conſultations, 17th Auguſt 1778, to 25th January 1779."

Read, the following Extract from Bengal Secret Conſultation 17th Auguſt 1778, from Page 12, ſame Book.

"Fort William, the 17th Auguſt 1778.

"At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.

Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

"The Governor General delivers in the following Minute.

The Governor General's Minute on Rajah Cheyt Sing's Acquieſcence to defray the Expence of Three Battalions of Sepoys.

"The Governor General lays before the Board the following Letter from Rajah Cheit Sing, and informs the Board, that having called upon Ally Nucky, the Rajah's Vackeel, for an Explanation of his Maſter's further Sentiments upon the Subject of it: he received the following Anſwer from the Vackeel, being the Subſtance of a long Converſation, viz. That his Maſter was, at all Times, ready to pay Obedience to the Commands of the Board, and to afford every Proof of his Attachment to the Company; and that the Rajah had authorized him to declare his Acquieſcence in the Requiſition of a Subſidy, equal to the Expence of Three Battalions of Sepoys for the Service of the War.

"The Vackeel contended much for fixing the Sum of the Subſidy at Three Lacks of Rupees. The Governor told him, it could not be leſs than Five, and received his Conſent, in his Maſter's Name, and in virtue of the Authority which he derived from the Rajah, to the Payment of that Sum for one Year; his Authority extending no further.

"The Governor General is of Opinion, that as the Rajah's Conſent has been expreſſed with ſuch a Limitation, and eluded in his written Anſwers, the Payment of the Subſidy ought not to be left ſubject to the Contingencies which the Courſe of the Year may produce, but immediately demanded. He computes, that the Amount of Three Battalions of Sepoys on double Batta, excluſive of Tents, Arms, and contingent Charges, will amount to Rupees 4,76,000.

"On theſe Grounds he moves, that the Subſidy to be paid by Rajah Cheit Sing, for the Maintenance of Three Battalions of Sepoys during the Courſe of the War, be fixed at the annual Sum of Five Lacks of Muchledar Rupees; and that he be immediately required to pay that Sum into the Hands of the Reſident Mr. Thomas Graham.

"(Signed) Warren Haſtings."

"Mr. Francis.—I acquieſce, tho', in my own Opinion, it would anſwer as well to us, and be leſs diſtreſſing to the Rajah, if the Subſidy were added, in equal Proportions, to the Monthly Kiſts of the Tribute.

"(Signed) Philip Francis.

"I agree. (Signed) Richard Barwell.

"Agreed. (Signed) Edward Wheler."

"From Maha Rajah Cheit Sing, received 30th July.

"I have been honoured by the Receipt of your gracious Letter, communicating the Intelligence of a War having broke out between the Courts of Great Britain and France, and deſiring me to take on myſelf a Share of the Burden of Expence. My Patron, I am the Servant of the Sircar. I will write you more fully hereafter. On all Occaſions, I am hopeful of your Highneſs's Favour and Support.

"Reſolved, That the following Letter be written to Mr. Graham, and that Notice of the Board's Reſolution be given to the Perſian Tranſlator, that a Letter be accordingly prepared to be ſent to Rajah Cheit Sing."

"Sir,

To Mr. Graham.

"Thinking it neceſſary that Rajah Cheit Sing ſhould be required to contribute his Share to ſupport the Burthen of the preſent War with France; we reſolved that Three Battalions of Sepoys ſhould be raiſed and maintained at his Expence; and the Rajah, in Anſwer to a Letter which the

Governor General wrote to him on the Occaſion, having, by Means of his Vackeel, agreed to pay a Subſidy of Five Lacks of Muchlidar Rupees for one Year, but not authorized his Vackeel to extend his Acquieſcence further. We deem it neceſſary, and have accordingly ordered that the Rajah ſhall immediately pay this Sum into your Hands; you will therefore receive the ſame from him, and remit the Amount of it to the Preſidency.

" We are, &c.*"

Notice being taken that the Evidence, as to the Change of the Demand from Troops to a Sum of Five Lacks of Rupees, was, as far as appeared at preſent, incomplete, in as much as it was not diſtinctly ſhewn from whom, or how that Change originated; the Managers for the Commons were aſked, " Whether they had any Evidence of the Change of the Propoſition made for a Supply of Three Battalions of Troops to that of a Sum of Money, beyond what appears in the Minute delivered in by the Governor General on the 17th of Auguſt 1778?"

The Managers for the Commons made Anſwer, That no other Evidence appeared. But as it was a Matter ſufficiently notorious that the Governor General is the Perſon who officially communicates, on the Part of the Company, with the Vackeels of all the foreign Princes, they conceived it to originate from the Converſation which the Governor General, in the abovementioned Minute of the 17th of Auguſt 1778, ſtates to have paſſed with the Vackeel of the Rajah.

To prove the Demand of the Five Lacks made upon the Rajah; the Requeſt of the Rajah to pay them by Inſtalments,, and that upon the Proceedings in conſequence of that Requeſt, one of the Council diſſented materially upon the Queſtion of Right;

The Witneſs was directed to produce Book 21, intituled, " Bengal Council, 2d September to 22d October 1778."

Read, the following Extracts (beginning at Page 362, of the ſame Book) from Bengal Secret Conſultation of the 28th of September 1778.

" Fort William, 28th September 1778.

Public Dep. Monday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Richard Barwell,
Philip Francis,
Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

" Read the following Letter from Mr. Graham, Reſident at Benares;

" I think it neceſſary to inform you, that notwithſtanding Seventeen Days are elapſed ſince your Orders arrived here, directing the Rajah to pay into my Hands the Subſidy he had agreed to pay of Five Lacks of Mutchilidar Rupees, he has not yet paid me One Rupee, and offers as a Reaſon his Inability to diſcharge the Whole at once, and requeſts me to receive it by monthly Payments. Your Honourable Board's Orders authorizing nothing of the Kind, I have acquainted him that it is impoſſible for me to come into his Requeſt, and have repeated my Requiſition, which I have indeed been urging every Day ſince the Receipt of your Orders, to pay me the whole Amount as ſpeedily as poſſible.

" I have the Honour to be, with the higheſt Reſpect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs, &c.
" Benares, the 14th Sept. 1778. (Signed) THOMAS GRAHAM, Reſident."

☞ ["The Governor General lays before the Board the following Letter from Rajah Cheyte Sing:

" From Raja Cheyte Sing, 28th Sept.

Rajah Cheyte Sing.

" I have been honoured with your gracious Letter, deſiring that I will, as a Subject of the Company, take on myſelf the Payment of Five Lacks of Mutchledar Rupees, as my Proportion of the Expences of the preſent War, and pay them to Mr. Graham. Although I have no Ability left, and the great Burthen of Expence I laboured under from the Time of the Deceaſe of the late Raja, till the Expiration of the Nabob Vizier's Authority over me, is well known to God and your Excellency, yet, ſolely with a View to Compliance with your Orders, and to prove my Fidelity, having ſold and pledged every Thing belonging to me, I will make good the aforeſaid in Inſtalments in Six or Seven Months, although by parting with my Effects, which are clearly neceſſary, I am left in a

* N. B. No Signature to this Letter.

State

State of Inability for the future; yet you will ſhew me much Favour that I ſhall again recover myſelf.

" As a Time is required for the Sale of my Effects, and raiſing the Money, I hope, from your Kindneſs, that the Officers of Government may take from me, in different Payments, the ſaid Sum in Sonant Specie, as I ſhall not be able to procure this Sum in Muchledar Rupees; and that you will be graciouſly pleaſed to affix your Signature to my Requeſts, that I may apply myſelf with Satisfaction and Aſſiduity to the Buſineſs of the Sirkar."

" Governor General.—The Subſtance of this Letter, and the Requiſition made by the Rajah to Mr. Graham, differ ſo much from the chearful and ready Acquieſcence with * the Rajah's Vakeel, Shaick Ally Nucky, made in his Maſter's Name to the Demand made on him for this Subſidy, that I think it neceſſary, for my own Juſtification, to call upon the Secretary to certify the Accuracy of my Minute delivered on the 17th Auguſt, containing the Aſſent expreſſed by the Vakeel, in his Maſter's Name, to the Payment of the Subſidy.

* Sic in Orig.

" The Secretary acquaints the Board, that the Governor General delivered to him the Minute above mentioned, previous to his laying it before the Board, with Orders to explain the Contents of it to the Rajah's Vakeel, that it might correſpond with the Acquieſcence which he had delivered; he accordingly communicated the Minute to the Vakeel, and received from him a Confirmation of the Terms therein expreſſed.

" The Governor General moves, That Orders be written immediately to Mr. Graham, that he do, on Receipt of them, demand of the Rajah in Perſon, the Payment of the entire Sum of Five Lacks of Rupees in the Space of Five Days, and declare to him in the Name of this Board, that his Refuſal or Neglect to complete the Payment within that Time, ſhall be deemed equivalent to an abſolute Refuſal, and that he be forbidden, in that Caſe, to hold any farther Intercourſe with the Rajah until he ſhall have adviſed us of the Particulars of the Raja's Conduct in this Inſtance, and receive our Orders in Conſequence.

" Mr. Francis.—I beg leave to aſk, Whether there be any Letter from the Raja himſelf to the Governor, in which his Conſent to pay the Five Lacks, in the Manner agreed to by the Vakeel, is expreſſed, or the Vakeel's Engagement to that Effect confirmed.

" Governor General.—All the Rajah's Letters will be found in the Book of Perſian Correſpondence, to which I refer; but I well recollect that the Aſſent given by the Vakeel was expreſſed in Terms the moſt peremptory that could be conceived, either confirmed by an Oath, or his own Life pledged for the Performance of it. My Minute was drawn up from Heads of what paſſed in Converſation with the Vakeel, and when it was explained to him by Mr. Auriol, he was very deſirous of correcting a Part of it, which made the Acquieſcence of the Rajah appear too general, and that it might be ſpecifically limited to One Year; his Powers, he added, extended no further. The Correction was accordingly made upon the Spot in the Room adjoining to this, and the Minute immediately recorded. I deſire the Secretary to mention whether this agrees with his Recollection of the Matter.

" The Secretary very well recollects the particular Circumſtances alluded to by the Governor General, and therefore offers his Teſtimony, that the Vakeel declared he was authoriſed to acquieſce in the Subſidy for One Year, but no longer, and deſired that the Requiſition might be limited to that Time.

" The Minute was before indefinite.

" Mr. Francis.—I have no Sort of Doubt of the Reality of the Engagements made by the Vakeel; the Queſtion is whether they are Acts of the Rajah, or made by ſufficient Authority from him. If the Vakeel had even a Letter of Credence relative to the Point in Queſtion, it would be ſufficient. If he had, it muſt appear on the Perſian Correſpondence, and I deſire the Secretary will read it.

" Governor General.—I have looked over the Book of Correſpondence. There are but Two Letters upon the Subject. The Firſt, a Letter recorded in Conſultation the 17th of Auguſt, acknowledging the Receipt of mine, which contained the firſt Requiſition of the Five Lacks, and promiſing an Anſwer. The Letter recorded on this Day appears to be that Anſwer, as it begins with an Acknowledgment of the firſt Letter, and a ſhort Recapitulation of its Subſtance. My firſt Letter was written on the 11th July, Two Months and Seventeen Days from this Date. If an Anſwer from the Vakeel, during ſo long an Interval, was not to be deemed authentic, the Rajah's Silence was more diſreſpectful than a direct Refuſal; but if it be admitted as an Exculpation, his ſureſt Remedy againſt any Act of Government will be a Refuſal to make any Reply to its Demands. I will not conceal from the Board, that I have expected this evaſive Conduct in the Rajah, having been ſome Time paſt well informed, that he had been adviſed in this Manner to procraſtinate the Payments of the Five Lacks, to afford Time for the Arrival of Diſpatches from England, which were to bring Orders for a total Change in this Government; and this, he was given to expect, would produce a Repeal of the Demand made upon him by the preſent Government. On intimating my Suſpicions of ſuch a Deſign to the Vakeel, he promiſed he would write in ſo effectual a Manner to his Maſter, as ſhould, without Fail, induce him to make an immediate Payment of the Subſidy. He, this Morning, informed me, that his Letter was diſpatched on the 12th of this Month; its Effect ought by this Time to have ſhewn itſelf. Sufficient Time will have been given to the Rajah to obey the Authority of the Board by the Arrival of the Orders which I have now propoſed;

propoſed; and whether, in that Interval, he ſhall ratify the Act of his Vakeel or not, I ſhall conſider of little Conſequence. If the Board will ſupport their own Authority, he ſhall be made to yield to it.

" Mr. Francis.—There is no Queſtion, but the Rajah muſt yield to the Power of this Government; and I ſhall be as ready as any Member of this Board, to ſupport its Authority, as long as its Power is directed by Juſtice. I did from the firſt expreſs a Doubt, whether we had ſtrictly a Right to encreaſe our Demands upon the Rajah beyond the Terms which we originally agreed to give him, which he conſented to, and which, as I have conſtantly underſtood it, were made the fundamental Tenure, by which he held his Zemindary. If ſuch Demands can be encreaſed upon him at the Diſcretion of the ſuperior Power, he has no Rights; he has no Property; or, at leaſt, he has no Security for either. Inſtead of Five Lacks, let us demand Fifty; and whether he refuſes, or is unable to pay the Money, the Forfeiture of his Zemindary may be the immediate Conſequence of it, unleſs he can find Means to redeem himſelf by a new Treaty. Having this Opinion of the Demand itſelf, as it originally ſtood, it cannot be deemed extraordinary in me, that I ſhould proceed with very great Caution in enforcing any Penalties, which may be propoſed to attend his not inſtantly complying with it. It appears that the Engagements made by the Vakeel have not been confirmed by the Rajah; and that the Vakeel had not even a Letter of Credence from his Maſter. I know the Temper of black Servants too well to puniſh their Principals for any Acts done by them, or even to hold them bound by ſuch Acts, if not expreſsly or virtually confirmed by themſelves. I do not mean by what I have ſaid, that the Board ſhould give up the Demand, which they have already thought fit to make of the Rajah. That Reſolution being paſſed, it only remains for us to take Care that it ſhould be carried into Execution without Harſhneſs or Violence. The Rajah muſt pay the Money if he has it; but I cannot conceive, why we ſhould inſiſt on his paying it all at once. We do not inſtantly want it; and it may diſtreſs him in the greateſt Degree to part with ſuch a Sum at a ſingle Payment. My Opinion is therefore, that the Liquidation of the preſent extraordinary Demand upon him ſhould be ſettled by Kiſtbundy; and that he ſhould be aſſured at the ſame Time, that this Board will not make any further Demands upon him. Under ſuch a Settlement, unanimouſly agreed to, it is not likely that the Rajah will delay or evade a due and regular Execution of it, from any Hopes he may conceive of future Relief by a Change in this Government.

" The Governor General.—The very Demand is itſelf a Proof that the Rajah expects ſuch Relief; and with Reſpect to his Ability to pay the Sum ſo long demanded from him, or even Ten Times that Amount, I ſpeak within Compaſs, no Man can doubt of it. The Acts of the Majority of the Board are the Acts of the Board. When the Perſon who is the immediate Object of them ſtands ſo high in the Public Eſtimation, and holds Pretenſions, as it appears this Rajah does, to a Sovereign and Independant Authority, ſuch Acts once paſt ought never to be revoked: The Demand made upon the Rajah was for immediate Payment, the Demand ought to be ſupported rigidly; but I will ſo far yield to the Neceſſity of the Times, weakening as it may prove to the Powers of this Government, at a Criſis, which of all others demand their moſt vigorous Exertion, as to conſent to a Compromiſe. The Rajah has requeſted, that he may be allowed to pay the Sum required of him by Inſtalments, within the Space of Six or Seven Months; I will conſent to pardon his paſt Contumacy and Diſobedience, on Condition of his conſenting to pay the entire Sum within Three Months, which Time will have elapſed before the Orders now ſent to Mr. Graham can take Effect, although not a Rupee ſhall have been received, to that Period, of the Payments which, by his own Propoſal, ought to be half completed. I deſire that what I have ſaid may not be miſunderſtood. I mean only to ſhew, that inſtead of the Harſhneſs and Rigour which have been imputed to this Government in its preſent Conduct to the Rajah, he has been treated with a Lenity almoſt equal to the Subſtance of his own Demands. I think it unneceſſary to reply farther to Mr. Francis's Minute, as I deſire only to obtain his Conſent to a Meaſure upon his own Principles, which I underſtand to be, that a public Meaſure, nay, even an Opinion of Government once paſſed, ought to be invariably ſupported, even by thoſe who oppoſed it in the firſt Inſtance.

" Mr. Francis.—It is generally true that a Reſolution of Government once paſſed ſhould be ſupported; but, where the Rights of others are concerned, it is only true with this Proviſo, that ſuch Reſolutions are not directly contradictory to the Principles of Juſtice, or to the voluntary and fundamental Engagements of the Government itſelf. This Board was already bound to the Rajah by certain Acts of their own, not carried by a Majority, but unanimouſly agreed to. I deſire that they may be recorded in this Place, as I find them ſtated in our Inſtructions to Mr. Fowke.

" Mr. Fowke, of the 24th Auguſt 1775.

4. " It will be proper to aſſure the Rajah, that we do not mean to increaſe his Tribute, but " to require from him the exact Sum, and in the ſame Species of Rupees, to be paid at Benares, " as he paid to the late Vizier Sujah Dowlah, beſides whatever Equivalent may be fixed for the " Grant of the Mint and Cutwally to him; the Whole to be diſcharged by equal monthly Kiſts; " and if we ſhould find it expedient hereafter to receive the Amount at the Preſidency, a ſuit-

" able Deduction, or Commiſſion, ſhall be allowed to him for the Expence and Riſk of tranſ-
" porting or remitting it.

" 5th. That under the acknowledged Sovereignty of the Company, we are determined to leave
" him the free and uncontrouled Management of the internal Government of his Country, and the
" Collection and Regulation of the Revenues, ſo long as he adheres to the Terms of his Engage-
" ments, and will never demand any Augmentation of the annual Tribute which may be fixed."

" If the Opinions of the individual Members, who then compoſed the Board, ſhould be looked back to, I believe it will appear that the Amount of the Tribute was fixed at a higher Sum than the Governor General then thought the Rajah ought to pay. This, however, is immaterial; I only mean to ſhew that I adhere to my Principles, and that the Doubts which I have conſtantly expreſſed of the Juſtice of encreaſing our Demands upon the Rajah, which, if done at all, may be done *ad libitum*, were not ill founded.

" Governor General.—I muſt object to the Term " unanimous," applied to any Reſolution paſſed at the Period to which Mr. Francis alludes, merely becauſe my Diſſent was not expreſſed to it. The Quotation from Mr. Fowke's Inſtructions related only to the fixed and annual Revenue, but could never be underſtood to preclude that Right which every Government inherently poſſeſſes to compel all its Dependencies to contribute, by extraordinary Supplies, to the Relief of extraordinary Emergencies; but though it were granted that this Injunction given to Mr. Fowke did extend to every Mode of Supply, ſtill the Argument will not apply to the preſent Queſtion. The preſent Demand for the Subſidy, juſt or unjuſt, was made unanimouſly, and therefore, even on that Ground alone, ought to be unanimouſly ſupported.

" Mr. Francis.—Underſtanding that the inſtant Payment of the Five Lacks is ſtill to be demanded in the Terms of the Firſt Propoſition, and that no Relaxation from theſe Terms was intended, I am againſt the Motion.

" Mr. Wheler.—I am for the Queſtion; but am further of Opinion, that it ſhould be left to Mr. Graham to determine whether to enforce Payment of the Sum required of the Rajah for the preſent Exigencies of Government by one Payment, or whether to receive it by different Inſtallments, not exceeding Three Months from the Firſt Payment to the Completion of the Whole.

" Mr. Barwell.—The Facts that have been related to the Board by the Governor General, ſpeak the abſolute Neceſſity of the Motion that has been agitated. In theſe Sentiments it is incumbent on me to ſupport it; and I think, that, in Order to its full Efficacy, the Governor General ſhould be empowered to purſue ſuch Means as may ſecure the Government from a Poſſibility of a further Diſappointment.

" Governor General.—I cannot conſent to the Qualification of the preſent Motion, recommended by Mr. Wheler, for the Reaſons I have already aſſigned. With reſpect to the Propoſition implied in Mr. Barwell's Minute, I ſhall take an early Occaſion to offer my Sentiments upon it, deſiring the Subject to reſt here for the preſent.

" Mr. Francis.—If Mr. Barwell, in his Minute, means to give the Governor General, by his Voice, any Powers whatſoever, independent or excluſive of the Board, I muſt requeſt he will be pleaſed to explain himſelf. I am ſure that no ſuch Powers can be wanted on the preſent Occaſion.

" Governor General.—I beg that the Debate, which is now unneceſſary, may end. The Morning has already been loſt in Words. As nothing more is propoſed to be done, I hope it is unneceſſary that more of our Time ſhould be conſumed in ineffectual Debates, even without a profeſſed Object.

" Agreed that the following Letter be written to Mr. Graham:

" Sir,

" We have received your Letters of the 15th July, 9th Auguſt, and 14th inſtant.

" We cannot conſent to the Requeſt of Rajah Cheyte Sing, to be allowed to pay the Amount of his Subſidy, for the Expence of the preſent War for one Year, by monthly Kiſts. Our Orders communicated to him by the Governor General for the immediate Payment were poſitive; we therefore confirm thoſe Orders, and direct that on Receipt hereof you wait on the Rajah forthwith, and demand of him, in Perſon and by Writing, the Payment of the full Sum of Five Lacks of Muchlidar Rupees, the Sum at which the Subſidy is fixed, in Specie to that Amount, to be made to you within Five Days of ſuch Demand; and declare to him in the Name of this Government, that his evading or neglecting to accompliſh the Payment thereof within that Space, ſhall be deemed equivalent to an abſolute Refuſal; and in Caſe of his Noncompliance with your Demand, we peremptorily enjoin you to refrain from all further Intercourſe with him, until you ſhall have adviſed us of the Particulars of his Conduct in this Inſtance, and received our further Orders on the Subject.

" We are, &c.

" Fort William,
the 28th September 1778.

Warren Haſtings,
Richard Barwell,
Philip Francis,
Edward Wheler."]

To prove Payment of the Five Lacks of Rupees by the Rajah Cheyt Sing, and an Acknowledgement of the Receipt thereof;

Read, Extract from Bengal Secret Conſultation of the 12th October 1778, beginning at Page 567 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 12th October 1778.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Philip Francis, } Eſquires.
Edward Wheler, }
Mr. Barwell indiſpoſed.

" The Secretary lays before the Board the following Note from the Governor General:

" Sir,

" I herewith ſend you Four Bills of Exchange, this Inſtant delivered to me by Shekh Ally Vuckee, the Vackeel of Rajah Cheit Sing, being for Four Lacks and a Half of Rupees, which, with Fifty thouſand Rupees paid to Mr. Graham, complete the Sum of Five Lacks required of the Regah for the extraordinary Expences of this Year.

" Saturday Morning, I am, &c.
10th October 1778. (Signed) Warren Haſtings."

" Ordered, That the Bills be ſent to the Treaſury, and that the following Letter be written to Mr. Graham:

" Sir,

To Mr. Graham.

" Rajah Cheit Sing has, by Means of his Vakeel, remitted Bills of Exchange to us for the Sum of Four Lacks and Fifty thouſand Rupees, which, with the Amount paid into your Hands, will complete the Subſidy of Five Lacks, required as his Proportion of the Burthen of the War with France for the preſent Year: We therefore direct, that you refrain from the Execution of the Orders contained in our laſt Letter.

" We are, &c.

" Fort William,
the 12th October 1778.

Warren Haſtings.
P. Francis.
Edward Wheler."

To ſhew what the Governor General's Opinion was of the State of the Bengal Treaſury at the Period above mentioned, the Witneſs was directed to produce Book 13, intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, from 1ſt June to 10th Auguſt 1778."

Read, the following Extracts from Bengal Secret Conſultation, 10th Auguſt 1778, beginning at Page 695 of the ſaid Book *.

" Fort William, the 10th Auguſt 1778.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Philip Francis, } Eſquires.
Edward Wheler, }
Mr. Barwell indiſpoſed.

" The Proceedings of the 6th inſtant read and approved. Mr. Barwell having ſent in the following Minute to the Secretary, it was circulated agreeably to his Deſire.

Mr. Barwell's Minute on the Reſources of Bengal.

" Mr. Barwell.—In conſidering the preſent State of the Treaſury, a comprehenſive View is doubtleſs propoſed of the actual exiſting Riches of the State to be commanded to any immediate Exigency of Government, and not depending on Events, or a Revenue, the Receipt of which may be rendered precarious by the Approach of a foreign Enemy.—To effect this, it will be neceſſary to ſtate in Account the real unappropriated Treaſure, this Inſtant in our Poſſeſſion: By unappropriated Treaſure, I mean all Sums of Money, whether in the Treaſury of Calcutta, or elſewhere, not ſubject to the current Diſburſements of Government, and totally diſtinct from the Annual Revenue, which I ſhall regard as appropriated to Civil and Military Purpoſes, and to Remittances to Bombay and China: And to obviate Doubts as to the Sufficiency of this Allotment, I have annexed official Eſtimates of the Receipts at the Preſidency for the Four enſuing Months of Auguſt, September, October, and November. All poſſible internal

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* The Paſſages marked with this Bracket [, and the Hand pointing to it, infra Page 82—3, are the Paſſages in this Conſultation which were at firſt particularly referred to by the Managers for the Commons; but Notice being taken that it was neceſſary the Whole of the Eſtimate ſhould be ſtated, the Managers for the Commons ſaid they delivered in the Whole as Evidence.

Demands

Demands thus ſhewn to be provided for, we hold at this Inſtant the following Sums in round Numbers.

" Balances of Calcutta Treaſury, — — —		54,00,000
Balance in the Hands of the Paymaſters, &c. Military, ſtated by the Paymaſter General, — — — —	23,00,000	
Deduct for all poſſible Diſburſements ſince the Board's Call for a State of their Balances — — — —	7,00,000	
		16,00,000
Caſh in the Hands of the Preſident of Oude ordered to the Preſidency, the Receipt of this Sum cannot be doubted, as it is entirely unappropriated to any Civil or Military Expence —	32,00,000	
Computed Batta or Aſſay, at leaſt — — — — —	3,20,000	
		35,20,000
Total Amount of Government's unapplied Caſh — —		1,05,20,000

" The reduced State of the Treaſury, therefore, is merely ideal, and the Government is only in ſuch Degree poor, as the Treaſure exiſting has been leſs concentered. I am againſt the Loan."

" ACCOUNT KISTBUNDEE of the Provincial Councils for Four Months.

	Bandun.	Affin.	Cawtick.	Augun.	TOTAL.
Burdwan — — —	2,75,577 — — —	4,45,017 — — —	4,15,042 — — —	10,37,567 — — —	21,73,203 — — —
Calcutta — — —	5,24,751 8 — —	2,75,218 — — —	1,68,734 6 — —	5,93,858 8 3 1	15,62,562 6 3 1
Chittagong — —	73,630 4 5 —	73,650 4 5 —	73,701 4 5 —	90,044 4 3 —	3,11,026 — 18 —
Dacca — — —	3,35,042 — — —	2,54,597 — — —	2,68,245 — — —	4,41,021 — — —	12,98,905 — — —
Dinagepoor — — —	6,05,089 15 3 2	2,74,966 4 12 1	1,50,719 15 2 2	6,21,443 1 16 3	16,52,219 4 15 —
Moorſhedabad — —	5,01,210 4 — —	2,51,667 — — —	1,59,690 10 — —	7,56,443 14 — —	16,69,011 12 — —
Rajemehal — — —	17,712 4 — —	10,093 6 8 —	3,369 12 — —	24,006 4 — —	50,981 10 8 —
Boglepore — — —	— —	14,875 — 2 —	18,610 — — —	27,718 — — —	61,203 — 2 —
Subah Behar — —	— —	2,05,903 15 — —	2,61,311 4 — —	4,18,687 5 — —	8,85,902 8 — —
Bamghur — — —	2,401 — — —	4,601 — — —	4,700 — — —	5,400 — — —	17,102 — — —
Tipperah — — —	10,000 — — —	10,000 — — —	10,000 — — —	18,000 — — —	48,000 — — —
Rupees —	23,40,414 3 8 2	18,20,588 14 7 4	15,34,124 3 7 2	40,34,989 5 3 —	97,30,116 10 6 1

" Fort William, the 25th July, 1778.

Errors excepted.

(Signed) CHARLES CROFTES,

Accomptant General to the Revenue Department."

(88)

" An ACCOUNT Charges, Civil, Military, and Advances for Inveſtments, for Four Months.

	Civil Charges for Baudun to Augun, inclusive.	Military Charges for Baudun to Augun, inclusive.	Inveſtment for Baudun to Augun, inclusive.	TOTAL.
Burdwan — — —	3,22,272 — — —	— —	— —	3,22,272 — — —
Calcutta — — —	1,68,284 — — —	— —	— —	1,68,284 — — —
Chittagong — — —	66,748 — — —	61,266 — — —	45,700 — — —	1,73,714 — — —
Dacca — — —	1,29,128 — — —	20,000 — — —	3,51,515 — — —	5,00,643 — — —
Dinagepore — — —	1,37,868 — — —	41,000 — — —	2,02,741 — — —	3,81,609 — — —
Moorſhedabad — — —	14,34,936 — — —	4,82,619 — — —	2,00,000 — — —	21,17,555 — — —
Rajemehal and Boglepore — —	1,07,272 — — —	10,000 — — —	14,127 — — —	1,31,399 — — —
Subah Behar — — —	1,27,832 — — —	4,19,216 — — —	3,64,587 — — —	9,11,635 — — —
Ramghur — — —	10,040 — — —	— —	— —	10,040 — — —
Rupees —	25,04,380 — — —	10,34,101 — — —	11,78,670 — — —	47,17,151 — — —

" Fort William, the 25th July, 1778.

Errors excepted.

CHARLES CROFTS,

Accomptant to the Revenue Department."

" Total of the Kiſtbundee for 4 Months, or from Aug. to Dec. 1777 — — — —			Rup' 97,30,116	10 6 1
Deduct Total of Charges Civil and Military, and advance account Inveſtment — — — — —			47,17,151	— — —
		Overplus Rupees —	50,12,965	10 6 1
Add Receipts from Cheit Sing 4 M°, at 1,85,145, 6, 9 per M°, is S' R'	7,40,581	11		
D°, Board of Cuſtoms, eſtimated at what was received from thence in the 4 Months of laſt Year	3,50,000			
D°, Sea Cuſtoms, D° — —	60,000			
			11,50,581	11
Sicca Rupees — —			61,63,547	5 6 1
P' Cur' Rupees — —			71,49,714	14 5 Piece.

Fort William, the 25th July 1778.
Errors excepted.
Charles Croftes,
Accomp' Gen' to the Rev. Dep'."

" The Governor General having alſo ſent in the following Minute, it was circulated.

" Mr. Francis has aſſigned Two diſtinct Motives for his Propoſal of opening the Company's Treaſury for a Loan of 50 Lacks of Current Rupees, at an Intereſt of 5 per Cent. Firſt, to ſecure a Proviſion againſt a Deficiency in our ordinary Supplies. Secondly, to afford a Relief to the wealthy Inhabitants, who, for the Want of ſuch a Security for their Specie, might be induced to ſecrete it.

" The other Reaſons enumerated by Mr. Francis depending on theſe, I ſhall not ſeparately examine them.

" In the firſt Place, it appears to me that Mr. Francis has been miſled in his Computation of our actual Means, by forming it entirely in the Amount in our Treaſuries at the Preſidency, without taking any Notice of the Balances in the Provincial Treaſuries, and in the other Departments, in which they conſtitute, or at leaſt ought to conſtitute, as much a Part of our preſent Aſſets, as if they were all depoſited in the principal Treaſuries. But this Error has been ſo ably rectified by Mr. Barwell, that it is unneceſſary for me to add any Thing to his Obſervations. I ſhall take up the Subject in another Point of Light, and in that in which alone it can, according to my Conception of it, be regularly viewed, or indeed without involving it in infinite Intricacy, as the Debate upon the Means of the actual Hour muſt be continually varying, and the Concluſions upon it, even while they are forming, falſified by the Difference between the real and eſtimated Amount of each Day's Receipts and Diſburſements.

" I ſhall therefore conſider the Subject in its Relation not to a partial Period, but to the whole Year, and ſhew that inſtead of the Deficiency which Mr. Francis apprehends, we ſhall have a large Supply of Caſh at the End of it, and that therefore any Addition made to it by a Loan, will not only ſubject the Company to an unneceſſary Loſs of 2½ Lacks of Rupees, but lock up the greater Part of the Amount from Circulation, into which it would probably be thrown by the uſual Means employed by Individuals of employing their Money to Advantage.

☞ [" I have annexed to this Minute, a Copy of the Eſtimate formed by our Accomptant of the probable Receipts and Diſburſements for the whole Year. Having carefully examined the ſeveral Articles on each Side of the Account, I ſee no Cauſe to doubt the Accuracy of any of them. But as ſeveral Orders have lately been paſſed which will produce a conſiderable Addition to the Expences of the Year, excluſive of thoſe ſtated in the Eſtimate, I ſhall ſtate thoſe in groſs Sums, eſtimated beyond my Belief of their probable Amount, which, deducted from the Balance of the Eſtimate, will ſhew the probable Sum in advance at the End of the Year.

" I ſhall firſt inſert the Balance of the annexed Eſtimate, being the ſuppoſed Sum which will remain after deducting all the probable Diſburſements from our expected Reſources on the 30th April 1779, — — } 2,35,60,000

1. Extraordinary Diſburſements not provided for by the Eſtimate.		
2. Six Battalions of Sepoys, — — —	Lacks	10
3. Reſolution and Charlotte — — — —		5
4. Marine — — — — —		5
5. Victualling Stores — — — —		2
6. Stores of the Works — — — —		2½
7. Native Artillery — — — —		1½
8. Additional Militia Sepoys — — — —		1½
9. Other Contingencies — — — —		2½
		30,00,000
Corrected Balance on the 30th April 1779 —		2,05,60,000

" It

« It is my Belief that the real Expences will not exceed One Half of the Sum at which I have eſtimated them, for the Period of Time for which they are calculated: but even if they be taken much higher the expected Balance will be at leaſt Two Crores of Rupees, a Sum excluding every Idea of Diſtreſs, and of the conſequent Neceſſity of borrowing Money to relieve it.]

« I now come to the laſt Argument, namely, the Relief which it will afford to wealthy Individuals, who might otherwiſe be induced to ſecrete their Wealth. To this I reply, that the Company's Treaſury is always open for Depoſits, and there is no Doubt that thoſe who would wiſh to avail themſelves of ſuch a Security for their Property, would not wait for the Profit of 5 per Cent. as an Inducement, if their only Alternative was to entruſt it to the Faith and Cuſtody of Government, without Intereſt, or to ſecrete it, and conceal it with equal Loſs of Intereſt; for if they have other Means of employing their Money with an Intereſt or any other Advantage on it, this, as I have before obſerved, would be an Objection to the Receipt of it in the Company's Treaſury, as it would then be dead, inſtead of being profitably given to Circulation.

« But in diſcuſſing this laſt Motive, it may be proper to attend to a Point on which I am not ſufficiently well informed. It ſhould firſt be known, whether the Native Merchants are deſirous themſelves of lending Money to the Company on the Conditions propoſed by Mr. Francis. In my Opinion, the Propoſition ſhould come from them; if precipitately from us, it would probably, at this Time, occaſion an Alarm, or convey an Impreſſion unfavourable to our Credit.

W. H."

" Dr Abſtract of an Eſtimate of the probable Reſources, and to balance.

Caſh remaining in the following Departments on 30th April 1778.			
General Department.			
Civil,		1,14,20,000	
Military, by Eſtimate,		20,00,000	
Marine,		60,000	
			1,34,80,000
Revenue Department	Sa Ra	50,00,000	
Batta, 16 per Cent.		8,00,000	
			58,00,000
Commercial Department,			21,00,000
			2,13,80,000
To Receipts expected in 1778-9.			
General Department.			
Civil.			
Draughts on Europe,	10,00,000		
Calcutta Cuſtoms,	3,30,000		
Mint Duties,	50,000		
Poſt Office Collections,	50,000		
Rajah Cheit Sing's Tribute,	25,70,000		
		40,00,000	
Military.			
Army Subſidy,		34,60,000	
Marine.			
Sales of Naval Stores,		30,000	
			74,90,000
Revenue Department.			
Receipts of Revenue as in 1777-8,		2,44,00,000	
Batta, 16 per Cent.		39,04,000	
			2,83,04,000
Commercial Department.			
Import Sales,		18,50,000	
Export Sales,		60,000	
Ophium,		9,00,000	
Sat Committee		27,70,000	
			55,80,000 4,13,74,000
Nabob Aſſoph ul Dowlah.——Balance due from him 30th April 1778,			26,70,000
Current Rupees,			6,54,24,000

Fort William, Auguſt 1778.

Errors excepted.

(Signed) Wm LARKINS,

Accountant General."

" Disbursements of the Bengal Government from 1st May, 1778, to 30th April, 1779. C^r

By Disbursements expected in 1778-9.

General Department.			
Civil Charges as in 1777-8,		28,00,000	
Military.			
Paymasters to the Army,	85,00,000		
Military Stores,	4,00,000		
Garrison Provisions,	2,00,000		
Fortifications and Buildings,	9,00,000		
		1,00,00,000	
Marine.	5,00,000		
			1,33,00,000
Revenue Department.			
Disbursements as in 1777-8.			
Charges,	46,45,000		
Stipends and Allowances,	19,75,000		
Salt,	4,60,000		
Ophium,	6,00,000		
Salt Petre,	20,000		
Sa Rs	77,00,000		
Batta, 16 per Cent.	12,32,000		
		89,32,000	
Lord Clive's Jaghire,	2,60,000		
Commission on the Revenues.			
Two Years will be due,	1,98,000		
		93,90,000	
Commercial Department.			
Suppose,		1,40,00,000	
			3,66,90,000
Extraordinary Disbursements which may take place in 1778-9.			
Account Deposits,		8,10,000	
Mayor's Court, D°		1,58,000	
Commission due to General Coote,		40,000	
Bonded Debt,		4,00,000	
			14,08,000
Supplies to other Presidencies.			
Bombay,		15,00,000	
Canton,		10,06,000	
Madras,		10,00,000	
Bencoolen,		2,50,000	
St. Helena,		10,000	
			37,60,000
			4,18,58,000
By Balance unappropriated,			2,35,66,000
Current Rupees,			6,54,24,000

" Mr. Francis replies to the above Minute as follows:

" Mr. Francis.—The Conſiderations which led me to think, that, in our preſent Circumſtances, a Loan of Forty or Fifty Lack might be an adviſeable Meaſure, and to recommend it to the Board as a Queſtion worthy at leaſt of their Deliberation, were founded on Two Data, which I conceived were not diſputed.

" The firſt is a matter of Fact, capable of immediate Proof;—the ſecond is a Suppoſition, ſo far admitted by the Board, that it has already been the Ground of ſeveral important Reſolutions.

" It is a Fact, for which I appeal to the State of the Treaſury, ſigned by Mr. Crofts, that we have this Day no more than Current Rupees 37,15,131, applicable to the Company's Service, in which Sum is included 2,99,199 in Bullion uncoined, and 4,84,726 in Paper Security.

" The whole Balance in the Treaſury is	—	—	—	50,09,314 : 2
" Deduct the Depoſits	—	—	—	12,94,183
" Remains	—	—	—	37,15,131 : 2

" Inſtead of this Sum, the Balance is ſtated by Mr. Barwell to be 54,00,000. He alſo ſtates the Balances in the Hands of the Paymaſters at 16,00,000, calculated, as I preſume, from the Balance which was in their Hands at the End of April. By a Computation, with which the Paymaſter General has this Day furniſhed me, it appears that the Balances, which they will have at the End of this Month, will not exceed Current Rupees 5,37,702.

" When Mr. Middleton's Remittance ſhall arrive, Credit may be taken for it in the State of the Treaſury. In the mean time it is ſo much Bullion uncoined, the Produce of which cannot be aſcertained, nor do I ſuppoſe that any Part of it will be coined theſe Six Months. The Suppoſition to which I have alluded is, that Bengal will be invaded. On this Principle we have augmented our Army; on this Principle we ought to provide ſuch Reſources for ſupporting a War as cannot be affected by the Events of the War itſelf. I was not unacquainted with the general State of our Revenues, or the Reſources which we might reaſonably depend on in a Time of Peace and Tranquility, though my Reliance on Eſtimates is by no Means implicit. But the Caſe of an Invaſion of this Country ſuppoſes a very different State of Things; and for my own Part, I have no Doubt it would be followed by a general Failure in the Collections.—I would not truſt the Defence of Bengal, on which the Exiſtence of the Eaſt India Company, and I fear, the public Credit of the Nation, may at this Time depend, to any Reſources which we abſolutely have not in our Poſſeſſion, eſpecially when Security may be purchaſed at an Expence ſo very trifling, that, in my Judgment, it does not deſerve a Moment's Conſideration.—The Money to be borrowed would not be taken out of Circulation, though it ſhould lye untouched in our Treaſury; becauſe, in the Caſe ſuppoſed, it would aſſuredly be buried, or otherwiſe ſecreted by the Owners. Neither do I admit that in any Caſe Money borrowed by Government is a Loſs to Circulation, ſince their Bonds repreſent and perform the Office of Specie, to the Amount of the Sum borrowed, and even with greater Convenience than the Specie itſelf. I do not know what the Governor alludes to, when he denies that a Loan would be any Relief to the Natives, as if I had recommended it on that Ground, or for that Purpoſe. My Object is directly the Security of the Government, and collaterally to inſure to us, in all Events, the Attachment of ſo many wealthy Individuals. They will not offer their Money to us for nothing. For a moderate Intereſt they probably will. If not, it is a Sign our Credit is not very good at preſent. In Time of actual Diſtreſs the Meaſure will be impracticable.

" P. F."

" Mr. Barwell and the Governor General enter their Replies to the foregoing Minute, as follow:

" Mr. Barwell.—In conſidering Mr. Francis's Queſtion, Whether, in our preſent Circumſtances, a Loan of Forty or Fifty Lack might be an adviſeable Meaſure, I confine myſelf to Facts, which, in my Judgment, appear ample and concluſive. I did not think it neceſſary to ſtate, with the Correctneſs of an Accomptant, the actual Wealth exiſting, independent of the current Revenue and Balance of the Provincial Treaſuries; my Argument did not require it; all I aimed to prove, and to inſiſt upon, was, 1ſt. That the Rupees locked up, and which might be applied to the Exigencies of the Government without encroaching on the current Revenue, amounted to a Sum not ſhort of a Million Sterling. The 2d Fact I inſiſted upon was, that the current Revenue was more than ſufficient to anſwer the Appropriation of it to the Inveſtment, to the Civil and Military Charges of our Government, and to the Annual Remittances to Bombay and China.

" The 2d Fact is not denied by Mr. Francis; for he has ſuggeſted, that the Receipts of the Revenue may be rendered precarious, whenever theſe Provinces ſhall be invaded by a foreign Enemy. He does not expreſs a Doubt of our Receipts being regular and uninterrupted, until ſo improbable an Event ſhall take place. This is all I aſk; and if this is granted, it follows, that the 1ſt Fact on which I ground my Objection to the Loan, is eſtabliſhed beyond the Poſſibility of Contradiction; nor is it ſufficient to oppoſe to it, that the Balance of the Calcutta Treaſury from 54,32,808, at which it ſtood the 21ſt ultimo, as ſtated by Mr. Francis the 23d, has, to the 10th inſtant, been reduced to 50,09,314 : 2; or that by the End of this Month, or 1ſt September, the Balance of Sixteen Lacks, which I ſtate againſt the Paymaſters, &c. Military, will be reduced to

5,37,702

5,37,702, becauſe it will inſtantly be replied to ſo partial a Repreſentation, that the current Revenue being admitted more than ſufficient for every Diſburſement of Government, an equal Sum muſt neceſſarily accumulate and exiſt, though not immediately in Calcutta, in our other Treaſuries, totally diſtinct from the Appropriations of the Revenue, and applicable only to extraordinary Occaſions. I ſhall not queſtion the Computation of the Military Paymaſter General, which Mr. Francis intimates he is poſſeſſed of, becauſe I do not know the Grounds on which it is made; and I do not conceive it of any Conſequence whether the Computation is carried on, only One Month, or extended to Twelve Months, beyond the 1ſt inſtant; becauſe, if the Members of the Board will be pleaſed to look into the Book lying on the Table, containing the Statements of the Provincial Treaſuries, it will inſtantly ſtrike their Obſervation, that an equal Sum for Military Charges having been regularly eſtimated in the probable Diſburſements of each Month, from the 1ſt February to the 1ſt July, ſuch Sums muſt either have been iſſued Account Military, or remain in the Treaſuries uniſſued. In the Firſt Caſe, it will increaſe the Balance in the Hands of the Paymaſters; in the Second, add to the Balance in the Treaſuries. The Nature of the Fact cannot be altered; and it is of little Moment to inſiſt whether the exiſting Wealth is in the Hands of the Paymaſters, or in our Treaſuries.

The Remittances from Mr. Middleton being ſtated only as ſo much Bullion, may poſſibly lead the Gentlemen in the Direction to ſuppoſe it cannot be immediately applied: To obviate ſuch an Error, it is proper they ſhould be informed, that this Bullion is ſo much foreign Coin, Coin that no Individual will refuſe at the Aſſay Valuation, with an adequate Allowance for Charges of Recoinage. The Regulation of Government to reduce every Specie of Rupees to One Standard, it is true, carries all the foreign Coin from our Treaſury to the Mint; but the Recoinage is rather a political than an indiſpenſible Operation; for it may be deviated from at any Time, and on any Occaſion, without the leaſt Diſtreſs or real Loſs to Government. The whole Reaſoning on the pictured Poverty of Government being confined to the Wealth lodged in the Treaſury of Calcutta, would ſeem to deny the real Exiſtence of One Half of the Amount we actually poſſeſs. The laſt Letter from Mr. Middleton of the 13th July, informs us, that on the 10th June the Balance of our Treaſury was 36,35,497 : 7 : 3 Oude , or Calcutta Currency 40,35,402 : 2 : 9, that he had remitted Twenty Lacks to the Preſidency.

" Though I muſt inſiſt that we poſſeſs the Wealth I ſtated in my Minute of the 8th inſtant, yet it is not neceſſary to my Argument againſt the Loan.

" Our Treaſury in the lower Station at the Preſidency, Mr. Francis ſtates now at — — — —		50,09,314 : 2
" Our Treaſury in the upper Station at Oude — —		40,35,492 : 2 : 9
	The Aggregate is	90,44,806 : 4 : 9

A Sum beyond any Call that can be made on our Government, and ſufficient to convince the moſt prepoſſeſſed, that under the preſent Circumſtances of our Government a Loan of Forty or Fifty Lack is not an adviſeable Meaſure.

" That my Silence to the propoſed Invaſion of the Provinces by the French may not be conſtrued into a tacit Acquieſcence in the Probability of ſuch a Meaſure, I declare I do not believe ſuch an Invaſion will be attempted; yet however improbable the Attempt, it is not impoſſible; and upon this Principle alone that we ſhould be guarded againſt all poſſible Events, I have concurred in the late Military Arrangements.

" The Governor General—I agree entirely in the Opinions expreſſed in the preceding Minute, and think it neceſſary to add my particular Concurrence to the concluding Paragraph, as conſonant to my repeated Declaration on Record."

To prove that the Demand of Five Lacks from Rajah Cheyt Sing was repeated in the Year 1779; the Witneſs produced Book 22, intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, from the 7th June to the 23d December 1779."

Read, the following Extract, from a Conſultation of the 19th July 1779, beginning at Page 206 of the ſame Book.

☞ [" Fort William, 19th July 1779.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.

Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote indiſpoſed.

" The Proceedings of the 8th inſtant read and approved.

" The Governor General delivers in the following Minute.

" Governor General.—It having been reſolved in Secret Conſultation, 9th July 1778, " That Rajah Cheit Sing ſhould be required in Form to contribute his Share of the Burthen of the preſent War with France, by the Eſtabliſhment of Three regular Battalions of Sepoys, to be raiſed

and maintained at his Expence;" and the Amount of the Subſidy fixed by the Board in Conſultation, of the 17th Auguſt following, and agreed by him to be paid for One Year, being Five Lacks of Mucklidar Rupees; as the Year is now expired, I move that he be at this Time required to contribute the like Sum, as his Share of the Expence of the War for the current Year.

" Agreed to the Governor General's Propoſal.

" Reſolved, that the following Letter be written to Mr. Graham.

" Sir,

To Mr. Graham. " The Period of One Year, for which Rajah Cheit Sing contributed the Sum of Five Lacks of Mucklidar Rupees, as his Proportion of the Burthen of the War with France for the laſt Year, being expired, and the War ſtill continuing, we find it neceſſary to maintain the ſame Force, and to require, that the Rajah ſhall be at his Share of the Expence; you will therefore at this Time demand from him Payment of the above Sum, as his Proportion of the Charge for the current Year, and remit the Amount of it to us.

" Fort William, 19th July 1779. We are, &c."]

" Agreed, that the Governor General be requeſted to write to Rajah Cheit Sing, acquainting him that the Period of One Year, for which he agreed to pay Five Lacks of Mucklidar Rupees, as his Share of the Burthen of the War with France on the 17th Auguſt 1778, is expired; and as the Continuation of the War makes it ſtill neceſſary to maintain the ſame Eſtabliſhment of Troops for the Defence of the Country, the Board deem it requiſite that he ſhould at this Time contribute the further Sum of Five Lacks of Mucklidar Rupees, as his Share of the Charge for the current Year; Mr. Graham has therefore been directed to apply to him for the ſame.

Warren Haſtings.
P. Francis.
Edward Wheler."

To prove that the abovementioned Demand of 5 Lacks was modeſtly diſputed by the Rajah; that the Right of making it was again denied by One of the Council; and that the Demand was enforced by a Military Force;

Read, the following Extracts from Bengal Secret Conſultation of the 26th of Auguſt 1779, beginning Page 286 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 26th Auguſt 1779.

Secret Dep. Thurſday, " At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.

" Read and approved the Proceedings of the 16th Inſtant.

" Read the following Letters from Mr. Thomas Graham.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" Immediately on the Receipt of your Honourable Board's Letter of the 19th ultimo, directing me to demand of Rajah Cheyt Sing Payment of the Sum of Five Lacks of Muchlidar Rupees, as his annual Proportion of the Burthen of the preſent War with France, I waited upon him, and at the ſame time that I communicated the Orders of your Honourable Board to myſelf, I delivered to him the Honourable the Governor General's Letter to him in Confirmation thereof. He then gave me for Anſwer, that he had not the Ability to diſcharge the Demand. As this was ſimilar to the Anſwer he gave me when I demanded Payment of his Subſidy for the laſt Year, I did not conſider it as a definitive one, and therefore continued in renewing my Demand every Second Day; finding, however, that he holds to the Terms of his firſt Reply, and ſeeing no Probability of a ſpeedy Change in his Sentiments, I am unavoidably reduced to the Neceſſity of applying for your Honourable Board's further Inſtructions on this Head. Until they arrive, I ſhall follow the Orders already ſent me, by repeating my Requeſt for Payment every Second or Third Day.

" Benares, the 16th Auguſt 1779. " I have the Honour to be, &c.

" (Signed) Tho' Graham, Reſident."

* " Dr Rajah Cheyt Sing in Account of Revenue with the Honourable Company. Cr

1779 August	4th	To Account Revenue due this Day from the Rajah, being the Amount of his 1st Kist Calcutta Sicca Rupees. 185,145 6 16 1.	1,98,431	4	12	1779. August	5	By Amount Revenue received from the Rajah, being in full of his 1st Kist, as follows:			
							8	Received this Day -	40,000		
							13	Dº Dº -	45,000		
							14	Dº Dº -	15,000		
							15	Dº Dº -	21,500		
								Dº Dº -	76,931	4	12
		Standard Gourshay Rupees,	1,98,431	4	12			Standard Gourshay Rupees,	1,98,431	4	12

* Referred to the Public Department of this Day.

Benares, the 15th August 1779.

Errors excepted.

THOMAS GRAHAM, Resident."

☞ ["Read a Letter from Rajah Cheyt Sing as follows:

"From Rajah Cheyt Sing, received 27th August 1779.

"I have been honoured with your Letter, calling on me for the Payment of Five Lacks of Rupees on Account of the Expence of the War for the present Year, and understand its Contents. Rajah Cheyt Sing.

"My Situation is well known to you, and I assure you, without Reserve, that I have no Ability left, nor is there any Mode of Relief for me but in the Exertion of your Favour. I am fully convinced, that it is your Desire, who are my Master, to support me your Servant; and last Year, you directed Sheik Ally Neecky, that I should by any Means, by disposing of my Effects, or by borrowing, make this one Payment, and I should not be called on in future, and that you would take every Means for my Advantage and Support.

"I accordingly put in Practice every Method in my Power, and by Loans made good the Requisition. It is now absolutely out of my Power to raise the Sum required, and I am therefore hopeful that you will be kindly pleased to excuse me the Five Lacks now demanded, and that nothing may be demanded of me beyond the Amount expressed in the Pottah, which, through your Favour, I obtained from the Honourable English Company.

"This Raje and Zemindary, and my Dignity, are the Gifts of your Highness. I have judged it necessary to represent to you my Inability and helpless State."

"Governor General.—I move that the Commander in Chief be desired to issue an Order for the March of Two Battalions of Sepoys from the nearest Station of the Army, excepting the first and temporary Brigades, to Benares, on the Requisition of Mr. Graham, and there to remain for the further Orders of the Board. That the whole Expence of this Detachment, from the Day of its March, be exacted from the Rajah of Benares. That this Resolution be communicated to him by the Governor General, and that the Resident be ordered to inform the Rajah of it, repeating his Demand for the Sum required; and, in case of his Refusal, or Non-compliance with his Demand, to give immediate Notice to the Officer in Command of the Detachment, that he may march accordingly.

"Sir Eyre Coote,—Agrees to the Motion.

"Mr. Wheler.—I am against it.

"Mr. Francis.—I never approved of the additional Demand beyond his stipulated Tribute. I cannot therefore concur in the Measure proposed. I firmly believe it to be unnecessary, even for its avowed Purpose; and I am very much afraid, that it will be attended with Consequences ruinous to the Rajah, and to his Country. That Country is now one of the richest Jewels we possess. The great Revenue we draw from that Country may be permanently secured under mild and equitable Treatment. Measures of a different Nature may extort more for a Moment, but they will ruin the future Resource.

"Mr. Barwell.—It rests with the Rajah himself to discharge his Quota of the Expence of the War voluntarily, or to be compelled to it. I agree to the Motion.

"Governor General.—Benares is not a Jewel in our Possession, if we leave the Rajah an Option to obey or disobey the Orders of his superior Government, and to maintain himself in the Independency of a tributary Prince. As to the Ruin pretended from this Order, the Terms of the Question itself put it in his Power to prevent even the Execution of the Order; and more I shall not at this Time say upon the Subject; I may hereafter.

" Agreed to the Governor General's Motion, and Reſolved, That the Commander in Chief be requeſted to give Orders to Major Carnac, or the Officer in Command of his Detachment, for the March of Two Battalions of Sepoys to Benares, on the Requiſition of Mr. Thomas Graham, the Reſident there, and to remain at that Place for further Orders.

" Reſolved, That the following Letter be written to Mr. Graham.

" Sir,

" We have received your Letter of the 16th inſtant, acquainting us that Rajah Cheit Sing had declined to pay the Five Lacks of Rupees, which we required of him, as his Proportion of the Expences of the War for the current Year.

" Having judged it neceſſary to make this Claim, which was ſuggeſted to us by the Exigency of the Caſe, we cannot admit of any Plea which the Rajah may urge to exempt him from it; Orders have, therefore, been ſent to Major Carnac, or the Officer in Command of his Detachment, to march to Benares immediately, on your Requiſition, with Two Battalions of Sepoys, and to wait our further Orders at that Place. We have thought this Step neceſſary, for the Purpoſe of compelling the Rajah to pay the Quota required of him in caſe of Neceſſity, and we direct that you repeat your Demand, and inſiſt on his Compliance. If the Rajah ſhould ſtill continue to object to your Claim, and refuſe Payment, you are to require the Officer in Command of the Detachment, to march immediately, in Conformity to our Orders, and adviſe us of your Proceedings.

" We hope, however, that you will not be reduced to proceed to this Extreme, as it would oblige us to increaſe our Demands on the Rajah, by exacting from him the whole Expence of the Detachment from the Day of its March, in Addition to our original Claim.

" We are, &c.

" Fort William,
the 26th Auguſt 1779.

Warren Haſtings.
P. Francis.
Edw^d Wheler."]

The Managers for the Commons obſerved, that there appeared to be a Miſtake in the Day on which the Letter from the Rajah Cheyt Sing is ſtated to be received, namely the 27th Aug. 1779, the Date of the Conſultation in which it is entered being 26th Aug. 1779;—that poſſibly it ought to be 17th Aug. 1779.

Then they acquainted the Houſe, that they had propoſed in the next Place to ſhew the Dates of the different Payments of the laſt-mentioned Demand of Five Lacks of Rupees by the Rajah Cheyt Sing; but underſtanding the Accounts were not at Hand, they would proceed to ſhew the Acknowledgement of the Council that they had received this Sum.

The Witneſs produced Book 25, intituled, " Bengal Letters received from 1ſt Feb. 1779 to 3d March 1780."

Read, the 41ſt and 42d Paragraphs of a Secret General Letter from the Governor General and Council in Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 14th January 1780, and received on the 28th of July 1780; beginning Page 95 of the ſaid Book.

" Triplicate, Secret General Letter, dated 14th January, Fort William, 1780.

" To the Court of Directors.

9th July. " 41. We thought it neceſſary and conſiſtent to demand a further Contribution of Five Lacks of Rupees from Rajah Cheyt Sing, for his Part of the Expences of the War for the current Year, being the ſame Sum as he paid towards that End for the laſt Year.

26th Aug. 29th Sept. 28th Oct. 1ſt Nov. 12th Nov. " The Rajah ſtrongly pleaded his Inability to comply with this Demand, and even ſuffered us to ſend Two Battalions of Sepoys from Dinapore to Benares, to enforce the Payment, before he would grant it; at length, however, with much Difficulty, the Amount was received from him, added to a Penalty of 20,000 Rupees, for the Expences of the Two Battalions until their Arrival at Benares.

* Sic in Orig. " 42. We ſhall make but this ſhort Obſervation upon the Conduct of the Rajah, That whither* it proceeded from the Apprehenſion of eſtabliſhing a Precedent for exceeding the Sum of his annual and ſtipulated Revenue, or from a Senſe of Independency, it was equally unreaſonable, and an ungrateful Return for the Benefits which he has been allowed to derive from the Company's Protection.

" We are,
" Honourable Sirs,
" Your moſt faithful
" Humble Servants,
Warren Haſtings.
P. Francis.
Edw^d Wheler."

" Fort William,
14th January 1780.

Then

Then the Witneſs produced Book 24, intituled, " No. 4, Perſian Public Correſpondence, Letters received from the 1ſt January to the 31ſt December 1779."

Read, Two Letters, one from the Rajah Chite Sing to Mr. Graham, received on 20th September 1779; the other, from the Rajah to the Governor General, incloſed in the foregoing.

" From Rajah Chite Sing to Mr. Graham, 20th September 79.

" I received your Letter about the Five Lacks of Rupees, and underſtand the Contents. I have before made known to you my diſtreſſed Situation that I have not Power to comply, and I have alſo ſent an Arzie in Anſwer to the Letter from the Preſence which you delivered to me. I have no Power to comply; I diſcharge the Revenue according to the Pottah granted by the Sirkar. I am hopeful that this Order may be revoked, for which Purpoſe I have alſo written an Arzie to the Preſence, and requeſt that you will oblige me by diſpatching it without Delay."

" Encloſure in the foregoing.

" From Rajah Chite Sing to the Governor General.

" Every Two or Three Days am I called upon to pay Five Lacks of Rupees. Your gracious Letter, on this Subject, honoured me by its Arrival. I have diſpatched an Arzie in Anſwer, which will have been preſented to you. In Obedience to your Order, I laſt Year, by every Means, and borrowing from all Quarters, raiſed the Sum, and at that Time you promiſed that it ſhould not happen again. I have it not in my Power at preſent. You have before honoured me with the Title of Son, and regarding me as your Son you have protected me. I am therefore hopeful that I may be excuſed from this Requiſition."

The Managers for the Commons being aſked, What was the Date of the Letter from the Rajah Cheyt Sing to the Governor General, acquainted the Houſe, That the Perſian Letters have no Date.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they would next proceed to read the Anſwers to the foregoing Letters.

The Witneſs produced Book 23, intituled, " Secret Department, Perſian Correſpondence, Letters written from the 1ſt January to the 31ſt December 1779."

Read, a Letter from the Governor General to Rajah Chite Sing, dated September 25, 1779, beginning at Page 42, of the ſaid Book.

" To Rajah Chite Sing.

" Written 25th September 1779.

" I have received your Letter, from the Contents of which, as well as from the Letters of Mr. Graham, and the Copy of a Letter which you wrote to that Gentleman, and which he tranſmitted for my Inſpection, it appears but too clearly, that inſtead of a chearful Compliance with the Requiſition of this Government, in the immediate Payment of the Sum of Five Lacks of Rupees as your Share of the Expence of the War for the preſent Year, a Requiſition which the great Burden of Expence under which the Company labour for the Defence of the Country renders neceſſary, and to which you, as a Subject of theirs, are bound to contribute, have thought proper, under the Plea of Inability, which is well known to be futile, to endeavour to amuſe the Reſident with vague and diſtant Promiſes, meaning probably to protract, if not entirely evade, Payment of the Sum required of you. In a Letter which I lately wrote you, I informed you, in expreſs Terms, that this Government neither could or would recede from ſo reaſonable a Demand, and added, that in caſe of no Compliance on your Part, Mr. Graham was authorized to ſummon a Detachment of our Forces to enforce our Orders if it ſhould be found neceſſary. This, I hoped, would have opened * Eyes, and induced you to relinquiſh a Conduct which muſt, if purſued, bring the greateſt Diſadvantages on you; but ſince even this Intimation of our Determination has proved ineffectual, I now think it neceſſary to inform you, that we have deſired the Commander in Chief to diſpatch Major Carnac with the Detachment under his Command to Benares, there to wait our further Orders; he will accordingly begin his March immediately, unleſs the Reſident, in the mean Time, from the actual Receipt of the Subſidy, ſhall inform him that it is unneceſſary for him to proceed further; and you will be pleaſed to obſerve, that ſhould you force us to a Meaſure ſo contrary to our Wiſhes, the whole Expence of the Detachment, from the Time of its March, will be required from you, excluſive of the Subſidy for the War."

* Sic in Orig.

Notice being taken by the Houſe, that the Anſwer juſt read from the Governor General to the Letter of the Rajah Cheyt Sing, referred to a Letter from Mr. Graham, the Reſident at Benares, incloſing the ſaid Letter of the Rajah to the Governor General; and the Houſe being deſirous to know what was the Date of Mr. Graham's Letter ſo referred to, the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that

they had not Mr. Graham's Letter at Hand, and hoped the Houſe would not be ſurpriſed, if, in ſo voluminous a Correſpondence, they were not immediately prepared with every Thing required.

Then the Managers for the Commons were proceeding to ſhew the Demand made upon the Rajah in the Year 1780; when they were aſked by the Houſe, if they were prepared to give an Account of the Dates of Payment by the Rajah in each Year, of the Sum demanded, as they had propoſed.

The Managers for the Commons made Anſwer, That the Letter from the Governor General to the Court of Directors, dated 14th January 1780, admitted the Payment of the Five Lacks, and of the additional Sum of 20,000 Rupees, charged upon the Rajah for the Expence incurred by the March of the Military Force againſt him.

To prove, that the Demand of Five Lacks of Rupees was again repeated in the Year 1780, the Witneſs produced Book 26, intituled, "Bengal Secret Council from 29th February to 24th July 1780."

Read, the following Extract from Bengal Secret Conſultation of the 22d June 1780, beginning Page 503, of the ſaid Book.

"Fort William, the 22d June 1780.

Secret Dep. Thurſday.

"At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General;
Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on a Viſit to the different Stations of the Army.

Governor General.

"Governor General.—The Period of Two Years, for each of which the Rajah of Benares, at the Requiſition of the Board, has contributed the Sum of Five Lacks of Muchlidar Rupees, as his Proportion of the Burden of the War with France, being nearly expired, and that War ſtill continuing, I move, that he be now called upon to contribute the like Sum, as his Share of the Expence of it for the Current Year.

"Agreed to the Governor General's Motion.

"The following Letter is, in Conſequence, written to the Reſident at Benares."

To the Reſident at Benares.

"To Mr. Francis Fowke.

"Sir,

"The Period of Two Years, for each of which Rajah Cheyt Sing has contributed the Sum of Five Lacks of Muchlidar Rupees as his Proportion of the Burthen of the War with France being nearly expired, and the War ſtill continuing, we find it neceſſary to maintain the ſame Force, and to require that the Rajah ſhall be at his Share of the Expence; we therefore direct, that you Demand from him Payment of the above Sum, as his Proportion of the Charge for the current Year, and remit the Amount of it to us.

"We are, &c."

"Fort William, 22d June 1780.

The Managers for the Commons being aſked, Whether any Objection was made by any of the Council at the above Conſultation of the 22d June 1780, to the Renewal of the Demand of Five Lacks of Rupees from the Rajah for the enſuing Year? anſwered, None, that they could find.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 27, intituled, "Bengal Secret Conſultations from 13th July to 7th September 1780."

And the Managers for the Commons informed the Houſe, That the Paper they were now about to produce was to prove two Things: The one, an Acknowledgement of the Receipt of One Lack of Rupees, remitted to the Council at Calcutta by Mr. Fowke the Reſident at Benares; the other, an Order of the Board, directing the Reſident, when he received the Remainder, to ſend it to Colonel Camac, who, the Managers for the Commons ſtated, in Anſwer to a Queſtion put to them by the Houſe, was at that Time either in the Province of Malwa, or going to it.

Read, the following Extracts from Bengal Secret Conſultation of the 7th September 1780.

"Fort

" Fort William the 7th September 1780.

" At a Council; Present,

The Honourable Warren Hastings Governor General, President; Secret Cons.
Edward Wheler Esquire,
and
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.
Mr. Francis indisposed.

" Read the following Letter from the Resident at Benares.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" In obedience to your Orders of the 22d ultimo, I have demanded of Rajah Cheyt Sing the Sum of Five Lacks of Muchlidar Rupees, as his Proportion of the Burden of the present War with France. The Rajah has desired me to inform you of his intire Submission to Commands. He has promised to pay One Lack of this Amount within a few Days. I shall immediately advise your Honourable Board of the Receipt of it; and shall remit it upon the most advantageous Terms, I can obtain. I shall likewise urge the Rajah, in the strongest Manner possible, to use the utmost Expedition in the Discharge of the remaining Part.

" I have herewith the Honour to inclose you 14 Bills of Exchange, for the Sum of Calcutta Sicca Rupees, 1,61,819 : 4 : 13 : 1, drawn in Favour of the Honourable Company, as per accompanying Invoice, being the Balance on Account of Rajah Cheite Sing's Kist, due the 4th Instant, after Deduction of the Nabob Saadut Ally Cawn's Monthly Allowance of Standard Gourshay Rupees 25,000.

" I have the Honour to be, with the greatest Respect, &c.

" Benares, (Signed) F. Fowke,
" 21 July 1780. Resident at Benares."

☞ " [Read another Letter, as follows, from the Resident at Benares.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" The Raja having completed the Payment of his Tribute for the last Year, I do myself the Honour to transmit, for your Inspection, an annual Account Current of the same; and likewise a Kistbundy of the Payments to be made by the Rajah on Account of his Tribute for the ensuing Year.

" I have received the Honour of your Commands of the 13th Ultimo, respecting the Payment of the Nabob Saudet Ally's Stipend, and have accordingly deducted from the last Month's Allowance, the Difference of Batta on the Sums I have issued, amounting to Bs Sa Rs 13,519 : 13, at the Rate of 7 4a per Cent. I have also received from the Rajah One Lack of Rupees in Part Payment of his Subsidy; and I have the Honour to enclose Five Bills of Exchange for the Amount of these Two Sums, drawn as per accompanying Invoice.

" I have urged the Rajah very strongly to complete the Payment of his Subsidy, with all possible Expedition; but I find he is determined to make no further Payment, till he receives an Answer to his Arzee, transmitted in my Letter of the 5th Instant, to the Honourable the Governor General.

" I have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect, &c.

" Benares, (Signed) F. Fowke.
" 10th August 1780. Resident at Benares."

" The Secretary informs the Board, that the Accounts inclosed in the above Letter had been sent to the Accountant General, and the Bills to the Sub Treasurer.

" The Governor General lays before the Board the following Letter to him from the Rajah of Benares, referred to in the Letter from the Resident above recorded.

" Arzee from Rajah Cheit Sing.

" Received the 21st August 1780.

" I have been honoured by your Orders directing me to pay Five Lacks of Sicca Mahydar Rupees to Mr. Fowke for the War, which still continues. And although my distressed Situation must be known to you from other Quarters, notwithstanding I have been afraid to represent it to you myself, that I have sold my House, and borrowed Sums of Money, from which I am not yet released, yet in obedience to your Orders, I have paid One Lack of Rupees out of the Five Lacks, to Mr. Fowke, and shall pay the other Four in Three Months. I request you will send Directions to that Gentleman to allow me that Time, and it shall be punctually paid at the End of that Time, and it shall be punctually paid at the End of that Term. You yourself must be convinced, that I have no Abilities or Resources left."

" Ordered, That Mr. Fowke do inform the Rajah, that the Board are much displeased with these affected Delays, knowing his Ability to make immediate Payment of the Subsidy; and that he peremptorily require him to discharge it.

" Ordered, That Mr. Fowke be desired to remit the Sum, when received, by Shroffs, if possible, or by any safe Mode of Remittance, to Major Camac, for the Expences of the Detachment under his Command, and that Major Camac be advised accordingly."

" The following Letter is accordingly written to Mr. Francis Fowke.

" Sir,

To Mr. Fowke. " We have received your ſeveral Letters, under Date the 21ſt July, 18th and 20th Auguſt, with the Bills and Accounts encloſed.

" We have alſo had before us the Rajah's Letter to the Governor General, to which you allude in your Addreſs of the 10th ultimo.

" We deſire you will inform the Rajah of Benares, that knowing his Ability to make quick Payment of the whole Amount of the Subſidy, we are much diſpleaſed with the groundleſs Pretences which he urges for delaying it; and we direct that, on Receipt of this Letter you peremptorily demand his immediate Diſcharge of the Sum due from him on this Account; which, when you have received it, we deſire you will remit, either by Shroff's Bills, if poſſible, or by any other ſafe Mode, to Major Carnac *, the Expences of the Troops under his Command.

* Sic. in Orig.

" We are, &c."

" Agreed, That we write as follows to Major Camac.

" Sir,

To Major Camac. " The Rajah of Benares being indebted to the Company in the Sum of Four Lacks of Muchlidar Rupees, we have ſent Orders to our Reſident at that Place, to demand immediate Payment of it, and to remit the Amount, when received, to you, by Shroff's Bills, if poſſible, or by any other ſafe Mode, for the Purpoſe of defraying the Expences of the Troops under your Command.

" We deſire therefore that on Receipt of the Remittances made you by the Reſident at Benares, you will appropriate them to their Service for which they are intended.

" Having thought proper to add the Corps of Foreign Rangers now at Cawnpore to the Detachment under your Command, the Commander in Chief has been requeſted to iſſue the neceſſary Orders for carrying this Reſolution into Effect.

" Fort William, 7th Sept. 1780. We are, &c."]

The Managers for the Commons requeſted the Houſe to obſerve, that the Order to remit the Money to Major Camac was on the 7th of September 1780; and ſtated, in anſwer to a Queſtion from the Houſe, that the Notice to Major Camac was on the ſame day.

Then the Witneſs was directed to produce Book 28, intituled " Bengal Council from 11th September to 13th November 1780."

Read, the following Extracts from Bengal Secret Conſultation of the 9th October 1780.

" Fort William, the 9th October 1780.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor General, Preſident.

Philip Francis, } Eſquires.
Edward Wheler, }

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote indiſpoſed.

" Extract of a Letter from F. Fowke, Reſident at Benares, to the Governor General and Council.

Reſident at Benares. " I have received the Honor of your Letter of the 7th inſtant, and have ſignified your Commands to the Rajah. He has promiſed to diſcharge the Balance of his Subſidy, being Rupees 2,53,000, in the Courſe of a few Days. I am treating with the Shroffs for a Remittance to Major Camac, and imagine I ſhall be able to effect it by Bills from them for the whole Amount.

" I have the Honor to be, &c.

" Benares, 27th September 1780. (Signed) F. Fowke,
Reſident, Benares."

Read, from the ſame Book, Extract of Secret Conſultations of the 26th of October 1780, as follows:

" Fort William, the 26th October 1780.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.

Philip Francis, } Eſquires.
Edward Wheler, }

Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Service.

[" The following Letter from the Reſident at Benares, and one received from the Military Storekeeper, having been circulated, they were returned with the following Minute.]

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Military Store keeper. " I beg Leave to requeſt an Order for the Commercial Department for Twenty Bales of green Purpet, for lining of Field Officers and Captains Marquis, upon my paying the uſual Advance on the

the Europe Invoice. This will enable me to compleat the Camp Equipage ordered by the Commander in Chief for immediate Service.

" I have the Honor to be, &c.

" Fort William, 16th October, 1780. (Signed) Geo. Livius,
Military Storekeeper."

[" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" I think it incumbent upon me to inform you that the Rajah, notwithſtanding his ſolemn Aſ- Reſident at Benares.
ſurances, has hitherto paid no Part of the Balance of his Subſidy ſpecified in my Addreſs of the 27th ultimo. He has reſumed his Plea of Inability, and I can form no Opinion how long he may think proper to protract the Payment.

" I remain, &c.

" Benares, the 5th October 1780. F. Fowke,
Reſident at Benares."

" In Circulation,

" A Letter from the Reſident at Benares; alſo a Letter from the Military Storekeeper.

" Council Chamber, (Signed) E. Hay,
19th October 1780. Acting Secretary, G. G.

" Governor General.—Such an Inſtance of Contempt ſhewn by the Rajah of Benares to the Au- Minutes on the Letter from the Reſident a Benares. *Fac ſimile of Orig.*
thority of this Government, at a Time in which his Fidelity and Gratitude for the many Obligations

o

which he owes to it, ought to have premempted him to make a voluntary Tender of that Aid which he now refuſes, after repeated Promiſes to grant it, merits ſome Mark at leaſt of the Reſentment of the Board: For that Reaſon, I muſt recommend, that Mr. Fowke be directed to demand inſtant Payment of the Balance due of his Subſidy; and if he ſhall not have paid it at the Time of the Receipt of this Letter, to exact from him in the Name of the Board the further Sum of One Lack of Rupees, as a Fine for his paſt Diſobedience. That to enforce this Order, Brigadier General Stibbert be directed to iſſue Orders to the Commanding Officer of the Battalions of the neareſt Stations to Benares to march immediately to that Place, and to wait ſuch Orders as may be hereafter tranſmitted to them. In the mean time, the Board may be informed of the Reception given by the Rajah to the preſent Order; and it is hoped that it may be ſuch as ſhall render it unneceſſary to proceed to Extremities againſt him.

" (Signed) W. H.

" I acquieſce, though I hope the Threat will be ſufficient.

" (Signed) P. F.
E. W.]

" Agreed, that the following Letter be written to the Reſident at Benares.

" Sir,

" We have received your Letter of the 5th inſtant, informing us that the Rajah, notwithſtanding his ſolemn Aſſurances, has hitherto paid no Part of the Balance of his Subſidy, ſpecified in your Addreſs of the 27th ultimo: That he had reſumed his Plea of Inability, and that you could form no Opinion how long he might think proper to protract the Payment. This Conduct of the Rajah ſeems to us without Excuſe. We direct therefore, that you demand inſtant Payment of the Balance due of his Subſidy; and if he ſhall not have diſcharged it at the Time of your Receipt of this Letter, that you exact from him, in the Name of the Board, the further Sum of One Lack of Rupees, as a Fine for his paſt Diſobedience. To enforce the Compliance due to our Authority, and to the Payment of the Sums required of him, we have given Orders that the Battalions, at the Stations neareſt to Benares, ſhould march immediately to that Place, and wait for ſuch Directions as may hereafter be tranſmitted to the Officer commanding there.

" Fort William, 19th October 1780. We are, &c.

(Signed) Governor General and Council."

" Agreed that the following Letter be written to Brigadier General Stibbert.

" Sir,

" Having had late Occaſion to be much diſſatisfied with the Conduct of the Rajah of Benares To General Stibbert.
towards this Government, in withholding the Payment of the Amount due from him as his Subſidy, we think it neceſſary to direct, and do direct you to iſſue Orders to the Commanding Officers of the Battalions, at the Stations neareſt to Benares, to march immediately to that Place, and wait ſuch further Orders as may hereafter be tranſmitted to them.

" Fort William, 19th October 1780. We are, &c.

" (Signed) Governor General and Council."

The Managers for the Commons obſerved they had already ſhewn, by Mr. Fowke's Letter, dated 10th Auguſt 1780, recorded in the Conſultation of 7th of September 1780, (ſupra P. 93.) that One Lack of the Subſidy was actually remitted to Calcutta; and, by his Letter dated 27th September 1780, in the Conſultation of the 9th October 1780, (ſupra P. 94.) that the Balance was at that Time reduced to 2,53,000 Rupees,

Remainder

Remainder of the 5,00,000 Rupees originally demanded; from whence it was apparent that 1,37,000 Rupees muſt have been paid to the Reſident in the Interim, which it alſo appeared, by the laſt mentioned Letter, Mr. Fowke propoſed remitting to Major Camac; but the Managers informed the Houſe, they ſhould immediately proceed to prove by another Letter from Mr. Fowke, dated October 18, 1780, that not One Farthing of this 1,37,000 Rupees had been actually remitted.

For this Purpoſe the following Extract from Bengal Secret Conſultation of the 2d November 1780, was read from the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 2d November 1780.

Pub. Dep^t. Thurſday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings Governor General, Preſident,
Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. abſent on Service.

" The Proceedings of the 30th Ultimo read and approved.

" The following Letter from the Reſident at Benares having been received ſince the laſt Meeting, Orders were iſſued immediately for countermanding the March of the Troops ordered to Benares.

Reſident at Benares, dated 18th October.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" The Rajah has this Day given me Bills of Exchange on Gohud, in favour of Major Camac, for the Balance which remained due on Account of his Subſidy, being Benares Sicca Rupees 2,50,000.

" I ſhall make a further Remittance to Major Camac, in a few Days, of the whole Amount, which I have received from the Rajah in ready Money on this Account.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

" Benares, 18th October 1780. (Signed) F. Fowke, Reſident at Benares."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That the Demand of the Five Lacks of Rupees in 1780, was deſcribed in the Article to be made under particular Circumſtances, namely, that Mr. Haſtings had juſt before received the Sum of Two Lacks from Sudanund, the Treaſurer of the Rajah *. They ſhould next proceed therefore to prove the Receipt of thoſe Two Lacks by the Defendant, without ſtating whether it was criminal or not; for which Purpoſe they deſired, that Part of the Paper delivered in at the Table on Tueſday, called " Mr. Haſtings' Defence at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons," might be read.

* See Article 1ſt, Page 5.

Read, Extract of Anſwer to the 8th Charge, beginning at Page 357 of the ſaid Paper.

" I beg it may be obſerved, that the Firſt of theſe Preſents was received in the Year 1780, at a Time when, as I have truly ſaid to the Directors, " the Exigencies of the Government were my " own, and every Preſſure upon it reſted with its full Weight upon my Mind: Wherever I could " find allowable Means of relieving them, I eagerly ſeized them." It was in this Year, and at one of theſe diſtreſsful Periods I allude to, that I formed the Plan for drawing Mhadajee Scindia from Guzzerat to the Defence of his own Dominions, in Hopes of laying the Foundation of that Peace with the Marattas, to which this Meaſure did afterwards ſo greatly contribute. This Plan was oppoſed by Mr. Francis, then a Member of the Council, on the Plea, amongſt others of little Importance, of the additional Expence we ſhould incur by its Adoption. About this Time Buxey Sadanund, the confidential Servant of Cheyt Sing, had been deputed to me in Calcutta by his Maſter, to acknowledge his former Ill Conduct, and to aſſure me of his implicit Obedience and Submiſſion in future: He was alſo entruſted by his Maſter, to endeavour to procure a Remiſſion of the Payment of the Annual Sum of Five Lacks of Rupees, which the Board had fixed as his Proportion of the Expences of the War.—I peremptorily refuſed his Requeſt, but aſſured him, that on the Reſtoration of Peace, this additional Subſidy ſhould ceaſe; and that this was all he muſt expect.—Sadanund wrote to his Maſter, and received a Commiſſion from him, to give me the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of his future Obedience, and Submiſſion to the Orders of Government; and he was further directed to requeſt my Acceptance of Two Lacks of Rupees as a Preſent to myſelf. My Reply was, that I cordially received his Submiſſion and Aſſurances of Obedience, but that I muſt abſolutely refuſe his Preſent, which I did.

Having been diſappointed in the Execution of my Plan for attacking Scindia's Dominions, which I deemed, and which proved to be of the moſt material Conſequence, and being thwarted in it by my Colleagues on the Plea of Expence, which was the only material Objection made to it, I determined to accept of the Offer which I before refuſed; and on my Return from the Council the Day, I believe, that my Plan was rejected, I ſent to Sadanund, and told him I had re-conſidered his Maſter's Offer, and would accept the Two Lacks of Rupees, which I deſired him to pay to the Sub-treaſurer, Mr. Croftes, meaning to apply this Money to defray the Expence of the Expedition

againſt Scindia, and thereby hoping to obviate the only Objection which had been made to this important Undertaking. Unfortunately I did not ſucceed in obtaining the Conſent of Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheler, and was therefore concerned at having accepted this Sum from Sadanund, ſince the only Uſe to which I meant to appropriate it was fruſtrated; and I expreſſed my Vexation to Mr. Markham, my Secretary, as he (who fortunately for me is now in England) can atteſt. Upon mature Reflection, I determined neither to inform the Council of the Tranſaction, nor to return the Money to Sadanund, having once conſented to accept it; I therefore ſuffered it to remain in the Company's Caſh, as a Depoſit for their Uſe, and by the next Diſpatch to Europe I informed the Court of Directors of the Tranſaction, though I did not ſtate to them from whom I received the Money—a Neglect which I ſhould have ſtudiouſly avoided, could I have foreſeen the Conſequences of it. I thought at the Time that I did all that was neceſſary, by declaring *that it was not my own, and that I neither could nor would have received it, but for their Uſe.*

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they ſhould next proceed to ſhew that Mr. Haſtings did, contrary to the Engagement ſubſiſting with the Rajah Cheyt Sing, make a Demand upon him of a Number of Cavalry in the Year 1780.

The Witneſs produced Book 30, intituled, "Bengal Secret Conſultations, from 10th Auguſt to 23d November 1780."

Read, Extracts of a Conſultation held on the 2d November 1780, beginning at Page 641 of the ſaid Book.

"Fort William, the 2d November 1780.

Secret Dep. Thurſday.

"At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.

Philip Francis, } Eſquires.
Edward Wheler, }

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Service.

"The Proceedings of the 30th ultimo read and approved.

"Read again the Letter from Brigadier General Stibbert, dated 28th October, and recorded on the laſt Day's Proceedings.

"Agreed, that the Governor General be requeſted to write to the Nabob Vizier, recommending to him to require from Fyzoola Cawn the Quota of Troops ſtipulated by Treaty to be furniſhed by the latter for his Service, being 5000 Horſe, to be put under the immediate Command of Lieutenant Colonel Muir, commanding at Futtigur.

Fyzoola Cawn to furniſh his Quota of Troops.

"Agreed alſo, that the Governor General be requeſted to write to the Rajah of Benares, requiring him to furniſh ſuch Part of his Cavalry, entertained in his Service, as he can ſpare for the Service of this Government, and to inform what Numbers he can ſupply; that a Letter be written to Mr. Francis Fowke, directing him to make the ſame Requiſition of the Raja, and at the ſame Time, to obviate any Jealouſy which the Raja may conceive that this may be converted to a permanent Impoſition upon him, by aſſuring him, that the Board will require the Services of theſe Forces no longer than while the preſent War laſts, after which they will be returned.

Rajah of Benares to ſupply a Part of his Cavalry for the Service of the Company.

"Agreed, That the following Letter be written to the Reſident at Benares.

To Mr. Francis Fowke, Reſident at Benares.

"Sir,

"On Receipt of the Intimation conveyed to us in your laſt Letter of the 18th ultimo, Orders were iſſued to countermand the March of the Troops which were appointed to proceed to Benares in conſequence of the Delays uſed by the Rajah in the Payment of his Subſidy.

Vide Public Anſwer.

"Deeming it juſt and proper that the Rajah ſhould be deſired to afford every Aſſiſtance in his Power to this Government, to whoſe Protection and Support he owes all that he poſſeſſes, the Governor General has been requeſted to write to him to furniſh ſuch Part of the Cavalry entertained in his Employ as he can ſpare for the Service of the Company. But as ſome Jealouſy and Apprehenſion may ariſe in the Rajah's Mind, that his * Aid may be converted to a permanent Impoſition on him, we think it neceſſary that ſuch Fears ſhould be obviated, and direct you therefore to aſſure him, that we ſhall require the Services of this Force no longer than during the Continuance of the preſent War, after which it will certainly be returned.

* Sic in Orig.

"Fort William, 2d Nov. 1780. We are, &c."

The Managers for the Commons being aſked, Whether any Deliberation was had upon the Subject, or any Objection made to the propoſed Demand of Cavalry, anſwered, they did not believe there was any Diſpute, or that any Minutes paſſed upon the Subject. And being alſo aſked, Whether this Reſolution turned in any Manner upon the Letter of General Stibbert referred to at the Beginning of the Conſultation from whence the Extract had been read; they replied, that they did not know it did.

The Witneſs produced Book 29, intituled, "Bengal Letters, received from 13th May 1780 to 8th April 1782."

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

Read, the 36th Paragraph of a General Letter to the Court of Directors from the Secret Department of the Board, dated Fort William, 29th November 1780, beginning at Page 158 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, 29 November 1780.

" We have thought it neceſſary to require from the Rajah of Benares the ſame Subſidy for the enſuing Year that he paid in the laſt, as his Proportion in the Expence of the War. He for ſome Time heſitated to comply with the Demand, and we were obliged to reſolve on Meaſures of Compulſion; but he has ſince paid the Amount, and we have ſtopped the Execution of thoſe Meaſures. The Support which he receives from this Government, to whom he owes all that he poſſeſſes, the known Affluence of his Circumſtances, notwithſtanding his Pretext to the contrary, and the Intereſt which he poſſeſſes in Chief over all other Perſons ſubject to us in the Company's Proſperity and Succeſs, have induced us to require of him the Aſſiſtance of ſuch a Body of Cavalry as he can ſpare for the Company's Employ, under a Promiſe made to him that their Services will not be required beyond the Continuance of the War. We have alſo ſtrongly recommended to the Nabob Vizier to require from Fyzoola Cawn, the Quota of Troops, conſiſting of 5000 Horſe, ſtipulated by Treaty to be furniſhed by the latter, and we do not doubt of his ready Obedience to the Requiſition.

" Fort William, the 29th November 1780. Signed, - Warren Haſtings,
Edward Wheler."

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, That having now proved all the Tranſactions reſpecting the Three Demands of Subſidies in 1778, 1779, and 1780, and the Demand of Cavalry alſo in the Year 1780, they ought next, in the Order of the Charge, to proceed to the Statement of ſome Tranſactions between Mr. Haſtings and the Nabob of Oude, relative to the Rajah of Benares, contained in a very long Paper; but as it would be neceſſary to read the Whole of that Paper afterwards, they propoſed paſſing over this Paragraph of the Charge at preſent, and referring to it, when they came to the Paper at Length. They further ſtated, that for the ſame Reaſon, they ſhould now break off their Evidence reſpecting the Cavalry at the Period of the Demand being made; as on this Subject they ſhould likewiſe have Occaſion to call the Attention of the Houſe to the Paper alluded to, and they wiſhed to avoid reading by Piecemeal what would be more intelligible when taken all together. On theſe Accounts they ſhould next proceed to ſtate, that Mr. Haſtings did write a Letter to the Rajah of Benares, charging him with Irregularity in the Payment of his Annual Stipend; this, they informed the Houſe, they ſhould have proved, but the Defendant had rendered it unneceſſary, by ſetting it forth verbatim in his Anſwer, already before the Houſe: It only remained therefore for them to prove, that theſe Payments were, in Fact, made with Regularity; for which Purpoſe they called,

Mr. WRIGHT, who being ſworn, was examined as follows.

Q. Are you in the Office of Accountant to the Eaſt India Company?
A. I am Auditor of the Indian Accounts to the Eaſt India Company.

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired the Witneſs might be directed to produce from the Benares Journal for the Year 1780, the Account and Dates of the ſeveral Payments of the Rajah Cheyt Sing's Tribute.

The Witneſs accordingly produced a Book, intituled, " Bengal Journal 1780-1."

Q. What is that Book?
A. This Book is the Journal containing the Account and State of Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, their General Joint Stock in Bengal, under the Management and Direction of their Governor General and Council of Fort William, commencing the 1ſt Day of May 1780, and ending the 30th of April 1781."

Q. (from a Lord.) Is that the Account from Bengal?
A. From Bengal. The Journal is ſigned by the Council, viz. Warren Haſtings, Edward Wheler, John Macpherſon, Eſquires. In Page 734 is the Entry of the Reſident of Benares, in the Accounts of the Year.

The Book was delivered in at the Table, and the following Extract was read by the Clerk, beginning at Page 734 of the ſaid Book:

" Reſident

" Resident at Benaris		—	Dr to Profit and Loss.		
" Received of Rajah Cheyte Sing, on Account of his Tribute:					
" 1780.	May	—	1,98,434	4	12
	June	—	1,98,431	4	12
	July	—	1,98,431	4	12
	August	—	1,98,431	4	12
	September	—	1,98,431	4	12
	October	—	1,98,431	4	12
	November	—	1,98,431	4	12
	December	—	1,98,431	4	12
1781.	January	—	1,98,431	4	12
	February	—	1,98,431	6	12
	Carried forward		19,84,313	—	—

" Fort William, April 1781.

" Resident at Benaris		—	Dr to sundry Accounts.		
" To Profit and Loss brought forward			19,84,313	—	—
1781.	March	—	1,98,431	6	12
	April	—	1,98,431	6	12
Standard Gourshay Rupees		—	23,81,175	13	4
Batta 8,314 22 8 per Cent.		—	1,96,048	14	10
			25,77,224	11	9

(Signed at the End of the Book)
" Warren Hastings,
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherson."

The Managers for the Commons stated, that they should next proceed to prove the Payments on Account of the Stipend of Mirza Sawdit Ally Khân; it being a Part of Mr. Hastings's Defence, that the Rajah Cheit Sing's Delay was the Cause of the Nonpayment of that Stipend: The same was accordingly read from P. 735 of the same Journal.

" Sundry Accounts — Dr to Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah.
" Paid to Nabob Mirza Sawdit Alley Khawn his Allowance of Three Lacks per Annum, as per Order of the Honorable the Governor General and Council, dated 20th March 1781.

" 1780.	May	—	—	—	—
	June	—	50,000	—	—
	July	—	11,480	3	—
	Carried forward		61,480	3	—

" Fort William, April 1781.

" Sundry Accounts		—	Dr to Resident at Benares.		
" Nabob Asophul Dowlah, brought forward			61,480	3	—
1780.	August	—	23,310	6	2
	September	—	23,310	6	2
	October	—	23,310	6	2
	November	—	23,310	6	2
	December	—	23,753	2	—
1781.	January	—	23,753	2	—
	February	—	23,753	2	—
	March	—	23,753	2	—
	April	—	23,753	2	—
Standard Gourshay Rupees			2,73,485	4	16
Batta 8,314 22 8 per Cent.			22,516	13	—
				2,96,002	1 10

(Signed at the End of the Book)
Warren Hastings,
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherson."

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, they conceived it would tend to elucidate the Matter, if they informed the Houſe that Mirza Sawdit Ally Khân was the Brother of the Nabob of Oude, who reſided at or near Benares, and was paid a Stipend by the Eaſt India Company, which Stipend was afterwards repaid by the Nabob of Oude: But for the Purpoſe of firſt paying it, there was an Order from the Eaſt India Company to the Reſident at Benares, that it ſhould be provided for out of the Sum of Money payable from the Rajah of Benares, and that it ſhould be allowed him in the Account.

Then they ſtated, that they ſhould next produce Two Letters, the one written in December 1780, the other in January 1781, from the Reſident at Benares, informing the Board of the Payment of the Monthly Kiſts, in order to ſhew that it was impoſſible Mr. Haſtings could have merely been under a Miſtake when he wrote the Letter to Rajah Cheit Sing.

The Counſel for the Defendant deſired that the Witneſs might be aſked, Whether he knew by whom the Accounts produced, and ſigned by the Governor General and Council at the End of the Book, and which appear to be examined, &c. and cloſed by William Larkins, are made up.

The Witneſs was aſked,

Q. What is the Office of Mr. Larkins?
A. Accountant General to Bengal.

Q. Are thoſe Accounts prepared in his Office?
A. Thoſe Accounts are prepared in his Office. This Book is one general Account and Compilation of the various Accounts of the Preſidency of Fort William.

Q. Thoſe various Accounts are tranſmitted in the Courſe of the Buſineſs to the Accountant General's Office, whoſe Buſineſs it is to make up the General Accounts of all the various Branches of the Accounts that come to his Office?
A. It is ſo.

Q. And it is ſent over here by whoſe Authority?
A. By the Governor General and Council, and ſigned by them.

Q. Signed by whom?
A. Signed by the Governor General and Council.

Q. Do you happen to know whether the Courſe of the Buſineſs in Bengal is not only to ſend over the Accounts made up by their Officers from the Accountant General, but alſo to ſend over the Original Documents, and how they are made up?
A. From ſome of the Departments.—For Inſtance, the Paymaſter General of the Forces ſends home his.

Q. Are the Originals, or only Copies ſent Home?
A. Only Copies.

Q. From the Paymaſters?
A. From the Paymaſters.

Q. I underſtand you to ſay then, that they keep the Originals there in the Courſe of their Proceedings?
A. So I underſtand.

Q. But they ſend over Copies of particular Branches, when thoſe are wanted for the Information of the Company?
A. Yes.

Q. Are thoſe from Benares One?
A. I believe not: The Account of this Year from Benares is not received.

Q. According to the uſual Cuſtom, do they ſend over the Account of the Benares Revenue, in the ſame Manner as they do the Army Accounts?
A. Not for this particular Year.

Q. Do they generally?
A. No; not from Benares, otherwiſe than with this general View.

Q. From your Obſervations on theſe Accounts, do the Payments always appear to be aſcribed to the Day upon which the ſame become due, or to the Days upon which the Payments are actually made?
A. To the Days on which the Payments were actually made.

Q. That

Q. That is as far as you know?
A. As far as I underſtand.

Q. With regard to the Payments made, what is the Language of the Entry?
A. The Entry begins "Received."——

Q. Is there any Date of the Day of the Payments; as yet we have only heard of Months?
A. There are no Dates of the Days of Payment, only of the Months.

Q. Do you know where the Kiſtbundy, to which thoſe Payments relate, is lodged; is there any Copy of it tranſmitted Home?
A. I don't recollect that there is; but I think there is; I am not certain.

Q. Does it fall under your Obſervation that the Kiſtbundy, for the Payment of the Stipend to Mirza Sawdit Ali Cawn, is or is not in the Eaſt India Company's Books?
A. I don't recollect.

Then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Managers for the Commons obſerved, that perhaps they might have thought it ſufficient to have produced the Accounts ſent over by Mr. Haſtings, as againſt Mr. Haſtings, but that they would go One Step further, and produce his Letter accuſing the Rajah of the Nonpayment of his Tribute; for which Purpoſe they deſired Mr. Hudſon might be again called; who, appearing, produced Book 32, intituled, "Perſian Correſpondence, Letters written in the Public Department from the 1ſt of January to the 31ſt December 178.."

Read, a Letter from the Governor General to Rajah Chite Sing, dated 17th January 1781, beginning at Page 1, in the ſaid Book.

"To Rajah Chite Sing.

"Written 17th January 1781.

"Frequent Repreſentations having been made to me of the Want of Punctuality in the Payment of your Malguzary, that Part more particularly which is aſſigned for the Diſburſement of Seidut Ally Khan's Salary; and it having, at this Time, more than any other, a bad and ſuſpicious Appearance; I do peremptorily order, that all Arrears, of whatſoever Kind, be paid up within 24 Hours after the Receipt of this Perwanna, or you muſt expect that bad Conſequences will follow.

"(Authenticated at the End of the Book, as follows):

Fort William,
the 31ſt December 1781.

"Exd G. T. Cherry,
"D. P. Tr.

H. Colebrooke,
Perſn Tranſr."

It appearing that there was no Signature to the Letter, the Managers for the Commons were aſked, What Account they gave of the Letter?—They made anſwer, That the Perſian Correſpondence is kept in a Book by itſelf; that it does not appear in the Book at what Conſultation this particular Letter was ſent, otherwiſe than by the Date put by the Governor; or that it was ſigned: That the Addreſs is put; that the Perſian Correſpondence can only be carried on by the Governor General alone, and that the Book, containing the Letter in queſtion, was authenticated by Mr. Colebrook, the Perſian Tranſlator.

Then the Managers for the Commons ſaid, they ſhould next proceed to prove the Payments in December 1780, and in January 1781, of what became due in November and December 1780, by producing the Letters from the Reſident above alluded to; and therefore deſired the Witneſs might be directed to deliver in Book 33, and Book 34.

Accordingly Book 33, intituled, "Bengal Public Conſultations from 23d November to the 28th December 1780," was firſt delivered in.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation on the 14th December 1780.

"Fort William, 14th December 1780.

"At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheler Eſquire.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Command at the Preſidency of Fort St. George.

Pub. Dept.
Thurſday,

"Read

" Read the following Letter from the Reſident at Benares.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. Supreme Council of, &c.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Fowke, Reſident at Benares, to the Governor and Council.
* Sic in Orig.

" I have herewith the Honour to ſend you Twelve Bills of Exchange for the Sum of Calcutta Sicca Rupees 1,63,396 : 1 : 17, drawn in Favour of the Honourable Company, as per accompanying Invoice, being Balance on Account of Rajah Cheite Sing's Kiſt, due the 4th ultimo, after Deduction of the Nabob Saadut Ally Cawn's monthly Allowance of Out * Siccas 25,000, or Benares Sicca Rupees 23,310 : 4, at 7. 4. per Cent. Batta.

" Dated Benares, 7th December 1780. (Signed) F. Fowke."

Then the Witneſs delivered in Book 34, intituled, " Bengal Council, 1ſt January to 8th February 1781."

Read, Extract of a Conſultation of 29th January 1781, beginning at Page 512 of ſaid Book, as follows.

" Fort William, 26th January 1781.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
and
Edward Wheler Eſquire.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Command at the Preſidency of Fort St. George.

Extract of a Letter, ſigned " F. Fowke, Reſident at Benares," to the Governor and Council; dated Benares, 13th January 1781.

Par. 2. " In obedience to your Orders of the 19th ultimo, I have this Day remitted to Major Camac the Balance of the Kiſt due the 4th ultimo, after Deduction of the Allowance to the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan; and ſhall continue the ſame Remittance monthly."

The Managers for the Commons requeſted the Houſe to obſerve, that the Kiſt ſaid to be due upon the 4th of November 1780, was paid to the Reſident by the 7th of December 1780; and that the Inſtalment due upon the 4th of December 1780 was paid by the 13th of January following; and that they made the Obſervation in this Place, becauſe they intended afterwards to prove, by oral Teſtimony, that the Courſe of Payment in that Country is to pay one Month under another.

The Managers for the Commons then informed the Houſe, that the next Point to which they wiſhed to direct the Attention of the Houſe, was the Delegation of certain Powers with which Mr. Haſtings inveſted himſelf prior to his going to Benares, in the Year 1781; for which Purpoſe they would produce Mr. Haſtings's own Reaſons why he thought ſuch a Delegation was neceſſary; the Object of it as ſtated by himſelf; and the Delegation which he accepted, and took upon himſelf: Introductory to which it would be proper to ſtate, that at that Period the Council conſiſted, of the Defendant himſelf and Mr. Wheler only. But before they proceeded to that Point, it might be as well, once for all, to ſtate the Variations that happened in that Council; viz.

That, In September 1776, Colonel Monſon, died.
In Auguſt 1777, General Clavering, died.
In November 1780, Mr. Francis, left Calcutta.

The Managers for the Commons being aſked, Whether it did not appear that Sir Eyre Coote was of the Council antecedent to the laſt mentioned Period, made Anſwer, That in the Years 1780 and 1781, Sir Eyre Coote was upon the Coaſt of Coromandel with the Army, but though abſent, was a Member of the Council during the Whole of the Time he was ſo abſent.

That, on the 11th of December 1777, Mr. Wheler, took his Seat at the Board.
—— on the 24th of February 1779, Sir Eyre Coote, took his Seat at the Board.
—— From the 16th of September 1779, to the 28th of Auguſt 1780, Sir Eyre Coote, was abſent on Service.
—— Upon the 29th of February 1780, Mr. Barwell, reſigned his Seat at the Board.
—— From the 13th of October 1780, to the 3d of November 1782, Sir Eyre Coote, was abſent at Madras.
—— In July 1781, Mr. Haſtings, went to Benares, and returned and took his Seat.
—— on the 5th February 1782, Sir John (then Mr.) M'Pherſon, arrived at Calcutta.
—— About 13th or 14th September 1781,

That from theſe Dates it was apparent, that from the Time Mr. Francis left the Board to the Arrival of Mr. M'Pherſon, the Board conſiſted of Mr. Haſtings and Mr. Wheler only.

That, on the 11th of November 1782, Mr. Stables, arrived at Calcutta.
—— on the 3d of October 1782, Sir Eyre Coote, came back to Calcutta, and remained there,
to the 20th of March 1783, when he returned to Madras, where,
on the 27th of April 1783, he died.

Then, to ſhew the Defendant's own Account of his Reaſons for wiſhing the Delegation of Authority before ſtated to be made to himſelf, the Witneſs produced Book 35, intituled, "Bengal Secret Council, 2d April to 14th June, 1781."

Read, the following Extract of a Secret Conſultation of the 21ſt May 1781, beginning at Page 1298 of the ſaid Book.

"Fort William, 21ſt May 1781.

Secret Dep. Monday.

"At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
and
Edward Wheler Eſquire.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. abſent on Command at the Preſidency of Fort St. George.

"The Governor General delivers in the following Minute.

Governor General.

"Governor General.—The Province of Oud having fallen into a State of great Diſorder and Confuſion, its Reſources being in an extraordinary Degree diminiſhed, and the Nabob Aſop ul Dowlah having earneſtly intreated the Preſence of the Governor General, and declared, that unleſs ſome effectual Meaſures are taken for his Relief, he muſt be under the Neceſſity of leaving his Country and coming down to Calcutta to repreſent his Situation to this Government, the Governor General therefore propoſes, with the Concurrence of Mr Wheler, to viſit the Province of Owde as ſpeedily as the Affairs of the Preſidency will admit, in Hopes that from a minute and perſonal Obſervation of the Circumſtances of that Country, the Syſtem of Management which has been adopted, and the Characters and Conduct of the Perſons employed, he may poſſibly be able to concert and eſtabliſh ſome Plan by which the Province of Owde may in Time be reſtored to its former State of Affluence, good Order, and Propriety.

"In remedying Evils which have grown to ſo great a Height, Exertions will be required more powerful and immediate in their Application than can be made through the delegated Authority of the Servants of the Company now in that Province. The Undertaking is arduous and difficult, and the Governor General is far from being ſanguine in his Expectations that even his Endeavours will be attended with much Succeſs, as the Time which he can ſpare will, he fears, be too ſhort for accompliſhing the Ends propoſed. The Object, however, is of Importance, and the Attempt at leaſt deſerves to be made.

"The preſent Time affords the moſt favourable Opportunity for the Governor General's Viſit. The Ships of the Seaſon for Europe are all diſpatched; the Buſineſs of the Revenues is put into an eaſy Channel, and will not require much of the Board's Attention; and nothing of any Conſequence can happen, after the ſetting in of the Rains, that can materially affect the Tranquillity of the Country, or the general Syſtem of Politicks. But what chiefly renders the preſent Opportunity favourable is, the mutual Confidence which, after a Period of ſo many Years, is at length happily reſtored between the Members of this Adminiſtration, which enables the Governor General to leave Calcutta with the fulleſt Reliance that the Affairs of the Preſidency, under the Charge of Mr. Wheler, will ſuffer no Detriment from his Abſence; and he is thoroughly convinced that ſuch a confidential Communication will ſubſiſt between them, that the Buſineſs in which he and Mr. Wheler may be reſpectively engaged, will meet with the Concurrence and Approbation of both.

"It is hoped that the Governor General's Viſit to Owde will alſo afford him an Opportunity of negociating effectually with the Berar Government, and fixing Modagee Bhoſelah to act decidedly and openly in our Favour. Dewagur Pundit, his Miniſter, who has long dictated the Politicks of the Court of Nagpore, has often profeſſed an Intention of meeting the Governor General, to concert Meaſures with him for the mutual Benefit and Safety of the Governments of Bengal and Berar; but whilſt nothing is done to fix his Intentions to a particular Period and Peace *, they might be poſtponed from Time to Time, and never carried into Execution. When he is informed of the Governor General's Deſign of proceeding to Owde, and that One of the Objects of this {Journey / Hurry} † is to give him a Meeting at Benares, it is probable that he will ſurmount thoſe Obſtacles and Difficulties which have hitherto retarded, and might otherwiſe ſtill continue to retard him from carrying his Intentions into Execution.

* Sic. in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

"The Governor General thinks that about the 15th of July he will be ready to leave the Preſidency.

"Mr.

Mr. Wheler. " Mr. Wheler.—The Governor General's Repreſentation of the preſent State of the Province of Owde I believe to be but too well founded, and am convinced that it will require his utmoſt Abilities and Powers, applied and exerciſed on the Spot, to reſtore it to its former good Order and Affluence.

" I admit the Force of the Governor General's Arguments, proving the preſent Seaſon to be the moſt favourable for his leaving the Preſidency, and the more readily agree to them, from the Opportunity it will afford of negociating effectually with the Berar Government; but notwithſtanding the Greatneſs of the Objects, which may, and I truſt will be attained by the propoſed Expedition, I am perſuaded that nothing but the Harmony and good Underſtanding which at this Time prevails in the Council could induce the Governor General to withdraw his Attention from the Affairs of the Preſidency at a Criſis like the preſent; and unleſs convinced that I was ſo fortunate as to poſſeſs his entire Confidence, and that I might rely upon receiving his Support and Sanction to the Meaſures I might deem proper to purſue in his Abſence, I ſhould at this Time accept with Reluctance ſo weighty a Charge; for although it may not be difficult to provide for the uſual Occurrences of this Government, yet ſuch others may, during his Abſence, intervene, and demand immediate Deciſion, as are not within the Reach of human Foreſight, and in ſuch Inſtances I ſhould not be able to exert myſelf, under the Influence of Diſtruſt or Reſtraint."

Then the Managers for the Commons requeſted the Houſe to take notice, that the firſt Propoſal of the Journey to Oude was made by the Defendant on the 21ſt May; and obſerved, that in the Minute of the 3d July 1781, which they ſhould next produce, the Defendant ſtates himſelf ready to ſet out.

The Witneſs produced Book 36, intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, from 2d July to 10th December 1781."

Read, the following Extract, from a Secret Conſultation of the 3d July 1781, beginning at Page 43 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, 3d July 1781.

" At a Council; Preſent,

Secret Dep. Tueſday. The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident;
and
Edward Wheler Eſquire.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Service at Fort St. George."

" The Governor General delivers in the following Minute:

" In my Minute, which I laid before the Board on 21ſt May, I expreſſed the Satisfaction with which I could at this Juncture leave the Preſidency, from the mutual Confidence which was happily eſtabliſhed between Mr. Wheler and me. I now readily repeat that Sentiment, and obſerve with Pleaſure, that Mr. Wheler confirms it. Before my Departure, it is probable that we ſhall in Concert have provided at the Board for almoſt every important Circumſtance that can eventually happen during my Abſence. But if any ſhould occur, for which no previous Proviſion ſhall have been made in the Reſolution of the Board, Mr. Wheler may act with immediate Deciſion, and with the fulleſt Confidence of my Support, in all ſuch Emergencies, as well as in conducting the ordinary Buſineſs of the Preſidency, and in general, in all Matters of this Government, excepting thoſe which may ſpecially or generally be entruſted to me: Mr. Wheler during my Abſence may conſider himſelf as poſſeſſed of the full Powers of the Governor General and Council of this Government, as in Effect he is by the Conſtitution; and he may be aſſured, that ſo far as my Sanction and Concurrence ſhall be, or be deemed neceſſary to the Confirmation of his Meaſures, he ſhall receive them.

(Signed) W. H.

" Reſolved, That the following Credentials be given to the Governor General.

The Governor General's Credentials. " Whereas it has been reſolved, That the Governor General ſhall proceed to Benares and Lucknow, for the Purpoſe of obtaining an Interview with the Nabob Vizier and Duwager Pundit, the Duwan of the Rajah of Berar, and for the other conſequent Purpoſes, which are expreſſed in the Minute of the Board paſſed to this Effect on 21ſt May laſt *; And whereas, beſides the ſaid Purpoſes, others may occur which may require the immediate Preſence of the Governor General, with an effective and complete Authority for their Execution; it is hereby reſolved, That the Governor General ſhall be, and is inveſted with full Powers and Authority to form ſuch Arrangements with the Rajah of Benares, for the better Government and Management of his Zemindarry, and to perform ſuch Acts for the Improvement of the Intereſt which the Honourable Company poſſeſſes in it, as he ſhall think fit and conſonant to the mutual and actual Engagements ſubſiſting between the Company and the Rajah; to aſſiſt the Nabob Vizier in forming ſuch Regulations as may be neceſſary for the Peace and Order of his Government, the Improvement of his Revenue, and the Adjuſtment of the mutual Concerns ſubſiſting between him and the Company, with ſuch Autho-

* Here the Managers for the Commons deſired the Houſe to obſerve that, in the Reaſons given by Mr. Haſtings for taking this Journey, no Mention of Benares was made.

rity

rity to enforce the ſame, as the Governor General and Council might or could exerciſe in Occaſions in which they would be warranted to exerciſe the ſame, by the Claims which the Honourable Company hold or may have on the Revenues of the Dominions of the ſaid Nabob, and to form and conclude ſuch ſeveral Engagements or Treaties with the Nabob Vizier, the Government of Berar, and with any other of the Chiefs or Powers of Hindoſtan, as he ſhall judge expedient and neceſſary, whether for the Termination or more effectual Proſecution of the War with the Marratta State, or for the Advancement of the Intereſts of the Honourable Company, or for the ſtrict and permanent Eſtabliſhment and Confirmation of the Alliances which do at preſent ſubſiſt, or which he ſhall judge it neceſſary to form with the ſaid Chiefs and Powers reſpectively; and it is hereby declared, that all ſuch Acts, and all ſuch Engagements or Treaties, made as aforeſaid, ſhall be binding on the Governor General and Council, in the ſame Manner, and as effectually, as if they had been paſſed and done by the ſpecial and immediate Concurrence and actual Sanction of the Governor General and Council, in Council aſſembled.

" Given in Fort William under the Seal of the Honourable Company, and under the Hands of the Governor General and Council, this 3d Day of July, in the Year of our Lord 1781.

" The Time approaching for the Governor General's Departure, the Board think it neceſſary to communicate the following Reſolutions to the Commander in Chief, to be publiſhed in general Orders.

The Governor General intending to viſit the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier, it is therefore ordered, That all ſuch Orders as he ſhall, from this Time, think it proper to iſſue to the Troops ſtationed beyond the Provinces, as well in the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier as thoſe which are ſituated beyond them, ſhall be obeyed, and that his ſingle Authority ſhall be conſidered and received as of the ſame Force as that of the Governor General and Council collectively, until this Order ſhall be revoked.

" Agreed and ordered, That the Military Power veſted in the Honourable Warren Haſtings, as Governor and Commander in Chief of the Garriſon and Fortreſs of Fort William, and Town of Calcutta, be exerciſed by Edward Wheler Eſquire, during the Abſence of the Honourable the Governor General. Circular Letter to Col. James Morgan.

" Reſolved, That the following circular Letter be written to Colonel James Morgan, &c.

" Sir,

" The Governor General intending to viſit the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier, we therefore direct you to obey all ſuch Orders and Inſtructions as he may from this Time think proper to iſſue to you, and to the Troops under your Command, in his own Name, and in all Reſpects to conſider his ſingle Authority as of the ſame Force, until this Order ſhall be revoked, as that of the Governor General and Council collectively. We are, &c.

" Ordered, That the Secretary do immediately prepare the above Papers; but that they be not iſſued, until the Governor General ſhall have taken Leave of the Board.

" The Governor General reports to the Board, That he has made every Preparation for his Departure, and has no Impediment to his ſetting off immediately but the Neceſſity of waiting for the Swallow's Diſpatches."

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, that having ſhewn the Delegation of the Authority taken and accepted by Mr. Haſtings, and having laid before the Houſe the Reaſons which he gave to the Board for accepting that Delegation, they ſhould proceed to put in the Orders of the Court of Directors reſpecting the Mode and Manner in which they injoined the Proceedings of their Government to be conducted. For this Purpoſe the Witneſs was directed to produce the Standing Orders of the Court of Directors, dated the 26th of February, in the Year 1702. Accordingly the Witneſs produced a Paper, indorſed, " The Bay Letter, per the Dutcheſs, 26th February, entered and examined," dated (at the End) London, 26 February 1702.

Signed,

" J. Martin, Tho. Coulſon,
T. Jeniſſon, H. Herne,
G. Heathcote, R. Raworth,
S. Shepheard, C. Dubois,
W. Hewer, W. Prichard,
J. Cooke, E. Harriſon,
J. Andrews, N. Gould,
G. Dodington, R. Gough."

Read, the following Extracts, beginning at Page 1 of the ſaid Paper.

" Commiſſion and Inſtructions given by the Court of Managers for the United Trade to the Eaſt Indies, to Mr. Nathaniel Halſey, Mr. Robert Hedges, Mr. Jonathan White, Mr. Jonathan Winder, Mr. Ralph Sheldon, Mr. Robert Nightingale, Mr. John Ruſſell, and Mr. Benjamin Bowcher.

Par. 4. "Having heard Complaints of ſome Irregularities in ſome of the Factorories of either Comp[a]. we do ſtrictly enjoin, that all our Affairs be tranſacted in Council, and ordered and managed as the Majority in Council ſhall determine, and not otherwiſe, upon any Pretence whatſoever; and to that End, that all of the Council do reſide upon the Place: And though we hope you will all be unanimous in the Purſuit of our common Intereſt, yet if on any Occaſion it happens that your Votes are equally divided, the ſame muſt be determined by Lot; as we, by our new Charter, are directed in ſuch Caſe to do."

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, that the Houſe was hitherto unappriſed who the Court of Managers were; that the Paper had been put in without Proof of the Cuſtody in which it had been kept, or of the Authority by which it was originally made.

The Managers for the Commons being heard in Anſwer to the ſaid Objection, the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Where does that Paper come from? Was it amongſt the other Diſpatches?
A. Yes; it was taken out of the Diſpatches.

Then the Witneſs produced another Paper, indorſed as follows: "9th February 1736. Draught, Company's General Letter to Bengal, ſent per Devonſhire and Nottingham 58. Entered," addreſſed to the Preſident and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated (at the End) "London, the 9th February 1736."

"Signed,

"Richard Boulton,	W[m]. Billers,
D[r] Braddyll,	H. Gough,
E. Lovibond,	John Salter,
Miles Barne,	Sam[l]. Feake,
Jos. Wordſworth,	Abr[a]. Addams,
Cha. Colborne,	W[m]. Rous,
Sam[l]. Hyde,	Jones Raymond,
W[m]. Ponneroy,	Jn[o]. Emmerſon,
B. Lyell,	P. Godfrey,
Chr[r]. Burrow,	Robert Adams,
Richard Blount,	Mich. Impey."

Read, the following Extract, Part of Paragraph 67 of the ſaid Draught.

"Our Orders are, that all our Affairs ſhould be regularly tranſacted in Council, and every Member duly ſummoned to attend."

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, that it did not appear that the Orders already put in, as Standing Orders, were Orders of which the Preſident and Council had any Notice at Calcutta, nor that they were ever tranſmitted to Calcutta ſo as to be any Rule of Conduct to the Defendant, or ſo as to be conſidered as a Commiſſion to the then ſubſiſting Governor. They ſaid, it appeared to be an Order from Perſons who went under the Name of Managers; that the Title was only a Commiſſion and Inſtructions given by the Court of Managers to Nathaniel Halſey, Robert Hedges, and others by Name; that the Style run, "We the Managers, &c.;" and that therefore it did not at all import to be the Standing Orders of the Company.

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Whether he had taken the Papers produced from the Records of the Eaſt India Company?
A. From a Bundle of Diſpatches of the Year 1702; it is common to tie up the original Diſpatches and Letters from Bengal.

Q. The Difficulty that has occurred is this; it is required to know, whether thoſe which purport to be the Standing Orders for the Government of the Preſidency and Council at Bengal, were in fact tranſmitted to that Preſidency and Council at Calcutta as the Rule for their Direction. You have already explained that they were taken out of the Bundle that is docketed and called Diſpatches in the Year 1702; now, at that Time, in 1702, were there no Books kept of the Tranſactions of the Eaſt India Company here?
A. Certainly.

Q. Are thoſe Books preſerved?
A. They are.

Q. Have you looked into them to ſee, whether there were any Orders in them approving the tranſmitting of thoſe Standing Orders?
A. It is not uſual to enter the Diſpatches to Bengal on the Minutes of the Court's Proceedings.

Q. Have

Q. Have you conſulted the Proceedings of that Date, to ſee whether there were any Reſolutions for ſending the Standing Orders to Bengal?
A. Of that Date I have not.

Q. Does not the Bundle of Diſpatches you took this Paper from, contain other Diſpatches of the ſame Period that were ſent to Bengal at that Time?
A. There are many other Papers in the Bundle which may have been ſent to Bengal.

Q. Do they purport to be Copies of Papers ſent to Bengal?
A. Theſe are original Drafts.

Q. How does it appear that they were preſerved as original Drafts?
A. It was the Cuſtom of the Houſe.

Q. Is it ſtill the Cuſtom of the Houſe, at this Time?
A. It is ſtill.

Q. As it appears from what has hitherto been read to be the Cuſtom of the Court of Directors now to preſerve all the Orders they make and the Letters ſent to Bengal, have you not a Book of the Correſpondence?
A. No. There are Books of Court Minutes, in which they enter their Proceedings; but they do not enter any of their Diſpatches there.

Q. Have you not all the Diſpatches that came from Bengal at that Period?
A. Certainly.

Q. Are they all preſerved?
A. They are all preſerved.

Q. Have you looked into them to ſee whether they take Notice of the Standing Orders ſo directed to the Preſident and Council at Bengal?
A. I have not, but I believe the Book of Standing Orders, which was ſent from Bengal at the Requiſition of the Court of Directors, contains this very Paragraph now read.

Q. The Book of the Standing Orders ſent from Bengal is at the India Houſe?
A. Yes.

It being ſuggeſted by the Houſe, that a little further Enquiry would probably make it clear; the Managers for the Commons ſtated, that, if there was the leaſt Heſitation about it, they would produce the Book To-morrow.

The Counſel for the Defendant declared they were not appriſed of any ſuch Standing Orders. If they had been ſo appriſed, they would not have troubled the Houſe with any Objection; and propoſed, to ſave Time, that they ſhould be conſidered as read now, the Managers for the Commons undertaking to produce the Book the next Day.

Whereupon it was ordered, that the Extract ſhould be taken *de bene eſſe*; and if the Managers for the Commons ſhould not give a ſatisfactory Account of it the next Day, it muſt not be conſidered as Evidence.

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Part of the Proof they were then upon, was to trace the Orders before mentioned down to the preſent Period; but as the Book was to be produced To-morrow, they would defer that Head of Proof till then, and bring the Whole forward together, it being all within the Compaſs of a few Lines.

They then proceeded to ſtate, that Mr. Haſtings's Reaſons for going to Oude, and the Credentials which he took with him for his Authority, having been read to the Houſe, it appeared they had now traced the Matter down to the Eve of his Departure for Benares: They ſhould next give in Evidence therefore, the Tranſactions which happened at Benares, contained in a Paper called "A Narrative of the Tranſactions of the Governor General at Benares;" introductory to which they deſired the Witneſs to produce Book 29, intituled, "Bengal Letters received" from 13th March 1780, to 8th April 1782.

Read, the 1ſt, 2d, 3d, and 21ſt Paragraphs of a Letter from the Secret Committee at Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, the 11th of February, 1782.

"Signed Warren Haſtings,
Edward Wheler, and
John Macpherſon.

"Honourable

[" Honourable Sirs,

Par. 1. " In our laſt Letter from this Department, by the Swallow Packet, dated 29th December 1781, we informed you of the Detention of that Veſſel for the Purpoſe of carrying home a complete Narrative of the Governor General's Proceedings while at Benares and Chunar, which we daily expected to receive from him; however, as the Length of this Paper, and the great Number of References annexed to it, made it impoſſible to ſend them down ſooner than he did, and we found it would require a long While to copy them after their Arrival, we determined to diſpatch the Swallow without them, judging that you would be impatient to hear from us on the Reſtoration of Peace in the Diſtricts of Benares, and to receive the lateſt Accounts from Madras, of the Situation of Affairs in the Carnatic.

Par. 2. " We determined at the ſame Time to diſpatch the Nancy Snow, Captain Kiffernan, with theſe Reports, as ſoon as they could be prepared; and we have now the Pleaſure to tranſmit them to you, a ſeparate Number in this Packet.

Par. 3. " The above Papers contain ſuch a full Account of all the Tranſactions of the Governor General upon this Service, together with the Motives and Reaſonings upon them, that we think it would be ſuperfluous to add any Thing of our own, but to recommend them to your attentive Peruſal.]

Par. 21. " In conſequence of a Minute from the Governor General, which makes a Number in this Packet, and in which we heartily concur, we have appointed Major Fairfax to take Charge of the important Diſpatches which accompany this by the Nancy; he will therefore attend you with them immediately on his Arrival in England; and having had local Opportunities of obtaining a complete Knowledge of the Tranſactions in the Zemindarry of Benares, is capable of anſwering any Enquiries which you may be deſirous of making upon Subjects of ſo uncommon a Nature, and to explain thoſe Points to which your Curioſity may be directed, but which it is impoſſible for us to anticipate.

" Fort William, 11th February 1782. (Signed) Warren Haſtings,
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 31, intituled, " Governor General's Narrative at Benaris," received per Nancy 24th July 1782.

The ſame was delivered in.

Read, ſeveral Extracts, beginning at Page 1, and ending at Page 21, from a Copy of the ſaid Narrative, printed at Calcutta, by the Authority of Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, and agreed by both Parties to be authentic *.

And then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

* Vide Narrative infra next Page.

A NARRATIVE *of the* INSURRECTION *which happened in the Zemeedary of* BANARIS *in the Month of Auguſt* 1781; *and of the Tranſactions of the Governor General in that Diſtrict: With an Appendix of authentic Papers and Affidavits.*

THE following Sheets were written to guard the Minds of my Superiors againſt the Suſpicions to which all great political Movements are liable, eſpecially ſuch as paſs at a Diſtance from Obſervation, and are attended with violent Convulſions, or Revolutions, in any of the great Dependencies or Relations of Government, and to which, from their Conformity to that Deſcription, my late Tranſactions in Banaris were particularly expoſed. On the ſame Grounds they are now made public, for the Purpoſe of effacing the like unfavourable Impreſſions from the Breaſts of my Countrymen, if I, or my Actions, ſhall have been deemed of ſo much Conſequenee as to have drawn on me that Effect of their Attention. Had I been prompted by the vain Ambition of diſplaying my own Importance, a Levity of which I have never betrayed any Symptoms, I ſhould certainly have ſelected other Paſſages of my publick Life, for the Gratification of ſuch a Diſpoſition. I claim no Merit in having ſurmounted, by the ſucceſsful Zeal and Exertions of others, the Troubles, of which though long before conceived, my own Acts had accelerated the Birth; unleſs I may be allowed a ſmall Portion of Applauſe, that I never ſuffered them to embarraſs the Hands in which I had left the Care of the ſuperior Government, nor myſelf to deſpair of the publick Safety.

WARREN HASTINGS.

☞ [" To Edward Wheler and John M'Pherſon, Eſquires, Members of the Council of Fort William.

" Gentlemen,

" I have now the Honour to ſend you the Narrative, which I promiſed in my Letter of the 18th October, of the Tranſactions and Events which paſſed during the Courſe of the late Inſurrection of this Province. I had begun it at the Time of the Date which is prefixt to it; but the buſy Scenes which followed, both while I was at Chunar, and after my Return to Banaris, hindered me from proſecuting it till a few Days before the Date which I have ſubjoined to it. I did not chuſe to alter the Introduction, although written at ſuch a Diſtance of Time from that in which the Body of the Work was executed, and even from the Exiſtence of the Events which are recorded in the latter, becauſe I found it not eaſy to give it a new Form, without a total Omiſſion of what had been already produced, while my Mind was animated by the recent and actual Scenes in which it was engaged, to an anxious and moſt feeling Solicitude, not more for the Iſſue of the impending Conteſt, than for its Conſequences on my own Reputation. In the Conſciouſneſs of the Rectitude of my Intentions, I had allowed myſelf to uſe an Appeal, the moſt ſolemn and moſt ſacred that could bind my Relation to Truth, or impreſs the Conviction of it on the Hearts of others; nor could I, conſiſtently with my own Senſe of its Obligation, withdraw it, or coldly place it after the Narrative already written, and written under the Check which I had impoſed upon it. I know not whether I ſhall be clearly underſtood: If I am not, yet let this Endeavour to explain a ſeeming Impropriety in the Conſtruction of this Performance be accepted for its Apology.

" I have only to add my Hope, that as I have received the moſt cordial Support in the paſt Events from you, my reſpectable and moſt reſpected Aſſociates in the Adminiſtration, and as it has been my unvaried Study to prevent your ſuffering any Embarraſſment from them, my Conduct in them may alſo receive its firſt Reward in the Teſtimony of your Approbation.

Banaris,
31ſt December 1781.

I have the Honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient, and moſt faithful Servant,
WARREN HASTINGS."

A Narrative, &c.

Chunar, 1ſt September 1781.

IN whatever Manner the Scene may cloſe in which I am now engaged, the Calamities with which it opened will not fail, in their firſt Impreſſion, to influence in ſome Degree the Minds of all Men in forming their Judgment of it. In the following Narrative, if I can truſt to my own Sentiments, or if thoſe who ſhall read it will credit this Declaration of them, I ſhall leſs ſtudy to efface that Impreſſion, than ſeek to diveſt my Mind of all partial Bias, and to deliver all the paſt Tranſactions and Occurrences with the ſtricteſt and moſt faithful Regard to Truth; in which if I fail, I fail unknowingly: And may the God of Truth ſo judge me, as my own Conſcience ſhall condemn or acquit me of intentional Deception.

The Motives and Objects of my Journey were various. With theſe the Deſign of my Tranſactions at Banaris had but a remote and ſecondary Connection. I left Calcutta on the 7th of

July. At Buxar Rajah Cheit Sing paid me the cuſtomary Duty of Reſpect, by advancing to that Place, which lay the neareſt to the Boundary Line of his Zemeedary. He brought with him a great Fleet of Boats, which, as I afterwards learned, were crowded with Two thouſand armed and choſen Men. This Circumſtance was noticed by many of the Gentlemen who accompanied me, and was certainly a Deviation from the eſtabliſhed Rules of Decorum, not only ſuch as are obſerved from Vaſſals to their Superiors, but even ſuch as paſs between Equals. An Inſtance of this will be remembered by many to have happened at Banaris in the Year 1773, in the Meeting which took place there between the late Vizeer Shujah ud Dowlah and myſelf. He had left his Capital with a large Retinue, but hearing that I came unattended, he diſmiſſed his Followers, and met me with a State as humble as mine.

I received the Rajah with Civility, and without any Expreſſion of Diſpleaſure. I left Buxar the next Morning, and received a ſecond Viſit from the Rajah in my Boat. After a ſhort Space he deſired to ſpeak to me in private. The Particulars of our Converſation I do not exactly remember: I can only relate the Subſtance of it. He profeſſed much Concern to hear that I was diſpleaſed with him, and Contrition for having given Cauſe for it, aſſuring me that his Zemeedary, and all that he poſſeſſed, were at my Devotion; he expreſſed his Fears for Owſan Sing, who had been ſome Days in my Suite, and of the Intrigues of his Relations; and he accompanied his Words by an Action either ſtrongly expreſſive of the Agitation of his Mind, or his Deſire to impreſs on mine a Conviction of his Sincerity, by laying his Turban on my Lap. I replied, that I had not ſeen Owſan Sing, nor concerned myſelf about him, nor ſhould I deſcend to be a Party in his Family Diſagreements; that my Buſineſs was with him, and with him only; that what he had heard, or might have conjectured, of my Diſpleaſure was true: And I entered into a full Diſcuſſion of the Cauſes of it; that I had been already once deceived by his Oaths and Proteſtations, and ſhould not ſuffer my Purpoſe to be changed, or my Duty to be overruled, by any verbal Conceſſions or Declarations, which were made with little Coſt, and for the Obſervance of which I had no Pledge nor Warrant to credit them. He pleaded his Inability to anſwer my Charges againſt him, admitted that he was in every reſpect faulty, but deſired that I would forget the paſt, and form my Opinion of him on his future Behaviour. I declined any further Converſation upon the Subject, and he took his Leave.

As the preceding Converſation was accidental, and made no Part of the Plan which I had concerted in my own Mind for my Conduct with the Rajah, I kept no Minutes of it, nor ſhould have thought it deſerving of a Place in this Narrative, but for the Weight which he has ſince given to it, and that it might not be imputed to me as a deſigned Suppreſſion, if I made no mention of it. I ſhall proceed to relate the Subjects to which it alluded, and add the Purpoſes which I had in Contemplation concerning them.

On the firſt Intelligence of the War with France in July 1778, it was reſolved in Council, that Rajah Cheit Sing ſhould be required to contribute an extraordinary Subſidy for the Expence which this new Exigency had impoſed on our Government; and the Sum was limited to Five Lacks of Rupees for the current Year. After many Excuſes and Proteſtations of Inability, he at length conſented, with a very ill Grace, to the Payment, and with a much worſe diſcharged it. The next Year the ſame Demand was repeated, and he attempted in like Manner to elude it, affecting to borrow Money in ſmall Sums, and to ſell his Plate and Jewels, to raiſe it; nor was it paid at laſt, till he had reduced the Board to the Extremity of ordering Two Battalions of Seepoys to the Neighbourhood of Ramnagur, and quartering them upon him, with their Pay charged to his Account, until the whole Payment was completed.

Early in the following Year, about the Month of May, he deputed Lalla Suddanund, who was his Buxey, and the confidential Manager of his Affairs, on a private Commiſſion to me, to ſolicit my Forgiveneſs of his paſt Conduct, and to give me Aſſurances, confirmed by Oath, of his future Submiſſion to the Orders of my Government, and Compliance with my Advice. I accepted his Excuſes, and promiſed him an Oblivion of all that had paſſed of exceptionable in his Conduct, and my future Protection, and every good Office in my Power, ſo long as he adhered to his Profeſſions; requiring only, as the Pledge of their Sincerity, that he would immediately notify his ready and unreſerved Conſent to the Demand which would be made upon him, this being the Period for it, of the Subſidy for the current Year, and that he would uſe no Delay in diſcharging it. I at the ſame Time explained to Suddanund, the Nature of the Demand; its Conformity to the Cuſtoms of all States in Times of extraordinary Emergency; and aſſured him, that though he muſt expect a Repetition of it every Year ſo long as the War laſted, yet it could not be juſtly drawn into a Precedent for exacting an Increaſe on his regular and ſtipulated Rent; and, ſo far as it could depend upon me, I gave him the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, and I believe very ſolemn Aſſeverations, that it ſhould not. Suddanund vowed the fulleſt Obedience on the Part of his Maſter; the Demand was accordingly made; and the Rajah anſwered it with a liberal and unreſerved Declaration of his Acquieſcence. I expected the immediate Payment of the whole Sum, according to his Promiſe, and I placed a Reliance upon it ſo far as to deſtine the Appropriation of it to the Support of the Detachment which was then acting in the Province of Malva, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Camac, not apprehending any Policy which could warp him from the ſtrong Obligation of ſuch an Engagement, and from the evident Intereſt which he had in fulfilling it. I was miſtaken. The Firſt Payment was made in different Periods in the Courſe of a Month, amounting to about a Lack of Rupees; and there, as I recollect, he ſtopped, and even deſcended

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to the Meanneſs of writing to ſolicit the Forbearance of the Remainder, that it might be included in the regular Payments of the enſuing Year which was then approaching. I am not poſſeſſed at this Time of the Materials for aſcertaining the Dates of the Demand, and of his Letter written in Acquieſcence of it, nor the Dates and correſpondent Sums of the ſubſequent Payments; but I deſire that theſe may be inſerted by the Secretary, as a Note to this Page of the Narrative *. It is ſufficient to ſay that the Demand was made, and the whole Payment conſequently due, in July; that it was not until the Month of October, nor until the ſame Conſtraint was practiſed to compel his Obedience as had been uſed in the preceeding Year, by an Order for the Advance of Two Battalions of Sepoys for that Purpoſe, that the Balance of the Subſidy, which was Two Lacks and a Half of Rupees, was diſcharged. In the mean Time, the Reſident received an Order from the Board to remit the Money as he received it, by Bills, to the Paymaſter of Lieutenant Colonel Camac's Detachment; but theſe, from the Lateneſs of the Receipts, were not ſent until the Detachment had ſuffered the Extremity of Diſtreſs from the Want of Money, and very great Deſertions; all which Calamities I charge to Rajah Cheyt Sing's Account, as it is certain that my Reliance on his Faith, and his Breach of it, were the principal Cauſes that no other Proviſion had been made for the Detachment, and that it ſuffered ſuch Want in Conſequence.

It is with the greateſt Tenderneſs that I recur to the paſt Diſſentions in our Government; but I am compelled to it on this Occaſion, for the Elucidation of the Conduct of this Man; which had the Appearance of being invariably guided by the Reports which were made to him of the State of my Influence. When he deputed his Buxey Suddanund to me, in the Manner which I have mentioned, an apparent Harmony had taken place in our Councils, with the general Expectation of its being permanent. The Powers of our Government whenever united, and, if I may uſe the Term, conſolidated, by ſuch an Event, will ever recover the Reſpect which is due to them, eſpecially from thoſe who have rendered themſelves obnoxious to its Terrors. The Subject which produced the ſubſequent Conteſt between Mr. Francis and myſelf, originated a little before the Departure of Suddanund from the Preſidency, but was not perhaps either generally known, or known to have grown into a decided Breach, till the latter End of July. A Reference to the Proceedings of that Period will prove the Grounds of this Suppoſition. It was the preſcribed Duty of Cheit Sing's Vackeels in Calcutta, to furniſh him with every little Anecdote which bore any relation to the State of our Government. I believe, that the deliberate Manner in which he made the Firſt Payment of the Subſidy of that Year, was dictated by the Doubts ſuggeſted of the Firmneſs of my Authority; and I am morally certain, that his ſubſequent Excuſes and Delays in the Payment of the Reſidue of the Subſidy, were cauſed by the Belief that I was no longer able to enforce it; and poſſibly, for ſuch was the Report, that a few Months would cloſe the Period of my Adminiſtration altogether. That I had his ſolemn Promiſe, in the Manner which I have recited, to pay the Subſidy, I as ſolemnly affirm; and his Letter, aſſenting to the Payment, which is recorded on our Conſultations, is a ſtrong preſumptive Evidence of it: And that he evaded the Performance of his Promiſe; that he attempted to the utmoſt of his Power, to elude it altogether, is alſo proved by the Record of the Dates of the different Payments; the Minutes of the Board relating to them; and the Order of the Board for the March of a Detachment for the Purpoſe of compelling him to perform it. That this Order had a principal Effect in bringing him to a Compliance, I believe; but I alſo attribute a Share of it to the approaching Departure of Mr. Francis, which was publiſhed and generally expected.

I owe it in Candor to the Gentleman whoſe Name I have reluctantly repeated in this Digreſſion, to obviate an Interference which might otherwiſe be unwarily drawn from it, by declaring, that I mean not, by the moſt diſtant Hint, to impute any Part of this Policy to him, and in my Heart do totally and deliberately acquit him of any Concern in it, however, in the Reſentment of inſtant Diſappointment, I may have ſuffered my Mind to catch ſuch a Suſpicion; although I believe that, if I have, it has been ſacredly confined to my own Breaſt.

This was the Firſt direct Charge which I had to prefer againſt the Rajah. The Second was ſimilar in its Quality and Principle. On the 2d of the Month of November 1780, a Reſolution paſſed the Board, That a Letter ſhould be written to the Nabob Vizeer, adviſing him to require from the Nabob Fyz-Oolla Khan, the Number of Troops ſtipulated by Treaty, expreſſed, as it was

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* Note by the Secretary.

Demand, Secret Conſultation 22d June 1780.
Acquieſcence, expreſſed in a Letter from the Reſident, dated 21ſt July. Public Conſultation 7th September 1780.

Dates of Payments, viz.	30th July 1780	—	—	37,000
	31ſt Ditto	—	—	20,000
	3d Auguſt	—	—	27,500
	5th Ditto	—	—	15,500
	20th September	—	—	1,00,000
	24th Ditto	—	—	47,000
	18th October	—	—	3,000
	20th Ditto	—	—	2,50,000
			Rupees	5,00,000

then

then underſtood to be, 5,000 Horſe; and that the like Demand ſhould be made on Rajah Cheit Sing, for all the Cavalry in his Pay which he could ſpare for our Service. At that Time we ſtood in need of every Aid that could be deviſed, to repel the multiplied Dangers which ſurrounded us. The Rajah was ſuppoſed to maintain a very large and expenſive Standing Force, and the Strength of his Cavalry alone was eſtimated at Two thouſand. I had formerly experienced their Utility in the War with the Senaſſees, in which they were ſucceſsfully employed, and liberally rewarded. The Demand was formally made, both in a Letter from myſelf, and in Perſon by the Reſident, Mr. Fowke, in the eaſy and indefinite Terms mentioned above. His Anſwers were evaſive, pleading (as I recollect, for I am not in Poſſeſſion of them) the Scantineſs of the Eſtabliſhment, its Employment in enforcing the Collections, and the Danger of theſe failing if the Detachment were withdrawn. At length a more peremptory Order was ſent to him, and repeated by the preſent Reſident Mr. Markham. The Number required was 2,000, and afterwards reduced to the Demand of 1,500, and laſtly to 1,000, but with no more Succeſs. He offered 250, but furniſhed none.

Theſe Inſtances of Contumacy and Diſobedience, criminal as they were in themſelves, and aggravated by the extreme and known Diſtreſſes and Dangers of the ſuperior State, to which he owed not only perſonal Fealty, but every voluntary Aid which all the Reſources of his Zemeedary could contribute, appeared to me of leſs Conſideration as ſuch, than as they were Evidences of a deliberate and ſyſtematic Conduct, aiming at the total Subverſion of the Authority of the Company, and the Erection of his own Independency on its Ruins. This had been long and generally imputed to him. It was reported that he had inherited a vaſt Maſs of Wealth from his Father Bulwant Sing, which he had ſecured in the Two ſtrong Fortreſſes of Bidjeygur and Lutteeſpoor, and made yearly Additions to it; that he kept up a large Military Eſtabliſhment both of Cavalry, of diſciplined and irregular Infantry, and of Artillery; that he had the above and many other Fortreſſes, of ſtrong Conſtruction, and in good Repair, and conſtantly well ſtored and garriſoned; that his Aumils and Tenants were encouraged and habituated to treat Engliſh Paſſengers with Inhoſpitality and with Enmity; that he maintained a Correſpondence with the Marattahs, and other Powers who either were or might eventually become the Enemies of our State; and if the diſaffected Zemeedars of Fyzabad and Behar were not included in the Report, which I do not recollect, we have had woeful Proof; that there was equal Room to have ſuſpected the like Intercourſe between them; and laſtly, that he was collecting, or had prepared, every Proviſion for open Revolt, waiting only for a proper Seaſon to declare it, which was ſuppoſed to depend either on the Arrival of a French Armament, or on a Marattah Invaſion.

This Deſign had been greatly favoured by the unhappy Diviſions of our Government, in which he preſumed to take an open Part. It is a Fact, that when theſe had proceeded to an Extremity bordering on civil Violence, by the Attempt to wreſt from me my Authority, in the Month of June 1777, he had deputed a Man named Sumboonaut, with an expreſs Commiſſion to my Opponent, and the Man had proceeded as far as Moorſhedabad, when hearing of the Change of Affairs which had taken place at the Preſidency, he ſtopped, and the Rajah recalled him.

It may perhaps be urged in favour of Rajah Cheit Sing, that he was juſtifiable by the Principle of good Policy, in ſeeking a State of Independency; that we had no natural Right to his Vaſſalage, having acquired it, with all our other Rights of Dominion, by no other Charter than the ſucceſsful Spirit of Enterprize. Were this truly the Caſe, it would reduce the Relation between us to the primitive Law of Nature, and it would be equally incumbent on us, on that Ground alone, to uſe every Means to confirm and perpetuate his Subjection, as it would be allowable in him to emancipate himſelf from it. But ſomething more, I apprehend, was due, both as a political and even moral Obligation, from him.—His Father, Bulwant Sing, derived the Degree of Independency, which he poſſeſſed during the latter Period of his Life, from the Protection and Intervention of our Government. His Son, Cheit Sing, obtained, from our Influence exerted by myſelf, the Firſt legal Title that his Family ever poſſeſſed of Property in the Land of which he till then was only the Aumil, and of which he became the acknowledged Zemeedar by a Sunnud granted to him by the Nabob Shujah ud Dowlah, at my Inſtance, in the Month of September 1773. On the Succeſſion of the Nabob Aſſof ud Dowlah, the Rights of Sovereignty which were held by him over the Zemeedary were transferred by Treaty to the Company. Thoſe Rights were indiſputably his, and became, by his Alienation of them, as indiſputably the Company's; and every Obligation of Fidelity and Obedience which is due from a Zemeedar to the ſuperior Magiſtrate, by the Conſtitution of Hindoſtan, became as much the Right of the Company from Cheit Sing, as it had been due to his former Sovereign, with the additional Ties of Gratitude for the ſuperior Advantages which he was allowed to poſſeſs with his new Relation. The unexampled Lenity of our Government, in relinquiſhing to him the free and uncontrouled Rule of his Zemeedary, ſubject to a limited annual Fine, and the Royalties of the Mint, Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and Police, ought to have operated as an additional Claim on his Fidelity, but evidently ſerved to ſtimulate his Ambition, and perhaps to excite in his Mind an Opinion that he poſſeſſed an inherent Right of Self-dependency.

I conſidered Cheit Sing as culpable in a very high Degree towards our State; and his Puniſhment, of which I had given him frequent Warnings, if he did not amend his Conduct, as an Example which Juſtice and Policy required, equally for the Reparation of the Wrongs which its Dignity had ſuſtained, and for the future Preſervation of its Authority. I was reſolved to draw from his Guilt the Means of Relief to the Company's Diſtreſſes, and to exact a Penalty, which I

was convinced he was able to bear, from a Fund which I was alſo convinced he had deſtined for Purpoſes of the moſt dangerous Tendency to the Company's Dominion. In a Word, I had determined to make him pay largely for his Pardon, or to exact a ſevere Vengeance for his paſt Delinquency.

Thoſe who have been accuſtomed to regard Cheit Sing as a Vaſſal or tributary Prince, may revolt at the Idea of treating him with ſuch Indignity, and call it an Oppreſſion. They will ſuppoſe nothing due from him to the Company, but the Payment of his ſtipulated Tribute, and that the Pledge of his Exemption from every other Claim: I ſuſpect too, that the Deeds which paſſed between him and the Board, on the Transfer of the Zemeedary to the Company in 1775, are by many underſtood to bear the Quality and Force of a Treaty of optional Conditions between equal States. To ſuch I reply, That ſuch an Opinion is itſelf criminal to the State of which he was a Subject, and that he was himſelf amenable to its Juſtice, if he gave Countenance to the Belief. He paid no Tribute to the Company, but a fixed annual Rent. The Deeds by which he held his Zemeedary, and the Company their Claim to their Portion of its Revenue, were a Sunnud or Grant, and a Potta or Leaſe, executed on the Part of the Company; and a Cobooleeat or Agreement, and Kiſtbundy or Account of Payments to be made by Inſtalments, on his Part. Theſe, excepting the ſpecial Privileges allowed to the Rajah, of the Mint, the Cutwallees of Banaris and Jowanpoor, the Fowjdary and Aumeeny; that is ſo far as they relate to the Zemeedary alone, are drawn preciſely in the ſame Forms as Inſtruments of the ſame Denominations interchanged with the Zemeedars of Bengal. I refer to the Inſtruments themſelves, which will make a Number in the Appendix to this Narrative; in which it will be ſeen on how different a Tenure, and how infinitely below Independency, he really held his Zemeedary. The Sunnud and Cobooleeat are Counterparts of each other; the former preſcribes the Revenue which was to be paid, and the Duties which were to be performed, as the Conditions on which the Rajah was confirmed in the Poſſeſſion of his Zemeedary; and of theſe Conditions the Cobooleeat is a Pledge or Engagement for the Performance. In the firſt, the *Government and Sovereignty* of the Zemeedary tranſferred by the Nabob Aſſof ud Dowlah to the Company, are ſtated as the Baſis of it: The Zemeedary is confirmed to him: A ſtrict *Obſervation and Execution of the Duties incumbent on him; to behave with Moderation and Kindneſs to the Reyots and People: to promote the Cultivation and Encreaſe of the Inhabitants and Produce of the Lands*; to preſerve the Peace, and *puniſh the Diſturbers of it*; and to pay a yearly Rent of Twenty-three Lacks, Forty thouſand, Two hundred and Forty-nine Mahidar Rupees in monthly Payments, agreeable to the Kiſtbundy; are moſt ſtrictly and poſitively commanded and enjoined; and the Officers of the Zemeedary are commanded to regard him as the Zemeedar, *and to acknowledge his Authority in the ſeveral Acts appertaining thereunto.* I muſt obſerve, that in the Tranſlation of the Sunnud, the yearly Revenue is in one Place, through the Negligence of the Tranſlator, expreſſed by the Word *Tribute*; but it is not on the Tranſlation, nor on the Will of a Tranſlator, that the Rights of the Company depend. I affirm the Word to be falſe, as it is inconſiſtent with the proper Term *Revenue*, immediately following in the ſame Tranſlation, and with the ſame Term *Revenue* occurring in the Tranſlation of the Cobooleeat or Agreement.

The Cobooleeat alſo ſets off with ſtating the Company's Sovereignty as the Baſis of the Agreement, and acknowledges the Grant made by the Company to Rajah Cheit Sing of the Zemeedary, and other Privileges recited in the Sunnud: And it proceeds to expreſs, that *it ſhall be his Duty to do every Thing that may be needful and uſual for the Intereſt of the Country, to provide for the Welfare of the Inhabitants, to be attentive to the Encreaſe and Security of Cultivation and Improvement of the Revenues, to uſe his Endeavours to expel Robbers, &c. and pay the annual Revenue of Government*, in the Manner preſcribed by the Sunnud.

To obviate Miſapprehenſions, I think it proper to remark, that in the above Recitals I have abridged the Text, where it was too prolix and involved for literal Quotation, and given the Subſtance in the cloſeſt Senſe of it; but where I have uſed the original Words of the Tranſlations, I have diſtinguiſhed them by Italic Letters as ſuch. The Copies in the Appendix will ſhew with what Fidelity I have conformed to the Text in both Inſtances.

I have dwelt with a greater Streſs and with a more minute Exactneſs, on the foregoing Subject, becauſe it is on this Point that the Juſtice and Propriety of my Conduct muſt wholly turn. If Rajah Cheit Sing poſſeſſed the Zemeedary of Banaris in his own Right, and with an inherent and excluſive Authority; if he owed no Allegiance to the Company, nor Obedience beyond the Payments of a ſtipulated Tribute; I am liable to Condemnation for exacting other Duties from him, and for all the Conſequences of that Exaction; and he is guiltleſs: but if the Company, poſſeſſing the acknowledged Rights of his former Sovereign, held an abſolute Authority over him; if in the known Relation of Zemeedar to the ſovereign Authority, or the Power delegated by it, he owed a perſonal Allegiance and an implicit and unreſerved Obedience to that Authority, at the Forfeiture of his Zemeedary, and even of his Life and Property, at the Diſcretion of thoſe who held or fully repreſented the ſovereign Authority; if in Corroboration of the general and implied Obligation, he was bound to it by written Engagements and ſpecific Conditions; I am warranted in my Aſſertion of the Rights of Government, which were fully and wholly delegated to me; and he alone is reſponſible for his Oppoſition to them, and for all the Conſequences which have attended that Oppoſition.

Whether I have exerciſed the Power veſted in me with Juſtice and with Moderation, will appear from the preceding Relation, and the following Parts of this Narrative.

Before I quit this Digreſſion, I muſt further treſpaſs on the Patience of the Board, and of thoſe for whoſe Judgment it is ultimately written, by a more pointed Application of the above to my own perſonal Conduct and Character.

I will ſuppoſe for a Moment that I have erred, that I have acted with an unwarranted Rigour towards Cheit Sing, and even with Injuſtice. Let my Motive be conſulted. I left Calcutta impreſſed with the Belief, that extraordinary Means were neceſſary, and thoſe exerted with a ſtrong Hand, to preſerve the Company's Intereſts from ſinking under the accumulated Weight which oppreſſed them. I ſaw a political Neceſſity for curbing the overgrown Power of a great Member of their Dominion, and making it contribute to the Relief of their preſſing Exigencies. If I erred, my Error was prompted by an Exceſs of Zeal for their Intereſts, operating with too ſtrong a Bias on my Judgment. But rare are the Inſtances in which the Judgment ſuffers the Bias of ſuch an Operation; and much ſtronger is the Preſumption, that Acts, prompted by an unmixed Attention to the Public Intereſts, are founded on juſt Principles, than that they are the Reſult of a miſguided Judgment.

Poſſibly it may be ſuſpected,—and may God forgive thoſe who know me, and countenance the Suſpicion; I have no Title to an Exemption from it with others;—that I was influenced by a ſecret and mercenary Intereſt. I have heard of the Practice of holding out the Terrors of Authority, and the Denunciations of Diſgrace, Diſmiſſion, and War, as the Inſtruments of private Rapacity. Though the Charge, if true, is capable of poſitive Conviction, yet I know of no direct Evidence which could refute it, where it were falſe; for no one can be conſcious of the Receſſes of another's Mind. I can therefore only offer ſuch preſumptive Proofs of my Intention, as the Nature of it will admit, and Accident has provided. Theſe are my early and confidential Declarations, and the Atteſtations of thoſe to whom they were made. In a Point of ſuch public Moment, independently of the near Intereſt which I have in eſtabliſhing the Truth of it, Mr. Wheler will pardon my Appeal to him, although in one Light it may tend to involve him in a Participation of the Reproach of thoſe who may regard every Severity ſhewn to Cheit Sing as criminal, however founded. He will doubtleſs recollect the Converſation which I had with him on the Subject, on the Eve of my Departure from Calcutta; our mutual Opinion of Cheit Sing's paſt Conduct; mine of the Juſtice and Policy of exacting an exemplary Puniſhment for it, by a large pecuniary Mulct; the Sum to which I then declared my Reſolution to extend it; my Conviction of his Ability to pay it; and the Two Alternatives on which I had reſolved, if he refuſed to ſubmit to it. He will alſo remember, that I beſpoke his Confidence in the Means which I ſhould uſe for this End, and his Support in the Iſſue of them. I entreat him to give me his formal and circumſtantial Atteſtation of theſe Facts, and that he will permit it to be inſerted in this Part of my Narrative *. After ſuch an Appeal, it would be as ſuperfluous as indelicate to call in the Aid of other Teſtimonies, if all that were required were no more than to aſcertain that I did hold ſuch a Converſation as that which I allude to with him. The Concluſion will be much ſtrengthened by its Agreement with Declarations made by me on the ſame Subject, and nearly at the ſame Point of Time, to others. I ſhall therefore require ſimilar Atteſtations † from Major Palmer, my Military Secretary, and from Mr. Anderſon, my appointed Aſſiſtant on this Deputation. With theſe References, and their Reſult, I ſhall make my laſt and ſolemn Appeal to the Breaſt of every Man who ſhall read this, Whether it is likely, or morally poſſible, that I ſhould have tied down my own future Conduct to ſo decided a Proceſs and Series of Acts, if I had ſecretly intended to threaten, or to uſe a Degree of Violence, for no other Purpoſe than to draw from the Object of it a mercenary Atonement for my own private Emolument, and ſuffer all this Tumult to terminate in an oſtenſible and unſubſtantial Submiſſion to the Authority which I repreſented? Whether it is likely, or morally poſſible, that I ſhould have choſen to irritate the Feelings of my Colleague in Office, and expoſe myſelf to all the Effects of his Indignation, by ſo wanton and unneceſſary a Deception; or lower my own Dignity and Character, and afford ſo baſe an Example to my Inferiors, by pretending to make them privy to Acts which I never meant to perform,

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* Mr. Wheler.—I have the Pleaſure to comply with the Governor General's Requeſt, and will chearfully record, in this Place, what I at preſent recollect to have paſſed between us, at the Time and on the Circumſtances which he mentions.

I well remember, that on the Eve of the Governor General's Departure from Calcutta, the Conduct of Cheit Sing, late Rajah of Banaris, was a principal Subject of a confidential Diſcourſe between us, and that he beſpoke my Support of the Meaſures which he intended to purſue towards him.—I recollect that the Governor General thought the Rajah's Offences were ſuch as to require early Puniſhment, and as his Wealth was great, and the Company's Exigencies preſſing, it was thought a Meaſure of Policy and Juſtice to exact from him a large pecuniary Mulct for their Relief; the Sum to which the Governor declared his Reſolution to extend the Fine, was Forty or Fifty Lacks; his Ability to pay it was ſtated as a Fact that could not admit of a Doubt; and the Two Alternatives on which the Governor declared himſelf to have reſolved, if Cheit Sing refuſed to comply with the Requiſition, were, to the beſt of my Recollection, either a Removal from his Zemeedary entirely; or, by taking immediate Poſſeſſion of all his Forts, to obtain, out of the Treaſure depoſited in them, the above Sum for the Company.

† Vide Appendix.

perform, and from which I could not depart with any poſſible Shew of Reaſon, but the manifeſt Sacrifice of my Integrity. A Man actuated by ſuch a Motive, and poſſeſſing the Truſt which I held, would have uſed a Cover to his Venality; he would not have compromiſed himſelf by poſitive Declarations of what he would do, much leſs by detailing his Intentions in a Series of Trials, as they might ſucceſſively fail; but would have been contented with diſtant and indefinite Intimations and Suggeſtions, which obviouſly left his Actions open to Enquiry and Variation, which could not ſubject him to the Imputation of Inconſiſtency, if they were productive of no Effect, and which he might uſe as Juſtifications, if his Artifices ſhould chance to operate with the Effect oſtenſibly portended by them.

I now return to my Narrative.

I arrived at Banaris on the Morning of the 14th of Auguſt; the Rajah ſome Hours later. I forbad his coming that Evening to my Quarters, as he had intended, and required him to defer his future Viſits until he ſhould receive my Permiſſion, as I had ſome previous Matters to ſettle with him, of which he would be informed by the Reſident, whom I ſhould depute to him the next Morning for that Purpoſe.

My Narrative will be beſt continued, nor will the Thread of it be broken, by the following Copy of my Report of my Proceedings, and of the Conſequences which attended them, to Mr. Wheler, then the only effective Member of the Board.

To Edward Wheler, Eſquire.

" Sir,

" I arrived at Banaris on the 14th Inſtant. My Tranſactions with the Rajah being of a moſt important Nature to the preſent and future Intereſts of the Company, I have determined to inform you of them without Delay, in the Order in which they have occurred.

" The Firſt Step which I judged it neceſſary to take, as the Ground on which my future Proceedings with the Rajah were to be conducted, was to recapitulate in Writing the ſeveral Inſtances of his Conduct, which for ſome Time paſt have repeatedly drawn upon him the ſevere Reprehenſions of the Board, and to demand a clear and ſatisfactory Explanation.

" This Paper I ſent to the Rajah, by the Hands of Mr. Markham, who was directed to require an immediately Anſwer. Late in the Evening his Anſwer arrived. The following are Copies of both."

" No. 1. To Raja Cheit Sing.

" It is about Sixteen Months ſince Lallah Suddnuand, your Buxey and confidential Servant, came to Calcutta, charged with an expreſs Commiſſion and Authority to make Excuſes for your paſt Conduct, and to give me Aſſurances, confirmed by Oath, of your future Submiſſion to my Advice and the Orders of my Government. As a Teſt of your Sincerity, I required an immediate and unreſerved Acquieſcence in the Demand, which at the ſame Time was made to you in the Name of the Governor General and Council, of a Subſidy of Five Lacks of Rupees, for the Expences of the War. With this Demand you oſtenſibly complied in your Anſwer to my Letter; and the Buxey promiſed me verbally, in your Name, and in Terms ſo ſtrong as amounted to the fulleſt Aſſurance, that there ſhould be no Delay in the Payment. Relying on this Agreement and Promiſe, I gave Orders to Mr. Fowke, who was then Reſident at this Place, to receive the Money, and remit it to Colonel Camac, for the Pay of the Army which had been ordered to march towards the Province of Malva; and I made no other Proviſion for it, ſuch was my Confidence in your Faith. But you deceived me; and, after having made the Firſt Payment of a few Rupees, either conſulting the Temper of the Times, or conforming to a premeditated Deſign, you, by Shifts and Pretexts, withheld the Remainder, until the Army, for whoſe Uſe it was intended, was reduced to the laſt State of Diſtreſs. Many Hundreds deſerted, and, had an Enemy at that Time appeared againſt them, their total Deſtruction had been inevitable. In all this Time daily Application was made to you by the Reſident, and I wrote repeated Letters to you; but you paid no Regard to either. Beſides this, I required, in the Name of the Governor General and Council, by Letter, and ordered Mr. Fowke to repeat the Requiſition in Perſon, that you ſhould furniſh a Body of Horſe to aſſiſt and act with the Armies of the Company; and when Mr. Markham ſucceeded Mr. Fowke, I gave him an Order to repeat the Demand, which he did accordingly, with frequent and almoſt daily Importunity, limiting the Number to 1,500, and afterwards to 1,000. To this Demand you returned evaſive Anſwers, nor to this Hour have you contributed a ſingle Horſeman.

" I paſs over other Inſtances of your Conduct, in which, through the Means of your ſecret Agents, you have endeavoured to excite Diſorders in the Government on which you depend; and your Neglect of the Duty which you owe to it, and to the Subjects of this Zemeedary, by ſuffering the daily Perpetration of Robberies and Murders, even in the Streets of the City of Banaris itſelf, to the great and public Scandal of the Engliſh Name, and in Violation of one of the Conditions on which you received the Confirmation of this Zemeedary. But as the Two foregoing Inſtances amount to a direct Charge of Diſaffection and Infidelity to the Government on which you depend, and happened at a Time in which it was your Duty more eſpecially to have exerted yourſelf in the

Support of its Intereſts, I have therefore judged it proper to ſtate them to you thus fully in Writing, and to require your Anſwer to them; and this I expect immediately."

" No. 2. From Rajah Cheit Sing to the Honourable the Governor General.

" I received your Letter delivered to me by Mr. Markham, and I have underſtood every Particular of its Contents. Sir, after the Arrival of Sheakh Ally Nucky, I obſerved all the Orders which you ſent me; and I received the Letter which the deceaſed Sheakh brought me, informing me that every Suſpicion was now completely removed from your Mind, and that I muſt conſider you, as formerly, attentive to me. But I have not experienced from you the ſame Generoſities as formerly. I ſent you repeatedly Letters repreſenting to your Conſideration my unhappy Circumſtances; but you never honoured me with any Reply. For this Reaſon I ſent my Buxey Suddanund to your Preſence, enjoining him to repreſent to you the Firmneſs of my Obedience and Attachment, to lay before you the Particulars of my Situation, and to learn the Diſpoſition of your Mind towards me. He arrived accordingly in your Preſence, and repreſented every Thing in a proper Manner. I have never deviated in the ſmalleſt Degree from theſe Profeſſions; and the Benefits and Civilities with which you have honoured me, have given me the greateſt Satisfaction; and I have conſidered you as the Source from which I derived the Fulfilment of all my Wiſhes and Deſires. It is my firm Hope that I may be always favoured with your Directions. In this Manner I complied, with the utmoſt Readineſs, with the Order you ſent me for the Payment of Five Lacks of Rupees on account of the Expences of the War. I ſent firſt One Lack of Rupees, with an Anſwer to your Letter; afterwards, having paid to Mr. Fowke the Sum of One Lack and Seventy thouſand Rupees, I ſent a Letter, requeſting a further Allowance of Time to enable me to make ſome Preparations. To this I received no Reply, it being no Time for Delay. Notwithſtanding this, I was not a Moment inattentive to this Concern; and as ſoon as my Buxey arrived, I paid immediately the remaining Part of the Sum. The remitting of this to the Army did not depend on me; if any Delay happened on this Head, I could not help it. If beſides the Payment of the Money, the Remittance of it alſo to the Army had reſted with me, a Delay of this Kind ſhould not have happened. I have encloſed in this Letter a Paper, ſpecifying the particular Sums which have been advanced, with their Dates.

" With reſpect to the Horſe, you deſired me in your Letter to inform you of what Number I could afford to ſtation with you, and I ſent you a particular Account of all that were in my Service, amounting to One thouſand Three hundred Horſe, of which ſeveral were ſtationed at diſtant Places; but I received no Anſwer to this. Mr. Markham delivered me an Order to prepare a Thouſand Horſe. In compliance with your Wiſhes, I collected 500 Horſe, and as a Subſtitute for the Remainder, 500 Burkandazes, of which I ſent you Information; and I told Mr. Markham they were ready to go to whatever Place they ſhould be ſent. No Anſwer however came from you on this Head, and I remained aſtoniſhed at the Cauſe of it. Repeatedly I aſked Mr. Markham about an Anſwer to my Letter about the Horſe; but he told me he did not know the Reaſons of no Anſwer having been ſent. I remained aſtoniſhed. With reſpect to the Sepoys, I received firſt an Order to ſtation two of my Companies, which I did; I was then deſired to give a Tunkaw for the Payment of the Sepoys, and likewiſe to pay the Captain; which has been done every Month.

" Excepting Abdullah Beg and his Attendants, none of my People, either Dependants or Servants, or others in any Shape connected with me, have ever gone to Calcutta. My Enemies, with a View to my Ruin, have made falſe Repreſentations to you. Now that, happily for me, you have yourſelf arrived at this Place, you will be able to aſcertain all the Circumſtances relative to the Horſe; to my People going to Calcutta; and the Dates of the Receipts of the particular Sums above-mentioned. You will then know whether I have amuſed you with a falſe Repreſentation, or made a juſt Report to you. I have given my Aumils moſt particular Injunctions, and have taken a Penalty Bond from them, that they ſhall keep no Thieves in their Diſtrict. What Power have they to act otherwiſe? But if ever a Murder or Robbery is committed in the Country, I have been careful to impale or otherwiſe puniſh the Culprit. If a Perſon having committed a Delinquency ſhould eſcape to ſome other Place, ſo as to elude all Diſcovery, in that Caſe I am helpleſs; but to the utmoſt of my Power I endeavour to fulfil your Orders. I have never ſwerved in the ſmalleſt Degree from my Duty to you. It remains with you to decide on all theſe Matters. I am in every Caſe your Slave. What is juſt I have repreſented to you. May your Proſperity increaſe.

" Account of Five Lacks of Rupees advanced for the Expences of the War.

" 1ſt. Shaabaun,	— —	1,00,000 R^{s}.
" 29th. Ramzan,	— —	1,70,000
" 7th. Shewal,	— — —	1,30,000
" 18th. Shewal,	— — —	1,00,000
		5,00,000 Rupees.

" This

" This Anſwer you will perceive to be not only unſatisfactory in Subſtance, but offenſive in Style; and leſs a Vindication of himſelf, than a Recrimination on me. It expreſſes no Concern for the Cauſes of Complaint contained in my Letter, or Deſire to atone for them; nor the ſmalleſt Intention to purſue a different Line of Conduct. An Anſwer, couched nearly in Terms of Defiance, to Requiſitions of ſo ſerious a Nature, I could not but conſider as a ſtrong Indication of that Spirit of Independency which the Rajah has for ſome Years paſt aſſumed; and of which indeed I had early obſerved other manifeſt Symptoms, both before and from the Inſtant of my Arrival.

" Under theſe alarming Appearances of the Rajah's Conduct and Diſpoſition, I conceived myſelf indiſpenſably obliged to form ſome immediate and deciſive Plan for obviating their Conſequences, and for the Preſervation of the Company's Rights and Intereſts in this Zemeedary. To have left him in the full Exerciſe of Powers he had notoriouſly abuſed, and which it was to be apprehended he would employ to the moſt dangerous Purpoſes, was totally inconſiſtent with the Maxims of Juſtice and Prudence. To diveſt him entirely of the Zemeedary, though juſtifiable on the Grounds ſtated above, would have been attended with an Appearance of Severity, and might have furniſhed Ground for Conſtructions unfavourable to the Credit of our Government, and to my own Reputation, from the natural Influence which every Act of Rigour exerciſed on the Perſons of Men who ſtand in elevated Stations, is apt to impreſs on the Minds of thoſe who are too remote from the Scene of Action to judge, by any Evidence but of the direct Facts themſelves, of their Motives or Propriety.

" Thus circumſtanced, and attentive to theſe oppoſite Conſiderations, I laid down the following Plan for my future Proceedings.

" I firſt directed the Reſident to repair to the Rajah, who reſided at his Houſe ſituated on this Side of the River, at the Diſtance of about Two Miles; and gave him the following Inſtructions.

" No. 3. Mr. William Markham, Reſident at Banaris.

" Sir,

" It is my Order, that you proceed early To-morrow Morning to the Houſe of Rajah Cheit Sing, with your uſual Guard, and put him in Arreſt. You will require his immediate Submiſſion, informing him that you act under Orders given you by me; and in caſe of his Refuſal, you will wait the Arrival of Two Companies of Sepoys belonging to Major Popham's Detachment, who are directed to follow and aſſiſt you in the Execution of this Service. Having ſecured the Rajah, you will keep him in your Cuſtody until further Orders.

" Banaris, 15th Auguſt 1781. I am, &c."
10 at Night.

" On the next Morning, Mr. Markham went, according to his foregoing Inſtructions, and was followed by Two Companies of Grenadier Sepoys, belonging to Major Popham's Detachment. The Rajah quietly ſubmitted to the Arreſt, and Mr. Markham returned to me with the following Letter from the Rajah, leaving him under the Charge of Lieutenants Stalker, Scott, and Simes. For the Particulars which paſſed at this Interview, I refer you to the following Report, which Mr. Markham delivered to me on his Return.

" N° 4. Letter from Rajah Cheit Sing.

" At this Time Mr. William Markham being come to me, has informed me that your Highneſs's Orders are, that I ſhould remain under a Guard. My Protector. I before repreſented to you on board your Pinnace, that I was the Servant of the Honourable Company, and was ready from my Heart and Soul. Whatever may be your Pleaſure, do it with your own Hands. I am your Slave. What Occaſion can there be for a Guard?"

" N° 5. Report of Mr. Markham.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. &c.

" Honourable Sir,

" I this Morning, in obedience to your Orders of laſt Night, proceeded with a few of my Orderlies, accompanied by Lieutenant Stalker, to Shewallah Ghaut, the preſent Reſidence of Rajah Cheit Sing; and acquainted him, it was your Pleaſure he ſhould conſider himſelf in Arreſt; that he ſhould order his People to behave in a quiet, orderly Manner, for that any Attempt to reſcue him would be attended with his own Deſtruction. The Rajah ſubmitted quietly to the Arreſt, and aſſured me, that whatever were your Orders, he was ready implicitly to obey; he hoped, that you would allow him a Subſiſtence; but as for his Zemeedary, his Forts, and his Treaſure, he was ready to lay them at your Feet, and his Life if required. He expreſſed himſelf much hurt at the Ignominy which he affirmed muſt be the Conſequence of his Confinement, and intreated me to return to you with the foregoing Submiſſion, hoping that you would make Allowances for his Youth and Inexperience; and, in conſideration of his Father's Name, releaſe him from his Confinement, as ſoon as he ſhould prove the Sincerity of his Offers, and himſelf deſerving of your Compaſſion and Forgiveneſs.

" Nearly a Quarter of an Hour after this Converſation, Lieutenant Scott arrived with the Two Grenadier Companies of Major Popham's Detachment; to whoſe and Lieutenant Stalker's Care I left the Rajah, having given them the following Inſtructions: That they ſhould diſarm every Servant of the Rajah's; that they ſhould allow him any ſuch Eight or Ten Kiſmutgars for the Attendance of his Perſon, as he ſhould approve of; that theſe Men ſhould be ſhewn to the Sepoys, leſt any Deceit ſhould be practiſed; but that they might indulge him in any Requeſt conſiſtent with the Security of his Perſon.

" I am now returned to acquaint you with my Proceedings, and to receive any further Inſtructions which you may think neceſſary.

" I have the Honour to be,
Honourable Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) W^m Markham."

" Banaris,
16th Auguſt 1781.

" As the Rajah in the above Letter had deſired that Mr. Markham might be ſent back to him, I was preparing Inſtructions for that Purpoſe, when I received another Letter from the Rajah, of which the following is a Tranſlation.

" N° 6. Letter from the Rajah.

" I am the Servant of the Sirkar, and am ready, from my Heart and Soul, in the Performance of your Orders. My Honour was beſtowed on me by your Highneſs: It depends on you alone to take away, or not to take away, the Country out of my Hands. In caſe my Honour is not left me, how ſhall I be equal to the Buſineſs of the Sirkar? Whoever, with his Hands in a ſupplicating Poſture, is ready with his Life and Property, what Neceſſity can there be for him to be dealt with in this Way?"

" From the apparent Deſpondency in which theſe Letters were written, I thought it neceſſary to give the Rajah ſome Encouragement, and accordingly wrote him the following Anſwer:

" N° 7. Letter from the Governor General.

" I have received your Two Arzies, from the Hands of Mr. Markham, and underſtand their Contents. That Gentleman will wait on you in the Afternoon, and explain Particulars. Set your Mind at reſt, and do not conceive any Terror or Apprehenſion."

" To this I received the following Reply:

" N° 8. Letter from the Rajah.

" Your gracious Letter has been received, and has made me acquainted with your Commands. You order, that in the Afternoon Mr. William Markham will come to me; that I muſt not ſuffer any Apprehenſion to diſturb me, but remain at Eaſe in my Mind. My Protector! wherever you ſpread your Shadow over my Head, I am entirely free from Concern and Apprehenſion; and whatever you, who are my Maſter, ſhall as ſuch determine, will be right."

" At this Time I had prepared Mr. Markham's Second Inſtructions; but before he could ſet out with them, Intelligence came, that large Bodies of armed Men had croſſed the River from Ramnagur, and had proceeded to the Rajah's Houſe. What follows is a Scene of ſuch Horror, that it is with the greateſt Reluctance I ſubmit to the painful Duty of relating it.—The Guard placed over the Rajah conſiſted of Two Companies of Grenadier Sepoys, as above-mentioned, from Major Popham's Detachment, commanded by the Officers already named, who were ſtationed in an encloſed Square, which ſurrounded the Apartment where the Rajah was. The Reſident's Guard had returned with him. It now appeared that theſe Troops had taken no Ammunition with them. Major Popham ſent another Company of Sepoys, under an Officer, with Ammunition, to reinforce and ſupport the Firſt Party. When the latter arrived at the Rajah's Houſe, they found it ſurrounded, and all the Avenues blockaded, by a Multitude of armed Men, who oppoſed their Paſſage. The Minds of this tumultuous Aſſembly becoming ſoon inflamed, ſome of them began to fire upon the Sepoys within the Square; and immediately, as if this had been the concerted Signal, made an inſtantaneous and fierce Attack on the Sepoys; who, wanting their accuſtomed Means of Defence, were capable of making but a feeble Reſiſtance, and fell an eaſy Sacrifice to the ſuperior Numbers of their Aſſailants, who cut almoſt every Man of this unfortunate Party to Pieces. The Officers, it is ſuppoſed, were the firſt Victims to their Fury; but not until they had, by aſtoniſhing Efforts of Bravery, and undiſmayed amidſt the imminent Dangers which ſurrounded them, involved a much ſuperior Number of their Enemies in their Fate. In this general Report of them, all Accounts concur, though varying in Circumſtances. I yield to my own Feelings, in beſtowing this juſt but unavailing Tribute to theſe unhappy Gentlemen.

" In the Midſt of this Confuſion, the Rajah found Means to eſcape through a Wicket, which opened to the River, and the Banks being exceedingly ſteep in that Place, he let himſelf down, by

Turbands tied together, into a Boat which was waiting for him, and conveyed him to the oppoſite Shore. Thoſe who had effected his Eſcape followed him acroſs the River in the ſame tumultuous Manner in which they had aſſembled, leaving the Party of our Sepoys who had laſt arrived, in Poſſeſſion of the Houſe. On the firſt Intelligence of this Commotion, I had directed Major Popham to repair immediately to his Camp, which was about Two Miles from the Reſident's, and at the ſame Diſtance from the Rajah's Houſe, and to march inſtantly with the Remainder of his Detachment to the Support of the Party.

" This Order was executed with all poſſible Expedition; but Major Popham arrived too late; and had the Mortification to be a Spectator of the Effects of a Maſſacre, which he could neither prevent nor revenge. He returned to me immediately, and made the following Report:

" N° 9. Major Popham's Report.

" Conſequent to an Order for the Detachment under my Command to proceed to the Support of the Grenadier Companies under the Order of Lieutenant Stalker, I carried it with as much Expedition as poſſible to Cheit Sing's Palace, which I found to be entirely evacuated by the Rajah's People, who were already landed on the oppoſite Side of the River.

" Of the Two Companies commanded by Lieutenant Stalker, very few remained alive, and the Majority of thoſe appeared to be ſeverely wounded. The Bodies of Lieutenants Stalker, Scott, and Simes, were lying within a ſmall Diſtance of each other, ſhockingly mangled, and without any Signs of Life.

" It may be neceſſary to obſerve, that Lieutenant Birrell was diſpatched with One Company of Sepoys upon the firſt Rumour of the Rajah's coercive Intentions; but the Fate of the Companies which preceded him was decided prior to his being able to enter the Palace. There were, however, ſome of the Rajah's People, whom he effectually cleared it of. In his Attack he met with ſome Loſs. My utmoſt Endeavours have hitherto proved inſufficient to procure an exact Detail of the Killed and Wounded in this unfortunate Tranſaction. I thought it neceſſary to leave a Company with a Subaltern in the Palace.

(Signed) Wm. Popham,
" Major."

" Banaris,
" 16th Auguſt 1781.

" I cannot learn with Certainty what is become of the Rajah; but the prevailing Report is, that he fled from Ramnagur, his uſual Reſidence on the other Side of the River, in the Middle of the Night, and proceeded with his Zenanna and Effects to Lutteefpoor, a ſtrong Fort of his, ſituated about Ten Miles from Chunar. He was accompanied by Sujan Sing, his Brother, and Munnihar Sing, a Relation and Son by Adoption of Rajah Bulwant Sing. He has alſo had the Precaution to take with him Ranny Goolaub-Kooer, the Widow of Rajah Bulwant Sing his Father, her Son-in-law Doorgbijey Sing, and his Two Sons, her Grandſons. In them he poſſeſſes every Member of his Family, who can have any Plea to diſpute with him the Right of Inheritance from his Father, Rajah Bulwant Sing, if that were ever a Queſtion; his Right to the Zemeedary being derived excluſively from Sunnuds, which his Father never poſſeſſed, but which were firſt granted to Cheit Sing by the late Vizeer Shujah ud Dowlah through the Influence of our Government in 1773, and ſince repeated by ſimilar Grants from our Government, when the Sovereignty was ceded to the Company by the preſent Nabob Aſſof ud Dowlah.

" I have made Choice of Bauboo Owſan Sing, who held the Office of Dewan during ſeveral Years of the Life of Rajah Bulwant Sing, and for a conſiderable Period ſince the Acceſſion of the preſent Rajah, to adminiſter the Revenues and Government of this Country, in the Quality of Naib, until it can be determined to whom the Zemeedary may legally belong, and who may be in a Capacity to receive it.

" To this Effect I have cauſed a Proclamation to be made through the City of Banaris, and have notified it by circular Perwannahs to all the Zemeedars and Aumils of the Zemeedary.

" To enforce the Execution of theſe Acts, to maintain Tranquillity and Order in the Country, and protect the Inhabitants, I have ordered One Battalion of Sepoys from Chunagur, the Remainder of Major Popham's Detachment from Mirzapoor, and One Regiment of Sepoys from Dinapoor, to march immediately to Banaris.

" The Detail of theſe Proceedings ſhall be tranſmitted to you in a ſubſequent Letter.—I do not expect they will detain me here much beyond the Time I had preſcribed to myſelf, which was about 7 or 8 Days.

" I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Eſteem,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient, humble Servant,
(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

" P. S. The Delay occaſioned in copying this Letter, from its great Length, has afforded me an Opportunity of contradicting the latter Part of it; and I have now the Satisfaction to add, that Ranny Goolaub Kooer, together with her Son-in-law Doorgbijey Sing, and his Two Sons, are ſafe at Banaris.—I have this Morning received a Viſit from Doorgbijey Sing and his eldeſt Son, Mehipnarain."

I HAVE

I HAVE read over the preceding Letter with great Attention, but can find nothing in it, with the Advantage of recent and better Means of Information, to correct; nor do I know that it requires a Comment. That which I am now about to make, may appear trivial, but I make it, as it impels me by its preſent Impreſſion. The Rajah in his Reply to the Charges which I had preferred againſt him, inſiſts much on the many Letters which he wrote to me, praying to be diſpenſed from his Obedience to the Orders of Government, and my Neglect to anſwer them; and this Charge againſt me he repeats in a Manner not the moſt reſpectful. I do not know but it may be true. He had received poſitive Orders, and thoſe had been repeated. It was his Duty to obey them, not to waſte my Time with Letters of Excuſe, to cavil with my Anſwers for Evaſions, or with my Silence for Delays. His Vakeel was in daily Attendance on me, and knew my Mind ſufficiently upon theſe Subjects; and what he knew, I am ſure he wrote to his Maſter. As to his Plea of Inability to pay the Reſidue of the Subſidy *without Preparation*, that is, without contriving the Means to raiſe the Money, after having ſacredly promiſed the full and inſtant Diſcharge of it, it was as inſolent as we now know too ſurely that it was moſt egregiouſly falſe.

It was truly reported that Cheit Sing, after his Eſcape from Shewallah Ghaut, immediately fled to Lutteefpoor, taking his Family and his whole Force with him, except the ordinary Guard, which had been early appropriated in the Time of his Father, Bulwant Sing, under the Command of Gudgerauge Sing, who had the Title of Kelladar, to the Charge of Ramnagur. This was a vaſt Pile of irregular but maſſy Buildings, conſtructed of Stone, on the River Side, and within the Bed of the River. To its original Strength, Cheit Sing had added Two or Three ſmall Baſtions of Stone and Earth: A large Town had grown round it, which rendered the Approach to it ſuſpicious; and the Intricacy of the Apartments and Paſſages of the Palace was ſuch, that a cautious Officer would heſitate, under almoſt any Encouragement, to enter it. I had early Information, that it was in effect evacuated; and I believed it; but not being certain, I did not chuſe to hazard a Repulſe, nor had I a Force equal to any Operation of doubtful Succeſs, much leſs of Enterprize. My whole Strength had conſiſted originally of Six Companies of Major Popham's Regiment, about Sixty Sepoys, which I had taken from the Garriſon of Buxar, for the Protection of my Boats, and a few Men, who had been newly recruited, for the Reſident's Guard; who had yet neither Arms nor Diſcipline. Of Major Popham's Regiment 82 Men had fallen in the Maſſacre of Shewallah Ghaut, and 92 were wounded. The whole Number of killed and wounded of every Corps and Denomination was 205.

Every Circumſtance of an Event and Time ſo critical to the preſent Exiſtence and to the Permanency of the Britiſh Intereſts in India, will merit Notice in a Relation of this Kind. If Cheit Sing's People, after they had effected his Reſcue, had proceeded to my Quarters at Mahadew Daſs's Garden, inſtead of crowding after him in a tumultuous Manner, as they did, in his Paſſage over the River, it is moſt probable that my Blood, and that of about Thirty Engliſh Gentlemen of my Party, would have been added to the recent Carnage; for they were above 2,000 in Number, furious and daring from the eaſy Succeſs of their laſt Attempt; nor could I aſſemble more than 50 regular and armed Sepoys for my whole Defence. Let it not be thought, that I attribute too much Conſequence to my own Perſon, when I ſuppoſe the Fate of the Britiſh Empire in India connected with it. Mean as its Subſtance may be, its accidental Properties were equivalent to thoſe which, like the magical Characters of a Taliſman in the Arabian Mythology, formed the Eſſence of the State itſelf; Repreſentation, Title, and the Eſtimate of public Opinion. Such a Stroke as that which I have ſuppoſed, would have been univerſally conſidered as deciſive of the National Fate; every State around it would have ſtarted into Arms againſt it; and every Subject of its own Dominion would, according to their ſeveral Abilities, have become its Enemy. What really paſſed approaching to ſuch an Effect, from the ſole Apprehenſion of ſuch a Cauſe, more than warrants the Concluſion of what would have followed the Cauſe itſelf, had it exiſted.]

The Effects of the firſt Conſternation having ſubſided, a Number of Men, reputed 2,000, returned to Ramnagur on the 18th, under the Command of Ramjeeawun, a confidential and domeſtic Chief of the Family.

The Remainder of Major Popham's Detachment, conſiſting of Four Companies of Sepoys, One Company of Artillery, and the Company of French Rangers, lay at Mirzapoor.

Theſe were ordered to march immediately to Ramnagur. Lieutenant Colonel Blair was ordered to detach a Battalion of Sepoys from the Garriſon of Chunar on the ſame Deſtination. It was intended, that as ſoon as theſe Corps had joined, and were properly equipped for Service, Major Popham ſhould take the Command, and proceed againſt the Forces quartered in Ramnagur. I wrote an Order Expreſs to Captain Blair, who commanded the Battalion from Chunar, commanding him to halt at a ſecure Diſtance from Ramnagur, and wait for further Orders; and Major Popham, whom I had afterwards veſted with the Command in Form, wrote a ſimilar Order to Captain Mayaffre, the Officer commanding the Reſidue of his Detachment, with an additional Caution to avoid Hoſtilities, and attend to the Safety of the whole Party, of which, being the ſenior Officer, he would have the Command till Major Popham aſſumed it. To enſure the Succeſs of his Operations on that Side, he had choſen a convenient and open Plain on the Shore oppoſite to Ramnagur, for a Battery of Two Mortars, which were expected from Chunar; nor can there be a Doubt that a Place ſo peculiarly ill formed for ſuch a Mode of Attack, and in no State of Defence againſt a wary Aſſailant, would have proved

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an eaſy Conqueſt. Unhappily the ill-timed Ambition of a raſh Individual defeated this Plan, and had nearly cauſed the Deſtruction of the whole Party. Captain Mayaffre, unwilling, as it appears, for no other poſſible Motive can be aſcribed to ſo precipitate and irregular a Conduct, to loſe the Opportunity which his preſent and caſual Command afforded him, of acquiring a military Reputation, without Plan, without Enquiry, againſt the Advice of his Officers, and againſt Order, ordered the Detachment to march into the narrow Lanes of the Town, where they were oppoſed by the Fire of an Enemy ſurrounding them unſeen, and the Party which entered was in an Inſtant annihilated, rather than defeated. Twenty-three Men of the Corps of Rangers, with their Commander Captain Doxat, who led the Attack, were killed, and Ten wounded; the 1ſt Battalion of the 6th Regiment of Sepoys, commanded by Captain Blair, which followed, loſt 57 killed and 41 wounded. The whole Loſs ſuſtained in all the Corps was 107 killed, and 72 wounded. Captain Mayaffre was killed. The Detachment inſtantly retreated. The Retreat appears to have been conducted by Captain Blair, and in a Manner that did him much Credit. The Enemy purſued with little Effect, their Numbers gradually leſſening till the Detachment arrived within Four Miles of Chunar, which it regained the ſame Evening.

This unfortunate Affair happened on the Morning of the 20th of Auguſt.

I conſidered myſelf now as plunged in a decided War, and made every Proviſion both for its ſpeedy Termination, and for its Confinement to the Scene in which it had opened.

Orders were written, and diſpatched in multiplied Copies, to the different military Stations, for Aſſiſtance; to the Reſident of the Vizeer's Court, for a Supply of Treaſure; and to Lieutenant Colonel Blair for an inſtant Reinforcement. The Detail of theſe Orders will be found in the Appendix. Very few reached their Deſtination, the Communication with every Quarter being intercepted, and all the Country in Arms againſt us; and our Emiſſaries, unuſed to this dangerous Service, either made Priſoners, or not daring to execute it, and ſecreting their Diſpatches. Two of my Letters reached Colonel Blair, who ordered Captain M'Dougal, with the 2d Battalion of the 6th Regiment, to march on the next Day, which was the 21ſt, to Banaris. I now paſſed an Interval, like that of a dead Calm preceding a violent Storm, and fraught with all the Symptoms of its certain Approach. Succeſſive Notices were brought to me, by various Channels, of Preparations making at Ramnagur for an Aſſault on my Quarters, which ſtood in the Midſt of the Suburbs of Banaris, and conſiſted of many detached Buildings within One large Encloſure, ſurrounded by Houſes and Trees, which intercepted every other Proſpect. The whole Force which I had left amounted to about 450 Men. The Reports of an intended Aſſault, which was fixed for that Night, grew ſtronger as the Day advanced; the Boats on the other Side of the River were ſeen to be in Motion; and, beſides the moral Certainty of the real Exiſtence of ſuch a Deſign, the obvious Advantages which it preſented to the Enemy, who had nothing left to fear, and nothing elſe to do, precluded all Heſitation but on the Choice of Expedients for defeating it: There were but Two; which were, to wait the Danger and try the Chance of repelling it, or to retreat to a Place of greater Security or of equal Advantage for the Encounter. The confined State of the Place, of which any Deſcription will be inſufficient to convey an adequate Idea, rendered the Firſt Plan impracticable: We had not a Force ſufficient to guard all the Defences of that Place, nor a Store for the Proviſions of a Day, even for that ſmall Number: The only Arguments for it were, the Diſgrace of a Flight, and the Conſideration of our wounded Sepoys, whom it might leave at the Diſcretion of a mercileſs Enemy. The former Conſideration yielded to the ſuperior Weight of Neceſſity; the latter, to the Impoſſibility of protecting the wounded Men in either Caſe, as they were quartered at the Diſtance of near a Mile from Mahadew Daſs's Garden; nor would it have been poſſible, in their Condition, and in the Multiplicity of preſſing Exigencies which the Reſolution to remain would have created, to remove them. Yet theſe Conſiderations held me ſuſpended during the whole Courſe of the Day. In the Evening it became neceſſary to come to a final Determination, as the Delay of a few Hours might now preclude every Option. I conſulted Major Popham; he declared the Defence of that Place impoſſible, and adviſed a Retreat to Chunar. There were other Field Officers with me: I aſked for their Opinions ſeparately; they clearly and unheſitatingly agreed in the ſame Advice. My Opinion had been determined from the Inſtant that I had received the certain Information of Captain Mayaffre's Defeat. I had not yet received the News of Captain M'Dougal's March, nor any Anſwer to the Letters which I had written to Lieutenant Colonel Blair for a Reinforcement; nor could I know whether theſe had reached him. I yielded to the Reluctance of a few Minutes. My Reſolution was taken, and declared, and Orders given to form our little Corps, that we might have Time to gain the open Country, before the Enemy, having Notice of the Deſign, could croſs and attack us at the Diſadvantage of the Streets, Lanes, and broken Ground, which we had to paſs before we could reach it. Theſe Orders were iſſued between Seven and Eight o'Clock, and by Eight the Line was in Motion, having been much retarded and impeded by an incredible Tumult of Servants, Palankeens, and Baggage of every Denomination, which for a Time threatened a total Obſtruction to our March; fortunately, this enormous Maſs took the wrong Road, which left the right with a free and undiſturbed Paſſage for the Sepoys. On the Way we paſſed Captain M'Dougal's Battalion, about Nine o'Clock. We ſent him timely Notice of our Movement: He turned and joined us. Early the next Morning we arrived at Chunar.

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It is proper to mention that as ſoon as I had formed my Reſolution to leave Banaris, I ſent my Moonſhy to the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan, to inform him of it, and to recommend the wounded Sepoys to his Care; believing that the Rajah, from a Conſideration of Policy, would not chuſe to moleſt them, eſpecially as he could have no Motive or Object to it but Revenge, if he would ſhew a determined Reſolution to protect them. The ſame Requeſt I made to him in Writing after my Arrival at Chunar. I owe him the Juſtice to atteſt, that he faithfully and liberally complied with my Requeſt. He viſited them himſelf, and furniſhed them with Proviſions and with Money, and appointed native Surgeons to attend them; and as they were able to bear it he cauſed them all to be removed to his own Quarters.

Many Reports and Suſpicions have prevailed of his being concerned in ſome of the Deſigns which were formed againſt us. I can neither credit nor refute them. The Evil imputed to him is at beſt doubtful: The Good which he did is certain, and he is entitled to the entire Merit of it.

I avail myſelf of this Repoſe in my Narrative to relate another Inſtance of private Merit in Beneram Pundit, the Vakeel or Miniſter of the Rajah of Berar, and his Brother Biſſumber Pundit. Theſe Perſons had come to pay their cuſtomary Attendance at my Quarters, about the Time that the Line was already on the March. They immediately joined it. Some Time after I ſaw and ſpoke to them, expreſſing ſome Concern to find them in that Situation. They were on Foot, without a ſingle Servant or Attendant. I ſuffered them to accompany me till we came to the Plain and halted. I then thanked them for the Proof which they had ſhewn of their Attachment, with which I was ſatisfied, and deſired them to return, as they had a large Family in Banaris, which would be expoſed by their Continuance with me to the Reſentment of Cheit Sing, and perhaps to the worſt Effects of it, nor could by their Preſence afford me any Service, which could repay what I myſelf ſhould feel of Compunction for ſuffering them to be expoſed to ſuch Hazards. They refuſed me in a peremptory Manner, without Compliment, or the Oſtentation of performing meritorious Service; and perſiſted, although I as peremptorily inſiſted on their Return. I then deſired that the elder Brother, who was corpulent, and of a Conſtitution leſs equal to Fatigue, would return, and the younger only remain; but could not prevail. A few Days after my Arrival at Chunar, I caſually mentioned to them my Diſtreſs for Proviſions, which was occaſioned principally by the Want of Money; for ſuch was our total Loſs of Credit, that we could not raiſe a Sufficiency even for the ordinary Wants of our ſmall Detachment; and it was with great Difficulty, and a Degree of Violence, that Lieutenant Colonel Blair extorted from the Shroffs of Chunar, who had lived and grown opulent under the Protection of the Garriſon, the ſmall Sum of 2,500 Rupees, which was diſtributed among all the Sepoys, and afforded a ſatisfactory Relief. Beneram Pundit immediately, and with an Eagerneſs which belonged to his Character, told me that he had a Lack of Rupees in ready Money, lying in his Houſe at Banaris, which I might take, if I could find any Means to receive and convey it to Chunar; and the younger Brother adviſed, as the ſimpleſt Expedient, to ſend a Battalion of Sepoys for that Purpoſe, which could eaſily go and return without Interruption, as there were no Troops ſtationed near the Town on that Side of the River, offering to accompany it himſelf, and to bring away the Money. I rejected this Propoſal for an obvious Reaſon, and preferred the Trial of the Means which the Shroffs are ſuppoſed to practiſe for the Conveyance of Money on ſuch Occaſions. I accepted a Draft on their Family for the Sum, payable to Contoo Bauboo, my Dewan, who had been left in Banaris, and ſent it incloſed in a Letter to him, with Directions to concert with Gopaul Daſs the Means of conveying it to Chunar. This proved ineffectual. Contoo Bauboo could not be found. Gopaul Daſs was ſeized, I forget at what exact Period of Time, and ſent a Priſoner to Lutteefpoor, and in a ſhort Time after, Contoo Bauboo was alſo taken, and conveyed to the ſame Place of Confinement; I was obliged therefore to wait for a more favourable Opportunity, which never happened while I remained at Chunar. After my Return to Banaris, Beneram again repeated the Offer; I accepted it, and received the whole Amount on the Inſtant, giving him a Note in the Company's Name, and in the uſual Form, for the ſame.

Examples of Fidelity and national Attachment merit the firſt Reward of being recorded. In me it is a Duty both of public and private Obligation to relate what I have related. Their Merit is national; for, under whatever Impreſſions their Aſſiſtance was offered, its Object was the national Service; nor can my Perſon in ſuch an Inſtance be ſeparated from my public Character.

☞ [On the 20th or 21ſt, I forget which, I received a Letter from Rajah Cheit Sing, filled with Expreſſions of ſlight Concern for what had paſſed; and Profeſſions, but indefinite and unapplied, of Fidelity. I did not think it becoming to make any Reply to it; and I think I ordered the Bearer of the Letter to be told that it required none.

On the Morning of the 21ſt, a Perſon came to Mr. R. Johnſon, who was one of my Party, and deſired his Interpoſition with me to receive a Letter and Meſſenger from the Rajah in the Evening, with Propoſals for an Accommodation. The like Application was made by Mirza Abdullah Beg, the Rajah's Vakeel, to my Dewan Contoo Bauboo; and with my Permiſſion, Contoo Bauboo returned to his own Houſe in the Evening, to meet the Vakeel by Appointment for that Purpoſe; by which Means he miſſed the Opportunity of going off with me; the Intelligence of my Intention reaching him too late for him to join me, or his infirm State of Body not admitting of his

his taking ſo haſty a Reſolution. The Subſtance of the Meſſage, as it has been ſince delivered to me by Abdullah Beg in Writing, was to exculpate himſelf from any Concern in what had paſſed, which he charged to the inſolent Behaviour of a Servant of the Reſident who was preſent, and the Reſentment of his own People; and to profeſs his Obedience and Submiſſion to my Will in whatever Way I ſhould dictate.]

I regarded this as an Artifice to gain Time, ſince the Meſſage, whatever were the Subſtance of it, might as eaſily have been delivered in the Morning as in the Evening, and the Meſſenger might have obtained an eaſy Acceſs to me, without the Intrigue and Myſtery of ſecret and indirect Applications.

I have been ſince confirmed in this Opinion by the Two following Anecdotes, and their exact Coincidence with the Deſign to which I attribute that juſt recited.

On the Morning of the 21ſt, while Preparations were making to croſs Captain M'Dougal's Battalion, Three Men, Two Strangers, and all Volunteers, went ſucceſſively to Colonel Blair, with Intelligence that a Deſign was formed to eſcalade the Fort of Chunar with a numerous Force on that Night; and an earneſt Caution, that he ſhould not diminiſh the Strength of his Garriſon.

The Intelligence and Advice delivered by each were expreſſed nearly in the ſame Words. When M'Dougal's Battalion was on the Road, Three Men, Strangers and Volunteers, like the former, came to him ſucceſſively with Intelligence, that a large Body of armed Men lay wait to intercept him at a Village called Beeteeburr, and warned him not to proceed. He proceeded, but did not meet a Man. Lieutenant Colonel Blair cauſed a more than ordinary Watch to be kept on that Night in the Fort, but not a Man appeared to attack it. Not one of theſe Emiſſaries has ever been ſeen ſince.

As it had been my original Intention to make but a ſhort Stay at Banaris, the Nabob Vizeer, in the Expectation of my Viſit, had already left his Capital, and advanced to a ſhort Diſtance to meet me. I conſidered that his Preſence would prove of much Service, by its Influence on our Credit; and his Troops, Rabble as they were, might ſerve to keep the Country in Awe, and to divide the Attention of the Enemy. But theſe Advantages would invert the Relation of our Alliance, and give him a Superiority in our Meeting, which would defeat the Purpoſes of it; beſides, that I did not think it conſiſtent with the Dignity of our Government to employ a foreign Aid for the Suppreſſion of a Rebellion of its own Subjects: I therefore wrote a Letter to the Nabob, requeſting him to return to Lucknow, and remain there until I ſhould have Leiſure from the actual Diſturbances to proſecute my original Journey. The Nabob refuſed to comply with this Injunction, and on the firſt Intimation of my Difficulties reſolved to join me; and he executed this Purpoſe with ſuch apparent Earneſtneſs, that he made his firſt Stages with no other Attendance than about 100 Horſe, and about Four Companies of his Body Guard, with his uſual domeſtic Attendants. As ſoon as I was informed of this, to remove any unfavourable Impreſſion of my former Letter under the Conſtruction of Diſtruſt, I wrote another to the Nabob, expreſſing the warmeſt Senſe of ſuch a Teſtimony of his Attention, apologizing for what I had before written, from an Unwillingneſs to involve him in a Scene of Trouble, and expreſſing my Deſire to ſee him at Chunar according to his own Wiſhes.

In the mean Time I had received ſeveral Intimations imputing evil Deſigns to the Nabob, and warning me to guard myſelf againſt them; and eſpecially to be careful that I did not expoſe myſelf to the Effects of concealed Treachery, by viſiting him without a ſtrong Guard. Many Circumſtances favoured this Suſpicion. No ſooner had the Rebellion of this Zemeedary manifeſted itſelf, than its Contagion inſtantly flew to Fyzabad and the extenſive Territory lying on the North of the River Dewa, and known by the Names of Gooruckpoor and Bareech. In the City of Fyzabad, Nawaub Allea and Jenauby Allea, the Mother and Grandmother of the Nabob, openly eſpouſed the Party of Cheit Sing, encouraging and inviting People to enliſt for his Service; and their Servants took up Arms againſt the Engliſh. Two Battalions of regular Sepoys in the Vizeer's Service, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, who had been entruſted with the Charge of that Diſtrict, were attacked and ſurrounded in various Places, many of them cut to Pieces, and Colonel Hannay himſelf, encompaſſed by Multitudes, narrowly eſcaped the ſame Fate. The Nabob Vizeer was charged with being privy to the Intrigues which had produced and fomented theſe Diſturbances; and the little Account that he ſeemed to make of them, ſerved to countenance the Suſpicion. I can truly ſay for myſelf, that I never afforded it the ſlighteſt Degree of Credit; neither his Character, the Tenor of his paſt Conduct, the Expectations which I knew he entertained of Aſſiſtance and Relief from myſelf, nor his Inability to ſupport himſelf without the Protection of our Government, allowing me for a Moment to entertain a Thought ſo injurious to his Fidelity, and ſo contrary to Probability. Yet I was not perfectly free from Apprehenſions ſimilar to ſuch a Suggeſtion. The Nabob was ſurrounded by Men baſe in their Characters, and improvident in their Underſtandings, his Favourites, and the Companions of his looſer Hours. Theſe had every Cauſe to dread the Effect of my Influence on theirs; and both theſe, and the Relations of the Family, whoſe Views of Conſequence and Power were intercepted by our Participation in the Adminiſtration of his Affairs, entertained a mortal Hatred to our Nation, and openly avowed it. Theſe all joined in preſcribing the moſt pernicious and fatal Counſels to the Nabob, repreſenting this as the Time to deliver himſelf from what they deſcribed as the Yoke of Servitude. Although he firmly rejected all their Perſuaſions, and I was aſſured of it, yet he himſelf was at their Mercy, and it was in their

Power

Power to uſe both his Authority and his Perſon for the Perpetration of their own Deſigns; nor could I uſe any Precaution to avoid them, which would not appear to proceed from a Diſtruſt of the Nabob himſelf. I never communicated my Apprehenſions, nor acted from them, and had the Satisfaction of receiving the Nabob, of maintaining an Intercourſe with him, with every Mark of the moſt ſecure and mutual Confidence, and of parting with him with every Demonſtration of mutual Satisfaction.

I had before written to Colonel Morgan for Aſſiſtance. I now repeated the Order; and, as the Iſſue of a War, begun with ſuch Diſadvantages on our Side, and with the total Loſs of the Country, was doubtful, I added an Order to follow with his whole Force, with another to Colonel Sir John Cumming, who commanded at Futtehgur, to ſupply his Place at Khaunpoor. I conſidered, that if we were ſucceſsful with a leſs Exertion, it would be eaſy to countermand theſe Orders before the Troops could have advanced far in the Execution of them; but if we failed of Succeſs, and ſuch Orders were not ſent, it might be too late to iſſue them with any Hope of Effect from them, or even of their being received, ſince the Communication, which was now very difficult and uncertain, might then be abſolutely precluded. None of my Letters reached Colonel Morgan till he had taken his Reſolution. Reports were conveyed to him of my Situation and paſt Miſadventures. The ſudden Failure of Intelligence convinced him of the Truth of what he heard; and, juſtly concluding that Orders had been ſent which had been ſtopped in their way to him, he at once reſolved to execute their ſuppoſed and obvious Purport, and detached a Force ſuperior to that which I had required, to my Aſſiſtance. It conſiſted of Two Regiments of Sepoys, Thirty European Artillery Men, and two Companies of the European Regiment, with Four Six Pounders, One Howitz, Tumbrils, Ammunition, Draft and Carriage Cattle. For the greater Expedition he ordered this Detachment to proceed by Water. The Zeal of the Officers ſo well ſeconded that of their Commander, that although it appears that the Reſolution was taken on the 29th, the Whole were embarked and in Movement on the 31ſt of the Month. Major Crabb commanded the Detachment.

A long Interval of Time, which acquired its full Meaſure from the Magnitude of the Events which were expected to grow out of it, and their uncertain Production, paſſed in total Ignorance of the Succeſs of the various Orders which had been diſpatched, and of the Succours which might be preparing for us. One Half of the Province of Owd was in a State of as complete Rebellion as that of Banaris. Futteh Shah had invaded Sirkar Saurun in our own Province; Bahar ſupported by Supplies of Money, and encouraged with Promiſes of more from Cheit Sing; many of the Zemeedars of Bahar had diſcovered Symptoms of Diſaffection; and Reports were made to me of Levies of Men openly entertained for the Enemy from our own Subjects in that Province; even the wretched Subjects of Napaul dared to ſeize by Force ſome Villages to which they had a Claim, and had ſome Time before ſupplicated the Attention of our Government to it. In my Impatience for Advices I dreaded that every Packet would bring a freſh Accumulation to our Diſtreſſes, and the News of Commotions in every Quarter. At this Period a Letter found its Way to me from Colonel Muir, who commanded the Army employed againſt Mahdajee Sindia, informing me of Overtures made by that Chief for a ſeparate Peace. This had been one of the Objects of my Journey to this Quarter; but eagerly as I had ſought ſuch an Event, I was proportionably mortified to learn with what Facility it might have been accompliſhed, and how unſeaſonably our domeſtic Misfortunes had happened to defeat ſo fair a Proſpect of it. I had no Money, nor Credit equal to the Supply of 3,000 Rupees, and, by an unfortunate Train of official Perplexities, which had happened ſome Time preceding this, both Major Popham's Regiment, the Rangers, and all the Corps of the Garriſon of Chunar, were Four Months in Arrears. This was our Situation.

What Force could be ſpared from the Garriſon of Chunar, added to Major Popham's Regiment, was formed into a Detachment under his Command, and encamped on a Plain about a Mile to the Eaſtward of Chunar. The greateſt Strength of the Enemy was collected at Pateeta, about Seven Miles from Chunar, in the ſame Direction.

On the 27th of Auguſt, Lieutenant Polhill arrived with Six Companies of Sepoys belonging to the Nabob Vizeer's Body Guard ſtationed at Illahabad. He was ordered to encamp on the oppoſite Bank of the River, for the Purpoſe of keeping our Communication open with that Shore. On the 29th he attacked and defeated a conſiderable Body of Troops under the Command of a principal Chief, named Shebaub Khan, who was ſtationed at a ſmall Fort and Town called Seeker, within Sight of Chunar. The Advantages gained by this Succeſs were the Removal of that Part of the Enemy, and the Acquiſition of a conſiderable Booty in Grain, which had been the Object of the Enterprize.

On the 3d of September, Major Popham detached Captain Blair, with his Battalion, and Two Companies of his own Grenadiers, to ſurprize the Camp at Pateeta. They marched at Three in the Morning, and arrived at the Ground by Day-light, but found it abandoned, and the Enemy waiting for them in complete Order at about a Mile beyond it. A bloody Action enſued, in which the Enemy, as might be expected from Men fluſhed with recent Succeſſes, fought with a deſperate Intrepidity. Our Sepoys began to break into Diſorder, when, by a well-timed and ſucceſsful Attack of the Enemy's Guns by Two Companies of Grenadiers, headed by Lieutenants Fallon and Birrell, the Fortune of the Day turned in our Favour, and the Field was left to our Poſſeſſion, with Four Guns and Four Tumbrils. One of the Guns, its Carriage being broken,

was ſpiked and left. The other Three, with one of the Tumbrils loaded with as much Ammunition as it could carry, were brought away. The other three Tumbrils, with Two hundred Maunds of looſe Powder, were blown up. About 1,500 round Shot of different Weights, and moſtly hammered, were found and left in a Village adjacent.

Our Loſs in this Action was very great; we had 48 Men killed, and 85 wounded: That of the Enemy was unknown, but muſt have been conſiderable. Their Guns were well ſerved, and it was from their Execution that we principally ſuffered. It was remarkable, that they had all the Apparatus of our Artillery, ſuch as Port Fires, Tubes, Chain and Quilted Grape Shot, &c. equal, or nearly equal, to the Production of an European Laboratory; Samples of each Kind will be ſent to the Board. Their Artillery did not anſwer to the Quality of the Stores. One Gun was of Modern Caſt, and with its Carriage, which was not bad, ſaid to have been made at Ramnagur. The others were of a very old Caſt and Conſtruction, and their Carriages bad and much worn: This was the general Character of all the Ordnance taken in the Courſe of the War.

Dearly as this Victory was purchaſed, with the Expenditure of One Fourth of the Party, it was yet a Victory, aſcertained and acknowledged; and had its due Effect of impreſſing the Enemy with Diſcouragement, and our own Men with Confidence; and it was an Earneſt of our future Succeſs in the public Opinion, which, at all Times of high Importance to our political Influence, was eſpecially ſo at this, in which the Minds of all Men were ſuſpended for the Deciſion of the Part which they were to take, either in the immediate Conteſt, or in their own Conduct as dependant on it.

I muſt not omit in this Place an Inſtance of Vengeance which marks the ſanguinary Character of Cheit Sing, and too ſtrongly proves, that if the other Exceſſes committed by his People were not authoriſed by his expreſs Order, they were perpetrated under the Influence of his Example, and the Knowledge of his Inclination.

Fourteen Men of the Corps of Rangers had been left ſick at Mirzapoor, when the Remainder of Major Popham's Detachment marched under the Command of Captain Mayaffre, to Ramnagur. They were made Priſoners, and ſent to Lutteefpoor. They arrived there on the 3d of September, about the ſame Time that News was received of Captain Blair's Action at Pateeta, which happened on that Morning. What Provocation they gave, or whether any, is not known: It is ſurmiſed but I know not the Authority, that One of theſe unhappy Men expreſſed a Joy on hearing that our Arms had been ſucceſsful. They were all butchered on the Spot, and almoſt in the immediate Preſence of the Rajah, except one Man, who made a Shift to crawl with a mangled Body to the neighbouring Woods, where he ſubſiſted for a few Days, returned to the Fort, received Mercy, and is ſtill living, and in our Camp *.

On the 10th of September, about Seven in the Morning, Major Crabb's Detachment appeared on the oppoſite Shore. It conſiſted of the Corps already related. It had proceeded as far as Illahabad by Water, but much retarded in its Courſe by ſtrong and adverſe Winds; on which Account, the Courſe of the River alſo winding very much between Illahabad and Chunar, Major Crabb had prudently diſembarked the Men and Stores, and marched them by the High Road, remanding the Boats to Khaunpoor, whither indeed their Return would have been impracticable, had they paſſed the Boundary of this Zemeedary.

Major Roberts with his Regiment, and a Lack of Rupees in Silver, arrived on the 13th of September from Lucknow, to which Place, as I have before related, he had been ordered to repair for the Guard of my Perſon, in my intended Viſit to that Capital. A further Supply of Fifty thouſand Rupees was a few Days after received from the Nabob's Aumil of Illahabad.

The Money was immediately diſtributed among all the Troops in equal Proportions; and by ſatisfying their Wants, facilitated Major Popham's Preparatives for the Commencement of active Operations.

I have a Pleaſure in teſtifying, that, diſtreſſed as the Sepoys had been for the Want of Money, they had never manifeſted the leaſt Symptom of Diſcontent. I had frequently viſited the Camp, and paſſed the Lines each Time in Review; once, and only once, I heard One or Two Voices of Complaint, but neither clamorous nor diſreſpectful.

On the 11th, the Nabob Vizeer arrived at his Encampment, which had been formed on the oppoſite Shore. I choſe to make him the firſt Viſit, which was performed on the ſame Morning, and was returned by him on the next.

Hyder Beg, the Nabob's Second Miniſter, arrived at the ſame Time. He had been deputed early to meet me at Banaris, and had arrived there about Two Days after my Departure from it. Inſtead of following me to Chunar, he had ſuffered himſelf to be detained by Lalla Bucherauge, the Shroff, who had promiſed to accompany him with a Supply of Money. In the mean Time, a ſudden and great Swell of the River rendered the Burna Nulla, behind which he was encamped, impaſſable. The Rajah's People at the ſame Time carried away all the Boats; and after a long and fruitleſs Negociation with them for an unmoleſted Paſſage, which he did not think it prudent to attempt at the Hazard of an Oppoſition, he at Length did attempt it, and met none. His

* The Particulars of this Maſſacre have been ſince verified, with ſome uneſſential Variations from my Relation of it, in an Affidavit of the Survivor, which will be annexed.

Indeciſion on this Occaſion furniſhed Ground for various Suſpicions; but I know, and had Aſſu-
rances from a Perſon in my Suite, who had taken Refuge with him, and acquired his Confidence,
and on whoſe Authority I could implicitly rely, that they were wholly devoid of Foundation. I
had a pleaſing and incontrovertible Evidence of his Fidelity ſoon after the Concluſion of our
Troubles, in a Letter which Captain Blair picked up at Lutteefpoor, and which I ſhall add to the
Appendix, not merely as a Juſtification of the Miniſter, but as a Relief to the dry and unentertain-
ing Materials with which it is aſſociated, if it ſhall convey the ſame Opinion of the good Senſe of
the Writer to other Minds, as it has done to mine.

On the 15th Lieutenant Polhill croſſed and joined Major Popham's Camp. The whole Detach-
ment now conſiſted of the following Strength; *viz.*

One Company of European Grenadiers,	commanded by		Captain Grant.
One D°	D° Light Infantry,	D°	— Captain Harriſon.
One D°	French Rangers,	D°	— Lieutenant Wade.
Thirty European Artillery Men,		D°	— Captain Hill.
One Regiment of Sepoys,	the 7th	D°	— Major Crabb.
One D°	D° the 19th	D°	— Major Balfour.
One D°	D° the 30th	D°	— Major Roberts.
One D°	D° the 35th	D°	— Major Popham.
One Battalion,	the 1ſt of 6th Regiment,	D°	— Captain Blair.
Six Companies of the Nabob's Body Guard,		D°	— Lieutenant Polhill.

The following is a Catalogue of Cheit Sing's whole Force, which has been ſince delivered to
me by One of his principal Officers; and as it made a Part of a ſworn Affidavit, I admit and
credit it as genuine. It is certainly not exaggerated.

" Liſt of the eſtabliſhed Forces in the Service of Cheit Sing.

" Cavalry, Sepoys, Matchlock Men, &c.

Cavalry — — — — — —	1,700	
Select Troops, or Body Guard, Horſe and Foot — — —	700	
Sepoys — — — — — —	1,150	
Matchlock Men — — — — —	1,800	
Attached to Bullam Daſs, Horſe 300, Foot 500 — —	800	
With Soojaun Sing, Cavalry and Infantry 500, with 2 Guns, Sepoys and Artillery Men, 340 — — — —	840	
With Munnear Sing, Cavalry and Infantry — — —	700	
Total eſtabliſhed Troops —		7,690

Troops entertained after the Arrival of Cheit Sing at Lutteefpoor.

Firſt, entertained at Lutteefpoor, Matchlock and Sword Men —	2,000	
Second, Nujjeeb, Sword Men from Lucknow — —	1,000	
Total —		3,000

Troops aſſembled from different Places.

Horſe and Foot with Juggur Dew Sing — — — —	500	
Matchlock Men arrived with Bukht Sing, by Order from the Rajah —	1,200	
With Gomaun Sing, ſent for by the Rajah, Matchlock Men —	500	
From the Fougedar of Biddevee arrived, Matchlock Men — —	1,000	
Rajepoots of the Tribe of Rugbunſee from Kurraukut — —	3,000	
Arrived with Dillun Sing, Fougedar of Mukurun Badſhahpoor, Matchlock Men — — — —	1,500	
Cavalry and Infantry arrived with Rezza Cooli Khan, from Mirzapoor	300	
Rajepoots collected from Agoree and Purwah, by Dia Lutchoo —	500	
Of the Tribe or Caſt of Khummaur, collected by Soojaun Sing —	1,000	
Sword and Matchlock Men with Ramjeeawun — —	2,000	
		11,500
Total Troops in the Service of Cheit Sing —		22,190

" To which are to be added, Huſbandmen and Adventurers who took up Arms voluntarily, mak-
" ing the foregoing Number amount to near Forty thouſand."

Theſe Forces were divided between Lutteefpoor, Pateeta, and Ramnagur. The beſt reputed
of them were at Pateeta, and the great Maſs, compoſing the laſt Corps, with a Part of the others,

at Lutteefpoor with the Rajah, who had fixed his Reſidence at that Place ſince his Flight from Shewallah Ghaut.

Before I proceed, it may not be improper to ſtate the other Reſources on which he, not very unreaſonably, depended for lengthening the War, if not for Succeſs in the Courſe of it.

Firſt, his Fortreſſes; of which there are many, and ſome of conſiderable Extent and Strength, erected in various Parts of the Zemeedary. Of theſe the Two Principal are Bidjeygur and Lutteefpoor. Ramnagur ſcarcely deſerves to be named with them; and Pateeta has been rendered conſiderable only by its having been a capital Scene of his Oppoſition, and of our Victories.

Bidjeygur is a Fort erected on the ſolid Rock of a Hill, riſing to the Height of 745 perpendicular Feet from the level Ground. It lies about Fifty Miles in a South-eaſt Direction from Chunar. It was the Depoſitory of all his and his Father's Treaſures.

Lutteefpoor is a large Fort, built with Stone, and ſurrounded by Hills, and, either from Neglect or Deſign, obſtructed from diſtant View by Trees and thick Shrubs ſurrounding it. It lies about 14 Miles Eaſtward from Chunar.

Pateeta is a very large Town, ſurrounded by a Rampart of Earth, extending to a great Diſtance beyond it to the Hills adjoining. The Fort itſelf is a ſmall ſquare Houſe of Stone, itſelf fortified with Four round Towers, and incloſed with a high Rampart, and a Ditch which is in moſt Parts broad and deep. Its greateſt Advantage againſt an Enemy, to whom Delay was Defeat, was that it was inviſible to its Aſſailants.

Ramnagur has been deſcribed already. The other Forts, whatever their Conſequence under a different Train of Succeſſes might have been, are of none to the Events of this Narrative.

His next great Reſource was his Wealth; on which he looked, and thought himſelf invincible; an Expreſſion which I borrow from one of the meaneſt of his Dependants. It is credibly affirmed, that he inherited from his Father, Bulwant Sing, a complete Crore of Rupees, to which it is believed that he made conſiderable Additions.

The Diſtreſſes of our Government, and the Power and Number of its Enemies, may alſo be reckoned, though negative, yet amongſt his Reſources. The reſt were deluſory, which the falſe and violent Counſels of his Brother Soojaun Sing, and his Buxey Suddanund, impoſed on his Inexperience, and the Pliancy and Aptitude of his Diſpoſition.

☞ [It would break the Attention, and perplex the Thread of the Narrative, to relate every diſtinct Event in its exact Order of Time. I have therefore, in the minuter Points, endeavoured rather to arrange them according to their Relation to the greater, or to find a Place for them in the vacant Intervals and Pauſes of it. It may be proper in this Place to mention, that during the Time of Inaction which ſucceeded to my Arrival at Chunar, I received ſeveral Letters from Cheit Sing, beſides Letters from Mr. Barnet, and one from Contoo Bauboo, who were both his Priſoners at Lutteefpoor, which were written by his Order. Theſe were all alike in Subſtance, containing Acknowledgements and Profeſſions of Submiſſion to my Authority; Aſſertions of his own Innocence, charging the Maſſacre at Shewallah to the Chubdar, whoſe Inſults provoked the Reſentment of his Servants, whom he could not reſtrain, and claiming a Merit from his having in the Three paſt Actions been the ſuffering Party, though ſucceſsful, and in none the Aggreſſor; adding general Offers of Accommodation; and in the Letters written by his Order, a pompous Diſplay of his inexhauſtible Wealth, the Multitude and Bravery of his Forces, and the devoted Affection and Fidelity of all his Subjects. I refuſed to anſwer them, letting him know that they were written with too much Preſumption, in the Style of Equality, and with inapplicable Profeſſions, which were no better than none. Some of theſe Letters will appear in the Appendix; the reſt were loſt.] ☜

It had been intended to begin our Operations with the Attack of Ramnagur, partly becauſe it had been the Scene of our firſt Diſgrace, and principally becauſe the Repoſſeſſion of the Capital, which would follow the Capture of Ramnagur, would, it was thought, redeem our Credit with the Public, and be deemed equivalent, in the diſtant Reports of it, to the complete Recovery of our Authority over the Country; as the Exiſtence of a fugitive Chief in the Wilds and Mountains would be little regarded, when he was expelled from the Capital of his Government and the Seat of his Collections. For this Purpoſe battering Cannon and Mortars were ordered to Major Popham's Camp, and every other Preparative made for a Siege. This cauſed the Delay of ſome Days. In the mean Time a Man, named Bundoo Khan, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Chunar, gave Information, that as the Rajah's Force was principally collected at Lutteefpoor and Pateeta, and was daily accumulating, it would become exceedingly difficult to diſlodge him, if he was allowed to gain too great Strength there by a Proceſs of detailed and conſecutive Operations; that the Approaches both to Pateeta and Lutteefpoor were ſtrongly guarded, and eſpecially thoſe of Lutteefpoor, which he deſcribed as unaſſailable, but with a great and certain Loſs, on this Side, the only Road to it lying through Pateeta; and even if carried, untenable from the Strength of the Paſs behind it, of which the Enemy would keep Poſſeſſion in Defiance of all our Efforts, and againſt any Superiority of Numbers. This Paſs takes its Name from the adjacent Village of Suckroot. He adviſed a divided Plan of Attack, to be executed at the ſame Point of Time; one on the Fort of Pateeta, the other on the Paſs of Suckroot; of which our Forces, coming on it by Surprize, it being unguarded and eaſier of Acceſs from above, might eaſily obtain Poſſeſſion, and by that Means gain the ſame Advantage over the Garriſon of Lutteefpoor, as that would have

over

over us, if we firſt took Poſſeſſion of the Fort, with the Command of every Road of Communication, if, which he did not doubt, we ſucceeded againſt Pateeta. He offered to conduct the Party which ſhould be deſtined on the Service againſt the Paſs of Suckroot, by a Road unfrequented and unknown, which he deſcribed with a minute, and, as it has ſince appeared, correct Detail. The Confidence with which he ſpoke, and the Conſiſtency of his Aſſertions and Reaſonings upon them, acquired a great additional Strength from his former recent Conduct. He had accompanied Captain Blair in both Actions of Ramnagur and Pateeta, and had been very ſerviceable to that Officer by his Knowledge of the Ground, and by his Advice in the Application of it. His Service on both Occaſions had been gratuitous; nor did he profeſs any Motive for that which he now offered, but the Intereſt and Safety of a large Family, which depended on our Succeſs.

Major Popham at once ſaw the Propriety of his Advice, and adopted it. The Evening of the 15th was appointed for the firſt Execution of the Plan; in the mean Time it was concealed with the moſt profound Secrecy. As a Security for the Fidelity and Steadineſs of Bundoo Khan, he had a Promiſe of a Jagheer in Perpetuity for himſelf and his Family, if the Enterprize ſucceeded. This Engagement has been ſince amply performed. Major Popham formed his Army into Two Diviſions, one deſtined for the more diſtant Enterprize, and commanded by Major Crabb. It conſiſted of the 7th Regiment, Major Crabb's, the Firſt Battalion of the 6th Regiment, Lieutenant Polhill's Six Companies of the Nabob's Body Guard, Four Six-Pounders, and a 5½ Inch Howitz. Theſe Corps were told off, and began their March about Eleven that Night. Major Popham began his March with the other Diviſion at about Three o'Clock in the Morning to Pateeta.

On his Arrival there, he found the Works much ſtronger, and the Approach more hazardous, than he had expected from the Deſcription which had been given of the Place. He applied for the Two Battering Cannon and the Mortars, which had been originally intended for the Attack of Ramnagur, and remanded on the Change of Plan. They were ſent, but made no Impreſſion; and he reſolved, on the Encouragement of a Five Days Experience, and from the Fear of a Delay operating againſt the other Part of his Plan, to attempt a Storm. This was ordered, and executed on the Morning of the 20th, with an inſtant and compleat Succeſs. Major Roberts commanded the Storming Party. The Enemy made a ſlight Stand at the outer Intrenchment, and fled through the Fort, our Men following without Oppoſition. A ſlight Attack was made at this Time on our Camp, but repelled with ſome Loſs on the Part of the Enemy, and none on ours. We loſt during the Siege Eleven Men killed, beſides Ten wounded.

On the ſame Morning, Major Crabb having conducted his Diviſion through almoſt impracticable Ways, arrived at a Village called Lora, which lies about Two Miles from the Paſs. Here he found a Body of Men, with Three Guns, poſted to oppoſe him: They made a firm Stand, but were defeated with a conſiderable Loſs; ours was Twelve Men of every Denomination killed, and Twenty-two wounded. The Enemy fled through the Paſs to Lutteefpoor; our Detachment followed to the Head of the Paſs, and there encamped for the Remainder of the Day.

☞ [The News of theſe concurrent Succeſſes being conveyed to the Rajah at the ſame Inſtant of Time, alarmed him exceedingly for his own perſonal Safety. His Fears were excited with a more forcible Impreſſion, by the Surpriſe of the Advance of ſo great a Force from a Quarter where he had not expected any. With his Face turned towards Chunar, and his whole Attention and that of his People directed to the Movements which were made on that Side, they had no Suſpicion of any Deſign being formed behind them. The firſt Intelligence which was received of Major Crabb's Party, deſcribed it as conſiſting of the Followers of Owſan Sing, and only Three Companies of our Sepoys; the Hircarrahs who conveyed the News poſſibly miſtaking the advanced Guard for the whole Force, and reporting it accordingly; nor was the real Strength of the Party known, even by that which was detached to oppoſe it, until the Inſtant of the Action. This Circumſtance was related at the Time, and has been ſince confirmed to me by an Officer, named Myher, who commanded a ſmall Body of the Rajah's Sepoys and the Guns in the Action. No Deſign could be more judiciouſly planned, or more happily executed; even the Impediments and Diſappointments which attended it, ſerved but to promote the Coincidence of the final Movements of its Operation with ſo well-timed an Effect, that the Difference of Time which paſſed between the Engagement at Lora and the Conqueſt of Pateeta, was little more than that which would be required by the Difference of the Diſtances of each from Lutteefpoor, for the News of each Succeſs to reach Lutteefpoor at the ſame Inſtant.

Cheit Sing inſtantly prepared for Flight: His Road to Bidjeygur, which was his laſt Refuge, lay through the Paſs, which he durſt not attempt. He left Lutteefpoor about Three or Four in the Afternoon, and making a Circuit over the Hills, gained the High Road at the Diſtance of ſome Miles beyond the Paſs, and proceeded with a few Followers to the Neighbourhood of Bidjeygur. Some others followed and rejoined him; the reſt, left without Orders, ſtaid but to plunder the Place, and evacuated it. The Gaung-wallahs, or Militia, compoſed of the Huſbandmen who had been ſummoned to attend him, all fled to their own Homes. So rapid was the Report of this Event in its Communication, and ſo deciſive in its Effect, that the Fort of Sutteefgur, which lies about Seven or Eight Miles to the Northward of Lutteefpoor, and the Palace of Ramnagur, were evacuated on the ſame Evening; and the Allegiance of the whole Country reſtored as com-

pletely in the Courſe of a few Hours, from a State of univerſal Revolt to its proper Channel, as if it had never departed from it.]

On the next Morning, the 21ſt, Major Crabb marched through the Paſs to Lutteefpoor, and found it abandoned.

On the ſame Day Major Moſes Crawford, with the 28th Regiment of Sepoys, arrived from Dinapoor, and joined the Detachment.

Major Balfour was detached on the Morning of the 22d to Ramnagur, of which he took quiet Poſſeſſion; no one remained to oppoſe him.

Being deſirous of returning, without Loſs of Time, to Banaris, and the Preſence of the Nabob Vizeer being more urgently required for the Quiet of his Country, we parted on the 25th with every Expreſſion of mutual and real Satisfaction. The annexed Copy of my Letter to the Board, dated the 29th of November, contains the Detail of my Tranſactions with him *.

On the next Morning I arrived at Ramnagur, and on the 28th returned to my old Quarters at Mahadew Daſs's Garden at Banaris.

To quiet the Minds of the People, Proclamations were iſſued, offering Pardon to all who ſhould peaceably return to their Obedience, excepting the Perſons of Cheit Sing and his Brother Soojaun Sing, whom their late rebellious Conduct, and their Rancour manifeſted to our Nation in the deliberate Murder of our Soldiers, and even defenceleſs Paſſengers, who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands, had precluded from every Title to Lenity. Among the unhappy Sufferers to whom the above Exception alluded, was a Perſon of the Name of Hooker, who had followed the Occupation of a Dealer in European Wares to our Camps, and had ventured to paſs in his Budgerow, a little after the unhappy Affair of Shewallah, near Ramnagur, where he was ſeized, and, unarmed as he was, and pleading the Innocence of his Profeſſion, murdered in cold Blood. Soojaun Sing had the Command at that Time in Ramnagur. Two Soldiers alſo of Major Crabb's Detachment having wandered from the Line were taken and murdered at Gopee Gunge. For this Reaſon that Town was excepted in the Proclamation, and has ſince been deſtroyed.

☞ [My firſt Care, after my Return to Banaris, was to determine the Succeſſion to the Zemeedary and Rauge, vacated by the Forfeiture of Cheit Sing. The Right of the Company to the Diſpoſal of it, certainly had not ſuffered by the paſt Events. The Territory had been wholly loſt to their Dominion, and wholly conquered by their Arms: Yet the reſt of the Family who formerly poſſeſſed it had not merited, by any Act of theirs, to be involved in the Puniſhment of a Man who had been equally their Enemy, and whom they had regarded as the Uſurper of their more legal Rights; nor perhaps would it have been prudent to have put the Submiſſion of the People to the Teſt of a new Species of Dominion. I therefore reſolved, in virtue of the full Powers which I poſſeſſed from the Board for that Purpoſe, to beſtow it on the next lineal Heir. This was Bauboo Mehipnarain. He was the Grandſon of Rajah Bulwant Sing, by a Daughter married to Bauboo Doorgbijey Sing. The Widow of Bulwant Sing, named Ranny Goolaub Kooer, was ſtill living, and in an extreme old Age. By the Hindoo Law ſhe might claim the Inheritance. Her Daughter alſo, the Wife of Doorgbijey Sing, might aſſert the like Pretenſion. Had it become a Matter of Conteſt, I had reſolved to leave it to the Deciſion of the whole Body of the Pundits of Banaris; but this Reference was unneceſſary, Doorgbijey Sing yielded up the Pretenſion of his Wife, and the old Ranny her own, by a Writing ſealed with her Name, and acknowledged in the Preſence of a confidential Perſon whom I deputed to her for that Purpoſe, declaring it to be her Wiſh and Requeſt, that the Rauje might be conferred on her Grandſon Mehipnarain. He was accordingly inveſted, and proclaimed on the 30th of September. His Father Bauboo Doorgbijey Sing was at the ſame Time inveſted with the Office of Naib, and is in effect the ſole acting Manager. He is about Thirty-five Years of Age, his Son Nineteen.]

I have thought it proper to eſtabliſh a diſtinct and independant Magiſtracy for the Town of Banaris. The Reaſons for this Act, the Deſcription of the Office, and of the Officers ſubordinate to it, are detailed in the ſubjoined Letter to the Board, dated the 1ſt of November †. Allee Ibrahim Khan, the Perſon choſen for this Charge, was duly inveſted with it on the 20th of October.

On the 5th of November I concluded the Settlement of the Revenue, which was to be paid by Rajah Mehipnarian, being Rs. 33,33,333. 5. 8. for the Current Year, and a perpetual Rent of 40,00,000 Rs. for the future.

The Particulars of this Tranſaction are contained in my Letter to the Board, dated the 21ſt November ‡.

It has been already mentioned, that ſoon after my Flight to Chunar, Colonel Muir adviſed me of Overtures made by Mahdagee Sindia for a ſeparate Peace. I ſent to Colonel Muir Credentials and Inſtructions; and on the 13th of October a Treaty was concluded with Mahdagee Sindia. To confirm and improve the Advantages obtained by it, I deputed Mr. Anderſon to Mahdagee Sindia, and at the ſame Time ſent Mr. Chapman, with Biſſumber Pundit, on a ſimilar Commiſſion to Moodajee Booſlah, the Rajah of Berar. The Particulars of theſe Tranſactions, and of

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* See Appendix, Part 1, N° 1.
† See Appendix, Part 1, N° 2.
‡ See Appendix, Part 1, N° 3.

my Views relating to them, are contained in the annexed Copies of my Inſtructions to Colonel Muir, and of my Letter to the Board adjoined, dated the 25th November ‖.

The annexed Letter to the Board, dated 22d November, contains alſo the Circumſtances of ſome new Arrangements made in the Cuſtoms †.

On the 8th October, Major Naylor, with the 23d Regiment, having been detached to the Relief of Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, arrived on the Northern Banks of the Dewa, defeated a large Force which had aſſembled round Colonel Hannay, and entirely diſperſed them. The Return of the Nabob ſoon after effectually reſtored the Quiet of the Country.

About the ſame Time a Regiment of Sepoys, under the Command of Major Lucas, defeated and drove Futteh Shah from the Diſtrict of Sirkar Saurun.

☞ [After having gained Poſſeſſion of Lutteefpoor, Major Popham loſt no Time in proſecuting his March to Bidjeygur. Cheit Sing did not wait his Approach, but fled, taking with him as much Treaſure as his Elephants and Camels could carry, which has been reported to me to have conſiſted of One Lack of Mohrs, and Fifteen or Sixteen of Silver *, beſides Jewels to an unknown Amount. His Wife, a Woman of an amiable Character, his Mother Pauna, and all the other Women of his Family, and the Survivors of the Family of his Father Bulwant Sing, who were connected with his, were left in the Fort of Bidjeygur. He took the Route of Rewa, and from thence proceeded to Panna, the Capital of Boondelcund, paying and plundered as he paſſed. He was, by the laſt Advices, in that Country, the Rajah profeſſing in his Letters to me a Reſolution to withdraw his Protection from him, and ſecretly favouring him.]

The Fortreſs of Bidjeygur ſurrendered by Capitulation on the 10th of November, yielding to Major Popham the peculiar Credit of having ſurmounted all the Obſtacles which Nature and Art had oppoſed to the Conqueſt of Two of the Fortreſſes of Hindoſtan, which had been before univerſally deemed impregnable. ☞

I have now brought my Narrative to its proper Concluſion, at that Point in which all the Movements which from the Subject of it, and all their Objects, appear to have attained their full and complete Termination. I regret the Length to which it has been drawn, and fear that it will appear unreaſonable to thoſe who may conſider it a Point of Duty to give it a thorough Peruſal, and who will ſcarce fail to reflect, that it contains in Effect the Hiſtory of but One Month. To myſelf the Reflection affords a different Senſation, when applied to the Multitude of Events and their Magnitude, compriſed within ſo ſhort an Interval of my publick Life. I have aimed at Brevity, both in the Selection of Facts and in the Narration of them, having omitted every Circumſtance, which, though engaging a Portion of my Attention at the Time, had no Connection with the general Train of Events, or Influence on the Character by which they are diſcriminated from the ordinary Courſe of Affairs. For the Satisfaction of ſuch as ſhall have more Patience or Leiſure to look into them, I have added as an Appendix, Copies of all the material Papers which have Relation to the Narrative, but which would have increaſed the Bulk of it, and diſturbed the Attention, if inſerted in the Body of it.

I have alſo added Atteſtations of all the principal Facts and Events, ſworn before the Chief Juſtice, to whoſe Advice I am obliged for having ſuggeſted it. It did not ſtrike my Mind, that Matters of ſuch Notoriety here would require ſome more authentic Verification of them at Home, than the Recital of the Man whoſe Reputation is ſo immediately concerned as mine is in the Judgment which my Superiors, and which the Public at large, will have a Right to form upon it. I am ſenſible of the Wiſdom of the Precaution, and ſorry that it was not earlier intimated, that I might have had Time to have collected a larger Fund of Evidence, although I have Reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Weight of that which I have obtained. Let it be alſo remembered, that this Relation itſelf has been written under the Force of an Obligation as binding as that of an Oath adminiſtered and taken in all its legal Forms.

Whatever Judgement may be paſſed on my particular Conduct, I am yet happy that it has proved the Means of calling forth the inherent Virtue of my Countrymen, and diſplaying to all the Powers and People of India, both the National Character and the National Conſtitution, by ſuch Effects as have been unrecorded in their Hiſtories, and are ſcarce conceivable by their Habits of thinking.

The Suddenneſs of our Calamities, the Diſtance of Aſſiſtance, the Privation of every preſent Reſource, the manifeſt Intereſt which animated and impelled every Corps and every Individual to the Support of the common Cauſe, and the Rapidity with which they ruſhed to repel the common Danger, are Facts of univerſal Obſervation, and will contribute more effectually to the Permanency of the Britiſh Influence and Dominion, than the moſt ſplendid Victories obtained over Adverſaries of the higheſt Reputation; becauſe they ſhew the Harmony which unites all the Parts of our Government, and their augmented Strength under the Compreſſion of external Violence; and will be remembered as a moſt ſtriking Example, which every Man concerned in its Operations will apply to his own Intereſts and Feelings, that its greateſt and moſt ſucceſsful Exertions have ariſen out of the moſt deſperate Emergencies, and have fallen, in every ſuch Inſtance, with the moſt dreadful Vengeance on the Heads of its Aggreſſors.

‖ See Appendix, Part 1, N° 4. † See Appendix, Part 1, N° 5.
* Amounting to about 400,000 Pounds ſterling, excluſive of the Jewels.

For

For the Senſe which I have entertained of the particular Conduct of the Officers who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the late Service, I cannot expreſs myſelf in ſtronger Terms than thoſe of the following Extract of my Letter to the Board, dated the 29th of September; and Copy of one dated the 7th of October.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor General to the Board, dated the 29th of September 1781.

" I have forborne any particular Comments in this Place, reſerving them, where they will be more properly introduced, for my detailed Narrative. Yet I cannot ſuppreſs, without a Violence to my own Feelings, the Teſtimony which is due, eſpecially from me, to the unexampled Zeal and public Spirit of all our Officers, and the wonderful Activity with which theſe Qualities were diſplayed on the late Occaſion. I have already acknowledged the early Exertions, which were made by Colonel Blair, during my former ſhort and calamitous Reſidence at Banaris. Of Major Popham I cannot ſay ſufficient to expreſs my Senſe of his Services. Though my Letters were every where intercepted, Colonel Morgan, with a Deciſion and Solicitude that reflect equal Credit upon his Character, detached Major Crabb with his Party to my Aſſiſtance, on the firſt and inſtant Rumour of my Situation. Colonel Sir John Cumming, with the like Alacrity obeyed the Order for his March to Khaunpoor; as did Colonel Ahmuty, in the immediate Diſpatch of Major Crawford and the Troop of Cavalry. The ſame Spirit animated every Officer of every Corps, and infuſed itſelf into the Men under their Command, with an Effect ſo far exceeding the common Occurrences of human Affairs, that in the complete Space of One Month, this great and valuable Province, which had been ſuddenly and wholly loſt, was in Subſtance wholly recovered to the Britiſh Empire.

I am,
Sir, &c."

Copy of a Letter from the Governor General to the Board, dated the 7th of October.

" I have had frequent Occaſion to expreſs, in public Orders, the higheſt Approbation of the Zeal, Spirit, and good Conduct exerted by all the Officers and Troops, in all the late Operations for reducing this rebellious Zemeedary to Obedience. Several of the Officers have merited and received particular Thanks by Name; and it would give the greateſt Satisfaction to diſtinguiſh and reward each Individual in Proportion to his Station and Services. But as no Government is poſſeſſed of the Means of ſuch diffuſive Recompence, it muſt be unavoidably confined to thoſe whoſe elevated Rank or peculiar Situation affords them Opportunities of laying immediate Claim to the more honorary or beneficial Teſtimonies of public Gratitude. But ſuch Teſtimonies, whilſt they are in Poſſeſſion of Perſons in ſuperior Rank, give Hopes to, and excite the Emulation of, thoſe alſo who are in the inferior: And thus, by well-timed and judicious Rewards, the Proſperity of the State and the Intereſts of its Servants are united.

" It is on this Principle that I requeſt Permiſſion to ſolicit the Conſideration of the Board, for an honourable Recompence to the Two Officers who have been firſt in Rank, and moſt conſpicuous in Services, during the Commotions in this Diſtrict.

" Lieutenant Colonel Blair, who commanded at Chunargur from the Day of the fatal Cataſtrophe in this Town, manifeſted a general Zeal for the public Intereſts, and for my Safety, above all Conſiderations for his own. Every Requiſition which I made to him was inſtantly complied with; and he ſent me a Reinforcement of a Battalion of Sepoys at a Time when he had the ſtrongeſt Grounds to believe that an Attack would be made on his own Garriſon, which it was incapable of ſuſtaining.

" It is perhaps ſcarce leſs meritorious in Colonel Blair, to have not only ſubmitted without repining to the Preference of an inferior Officer to a Command of ſuch Importance within the Limits of his own, but to have aſſiſted and co-operated with that Officer, with as much Alacrity as if the Succeſs was to have redounded to his own Honour.

" This is not the firſt Occaſion on which the Attention of the Board has been called to the diſtinguiſhed Merit and Services of Major Popham. They have been again moſt happily exerted in his preſent Command, for the Safety and Intereſts of the Company, in a very perilous Situation: I have been, in a Manner, an Eye Witneſs of them. I wiſh to expreſs, and to ſhew, my Senſe of them, but I want Language for the firſt, and Means for the latter.

" As, from the Knowledge which I have of the Characters of Lieutenant Colonel Blair and Major Popham, I am certain that the moſt honourable Reward will be to them the moſt acceptable, I beg Leave to propoſe, that they be promoted by Brevet to the Ranks immediately above thoſe which they at preſent reſpectively hold; that is, Lieutenant Colonel Blair to the Rank of Colonel, and Major Popham to the Rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

" This Preferment, whilſt it is an honourable Diſtinction to theſe Officers, cannot be deemed an Injury to their Seniors, as their Promotion will not be thereby retarded: They may be always employed on ſeparate Service, and their Rank will not be affected, when they riſe in the regular Courſe of Succeſſion.

" The Company owe ſo much to the eminent Services of Major Popham, that I may think it incumbent upon me, at a future Period, to recommend him to their further Conſideration.

" Whilſt

" Whilſt I beſtow the juſt Tribute of Praiſe due to thoſe Officers who acted upon the Spot, I ſhould be guilty of an unpardonable Neglect, and even Injuſtice, if I omitted to expreſs my Senſe of equal Approbation of the Conduct of others more remote.

" Colonel Morgan, on the firſt Intelligence which reached him of my Situation, and without waiting for official Information or Authority, in the true Spirit of an able and zealous Officer, detached a very conſiderable Portion of his Brigade, and all the Supplies of Proviſions which he could procure.

" Colonel Sir John Cumming likewiſe moved with the utmoſt Diligence and Alacrity, on receiving an Order to occupy the Station of Khaunpoor, in the Room of the Second Brigade. He marched with his whole Force in Fifteen Hours after receiving the Orders, and reached Khaunpoor in Four Days; himſelf, Officers, and Troops, chearfully making their utmoſt Efforts in the common Cauſe.

" Such have been the ſpirited and judicious Exertions of your Officers and Troops in Support of the Company's moſt valuable Rights and Poſſeſſions, of the Dignity of their Government, and of the Honour and Safety of their Chief Magiſtrate: A Conduct which manifeſts the ſtrongeſt Attachment and Affection on their Parts, and implies an Obſervance of Juſtice and Regard to the Proſperity and Happineſs of thoſe who are placed under our Authority, on ours. Theſe are Circumſtances which will always afford me the moſt pleaſing Reflections, notwithſtanding the Calamities which have produced them.

" Chunar, I have the Honour to be, &c.
1ſt December 1781. Warren Haſtings."

POSTSCRIPT.

I have divided the Appendix into Two Parts; the Firſt conſiſts of Papers which contain my Tranſactions on Points which are foreign from the immediate Subject of the Narrative, and which having been already ſeparately detailed in Letters addreſſed to the Board, I have preferred this Method of annexing them to it, having referred to them in the proper Order of their Dates in the Narrative. To theſe I have added a Letter from the Reſident at the Court of the Nabob Vizeer, compriſing a diſtinct Narrative of the Rebellion in the Pergunnahs of Goorukpoor and Bareech, and in the City of Fyzabad, in the Dominions of the Nabob of Owd.

The Second Part contains official Letters and other Papers, which form a connected Series of the Events and Proceedings recorded in the Narrative.

Memorandum.

In this printed Copy I have, for the Sake of Method, entitled the Series of Affidavits the Third Part of the Appendix.

CATALOGUE of the APPENDIX.

PART I.

N° 1. A. Letter to the Governor General and Council, dated the 29th of November 1781, respecting the Governor General's Agreement with the Vizeer.

1. B. Copy of the Agreement concluded by the Governor General with the Vizeer, on the 19th of September 1781.

1. C. Minute from the Governor General, explanatory of his Agreement with the Vizeer.

1. D. Copy of the Agreement made by the Vizeer with the Governor General.

1. E. Minute explanatory of the Agreement made by the Vizeer with the Governor General.

1. F. Second Minute from the Governor General, containing his Answers to possible Objections to be made against the several Parts of his Agreement with the Vizeer.

1. G. Letter of Instructions from the Governor General to the Resident at the Vizeer's Court, dated Chunar the 23d September 1781.

2. A. Letter to the Governor General and Council, dated the 1st of November 1781, respecting the Establishment of Police and Courts of Judicature in the Town of Banaris.

2. B. Copy of the Plan for the Establishment of Police and Courts of Judicature in the Town of Banaris.

2. C. Establishment allotted for the different Departments under the Chief Magistrate of Banaris.

3. A. Letter to the Governor General and Council, dated the 21st of November 1781, respecting the Settlement of the Zemeedary of Banaris, &c.

3. B. Abstract Account of the annual Jumma of the Zemeedary of Rajah Cheit Sing, for the Year 1188, including the Jagheers allowed to the Farmers.

3. C. A particular Account of the Revenue of Banaris, &c. for the Year 1184.

3. D. Abstract Account of the Revenue of Banaris, &c. for the Year 1184.

3. E. Account Particulars of the Revenue of Banaris, &c. for the Year 1188.

3. F. Abstract Account of the Revenue of Banaris, &c. for the Year 1188.

3. G. Account of the Revenues of Ghazipoor.

3. H. Form of the general Settlement concluded by the Governor General with Rajah Mehipnarain.

3. I. Abstract of Allowances paid for the Support of distressed Families, and Men of Piety and Learning; and Copy of the Governor General's Resolution on the Subject.

3. K. Paper relative to a Grant of certain Villages to the Fackeers of the Macbarrah of Shah Cossim Soolimany, and Shah Wassel, at Chunar.

3. L. Translation of the Pottah granted to Rajah Mehipnarain.

3. M. Copy of the Cobooleeat executed by Rajah Mehipnarain.

3. N. Kistbundee for the current Year 1189.

3. O. Kistbundee for the Year 1190, and for ever.

3. P. Agreement of Rajah Mehipnarain for Payment of the Arrears of the Year 1188, from the actual Collections.

3. Q. Paper of Requests presented to the Governor General by Rajah Mehipnarain, with the Governor General's Answers annexed.

4. A. Copy of a Letter from the Governor General to Colonel Muir, dated the 29th of August 1781.

4. B. D° from D° to D°, dated the 10th of September 1781.

4. C. Extract of a Letter from the Governor General to the Governor General and Council, dated the 22d of October 1781.

4. D. Copy of a Letter to the Governor General and Council, dated the 25th of November 1781, respecting the Appointment of Messrs. Anderson and Chapman.

4. E. Translation of the Treaty concluded by Colonel Muir with Mahdajee Sindia, on the 13th of October 1781.

4. F. Copy of the Instructions given to Mr. Anderson, on the 4th of November 1781.

4. G. Copy of the Instructions given to Mr. Chapman, on the 12th of November 1781.

5. Letter to the Governor General and Council, dated the 22d of November 1781, respecting the new Regulations for the Collection of the Customs within the Zemeedary of Banaris.

6. Letter from the Resident at the Court of the Nabob Vizeer, containing a Relation of the Rebellion in Gooruckpoor, &c.

7. A. Translation of a Sunnud granted to Rajah Cheit Sing, for the Zemeedary of Banaris, &c. by the Governor General and Council.

7. B. Translation of a Pottah for the same.

7. C. Translation of his Cobooleeat for the same.

CATALOGUE of the APPENDIX.

PART II.

N° 1.	Minute of Council	on the 9th of July 1778.
2.	Arzee of Rajah Cheit Sing	received the 30th of July 1778.
3.	Minute of Council	of the 26th of Auguſt 1779.
4.	Arzee of Rajah Cheit Sing	received the 27th of Auguſt 1779.
5.	Arzee of Rajah Cheit Sing	received the 21ſt of Auguſt 1780.
6.	Arzee of Rajah Cheit Sing	received the 21ſt of Auguſt 1780.
7.	Minute of Council	of the 26th of October 1780.
8.	Minute of Council	of the 2d of November 1780.
9.	Letter to Lieutenant Colonel Blair	dated the 6th of Auguſt 1781.
10.	Letter to Captain Mayaffre	dated the 6th of Auguſt 1781.
11.	Letter to Major Popham	dated the 15th of Auguſt 1781.
12.	Letter to Captain Blair	dated the 16th of Auguſt 1781.
13.	Letter from Captain Mayaffre	dated the 17th of Auguſt 1781.
14.	Letter to Captain Blair	dated the 18th of Auguſt 1781.
15.	Letter to Lieutenant Colonel Blair	dated the 18th of Auguſt 1781.
16.	Letter from Major Popham	dated the 18th of Auguſt 1781.
17.	Returns of killed and wounded at Shewallah	dated the 17th of Auguſt 1781.
18.	Letter from Captain Blair	dated the 19th of Auguſt 1781.
19.	Letter to Captain Blair	dated the 18th of Auguſt 1781.
20.	Letter from Captain Blair	dated the 19th of Auguſt 1781.
21.	Subſtance of an Order	dated the 19th of Auguſt 1781.
22.	Letter to Captain Blair	dated the 19th of Auguſt 1781.
23.	Letter from Captain Blair	dated the 19th of Auguſt 1781.
24.	Letter from Captain Blair	dated the 19th of Auguſt 1781.
25.	Letter from Captain Blair	dated the 20th of Auguſt 1781.
26.	Letter to Lieutenant Colonel Blair	dated the 20th of Auguſt 1781.
27.	Letter to Lieutenant Colonel Blair	dated the 20th of Auguſt 1781.
28.	D° to D°	dated the 20th of Auguſt 1781.
29.	Letter to Major Eaton	dated the 20th of Auguſt 1781.
30.	Letter to Captain Blair	dated the 20th of Auguſt 1781.
31.	Letter from Captain Blair	dated the 20th of Auguſt 1781.
32.	Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Blair	dated the 20th of Auguſt 1781.
33.	Liſt of Engliſh Gentlemen at Banaris	the 21ſt of Auguſt 1781.
34.	Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Blair	dated the 21ſt of Auguſt 1781.
35.	Purport of a Letter from Rajah Cheit Sing.	
36.	General Order	the 22d of Auguſt 1781.
37.	Letter to the Nabob Vizeer	dated the 23d of Auguſt 1781.
38.	Letter to Major Moſes Crawford	dated the 23d of Auguſt 1781.
39.	Letter to Mr. Middleton	dated the 23d of Auguſt 1781.
40.	Letter from Major Eaton	dated the 19th of Auguſt 1781.
41.	Subſtance of a Letter from Hurry Budder Pundit	received the 24th of Auguſt 1781.
42.	Letter to Colonel Morgan	dated the 25th of Auguſt 1781.
43.	Letter to Colonel Morgan	dated the 26th of Auguſt 1781.
44.	Letter to Colonel Cumming	dated the 26th of Auguſt 1781.
45.	Letter to Major Moſes Crawford	dated the 26th of Auguſt 1781.
46.	General Orders	dated the 26th of Auguſt 1781.
47.	Letter from Lieutenant Polhill	dated the 25th of Auguſt 1781.
48.	Letter to Major Moſes Crawford	dated the 26th of Auguſt 1781.
49.	Letter to Lieutenant Polhill	dated the 26th of Auguſt 1781.
50.	Letter to Major Eaton	dated the 26th of Auguſt 1781.
51.	Letter to Lieutenant Polhill	dated the 27th of Auguſt 1781.
52.	Letter to Edward Wheler Eſquire	dated the 27th of Auguſt 1781.
53.	Letter to Major Moſes Crawford, or Lieutenant Colonel Ahmuty	dated the 28th of Auguſt 1781.
54.	Letter to Colonel Muir	dated the 29th of Auguſt 1781.
55.	Letter to Major James Crawford	dated the 29th of Auguſt 1781.
56.	Letter to Colonel James Morgan	dated the 30th of Auguſt 1781.
57.	Letter from Major Moſes Crawford	dated the 31ſt of Auguſt 1781.
58.	Letter from Lieutenant Polhill	dated the 31ſt of Auguſt 1781.
59.	Letter from Doctor H. Francis Balfour	dated the 28th of Auguſt 1781.
60.	Letter to Edward Wheler, Eſquire	dated the 31ſt of Auguſt 1781.
61.	Letter to Colonel Morgan	dated the 1ſt of September 1781.

62. Letter from Major Popham — — dated the 3d of September 1781.
63. Letter from Captain Blair — — dated the 4th of September 1781.
64. Letter to Lieutenant Colonel Blair from Lieutenant Pigott — — dated the 4th of September 1781.
65. Letter to Major Moſes Crawford — dated the 4th of September 1781.
66. Letter to Colonel Morgan — — dated the 4th of September 1781.
67. Letter from Mr. Middleton — — dated the 29th of Auguſt 1781.
68. Letter to Edward Wheler Eſquire — dated the 4th of September 1781.
69. Letter from Colonel James Morgan — dated the 29th of Auguſt 1781.
70. Letter from Colonel Morgan — — dated the 30th of Auguſt 1781.
71. Letter from Major Eaton — — dated the 30th of Auguſt 1781.
72. Arzee from Rajah Cheit Sing — — received the 5th of September 1781.
73. Letter from Rajah Cheit Sing to Beneram Pundit. — — dated the 5th of September 1781.
74. Letter from Mr. Barnett — — dated the 6th of September 1781.
75. Letter to the Nabob Vizeer — — dated the 23d of September 1781.
76. Letter from Rajah Cheit Sing — — dated the 4th of September 1781.
77. Letter from Colonel Morgan — — dated the 8th of September 1781.
78. General Orders — — dated the 8th of September 1781.
79. Letter to Colonel Morgan — — dated the 4th of September 1781.
80. Letter from Mr. Græme — dated the 9th of September 1781.
81. Letter from Major Moſes Crawford — dated the 10th of September 1781.
82. Letter to Colonel Muir — — dated the 11th of September 1781.
83. Letter to Edward Wheler Eſquire — dated the 17th of September 1781.
84. Letter to Major Moſes Crawford — dated the 13th of September 1781.
85. Letter to Colonel Sir John Cumming — dated the 13th of September 1781.
86. Letter to Colonel Morgan — — dated the 7th of September 1781.
87. Letter from Colonel Cumming — dated the 15th of September 1781.
88. Letter to Major Popham — — dated the 18th of September 1781.
89. Letter to Major Eaton — — dated the 18th of September 1781.
90. Letter to Edward Wheler Eſquire — dated the 18th of September 1781.
91. General Orders — — — dated the 15th of September 1781.
92. Letter from Colonel Morgan — dated the 19th of September 1781.
93. Letter to Colonel Morgan — — dated the 18th of September 1781.
94. Letter from Mr. Barnett — — dated the 9th of September 1781.
95. Letter from Captain Macdonald to Mr. Middleton dated the 19th of September 1781.
96. Letter to Mr. Barnett — — dated the 20th of September 1781.
97. Letter to Major Popham — — dated the 20th of September 1781.
98. Letter to Edward Wheler Eſquire — dated the 29th of Auguſt 1781.
99. Letter from Colonel Ahmuty — dated the 20th of September 1781.
100. Letter from Major Popham — — dated the 20th of September 1781.
101. Journal of a March over the Binde Hills from Chunargur to Lutteefpoor, written by Major Crabb, dated from the 15th to the 21ſt of September 1781.
102. Letter from Major Crabb — — dated the 25th of September 1781.
103. Return of Killed and Wounded in the Attack of Pateeta, dated the 20th of September 1781.
104. Letter to Edward Wheler Eſquire — dated the 22d of September 1781.
105. Letter from Captain Blair — — dated the 21ſt of September 1781.
106. Letter to Major James Crawford — dated the 22d of September 1781.
107. Letter to Lieutenant Colonel Ahmuty — dated the 22d of September 1781.
108. Letter from Captain Blair—Journal of Major Crabb's Expedition — — dated the 29th of September 1781.
109. General Orders — — dated the 22d of September 1781.
110. Letter from Major Popham — dated the 22d of September 1781.
111. Letter from Mr Græme, and Encloſure — dated the 19th of Auguſt 1781.
112. Letter from Major Crabb — — dated the 21ſt of September 1781.
113. Letter from Major Crabb — — dated the 21ſt of September 1781.
114. Letter from Major Crabb — — dated the 23d of September 1781.
115. Return of Killed, Wounded, &c. of the Detachment commanded by Major Crabb — — — dated the 20th of September 1781.
116. Letter from Major Balfour — dated the 23d of September 1781.
117. General Orders — — dated the 24th of September 1781.
118. Tranſlation of a Proclamation iſſued by the Governor General, the 25th of September 1781.
119. Letter to Major Crabb — — dated the 25th of September 1781.
120. Letter to Colonel Morgan — dated the 27th of September 1781.
121. Letter from Colonel Morgan — dated the 27th of September 1781.
122. Letter from Mr. Græme — — dated the 21ſt of October 1781.
123. Letter from Major Lucas to Mr. Græme — dated the 18th of October 1781.
124. Tranſlation of a Letter found in Lutteefpoor — the 6th of October 1781.
125. Letter to Edward Wheler Eſquire — dated the 7th of October 1781.

126. Letter

126. Letter from Captain Blair — — dated the 8th of October 1781.
127. Letter to Edward Wheler Esq. — — dated the 13th of October 1781.
128. Letter from Major Naylor — — dated the 13th of October 1781.
129. General Orders — — — dated the 19th of October 1781.
130. D° — — — — dated the 8th of November 1781.
131. Letter from Dr. Thomas — — dated the 18th of October 1781.

CATALOGUE of the APPENDIX.

PART III.

List of Affidavits, with the general Subjects of their Contents.

N° 1. FIRST PARCEL; containing, viz.

A. Affidavit of Major Eaton, commanding the Fort of Buxar.
B. Letter from Major Eaton to Thomas Graham Esquire, Resident at Banaris, dated the 23d of May 1779, complaining of the disaffected Conduct of Rajah Cheit Sing and his Officers, and of Enormities committed by the latter.
C. Letter from Major Eaton to Francis Fowke Esquire, Resident at Banaris, dated the 3d of November 1780, upon the same Subject.
D. Letter from Mr. Fowke, dated the 8th of November, in answer to the preceding, expressing that he had no Hope of obtaining Redress.
E. Letter from Major Eaton to Francis Fowke Esquire, dated the 17th of November 1780, representing the Assault made by the Zemeedar of Beerpoor on Ensign Basset, and the general Enormities of the Zemeedars of the Jurisdiction of Rajah Cheit Sing.
F. Letter from Major Eaton to the Board, more circumstantial, on the same Subjects. Date omitted.

N° 2. SECOND PARCEL, containing,

A. Major Palmer's Affidavit of the declared Intentions of the Governor General towards Rajah Cheit Sing.
B. Attestation of David Anderson Esquire, to the same Effect.

N° 3. THIRD PARCEL, consisting of Transactions at Buxar and Banaris, between the 9th and 21st August 1781, and the Insurrection of Gooruckpoor, &c.

A. Affidavit of Captain Davy, Persian Translator to the Governor General.
B. Declaration of Hyder Beg Khan; Correspondence with Cheit Sing, and other Matters.
C. Affidavit of Moonshy Gore-Persaud: His Imprisonment and Sufferings: Ladders made for the Assault on the Governor General's Quarters.
D. Affidavit of Hurryram Pundit: Forces which attended Cheit Sing to Buxar.
E. Affidavit of Jewan Ram Moonshy: Massacre at Shewallah.
F. Affidavit of Bishen Sing: His own Sufferings.
G. Affidavit of Moonshy Patnimul: Proclamation at Banaris against Protection of English Gentlemen, on Pain of Death, and Forfeiture of Property.
H. Affidavit of Moonshy Gore-Persaud—The same in Substance as the foregoing.
I. Affidavit of Doond Sing, Commandant—Attempts of the Rajah's Brother to seduce him from the Company's Service, in February 1781.
K. Affidavit of Moonshy Mahommed Moraud—Mutiny of Captain Williams's Sepoys.
L. Affidavit of Doond Sing, Commandant—Insurrections in Gooruckpoor, &c.
M. Affidavit of Ahlaud Sing Subadar—On the same Subject.
N. Affidavit of Denoo Sing Subadar—The same Subject.
O. Affidavit of Ram Sing Jemmadar—The same Subject.
P. Affidavit of Kundeall Sing Commandant—The same Subject.
Q. Affidavit of Beij Sing Subadar—The same Subject.
R. Affidavit of Merum Moonshy—The same Subject.
S. Affidavit of Meer Ahmud Ally Subadar—The same Subject.
T. Solemn Declaration of Ranny Golaub Kooer—Preparations made at Ramnagur for attacking the Governor General in his Quarters—Disaffection of Rajah Cheit Sing.
U. Affidavit of Gudgerauge Sing Kelladar of Ramnagur—Murder of Mr. Hooker—Design to attack the Governor General's Quarters.

N° 4. FOURTH PARCEL; viz.

A. Affidavit of Captain Davy, Persian Translator.
B. Affidavit of Hindoo Sing Adjutant at Buxar—Attempts of the Rajah's Brother to seduce the Sepoys of the Garrison—Insolences of the Zemeedars—Force attendant on the Rajah at Buxar—Orders to reduce the Fort of Buxar—Assault made on Ensign Bassett, and other Gentlemen at Beerpoor.

N° 5.

N° 5. FIFTH PARCEL; viz.

A. Affidavit of Captain Davy, Perſian Tranſlator.

B. Affidavit of Sheakh Mahommed Aumeen Meyher, Commandant in Cheit Sing's Service—Liſt of Forces which attended the Rajah to Buxar—Maſſacre of Shewalla—Deſign to attack the Governor General's Quarters at Banaris—Liſt of Forces in the Service of Rajah Cheit Sing.

C. Affidavit of Sheakh Hoſſein Oolla Jemmadar—Maſſacre of Shewallah.

D. Affidavit of Biſhen Sing Subadar—The ſame Subject.

E. Affidavit of Ruggoober Orderly—The ſame Subject.

N° 6. SIXTH PARCEL; viz.

A. Affidavit of Captain Davy, Perſian Tranſlator.

B. Affidavit of Contoo Doſs—Proclamation iſſued at Banaris, that whoever protected the Engliſh ſhould be puniſhed.

N° 7. SEVENTH PARCEL; viz.

A. Affidavit of Captain Davy, Perſian Tranſlator.

B. Affidavit of Dadjoo Sing and Gobindram Miſſer: Atteſting the following Perwannahs.

C. Affidavit of Captain Davy, Perſian Tranſlator.

D. Perwannah from Rajah Cheit Sing to Dadjoo Sing, to join him and cut off the Engliſh.

E. Perwannah from D° to D° to join Futteh Shah.

N° 8. EIGHTH PARCEL; viz.

A. Affidavit of Colonel Blair, commanding the Fort of Chunar, reſpecting falſe Intelligence, intended, as ſuppoſed, to prevent his ſending Aſſiſtance to the Governor General at Banaris.

B. Affidavit of Captain M'Dougall, commanding a Battalion of Sepoys, detached to the Aſſiſtance of the Governor General at Banaris; containing ſimilar and falſe Intelligence to the ſame Effect.

N° 9. NINTH PARCEL; containing Affidavits of Engliſh Gentlemen of the Inſurrection in Gooruckpoor, &c. Their Connection with the Rebellion of Rajah Cheit Sing, and other Matters.

A. Affidavit of Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire—Reports of Perwannahs iſſued by Cheit Sing, commanding the Deſtruction of the Engliſh, and Letters to the Nabob's Zemeedars, inciting them to rebel—Fidelity and Attachment of the Nabob Vizeer—Murders at Gope Gungee—The Miniſters of the Vizeer's Mother encourage the Diſaffection—Aſſiſt the levying of Troops at Fyzabad for Cheit Sing.

B. Affidavit of Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hannay, commanding a Corps of Sepoys in the Service of the Nabob Vizeer—Hoſtile Practices of the Begums at Fyzabad—Troops levied there publicly for Cheit Sing, with the Encouragement of the Eunuchs of both the Begums—Actual Departure of 1,000 Levies—Remonſtrances made by the Deponent to Bow Begum without Effect—Attack of Captain Gordon by Shumſheer Khan, the Begum's Aumil—General Diſaffection of Gooruckpoor, and all the Country lying South of Fyzabad, fomented by the Agents of Cheit Sing, and by Money furniſhed by him.

C. Affidavit of Major John M'Donald, commanding a Battalion of Sepoys in the Vizeer's Service—Inſurrections of Gooruckpoor excited by Cheit Sing:—Encouraged by the Begums at Fyzabad—Total Defection of Fyzabad—The Rebellion of Cheit Sing preconcerted.

D. Affidavit of Captain David Williams, commanding a Battalion of Sepoys in the Vizeer's Service—Inſurrections of Gooruckpoor, &c. Mutiny of his own Sepoys.

E. Affidavit of Captain John Gordon, commanding a Corps of Sepoys in the Nabob Vizeer's Service—Hoſtile Acts of Shumſheer Khan, Aumil of the Vizeer's Mother;—attributed to the Begum.

N° 10. TENTH PARCEL.

Affidavit of Jean Honore Mordelait, Private of the Company of Chaſſeurs, relating the Circumſtances of the Maſſacre of his Comrades at Lutteefpoor.

N° 11. ELEVENTH PARCEL.

Affidavit of Lieutenant Colonel Hannay—Plan concerted by the Begums to ſeduce from him his Followers, and to detain him at Fyzabad.

WARREN HASTINGS.

APPENDIX.

PART I.

NUM. 1. A.

Letter *to the* Governor General *and* Council, *dated the 29th of* November 1781, *reſpecting the* Governor General's *Agreement with the* Vizeer.

To Edward Wheler and John Macpherſon, Eſquires, Members of the Council of Fort William.

Gentlemen,

I muſt have Recourſe to your Indulgence, on the Occaſion of every Report of Importance, for the Delay in tranſmitting it. Many are the Cauſes of theſe Delays, which I need not enumerate, as I am myſelf the principal Sufferer by them: Indeed I am almoſt tempted to ſay, that I find a Sufficiency for the Occupation of each Day in the Evil thereof, and in a Thouſand little Occurrences, leſs known in a regular Proceſs of Buſineſs, which exact their Share of Attention, and paſs without any ſubſtantial Effect. It was for this principal Reaſon, that I have again ſhifted my Reſidence from Banaris to this Place, where I ſhall hope for more Leiſure to bring up a long Arrears of Buſineſs, than it would have been poſſible for me to have cleared if I had continued there.

I have now to inform you of my Tranſactions with the Nabob Vizeer, during his ſhort Stay at Chunar: Theſe are compriſed in the encloſed Papers, viz *.

N° 1. Articles of Agreement concluded with the Nabob Vizeer.
1. A and B. Explanation of the above Articles.
2. Agreement of the Nabob Vizeer.
3. Reaſons for the above Agreement.
4. My Inſtructions to the Reſident.
5. Orders iſſued in conſequence of the Agreement.

The following are added as explanatory of the foregoing.

6. Eſtimate of the temporary Brigade.
7. Eſtabliſhment and Eſtimate of the Charges of the Nabob Vizeer's Arſenal.
8. Eſtabliſhment and Eſtimate of the Expences of Three Battalions of Sepoys, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Hannay.
9. Eſtabliſhment and Eſtimate of the Expences of the Nabob Vizeer's Body Guard.
10. Eſtabliſhment and Eſtimate of Two Battalions of Sepoys, under the Command of Captain Oſborne, now of Major Clark.
11. Eſtimate of the general Diſburſements made by Mr. Wombwell, Paymaſter and Auditor of Britiſh Troops in the Service of the Nabob Vizeer.

I have alluded to the general Reaſons which have prevented me from tranſmitting the Reports of my Proceedings to the Board with Punctuality. I am obliged to add a ſpecial Cauſe for the preſent Inſtance; which is, that the Reſident having carried with him all the authentic Papers relating to this Buſineſs to Lucknow, I have ſince waited both for them and for the preceding Eſtimates, which are yet incomplete, though ſufficient for general Elucidation.

To the Copy of the Articles of Agreement, N° 1. I have added the Papers N° 1. A, B, C. which will fully explain my Reaſons for the ſeveral Articles; and to theſe I beg Leave to refer you. Upon the Whole, generally, I have only to obſerve further, that the Agreement was drawn up from a Series of Requiſitions preſented to me by the Nabob, to whom I was happy in the Occaſion of making ſuch a Return for the uncommon Inſtance of Fidelity and Attachment which he had recently ſhewn to our Government, by an inſtant and unqualified Aſſent to each Article. This was done verbally in his Preſence. And in like Manner I requeſted and obtained his Acquieſcence in the ſhort Condition which followed mine. I conſidered the Subjects of his Requeſts as eſſential to the Reputation of our Government, and no leſs to our Intereſt than his; and if the Reſident performs his Duty in the Execution of my Inſtructions, the Nabob's Part of the Engagement, by a ſingular Inverſion of their Purpoſes, in both Inſtances will prove of ſtill greater Benefit to him than to our Government, on whoſe Behalf it was exacted.

I have the Honour to be,
with the greateſt Eſteem,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
Warren Haſtings.

Chunar,
29th November 1781.

* Theſe Encloſures were originally diſtinguiſhed by the above Marks; only the Four Firſt are here inſerted, and immediately follow this Letter, with Marks correſponding to the Catalogue. The Reſt are of little Conſequence, and are omitted.

PART I.

NUM. 1. B.

Copy *of the* Agreement *concluded by the* Governor General *with the* Vizeer, *on the* 19th *of* September 1781.

The Nabob Vizeer ul Mummalick Aſſof ud Dowlah Aſſof Jah Yeheyah Khan Behader, having repeatedly and urgently repreſented, that he is unable to ſupport the Expences of the temporary Brigade, Cavalry, and Engliſh Officers, with their Battalions, as well as other Gentlemen, who are now paid by him under the Denomination of Sebundy, &c. &c. and having made ſundry Requeſts to that and other Purpoſes; and as the Conſtancy and Firmneſs of his Alliance with the Company entitle him to every Conſideration and Relief that may depend upon us; I Warren Haſtings Governor General, Imaud ud Dowlah Jelladit Jung Behader, &c. &c. on Behalf of the Governor General and Council, have agreed to the under-mentioned Articles, this 19th Day of September, in the Year of our Lord 1781, correſponding to the laſt Day of Ramzan 1195 of the Hidjeree.

1ſt. That the temporary Brigade and Three Regiments of Cavalry, be no longer charged to the Nabob's Account for the Year Fuſſelee 1189, excepting a Term of Two and an Half Months, which is required for their paſſing the Nabob's Boundaries; and for which, together with all former Arrears, their uſual Pay and Allowances are to be made good: Alſo the Engliſh Officers, with their Sebundy Battalions, and other Gentlemen, excepting the Reſident's Office, now upon the Nabob's Liſt, be no longer at his Charge for the Year 1189; the Arrears being paid up with the Addition of Two Months Allowances. The true Meaning of this being, that no more Troops be paid for by the Nabob than the Number of European Infantry, Artillery, and Sepoys agreed for, under the Title of One Brigade, with the late Nabob Shujah ud Dowlah, now paid for at the Rate of 2,60,000 Rupees per Month; to which is now to be added, One Regiment of Sepoys of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, expreſsly allowed for the Purpoſe of protecting the Office, Treaſury, and Perſon of the Reſident at Lucknow; the Pay and Allowances of which are to commence from the 1ſt of Aughun next, at the Rate of Rupees 25,000 per Month. The Regiment to be relieved every Three Months. The Brigade to be ſtationed or moved wherever the Nabob ſhall direct, in the Mode preſcribed in the former Treaty with the Nabob Vizeer deceaſed. And finally, That whenever the Nabob Vizeer ſhall require a further Aid of Troops from the Company, the Pay and Allowances ſhall commence from the Day of their paſſing the Carumnaſſa. Alſo, ſhould the Aſſiſtance of the Nabob's Troops be required by the Company, their Pay and Allowances, as may then be agreed upon, be allowed during the Time they may ſerve.

2d. That as great Diſtreſs has ariſen to the Nabob's Government from the Military Power and Dominion aſſumed by the Jagheerdars, he be permitted to reſume ſuch as he may find neceſſary, with a Reſerve, that all ſuch for the Amount of whoſe Jagheers the Company are Guarantees, ſhall, in caſe of the Reſumption of their Lands, be paid the Amount of their net Collections, through the Reſident, in ready Money.

3d. That as Fyz-Ooalla Khan has, by his Breach of Treaty, forfeited the Protection of the Engliſh Government, and cauſes, by his Continuance in his preſent independent State, great Alarm and Detriment to the Nabob, he be permitted, when Time ſhall ſuit, to reſume his Lands, and pay him in Money, through the Reſident, the Amount ſtipulated by Treaty, after deducting the Amount and Charges of the Troops he ſtands engaged to furniſh by Treaty; which Amount ſhall be paſſed to the Account of the Company during the Continuance of the preſent War.

4th. That no Engliſh Reſident be appointed to Furruckabad, and the preſent one recalled.

5th. That the Treaties made between the Engliſh and the Nabob Shujah ud Dowlah be ratified between the preſent Parties, as far as may be conſiſtent with the above-written Articles; and that no Officers, Troops, or others, be put upon the Nabob's Eſtabliſhment, excluſive of thoſe herein ſtipulated.

WARREN HASTINGS.

NUM. 1. C.

Minute *of the* Governor General *explanatory of his* Agreement *with the* Vizeer.

Art. 1. That the temporary Brigade and the Regiments of Cavalry be no longer charged to the Nabob's Account for the Year Fuſſulee 1189, excepting a Term of Two and an Half Months, which is required for their paſſing the Nabob's Boundaries;

1. The Introduction to the Agreement contains Reaſons in Support of this Article, which are incontrovertible. The Vizeer declares, That he is abſolutely unable to defray the Expence of theſe Troops. This Plea alone, if the Fact be admitted, will be allowed to be concluſive. But the Vizeer urges an additional Claim

daries, and for which, together with all former Arrears, their uſual Pay and Allowances are to be made good. Alſo the Engliſh Officers with their Sebundy Battalions, and other Gentlemen, excepting the Reſident's Office, now upon the Nabob's Liſt, be no longer at his Charge for the Year 1189, the Arrears being paid up with the Addition of Two Months Allowances: The true Meaning of this being, that no more Troops be paid for by the Nabob than the Number of European Infantry, Artillery, and Sepoys agreed for, under the Title of One Brigade, with the late Nabob Shujah ud Dowlah, now paid for at the Rate of 2,60,000 Rupees per Month, to which is now to be added One Regiment of Sepoys of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, expreſsly allowed for the Purpoſe of protecting the Office, Treaſury, and Perſon of the Reſident at Lucknow; the Pay and Allowances of which are to commence from the 1ſt of Aughun next, at the Rate of Rupees 25,000 per Month. The Regiment to be relieved every Three Months. The Brigade to be ſtationed or moved whereſoever the Nabob ſhall direct, in the Mode preſcribed in the former Treaty with the Nabob Vizeer deceaſed. And finally, That whenever the Nabob Vizeer ſhall require a further Aid of Troops from the Company, the Pay and Allowances ſhall commence from the Day of their paſſing the Carumnaſſa. Alſo, ſhould the Aſſiſtance of the Nabob's Troops be required by the Company, their Pay and Allowances, as may then be agreed upon, be allowed during the Time they may ſerve.

Claim to this Indulgence, and to every other in the Power of our Government to ſhew him, from the Fidelity and Attachment which he has invariably manifeſted to the Company, and which was remarkably exemplified in the late alarming Conjuncture, when every Art was employed to ſhake his Conſtancy, and to engage him in Meaſures which would have been productive of the moſt fatal Conſequences.

Theſe Arguments, though confined to the Rights and Intereſts of the Nabob, will be allowed a complete Juſtification of this Engagement: But I have others to offer in Support of it, affecting with equal Force the Intereſts and Security of the Company. To whatever Cauſes it may be attributed, it is certain that we do not at preſent reap thoſe Advantages which we promiſed ourſelves, and which we at firſt derived, from the Inſtitution of the temporary Brigade. The actual Diſburſements of it have fallen upon our own Funds; and we ſupport a Body of Troops, eſtabliſhed ſolely for the Defence of the Nabob's Poſſeſſions, at our own Expence. It is true, that we charge the Nabob with this Expence; but the large Balance already due from him, ſhews too juſtly the little Proſpect there was of diſengaging ourſelves from a Burthen which was daily adding to our Diſtreſſes, and muſt ſoon become inſupportable, although it were granted that the Nabob's Debt thus ſuffered to accumulate might at ſome future Period be liquidated. Our immediate Wants are too preſſing, and our Means of ſupplying them too limited, to admit of ſuch a Drain from our Funds, as is cauſed by the current Diſburſements of the temporary Brigade; and their Recall, on that Ground alone, would be indiſpenſable. In ſhort, the Exiſtence of this Corps added conſiderably to a Debt which might never be realized, and intolerably to our current Expences. The Diſſolution of it, in an œconomical Light, will advance one great Object of my Journey, which was to obtain inſtant Relief to our pecuniary Diſtreſſes, which this Meaſure will ſubſtantially effect as ſoon as the Reduction of the Corps withdrawn from the Stations of Futtehgur and Daranagur takes place.

Should the Nabob find his own Strength unequal to the Defence of his remote Dominions, and again require our Aid for that Purpoſe, we ſhall have a Right to preſcribe our own Terms, and may ſecure the certain and regular Payment of the Troops, inſtead of receiving a fallacious Credit, and making the actual Expenditure our own.

Notwithſtanding the great Benefit which the Company would have derived from ſuch an Augmentation of their Military Force as theſe Troops conſtituted, ready to act on any Emergency, prepared and diſciplined without any Charge on the Company, as the Inſtitution profeſſed, until their actual Services ſhould be required, I have obſerved ſome Evils growing out of the Syſtem, which in my Opinion more than counterbalanced thoſe Advantages, had they been realized in their fulleſt Effect: The remote Stations of thoſe Troops placing the Commanding Officers beyond the Notice and Controul of the Board, afforded too much Opportunity and Temptation for unwarrantable Emoluments, and excited the Contagion of Peculation and Rapacity throughout the whole Army. A moſt remarkable and incontrovertible Proof of the Prevalence of this Spirit, has been ſeen in the Court Martial upon Captain Erſkine; where the Court, compoſed of Officers of Rank and reſpectable Characters, unanimouſly

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and honorably, *moſt honorably*, acquitted him, upon an acknowledged Fact, which, in Times of ſtricter Diſcipline, would have been deemed a Crime deſerving the ſevereſt Puniſhment.

In a political View, the Removal of theſe Stations will be of important Advantage, by contracting our Frontier, and adding to our interior Security and Defence.

I requeſt that the Board will take theſe Arguments into their ſerious Conſideration, and, if they are pleaſed to allow them that Weight which they have had in actuating my Conduct, that they will conſult the Commander in Chief upon the Reduction and Diſtribution to be made of the Corps in queſtion, that they may not remain an unneceſſary Burthen upon our Funds; and upon ſuch a Diſpoſition of the Army in general as may be ſuitable to our preſent and future Situation in every probable Variation of it, both foreign and domeſtic.

With reſpect to the Removal of the Company's Servants, Civil and Military, from the Court and Service of the Vizeer, I was actuated ſolely by Motives of Juſtice to him, and a Regard to the Honour of our national Character. In removing thoſe Gentlemen, I diminiſh my own Influence, as well as that of my Colleagues, by narrowing the Line of Patronage; and I expoſe myſelf to Obloquy and Reſentment from thoſe who are immediately affected by the Arrangement, and the long Train of their Friends and powerful Patrons. But their Numbers, their Influence, and the enormous Amount of their Salaries, Penſions, and Emoluments, were an intolerable Burthen on the Revenues and Authority of the Vizeer, and expoſed us to the Envy and Reſentment of the whole Country, by excluding the native Servants and Adherents of the Vizeer from the Rewards of their Services and Attachment.

Art. 2. That, as great Diſtreſs has ariſen to the Nabob's Government from the military Power and Dominion aſſumed by the Jagheerdars, he be permitted to reſume ſuch as he may find neceſſary; with a Reſerve, that all ſuch for the Amount of whoſe Jagheers the Company are Guarantees, ſhall, in caſe of the Reſumption of their Lands, be paid the Amount of their net Collections, through the Reſident, in ready Money.

2. The Miſchiefs to which the Nabob is expoſed, from permitting a Number of rich independent Eſtates, ſupporting a Body of military Tenants, to be maintained in the Heart of the Country, are of the ſame Nature which we have recently experienced from the enormous Wealth and Influence of Rajah Cheit Sing; and in fact, the Nabob did experience them alſo, and at the ſame Time, and from the ſame Cauſes.

The Jagheers poſſeſſed by the Begums have enabled them to give frequent Diſturbance to the Nabob's Government; and it can be well atteſted that they principally excited and ſupported the late Commotions in Gooruckpoor, &c. in Concert with Cheit Sing, and that they carried their Inveteracy to the Nabob and the Engliſh Nation ſo far, as to aim at our utter Extirpation. By a Deſpotiſm ſo malignant, and a Conduct ſo offenſive, and even dangerous to our Exiſtence, as have been manifeſted by the Begums, without the ſmalleſt Injury or Provocation on our Parts, they have forfeited all Claim to that Protection which we afforded them, in exacting from the Nabob, at the Time that Mr. Briſtow aſſiſted him in obtaining 30 Lacks of Rupees from them, a Promiſe to our Government that thoſe Ladies ſhould enjoy full Poſſeſſion of their Jagheers unmoleſted. We have a Right to withdraw this Protection when they are no longer worthy of it, and to provide againſt their Machinations by a Conceſſion of that Pledge which afforded them the Means of injuring and diſtreſſing us.

The Begums will ſuffer no actual Loſs by the Reſumptions of the Jagheers, except of an Influence which

which they have invariably employed to the moſt pernicious Purpoſes againſt one State which had conferred, and another which ſecured and protected them, ſince it is ſtipulated that they ſhall receive the Amount of the net Collections of them in Money by the Hands of our Reſident.

Theſe Arguments will apply to the Situation of all the other Jagheerdars, though they may not to their actual Conduct, or Diſpoſitions; but as we are neither engaged for their Poſſeſſions, nor have any immediate Connection with them, the Nabob ſhould be left to the Exerciſe of his own Authority and Pleaſure reſpecting them.

Art. 3. That as Fyz-Oolla Khan has, by his Breach of Treaty, forfeited the Protection of the Engliſh Government, and cauſes, by his Continuance in his preſent independant State, great Alarm and Detriment to the Nabob, he be permitted, when Time ſhall ſuit, to reſume his Lands, and pay him in Money, through the Reſident, the Amount ſtipulated by Treaty, after deducting the Amount and Charges of the Troops he ſtands engaged to furniſh by Treaty; which Amount ſhall be paſſed to the Account of the Company during the Continuance of the preſent War.

3. The Conduct of Fyz-Oolla Khan, in refuſing the Aid demanded, though not an abſolute Breach of Treaty, was evaſive and uncandid. The Demand was made for 5,000 Cavalry. The Engagement in the Treaty is literally for 5,000 Horſe and Foot. Fyz-Oolla Khan could not be ignorant that we had no Occaſion for any Succours of Infantry from him, and that Cavalry could be of the moſt eſſential Service: So ſcrupulous an Attention to literal Expreſſion, when a more liberal Interpretation would have been highly uſeful and acceptable to us, ſtrongly marks his unfriendly Diſpoſition, though it may not impeach his Fidelity, and leaves him little Claim to any Exertions from us for the Continuance of his Jagheers. But I am of Opinion, that neither the Vizeer's nor the Company's Intereſts would be promoted by depriving Fyz-Oolla Khan of his Independency; and I have therefore reſerved the Execution of this Agreement to an indefinite Term, and our Government may always interpoſe to prevent any ill Effects from it.

Art. 4. That no Engliſh Reſident be appointed to Furruckabad, and the preſent one recalled.

4. I was glad to acquieſce in this Article, as it met my own Wiſhes of freeing the Nabob Muzuffer Jung from that unwarrantable and oppreſſive Reſtraint which he has ſo long endured from the Uſurpations of the Court of Lucknow, and from which he has long and unſucceſsfully ſolicited Relief of our Government. It was a Subject of Difficulty and Delicacy for us to interpoſe in Favour of Muzuffer Jung's Rights, invaded by the Vizeer; but in permitting a Reſident at Furruckabad, for the expreſs Purpoſe of receiving the Aſſignments on that Country, transferred to us by the Vizeer, we publickly avowed and gave Sanction to all the Injuſtice and Injury complained of againſt the Servants of the Nabob, and opened a Door for new ones againſt our own.

The Removal of Mr. Shee is an Example which I have recommended to the Nabob to imitate; to leave Muzuffer Jung in the uncontrolled Exerciſe of his Authority over the ſmall Remains of his Country; and, if that little muſt be ſtill ſubject to a Tribute, that he may collect and pay that Tribute himſelf.

NUM. 1. D.

Copy *of the* Agreement *made by the* Vizeer *with the* Governor General.

Having on my Behalf agreed to the Requiſitions of the Nabob Vizeer, without Diminution or Reſerve, I muſt now repeat the Requeſt, which I before verbally made to him, that he will be pleaſed to attend to ſuch Propoſals as I ſhall have to make to him; and to theſe I expect his Aſſent the more readily, as they have for their ultimate Object his Intereſt alone, that of the Company being no further concerned than in the Influence which they will eventually have in the Payment of the Debt due from the Nabob to the Company. I therefore recommend to him to reduce the great

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Number of his Sebundy and other Troops to regular and complete Eſtabliſhments; not to be paid by Aſſignments of Revenue, but in Money from the Treaſury; and their Number not to exceed the certain Means of paying them. But as this may be difficult, without making a Separation of the Nabob's public and private Funds, I further recommend, that he receive into his private Purſe no more than a fixed Monthly Sum for the Expences of his Perſon and Houſehold; and that the Remainder of the net Collections be left in a public Treaſury, under the Management of his public Miniſters, and the Inſpection of the Reſident, for the Diſcharge of his Military and Civil Diſburſements.

This Advice is not meant to affect the Aſſignments actually made, and which muſt be annually renewed for the Payment of the paſt Debt, and the current Demands of the Company.

Signed and Sealed by the Nabob, accepting and promiſing to conform to the above Advice.

NUM. 1. E.

Minute *explanatory of the* Agreement *made by the* Vizeer *with the* Governor General.

Having on my Behalf agreed to the Requiſitions of the Nabob Vizeer, without Diminution or Reſerve, I muſt now repeat the Requeſt which I before verbally made to him, that he will be pleaſed to attend to ſuch Propoſals as I ſhall have to make to him; and to theſe I expect his Aſſent the more readily, as they have for their ultimate Object his Intereſt alone, that of the Company being no further concerned than in the Influence which they will eventually have in the Payment of the Debt due from the Nabob to the Company. I therefore recommend to him to reduce the great Number of his Sebundy and other Troops to regular and complete Eſtabliſhments; not to be paid by Aſſignments of Revenue, but in Money from the Treaſury, and their Number not to exceed the certain Means of paying them. But as this may be difficult, without making a Separation of the Nabob's public and private Funds, I further recommend, that he receive into his private Purſe no more than a fixed Monthly Sum for the Expences of his Perſon and Houſehold; and that the Remainder of the net Collections be left in a public Treaſury, under the Management of his public Miniſters, and the Inſpection of the Reſident, for the Diſcharge of his Military and Civil Diſburſements.

This Advice is not meant to affect the Aſſignments actually made, and which muſt be annually renewed, for the Payment of the paſt Debt, and the current Demands of the Company.

In this ſingle Requiſition, which I have made to the Nabob, I have conſulted his Eaſe, Dignity, and Advantage, as much as the Security of the Company's Property, which is at preſent, or may be hereafter, in his Hands.

The Numbers and licentious Spirit of the Vizeer's Sebundy and other Troops, without Diſcipline or Obedience to Command, irregularly paid, and that by the worſt Mode, Aſſignments on the Collections, were diſgraceful to the Authority, and dangerous to the Security of the Vizeer, and an intolerable Grievance to the Country.

By reducing this diſorderly and uſeleſs Rabble, and forming a new Eſtabliſhment, to be well appointed and commanded, and punctually paid in Money, he will have an Army creditable in Appearance, effectual in Service, protecting inſtead of diſtreſſing his Country, and at a great Saving of Expence.

The latter Part of this Requiſition is equally calculated for the Honour and Intereſt of the Vizeer: To diſcriminate his Diſburſements; to make a ſeparate Proviſion for each Branch of Expenditure, and limit thoſe for his Houſehold and private Expences to a ſpecific Sum, will introduce Order and Regularity into the Accounts, and enable the Miniſters to aſcertain and make an early Proviſion for Deficiencies; and the Participation which is allowed our Reſident, in the Inſpection of the public Treaſure, will ſecure the Receipts of the Company's Demands; whilſt the Influence which our Government will always poſſeſs over the public Miniſters of the Nabob, and the Authority over their own, will be an effectual Means of ſecuring an attentive and faithful Diſcharge of their ſeveral Truſts, both towards the Company and the Vizeer.

NUM. 1. F.

Second Minute *of the* Governor General, *containing his Anſwers to poſſible Objections to be made againſt the ſeveral Parts of his* Agreement *with the* Vizeer.

In a great public Meaſure, conſtituted on a large and eſtabliſhed Syſtem, and deſtructive in its inſtant Effect of the Intereſts and Fortunes of many patronized Individuals, I have no Claim to an Exemption from the common Lot of all Innovators; but muſt expect that Share of Reproach which the Diſappointment of ſome, the Malevolence of others, the general Proneneſs to Suſpicion which prevails in the Bulk of Mankind, and a Difference of Opinion even in the moſt candid, may lay in Store for me. I think it therefore not ſufficient to have diſplayed the Motives of my Conduct, and the Good which may reſult from it; but ſhall proceed to ſtate all the Objections which may be made to it, with my Anſwer to each. Even this Precaution is liable to its peculiar Objection; to the Charge of a Conſciouſneſs of Error, too readily anticipating the Imputation of it, and implying its Exiſtence; and it will be ſaid on this, as it has been ſaid on a thouſand

ſand ſimilar Occaſions, that the Defects which I have thus ſuppoſed, muſt have had ſome Ground for them, or they would not have occurred as ſuch to myſelf, againſt an Act of my own, nor excited ſo uncommon an Eagerneſs to refute them. To this I reply, That there is no Propoſition, which the Wit of Man can deviſe, which the Wit of Man cannot find plauſible, and perhaps even juſt, Cauſe to cenſure, by a falſe or partial Review of it; and I of all Men may be allowed to dread this Treatment, after having invariably experienced it in every Inſtance of my public Life.

I ſhall proceed as above to ſtate the Objections in one Column, and the Anſwers to them in the oppoſite.

To the firſt Article it may be objected; 1ſt, That while Troubles were gathered and collecting all round us, it was unſafe and imprudent to leſſen our Force in the diſtant Provinces. 2dly, That the internal Safety of the Nabob Vizeer's Dominions will not admit of our immediately withdrawing our Officers from his Service. 3dly, That the temporary Brigade was an Addition to our military Strength, and, if reformed, we ſhould become proportionably weaker. 4thly, That if drawn into our own Provinces, we ſhall continue indeed equal in Strength, and perhaps ſtronger; but we incur an additional Expence; and from what Funds is this Expence to be defrayed, our Revenues in Bengal being unequal to the Expences already chargeable upon them?

The Injury ſuſtained by Individuals withdrawn from the Nabob Vizeer's Service, is not likely to be made a public or avowed Objection; but as a private one, it will operate with more Force againſt the Author of it, than any that can affect the State alone.

To theſe Objections I ſhall reply, with a Reference to their numerical Order.

1ſt. This Argument was much ſtronger when it was firſt ſuggeſted againſt the Meaſure actually depending; when we were engaged in a War with Mahdajee Sindia near our own Borders; when the War in the Carnatic wore ſo unfavourable an Appearance as to portend the Union of the whole Marattah State and other Powers againſt us; when a ſudden Rebellion had deprived us of every Foot of Land in this Province, and the Contagion had involved the whole Province of Owd in a ſimilar Defection, and was ſpreading to the Douab and Rohilcund; and when even our own Province of Behar was ready for an Inſurrection, without any preſent Means of Defence.

Theſe Objections I ſaw and felt in their fulleſt Force; but I knew, or believed I knew, that with the Suppreſſion of the Rebellion in this Province, every other Evil would be inſtantly diſſipated; that if this was not inſtantly ſuppreſſed, the Diſorders would ſo multiply and gather Strength around us, that neither our Military Strength, nor Reſources of Wealth, would ſuffice to oppoſe them; and in that deſperate State we ſhould require the Exertion of our whole Force in our own Defence, which we had no Right, without a Violation of publick Faith, and even of common Honeſty, to withdraw from the Nabob Vizeer's equally preſſing Wants, while he paid for it. With reſpect to the War with Mahdajee Sindia, the ſame Troops that were then oppoſed to him would continue of courſe oppoſed to him if the War continued; nor could we ſpare more for other Diverſions, if the Nabob Vizeer's Claim to the excluſive Uſe of the temporary Brigade continued. Thus it will appear, that by withdrawing the temporary Brigade, our Force was not leſſened, but in Effect augmented, in the diſtant Provinces; which is a clear Anſwer to the Objection.

2dly. This is not our Concern, if the Nabob, whoſe it is, affirms the contrary: and though it may eventually affect us, we ſhould be leſs liable to ſuffer by a remote Contingency, than by the immediate Privation or Diſſipation of our own Troops, employed in Anticipation of poſſible Evils affecting us through him, while our own Exigencies immediately demanded their Exertions. But in Truth, I much ſuſpect the Poſition; having been too much accuſtomed to the Tales of hoſtile Preparations and impending Invaſions, againſt all the Evidence of political Probability, to regard them as other than Phantoms raiſed for the Purpoſe of perpetuating or multiplying Commands. Who are the Invaders of the Doaub and Rohilcund? Not the Marattahs; they are fully occupied in the Defence of their own Territories: Not the Sicks; they are engaged with Nudjiff Khan in an unequal War: And Nudjiff Khan, with foreign Concerns, with domeſtic Intrigues, and the Habits of late-acquired Sloth, and an unwieldy, unpaid, and licentious Army, can have little Leiſure or Inclination to embroil himſelf in new

Difficulties

PART I.

Difficulties by a War with the Vizeer and the Engliſh.

The 3d Objection I have anſwered in my Reply to the Firſt.

The 4th I have anticipated in my Enumeration of the Reaſons for withdrawing the temporary Brigade; and have ſhewn, that in reſpect to the preſent Time, our certain Means and current Wants, we gain nothing by a Credit in Account for a Charge, which is unavoidably our own while the Corps ſubſiſts, and which we can only leſſen by a Reduction of the Corps itſelf.

To the 5th I anſwer, from the Diſcharge of the Vizeer's Debt to the Company, which the Reduction of his Expences, the Reſumption of the Jagheers, and the Improvements recommended in his Adminiſtration, ought, and I have no Doubt will, afford him ample Means of diſcharging.

The laſt Objection is independent of Reaſon, which few Men are pleaſed to admit againſt their own Intereſts, their Connections, or the Pride of Patronage. I have acted with the ſtricteſt Impartiality. I have ſpared no Friend of my own, or of my Friends, but have dealt with equal Rigour to all; the Times would not ſuffer me to diſſipate the Benefits of my public Influence to Individuals, and at the ſame Time provide for the public Wants. I was compelled to make my Choice, and in preferring the latter I have made a light Sacrifice of my own perſonal Eaſe to the Safety of the Public, and to my own involved in it. This was the ſole Motive that I had, or could have, in it.

Few Objections can be made to the Second Article. It may be ſuggeſted, 1ſt, that it will excite Clamour and Diſcontent, which in the preſent Time may be dangerous; and 2dly, that it will be, in a principal Inſtance, a Breach of our Faith, which is pledged to guarantee a Treaty concluded, through the Means of Mr. Briſtow, between the Nabob Vizeer and the Nabob Allea Begum, his Mother; in which it is ſtipulated, that no ſubſequent Claim ſhould be made on her Property, or Invaſion of her Rights.

2d. No Effects of any additional Clamour and Diſcontent, excited by the Reſumption of the Jagheers, could exceed thoſe of their actual Defection; and the Begum herſelf had forfeited all Pretenſion to the Benefit of the Treaty executed for her Behalf, by having been the firſt Mover and moſt buſy Actor of the Sedition.

To the Third Article I have already ſtated, anſwered, and obviated, the only Objection that can be made to it.

Objection to the Fourth Article: That this Condition might more properly have been exacted by Mozuffer Jung than Aſſof-ud-Dowlah; and that by proceeding from the latter, who is already ſuppoſed to have oppreſſed the former, it may appear as if he was deſirous of removing all Check to his Oppreſſions.

4th. If the Nabob Mozuffer Jung muſt endure Oppreſſion, and I dare not at this Time propoſe his total Relief, it concerns the Reputation of our Government to remove our Participation in it. It is a Fact, that Mr. Shee's Authority over the Territory of Furruckabad is in itſelf as much ſubverſive of that of its lawful Ruler as that of the Vizeer's Aumils ever was; and is the more oppreſſive, as the Power from which it is derived is greater. It is a Fact, that the Nabob Mozuffer Jung is equally urgent with the Nabob Vizeer for the Removal of our Reſident; and it is my Care, that his Servitude ſhall not be transferred, if I can help it. The Imbecility of Mozuffer Jung, and the diſtracted State of his Affairs, will not admit of his being left in the uncontrouled Management of them. He muſt be in a State of Pupilage to ſome one; and it is my Deſire that a proper Guardian may be ſelected for him, from the ancient Dependants of

his Family. This was too delicate a Matter to be made the positive Article of a Convention, and may be better converted to its professed Purposes, by the mutual good Understanding which subsists between the Nabob Vizeer and myself, than by a formal Obligation, which it would have been difficult to apply to any precise and determined Point.

The great Objection to the Fifth Article has been answered in the Answer to the last Objection on the First: It may indeed be asked as a further Objection, why we are so scrupulous about Appointments made by our Recommendation, when the Nabob himself is, by the same Agreement, precluded from appointing his own Military Commanders without the Concurrence of the English Resident?

5th. The Difference is infinitely wide between a positive and a negative Recommendation; and the Right of the latter is confined to the Resident alone as a Point of official Duty. If he abuses it, it is at his Peril, and the Nabob has a ready Appeal, and the Encouragement of Experience to expect Redress from such Appeal, on a just Occasion. The Truth is, that the Necessity of the Reservation arose from a too well known Defect in the Nabob's Character. If he shall make Choice of Men of Character and Rank for the Command of Posts in his Army, the Resident has no Right to exercise the Privilege which the Nabob has yielded to him, on the Plea that there are other Men better qualified. If this Check be withdrawn, and the Choice left absolutely to the Nabob, the first Commands in his Army will be filled by the most worthless and abandoned of his Subjects. His late Commander in Chief is a signal and scandalous Instance of this.

NUM. I. G.

Letter *of* Instructions *from the* Governor General *to the* Resident *at the* Vizeer's Court.

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Resident at the Court of the Nabob Vizeer.

Sir,

Having on the 19th instant entered into certain Engagements with the Nabob Vizeer, tending to relieve his Finances of a Burthen they were no longer able to sustain, with sundry other Clauses, the Execution of which is intrusted to you, I herewith inclose an authentic Copy of the same, for your Guidance. The Nabob, on his Behalf, has subscribed and sealed an Agreement in your Presence, and in the Presence of Mr. Richard Johnson and Hyder Beg Khan, respecting the better Administration of his Affairs; of which I also transmit you an authentic Copy.

To these Papers, and to the Points consequently and necessarily dependent on them, I think it necessary to add the following Instructions, to which I require your most implicit Obedience.

I need scarcely inform you, that my chief Object in my Negociations with the Nabob has been to induce and assist him to bring his Government and Finances into such Regularity, as to prevent his Alliance from being a Clog instead of an Aid to the Company, and to enable him to discharge his Debt in the shortest Time possible. To this End, the most essential Point is to limit and separate his personal Disbursements from the public Accounts. They must not, in their total annual Amount, exceed what he has received in any of the last Three Years. This Amount, in Twelve equal Parts, should be paid him Monthly out of the First Receipts, and the Remainder of the net Collections placed separately in a public Treasury, from whence his Public Military and Civil Establishment must be paid, under the sole Management and Controul of the Ministers, with your Concurrence. It is of course to be understood that this has no Connection, and is in no Shape to interfere with the Company's Assignments, and the Collections upon them, which are to be conducted as usual: And as by the Addition of the Jagheer Lands, with their Revenues, to the Nabob's regular Collections, his Income will, or ought to be, considerably increased. I shall expect that the Whole of the Excess be appropriated to the Discharge of the Nabob's Debt to the Company.

After settling the Amount of the personal Disbursements of the Nabob Vizeer and his Household, the next Point that will require your Exertions towards the general Arrangement of the public Charges, is to reform the established Muttaiena Troops, reducing them into One established Corps for the whole Service. If this Corps should be brought to consist solely of Cavalry, it would best answer mutual Benefit: leaving no Infantry in the Nabob's Service but what may be necessary for his Body Guard; and to supply the Deficiency, should any occur from such Arrangement, our Infantry may be employed where Infantry are wanted.

The Corps reformed and established, their Pay must be issued from the public Treasury. No Assignments to be in future granted them, and those already issued to be recalled. To complete this, all Numbers above what the real Service may require, or the actual net Receipts may be adequate to the full Payment of, must be disbanded as fast as their Arrears can be paid off.

The

PART I.

The Nabob will ſelect and appoint his own Commanders; but if he ſhould nominate improper Perſons, ſuch as Men commonly known by the Name of Orderlies, or others deriving their Influence from them, or of known Diſaffection to our Government, you are in ſuch Caſe to remonſtrate againſt it; and if the Vizeer ſhall perſiſt in his Choice, you are peremptorily, and in my Name, to oppoſe it, as a Breach of his Agreement.

For the Management of the Collections, the Miniſters, with your Concurrence, are to chooſe all Aumils and Collectors, and in their Choice to be guided by the Reſponſibility, good Reputation, and known Ability of the Perſons they elect, that Charges may, as far as poſſible, be avoided.

Much is to be ſaid, though little may now ſuit, upon the Subject of the Diſtribution of Juſtice in the Nabob's Dominions. For the preſent, I limit myſelf to direct you to urge the Nabob to endeavour gradually, if it cannot be done at once, to eſtabliſh Courts of Adaulut throughout his Diſtricts; the Darogahs, Mowlavies, and other Officers of which muſt be ſelected, as in the Caſe of the Aumils, by the Miniſters, with your Concurrence. The Want of theſe Courts is equally hurtful to the Revenue, Government, and Reputation of the Nabob.

In conſequence of the Diſturbances which the rebellious Example of Rajah Cheit Sing has cauſed in the Nabob Vizeer's Country, I have inſtructed Colonel Morgan to aſſiſt you on the Requiſition of the Vizeer, communicated by you to him, or at your own ſingle Application, if any Caſe of Emergency ſhould make it needful, with ſuch Detachments as may be neceſſary, excluſive of the Regiment of Sepoys which is ſtipulated to remain with you at Lucknow. This Power you are not to exerciſe but in Caſes of the moſt urgent and manifeſt Neceſſity. It is directed, that the Regiment ordered for the immediate Protection of your Office and Perſon at Lucknow, ſhall be relieved every Three Months, and during its Stay there ſhall act ſolely and excluſively under your Orders.

It is finally my poſitive Order, that you do not permit any Britiſh Subject, or others claiming the Name and Protection of the Company, to reſide at Lucknow, or within any Part of the Dominions of the Nabob Vizeer, except the Officers and Soldiers of the Army acting in their Duty, and ſuch Perſons as are officially appointed to remain there. And that to ſuch as are now at Lucknow, or in any other Part of his Dominions, not falling within the Deſcription of the above Exception, you give due Notice in Writing, that they quit the Country, allowing them a reaſonable Time, not exceeding Three Months, to ſettle their Affairs; and in caſe of their Refuſal, you are to inform the Nabob thereof, that he may uſe his own Authority to compel them to depart.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

Warren Haſtings.

Chunar,
23d September 1781.

NUM. 2. A.

Letter *to the* Governor General *and* Council, *dated the* 1ſt *of* November 1781, *reſpecting the Eſtabliſhment of* Police *and* Courts *of* Judicature *in the Town of* Banaris.

To Edward Wheler and John Macpherſon, Eſquires, Members of the Council of Fort William.

Gentlemen,

Having thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh Courts of Judicature for the Protection of the Perſons and Property of the Inhabitants of the Town of Banaris, I now do myſelf the Honour to lay before you a Copy of the Plan on which theſe Courts are formed. I ſhall proceed to ſubmit to you the Reaſons which have given riſe to this Plan, and flatter myſelf that they will induce you to honour it with your Concurrence and Approbation.

The Town of Banaris has long been deficient in all thoſe Regulations which in populous Places are neceſſary for the Preſervation of Peace and good Order, and the Protection of the Property and Perſons of the Inhabitants. Whilſt, however, the Sovereignty over it was retained by the Nabob of Owd, ſome Appearance of public Juſtice was ſtill preſerved, and the Awe of a deſpotic Prince produced Reſtraints on the Minds and Actions of Individuals, which bore a Reſemblance, however faint, to the Effects of more regular and perfect Inſtitutions. But theſe Reſtraints ceaſed with the Cauſe which produced them. By the Treaty made with the Nabob Aſſof-ud-Dowlah, on the 21ſt of May 1775, the Sovereignty of Banaris was ceded to the Company, and ſoon after the Cutwallee, or Superintendence of Police, was formally made over by us to the late Rajah. From this Period the Appearance of public Juſtice was gradually effaced, until at laſt, without any Syſtem of Police, any Courts of Judicature, or any Awe of the ſovereign Power, the Inhabitants of Banaris were guilty of Enormities and Crimes which reflected the greateſt Diſgrace on the Government to which they were ſubject. The Relations and Dependants of the Rajah, or the Merchants whoſe Credit was uſeful in the Payment of the Revenue, might violate the Rights of their Fellow Citizens with Impunity; and the ſacred Character of a Bramin, or the high Rank of the Offender, were Conſiderations which ſtamped a Pardon on the moſt flagitious Crimes.

Such was the State in which I found the civil Government of the Town when I arrived at Banaris. All Ranks of People joined in their Repreſentations of the Neceſſity of a Reformation; and this appeared the more neceſſary from a Conſideration of the Circumſtances which are peculiar

to

to Banaris. Its Temples are held in particular Veneration by the Profeſſors of the Hindoo Religion, who flock to them on occaſional Pilgrimages from the moſt remote Parts of Hindoſtan; and many who have acquired independent Fortunes retire to cloſe their Days in a Place ſo eminently eſteemed for its Sanctity. It may therefore rather be conſidered as the Seat of the Hindoo Religion, than the Capital of a Province. But its Inhabitants are not compoſed of Hindoos only; the former Wealth which flowed into it from the Offerings of Pilgrims, as well as from the Tranſactions of Exchange, for which its central Situation is peculiarly adapted, has alſo attracted Numbers of Mahomedans, who ſtill continue to reſide in it with their Families. Amongſt ſuch a Mixture of Perſons, moſtly without Employment, of different Countries, and of different Sects and Religions, it is obvious that every Defect of Civil Government muſt be productive of more than ordinary Evils; and theſe Evils are propagated in all Quarters of India, to the Diſcredit of our Government, and to the Hindrance and Diſcouragement of thoſe who, under more favourable Circumſtances, might wiſh to repair with their Wealth to Banaris.

For theſe Reaſons, after my Return from Chunar, when I began to ſettle the Affairs of this Province, the Reformation of the Civil Government of the Town of Banaris was one of the firſt Objects to which I thought it neceſſary to turn my Attention. The Plan which I have formed is now ſubmitted to your Conſideration. You will obſerve, that I have eſtabliſhed Three diſtinct Departments for the Police and the Civil and Criminal Juriſdiction; and I have put the Whole under the Regulation and Controul of One Chief Magiſtrate, who is to be ſubject to the immediate Orders of the Board. It was at firſt my Intention to have included alſo under his Authority the Collection of the Revenues and Cuſtoms of the Town; but I found that this would give great Diſcontent to the new Rajah, and might perhaps hurt his Influence in the Management of the Revenues of the reſt of the Province; I have therefore left it out; at the ſame Time I am ſenſible that it is a Defect which may occaſion ſome Inconveniencies, from the claſhing of the Authorities of the Rajah and the Chief Magiſtrate.

The Perſon whom I have choſen to fill the important Station of the Chief Magiſtrate, is Allee Ibrahim Khan, a Man who has long been perſonally known to myſelf, and I believe to many Individuals of our Government, and whoſe Character for Moderation, Diſintereſtedneſs, and good Senſe, will bear the Teſt of the ſtricteſt Enquiry. On his good Conduct muſt doubtleſs, in a great Meaſure, depend the Succeſs of a Plan which is to take Effect at ſo remote a Diſtance from the Seat of our Government; and it is chiefly from the Reliance which I have in him perſonally, that I have ventured to delegate a Degree of Authority to him, which it would perhaps be unſafe to veſt in a Perſon of a leſs eſtabliſhed Character.

In forming the Eſtabliſhment, I have calculated the Allowances of the Chief Magiſtrate and his Officers in Proportion to the Importance and Degree of Truſt annexed to their ſeveral Employments; and I have fixed them at ſuch Rates, as will ſet them above the Neceſſity, and I hope the Temptation, of having Recourſe for a Subſiſtence to the Practices of Corruption.

I have the Honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
Warren Haſtings.

Banaris, 1ſt November 1781.

NUM. 2. B.

Copy *of the* Plan *for the Eſtabliſhment of* Police *and* Courts *of* Judicature *in the Town of* Banaris.

Whereas the Town of Banaris is, and has been for many Years paſt, totally deficient in every eſſential Regulation, uſually eſtabliſhed in all large and populous Places, for the Maintenance of Peace, and the Security of the Perſons and Property of the Inhabitants: And whereas the ſaid Place is the fixed Reſidence, or occaſional Reſort, of Perſons of all Religions, from every Part of Hindoſtan and Deccan, and in Effect rather the capital Seat of the Religion of the Hindoos than of the Territory to which it immediately appertains; and from that Conſideration alone, demands a more immediate Protection and Attention from the Powers of Government: For theſe Reaſons, the Governor General, in virtue of the Powers veſted in him by the Governor General and Council, and in the Name of the Eaſt India Company, doth hereby ordain and proclaim:

That a Perſon ſhall be inveſted with the Chief Magiſtracy of the ſaid Town, with full and complete Authority over every Perſon Inhabitant or Reſident therein, for the Preſervation of the Peace and Adminiſtration of Juſtice, with the Title of *Chief Magiſtrate* of the ſaid Town of Banaris.

And it is further ordained and proclaimed, That to enable him duly to execute the ſaid Duties ſo aſſigned him, Three Offices, as herein-after deſcribed, ſhall be eſtabliſhed, in the Manner and with the Powers herein-after mentioned.

Firſt. A *Cutwall*; whoſe Duty it ſhall be to apprehend Perſons who ſhall be guilty or accuſed of Murder, Robbery, Burglary, Theft, or any other Acts of Violence committed in the Town of Banaris againſt the Peace, Perſons, or Property of the People, and to deliver over the ſaid Perſons to the Court of Criminal Juſtice, herein-after appointed and deſcribed; and to ſuppreſs and prevent all Riots and Diſturbances in the ſaid Town, with the Power of inflicting immediate Puniſhment, with Stripes of a Rattan, not exceeding Twenty, on any Offender: For which Purpoſes as aforeſaid, a certain Number of Pykes or Peons in Monthly Pay, and diſtinguiſhed by certain known Badges, ſhall be put under his Charge and Authority by the Chief Magiſtrate, to patrole

the Streets at ſuch Times as he ſhall appoint, and to be occaſionally employed in executing the other Services of his Office. And the ſaid Cutwall ſhall receive his Appointment from the Chief Magiſtrate, who ſhall alſo have the Power of diſmiſſing him and appointing another, and of diſmiſſing any of the Officers employed under him. And the ſaid Cutwall is required to obey all Orders, relative to the Duties aforeſaid, which he ſhall receive from the Chief Magiſtrate.

Secondly. One criminal Court or *Fougedary Adaulut*; which ſhall be compoſed of One Darogah and Three Mowlavies, Men of approved Integrity, and Skill in the Knowledge of the Mahommedan Laws, for the Trial of all Perſons who ſhall be brought before them, and accuſed of Murder, Highway Robbery, Burglary, Theft, or any other Acts of Violence againſt the Peace, Perſons, or Property of the People, committed in the ſaid Town. And the Sooruthall and Futwah, or Proceedings and Sentence of the ſaid Court, ſhall, on the Cloſe of every Trial, be laid before the Chief Magiſtrate; who, after a due Examination thereof, ſhall return the ſame to the Darogah and Mowlavies of the ſaid Court, with his Warrant for carrying the ſame into Execution; and the Darogah and Mowlavies of the ſaid Court are required and commanded to carry the ſame into Execution. And the ſaid Darogah and Mowlavies ſhall receive their Appointments from the Chief Magiſtrate, who ſhall alſo have the Power of diſmiſſing them, and appointing others in their Room; and the Chief Magiſtrate ſhall have Power to eſtabliſh Rules of Proceſs for the ſaid Court, which Rules the ſaid Darogah and Mowlavies are hereby required to obey.

Thirdly. One Civil Court, or *Dewanny Adaulut*; which ſhall be compoſed of One Preſident or Darogah, and Three inferior Judges, being Men of known Integrity and Underſtanding, who ſhall be choſen from among the Inhabitants of the ſaid Town; for the Trial and Deciſion of all Debts, Pledges, Mortgages, diſputed Accounts, Transfers of Property, Rights of Neighbourhood, conteſted Boundaries, Rights of Marriage and Claims of Inheritance, and of all other Claims of Property, whether real or perſonal, according to the Principles of natural Juſtice, in all Caſes not depending on the particular and preſcribed Laws and Inſtitutes of the Parties; and in all Caſes which ſhall depend on the particular Laws and Inſtitutes of the Parties, the ſaid Preſident and Judges ſhall firſt determine on the Facts, as aſcertained by the Evidence before them, and ſhall adjudge the Right as eſtabliſhed by thoſe Facts, according to the reſpective Laws and Inſtitutes of the Parties, whether they be Muſſulmen or Hindoos; and for this Purpoſe they ſhall be aſſiſted by Two Muſſulmen verſed in the Sherrah or Mahommedan Law, and Two Pundits verſed in the Pootee or Code of Juſtice inſtituted for the Profeſſors of the Hindoo Religion, whoſe Opinions ſhall be conſulted and taken in all Caſes referable to them, as aforeſaid. And it is further ordained, That in all Caſes wherein the Judges ſhall not agree in One Judgment, their Opinions ſhall be ſeverally delivered and recorded, and the greater Number of Opinions on One Point ſhall be taken and conſidered as the complete Judgment of the Court thereon; and if the Number of Opinions ſhall be equal, that of the Preſident ſhall be taken and deemed as equivalent to Two Opinions, and the Judgment of the Court ſhall be paſſed accordingly; and their Judgment ſhall be final in all Cauſes of which the original Amount or Matter in Suit ſhall not exceed One thouſand Rupees: And in all Cauſes of which the original Amount or Matter in Suit ſhall exceed One thouſand Rupees, it ſhall be allowable to appeal from the Judgment of the ſaid Court, within the limited Time of One Month from the Date of the Judgment, to the Chief Magiſtrate, who ſhall have Power to reviſe the ſame, or, if he ſhall think fit, to try the Cauſes again, with ſuch further Evidence as the Parties ſhall bring before him, ſufficient Reaſons, to his Satisfaction, being given for their not having been before produced; and either to confirm or reverſe the former Judgment, or to paſs a new Judgment on the Cauſe; and his Judgment ſhall be final and concluſive. And it is hereby required and commanded, That the Chief Magiſtrate, and the Preſident and Judges of the ſaid Court of Dewanny Adaulut, ſhall keep Records of their reſpective Proceedings, which Records ſhall be admitted as Evidence in all future Cauſes. And the Preſident and Judges of the ſaid Dewanny Adaulut ſhall receive their Appointments from the Chief Magiſtrate, who ſhall alſo have the Power of diſmiſſing them and appointing others in their Room; and the Chief Magiſtrate ſhall have the Power to eſtabliſh Rules of Proceſs for the ſaid Court, which Rules the Preſident and Judges of the ſaid Court are hereby required to obey.

And it is further required and commanded, That the Chief Magiſtrate do tranſmit to the Governor General and Council, Monthly, Copies of his Proceedings, and Reports of all Perſons appointed or diſmiſſed in the ſuperior Offices; and of all new Regulations eſtabliſhed by him as aforeſaid; and of all Rules of Proceſs inſtituted for the Two Courts of Fougedary and Dewanny Adaulut, and in general of all other Matters of Conſequence, which ſhall relate either to the general State of the Town, or to the ſeveral Branches of his Department; and ſhall obey all ſuch Orders as he ſhall receive from the Governor General and Council. Although the Authority of the Chief Magiſtrate is, for the Purpoſes of this Inſtitution, reſtricted to the Limits of Banaris; yet, that the Ends of it may not be defeated by Offenders flying from his Juriſdiction beyond thoſe Limits, it is hereby explained and declared, That if any Perſon ſhall be guilty of Offences within the Town of Banaris, and ſhall eſcape beyond the Limits of the ſaid Town, the Chief Magiſtrate, or his Officers, ſhall have Power to apprehend, with a written Warrant, and bring them to Juſtice; and it is required and commanded, That the Zemeedars, Aumils, or other Officers of the Diſtrict into which ſuch Offenders ſhall be ſo purſued, do aſſiſt the Officers of the Chief Magiſtrate in apprehending

prehending the ſaid Offenders; and that it ſhall be alſo lawful for the Officers of the Judges of the Two Courts of Juſtice, to require and compel the Attendance of Witneſſes living beyond the ſaid Diſtricts, Reaſon being firſt ſhewn, to the Satisfaction of the Judges of the ſaid Court, that the Evidence of the ſaid Witneſſes is neceſſary.

And it is hereby further ordained and proclaimed by the Governor General, That Ally Ibrahim Khan be appointed, and that he is accordingly from this Date appointed the Firſt Chief Magiſtrate of the Town of Banaris.

NUM. 2. C.

ESTABLISHMENT *allotted for the different Departments under the* Chief Magiſtrate *of* Banaris.

Chief Magiſtrate	—	—	—	—	2,500 — R^{s}
Naib	—	—	—	—	400 —

DEWANNY ADAULUT.

Darogah	—	—	—	500 —
3 Moonſifs	—	at 250 each	—	750 —
2 Mowlavies	—	100	—	200 —
2 Pundits	—	50	—	100 —
Peſhcar	—	—	—	50 —
3 Moonſhies	—	—	—	70 —
6 Mohrirs	—	15	—	90 —
Nazir	—	—	—	20 —
2 Mirdads	—	10	—	20 —
50 Peons	—	4	—	200 —
Keeper of the Priſon	—	—	—	15 —
2 Aumeens	—	30	—	60 —
2 Dufterbunds	—	4	—	8 —
2 Feraſhes	—	4	—	8 —
2 Maſolchies	—	3	—	6 —
2 Harries or Sweepers	—	—	—	6 —
Paper and Ink	—	—	—	14 —
				2,117 —

FOUGEDARY ADAULUT.

Darogah	—	—	—	400 —
3 Mowlavies	—	at 200 each	—	600 —
Peſhcar	—	—	—	50 —
3 Moonſhies	—	30	—	90 —
4 Mohrirs	—	15	—	60 —
Mirdah	—	—	—	10 —
Naib Mirdah	—	—	—	6 —
40 Peons	—	4	—	160 —
Keeper of the Priſon	—	—	—	15 —
Mullah for adminiſtering Oaths	—	—	—	7 —
Brahmin for D°	—	—	—	5 —
2 Dufterbunds	—	4	—	8 —
2 Feraſhes	—	4	—	8 —
2 Maſolchies	—	3	—	6 —
2 Sweepers	—	3	—	6 —
Paper and Ink	—	—	—	14 —
				1,445 —

Carried forward Rupees 6,462 —

CUTWALLY

CUTWALLY DEPARTMENT.

		Brought forward Rupees	—	6,462 —
Cutwall	—	—	—	150 —
Naib	—	—	—	60 —
Mooſhrif	—	—	—	25 —
Vakeel	—	—	—	20 —
Choky-Nevees	—	—	—	7 —
Akbar-Nevees	—	—	—	7 —
2 Mohrirs for the Priſon	—	at 5 each	—	10 —
Tahveeldar Maulkhanah	—	—	—	10 —
5 Goozerbauns	—	10	—	50 —
4 Hircarrahs	—	5	—	20 —
Feraſh	—	—	—	3 —
Surgeon	—	—	—	10 —
6 Sengariahs	—	2	—	12 —
2 Nuccarchees	—	3	—	6 —
Nuckeeb	—	—	—	4 —
2 Beeſties	—	4	—	8 —
Jellad	—	—	—	2-8
Grave Digger	—	—	—	2-8
Tazeeanah-Burdar	—	—	—	2 —
Oil	—	—	—	5 —
Paper and Ink	—	—	—	2-8
200 Peons and Watchmen	—	4	—	800 —
2 Jemmadars of Peons	—	10	—	20 —
5 Duffadars	—	7	—	35 —
Vakeel at Calcutta, with Moonchies, &c.		—	—	300 —
				1,573-8
				8,035-8
		Occaſional Charges	—	100 —
		Banaris Sicca Rupees		8,135-8

☞ [NUM. 3. A.

Letter *to the* Governor General *and* Council, *dated the 21ſt of* November 1781, *reſpecting the Settlement of the* Zemeedary *of* Banaris, &c.

To Edward Wheler and John M'Pherſon, Eſquires, Members of the Council of Fort William.

Gentlemen,

In a ſhort Letter, dated the 5th of this Month, I informed you, that I had on that Day concluded the Settlement of this Zemeedary, for the fixt and perpetual yearly Jummah of Forty Lacks of Rupees, with a Deduction of Rupees 6,66,666-10-10, being the Amount of Two Months Collections, eſtimated in equal Diviſions for the current Year. I have now the Honour to ſend you the following Papers, which comprehend all the Accounts and Deeds appertaining to this Tranſaction.]

Num. 3. B. Abſtract Account of the Annual Jummah or Rent Roll of the Zemeedary of Rajah Cheit Sing, according to the Pottahs for the laſt Year 1188, including the Jagheers allowed to the Farmers; delivered to me by the Reſident.

Num. 3. C. A particular Account of the Revenues of Banaris, &c. for the Year 1184, delivered to me by the Rajah through his Naib.

Num. 3. D. Abſtract Account of Ditto for Ditto, Ditto.

Num. 3. E. An Account Particulars of the Revenue of Banaris, &c. for the Year 1188, by Ditto.

Num. 3. F. Abſtract Account of Ditto for Ditto, by Ditto.

Num. 3. G. Account of the Revenues of Ghauzipoor, by a Perſon formerly in Office at that Place.

Num. 3. H. Form of the general Settlement concluded with Rajah Mehipnarain.

Num. 3. I. Abſtract of Allowances paid for the Support of diſtreſſed Families and Men of Piety and Learning, and Copy of my Reſolution on this Subject.

Num. 3. K. Paper relative to a Grant of certain Villages to the Fackeers of the Macbarrah of Shah Coſſim Soolimany, and Shah Waſſal, at Chunar.

Num. 3. L. Tranſlation of the Pottah granted to Rajah Mehipnarain, conformable to N° 3. H.

Num. 3. M. Copy of the Cobooleeat, conformable to the above, executed by Rajah Mehipnarain.
Num. 3. N. Kiſtbundee for the current Year 1189.
Num. 3. O. Kiſtbundee for the Year 1190, and for ever.
Num. 3. P. Agreement of Rajah Mehipnarain, for Payment of the Arrears of the Year 1188, from the actual Collections.
Num. 3. Q. Paper of Requeſts preſented to the Governor General by Rajah Mehipnarain, with the Governor General's Anſwers annexed.

I ſhall now proceed to the Explanation of the preceding Accounts.

You will obviouſly perceive, that the Six firſt Numbers ſerved as the Materials on which the Settlement was formed. The firſt is an Eſtimate of the Collections received by Rajah Cheit Sing, and was delivered to me by the Reſident. It correſponds in its total Amount with my Recollection of a ſimilar Account, which was formerly in my Poſſeſſion, and ſufficiently with the Account, N° 3. G, for the Preſumption of its Authenticity. As it was the beſt Account that I was able to obtain, and the Accounts delivered by the Naib were confeſſedly made up of imperfect Materials; all the Accounts having been either carried away by Cheit Sing, or deſtroyed, and all the principal Officers of the Revenue, who could give any Information on the Subject, having accompanied him in his Flight; I made this the Ground for forming the new Settlement.

[Although I am convinced that with proper Management the Zemeedary might yield an Amount conſiderably exceeding that which I have taken as the Eſtimate of its Value; yet I muſt expreſs my Apprehenſion, that unleſs the Naib can find Means to avail himſelf of better official Aſſiſtance than he at preſent poſſeſſes, his real Profits will fall below their allowed Amount; and on that Account I have encouraged him to hope, that if he ſhall prove himſelf diligent in his Office, and punctual in the Diſcharge of his Kiſts to the Company, he may hereafter obtain, from the Indulgence of the Board, ſome Remiſſion from the ſtipulated Jummah, whenever the actual Demands of the Company ſhall be leſſened, and the State of their Treaſury will admit of it; and this I ſhall recommend as an Act of Generoſity becoming their former Relation to this Province, and equally warranted by the Principles of good Policy: For there are certain Lines, beyond which the Exaction of a Public Revenue will not only defeat its own Purpoſe, but operate as effectually to a Reduction as an intentional Act of Bounty could do. But it is not my Wiſh to engage the preſent Attention of the Board in a Diſcuſſion upon this Subject; my Deſire being only to premiſe what I may hereafter find neceſſary to introduce to their further Conſideration, ſo that any future Propoſition may not appear to ariſe wholly from the inſtant Occaſion of it.

I now proceed to the Explanation of the Particulars of the Settlement, as contained in the Account N°3. H. The firſt Deduction made from the groſs eſtimated Jummah of Rupees 53,06,002. 12. is the Sum of Rupees 61,496, granted in Jagheers and other Alienations. The Firſt is a Jagheer granted to Beneram Pundit, of the yearly Amount of Rupees 25,000. I have already acquainted the Board with the faithful Services of this Man and his Family, during the late Troubles, which I can take upon me to aſſure the Board, whatever was our Opinion of them at the Time, and however repugnant it may be to our national Character to regard any Situation of Affairs with the Eye of Deſpondency, were conſidered univerſally by all but ourſelves, equally by Friend and by Foe, as utterly deſperate. To the Merits of Beneram Pundit and his Brother on this Occaſion, I muſt add a long Series of Attachment and effectual Service, from the Year 1773 to the preſent Time.] Though the immediate Servants and confidential Miniſters of a foreign State, to the conſtitutional Members of which they have always profeſſed an almoſt enthuſiaſtic Devotion, they have zealouſly adopted all my Views for the Promotion of a Connection between their Government and ours. For this Purpoſe, Beneram Pundid, at my Requiſition, made One Journey to Naugpoor, and attended Colonel Leſlie and Colonel Goddard in the firſt Operations of their Detachment. Another of the Brothers ſtill attends General Goddard in the ſame Capacity, and has been of great Uſe, by his Letters, in refuting the falſe Repreſentations which were made from Poona to the Government of Berar of the Events of the War. Beneram Pundit proceeded to Naugpoor, and, chiefly at my Requiſition, returned with a Conſtitution much impaired by the cuſtomary Effects of the malignant Climate of the Route lying between Calcutta and Naugpoor. To his Influence I entirely aſcribe the generous Conduct of that Government to ours in many ſignal Inſtances, which ſtand recorded on our Conſultations, and will be univerſally acknowledged as ſuch, when Time ſhall have effaced the Prejudices with which they have been, and perhaps ſtill are, repreſented by ſome; and to him I owe the Influence which I myſelf poſſeſſed with the late Dewan Demaugur Pundit, and its Effects while he was living. In the ſame Spirit of common Attachment, Biſſumber Pundit, the younger Brother, went, inſtructed by me, to Chimnajee Bauboo, the Commander of the Army employed laſt Year in the Province of Oriſſa, and aſſiſted Mr. Anderſon in his Negotiations. In all theſe Inſtances I have conſidered and treated them equally as the Friends of our Government, and the faithful Servants of their own; and wherever I have been, one or both have been my conſtant Attendants.

If theſe Services ſhall be admitted as meritorious, although they ſhould be aſcribed to Motives of perſonal Reſpect to myſelf, ſtill let it be conſidered, that it was in my Character of the firſt and executive Member of our State that I received ſuch Inſtances of it, or could have the Means of

PART I.

inſpiring it; and that I doubt whether a national Attachment, in an alien Breaſt, can either grow or ſubſiſt on any other Principle.

For all theſe united Reaſons I have thought it incumbent upon me to recompenſe the Merits of this Family, by the ſeaſonable Grant of a public Income derived from the Settlement of the Province in which they reſided, and in the Recovery of which to our Authority they have made to themſelves ſo near an Intereſt.

The Board have been pleaſed to repoſe ſo generous a Confidence in me, that I perſuade myſelf that I ſhall not need their Excuſe for having determined this Act by my own Authority. It was neceſſary to include it in the Settlement, as it would have been the Source of much Embarraſſment, and given Riſe to unreaſonable Claims, had it been ordered after the Settlement had been concluded: I might indeed have applied to the Board, and received their Anſwer in ſufficient Time for the Concluſion of the Settlement, had I known that the latter would have been ſo long delayed; but it had been from the Beginning my Intention to form it immediately on my Return to Banaris, and I was only prevented from finiſhing it ſooner by the Delays and Procraſtinations of others, which I could not conquer.

Upon this Subject I have only to add, that the Bounty of our Government has been rarely exerciſed on ſuch Occaſions; that no Occaſion ever did more juſtly demand the Exertion of that Principle; and that it is one of the Duties of Government, as it is one of its beſt Inſtruments, to exerciſe it for the Reward of paſt, and for the Encouragement of future Deſerts.

☞ [The next Article will require little Explanation and no Apology. Bundoo Khan, whoſe Name is affixed to a Jagheer of 2,000 Rupees annual Rent, is an Inhabitant of the Town of Chunar. He attended Captain Blair in the unfortunate Attempt on Ramnagur, and in the Battle fought at Pateeta, and was of much Service to that Officer on both Occaſions, by his Knowledge of the Ground, and by a natural good Underſtanding, which enabled him to apply that Knowledge to the Incidents before him. This Man ſuggeſted the Expedition, which was afterwards formed, to take Poſſeſſion of the Paſſes lying behind Lutteefpoor, by an unknown and ſecret Route, and was himſelf the Guide of the Detachment. Although his former Services, and that which he offered upon this Occaſion, were gratuitous, yet as the Succeſs of the Enterprize appeared to me, from his Deſcription of it, likely to prove the Criſis of the War, I thought it adviſeable to ſecure his Fidelity, and animate his Exertions, by ſuch Incitements as were likely to operate with the greateſt Power on a Man of his Rank and Situation in Life: I promiſed him a Jagheer in any Part of the Company's Dominions of which he ſhould make Choice, to the Amount of One thouſand Rupees clear yearly Rent, if the Enterpriſe ſucceeded. The Event proved the Juſtice of his Advice, and the Truth of his Repreſentations, and his Conduct in the Courſe of it obtained the moſt favourable Teſtimony of Major Crabb, the Officer who commanded the Party. On his Return to Chunar, I inſtantly granted him a Perwannah for the Village of Jalaulpoor, of which I had allowed him to make Choice, ſituated in the Pergunnah of Pateeta; he himſelf told me that it yielded a Revenue exceeding 1,500 Rupees, and to prevent future Diſputes if it were more, I have inſerted it at the round Sum of Two thouſand.

Jaggernaut Sing, late Commandant in the 3d Regiment of Sepoys, having been ſtrongly recommended to me by Colonels Muir, Auchmuty, and other Officers of Rank, whoſe Recommendation at this Time had particular Weight with me, for a Proviſion in his declining Years, after having paſſed Thirty of his Life in faithful and meritorious Service, I procured for him a Jagheer in the Zemeedary to the yearly Value of 1,200 Rupees. I am perſuaded that the Board will admit the Expediency, as well as the Juſtice and Humanity, of making a more comfortable Proviſion than our ordinary invalid Eſtabliſhment allows, for ſuch native Soldiers as have merited the particular Attention of their Superiors; and I flatter myſelf that the preſent Inſtance, as well as the Principle on which it is founded, will meet with their Approval.] ☞

The laſt Article will be explained in the ſeparate Paper, N° 3. I. It is a ſimple Act of Juſtice; and I was pleaſed that our Government ſhould have the Credit of paſſing it. On the ſame Principle I iſſued a Sunnud for the Reſtoration of certain Villages, which are a Part of the original Endowment of Two Durgahs, in the Precincts of Chunar. The Particulars of this Claim are ſet forth in the accompanying Paper, N° 3. K. Theſe form no Part of the Diminution of the Revenues.

With reſpect to the other Deductions, they ſtand exactly as they were ſtated by the Naib himſelf, except the laſt Article, which I myſelf inſerted merely for Adjuſtment, that it might make the remaining Sum of the net Jummah clear 40 Lacks, at which Amount I had predetermined to fix it.

The Accounts of the Settlement, N° 3. L, M, N, O, require no Explanation. The Deduction allowed for the preſent Year from the fixed Jummah for Devaſtations, is accounted for in the Term itſelf. In the unequal Sums of the Kiſtbundee I was compelled to yield to the pertinacious Inſtances of the Family. I ſhould have been better pleaſed that ſo large a Sum had not been thrown upon the laſt Month of the Year; but this Advantage may and ought to be derived from it, that as it has enabled them to make their Payments with greater Facility, it will leave them without Excuſe if they fail in any Part of them.

The Agreement, N° 3. P. paſſed againſt my Inclination, as well as my Advice. A ſubſtantial Revenue having been obtained to the Company, I wiſhed to pay more Regard to their Credit than

to the Proſecution of any immediate Intereſts which were not of eſſential Importance. I knew that an Enquiry might ſerve for an Inſtrument of Gratification to private Influence, and wiſhed to prevent the Temptation. Having already allowed the Sum of Rupees 6,66,666 10 10 as a Deduction from the Firſt Year's Jummah, I wiſhed to bring the Rajah to agree to the Payment of the Arrears due from his Predeceſſor for the laſt Year, amounting to the Sum of Rupees 4,63,006 5 8; in lieu of the Agreement ſince made; but this he would not conſent to. What he is to pay upon this Account therefore remains open for future Enquiry.

The Paper of Requeſts, N° 3. Q, as it preceded the Settlement, ought regularly to have been inſerted before it, but as the Settlement itſelf was not affected by it, it may ſtand in its preſent Place.

Reſpecting the Firſt Requeſt, I had very early apprized the Rajah, through his Naib, that I ſhould not allow him the Exerciſe of any Privilege or Authority, on which an Opinion of Independency could be founded: That the Mint, the Cutwally, or Police of the Town of Banaris, and the Adminiſtration of Juſtice to its Inhabitants; the Power of levying Forces, and maintaining Fortreſſes, were commonly underſtood as Kinds of Royalties or Appurtenances of the Sovereign State; which therefore could not be allowed to him, conſiſtently with his Relation to the Company, nor with the Expectations which they would naturally form on the Experience of the paſt Troubles, in the Arrangement which I might make for the future Adminiſtration of this Province.

I have directed him to deliver over Charge of the Mint to the Reſident; whom I have alſo ordered to receive it, and to conduct the Buſineſs of it until he ſhall have your final Orders reſpecting it; to aſcertain the Amount of the Annual Revenue paid from it to Rajah Cheit Sing during the laſt Five Years, that the Average thereof may be carried to the Credit of the preſent Rajah in the Payment of his Revenue to Government; to erect proper Offices for the Services of the Mint, which, to my great Surprize, I find have been performed to this Time in the private Houſe of the Darogah; and to form and report to me a proper Eſtabliſhment for the Mint on the moſt frugal Valuation.

I beg Leave to recommend the actual Reſident as well qualified to conduct this Buſineſs, and to requeſt that you will be pleaſed to continue him in the Charge of it.

I have already adviſed you very fully of the Appointments which I have veſted in the Perſon of Ally Ibrahim Khan, reſpecting the Police and Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the Town of Banaris; the Inſertion of the other Articles comprized in this Requeſt aroſe from my having directed them to be aboliſhed, becauſe they appeared to me to be diſcreditable and impolitic.—The following is a Liſt of the Particulars.

1. *Nekauſs.* Duties on the Sale of Horſes; an oppreſſive Tax, and inconſiderable in its Amount. It was not my Intention to make this an expreſs Prohibition; but having marked it, with other Articles which I thought improper, in the Liſt of Revenues collected by the Aumeen of Banaris, it was conſidered as an expreſs Prohibition, and I choſe to let it ſtand with that Conſtruction.

2. *Taxes levied on Strangers.* Conſiſting of the following Heads.
   1ſt. Duſtoor Perdaſſy, or Duties levied on Pilgrims.
   2d. Dullaulee Perdaſſy, or Sums paid by the Brokers to buy and ſell for the Pilgrims.

3. *Talaſhee.* Duties taken on the Examination of Perſons travelling from Banaris.

4. *Khummaur Khanah.* Revenue paid by the Keepers of Gaming Houſes.

5. *Duſtoor upon Rings.* A Revenue paid by the Sellers of the Rings uſually bought by Pilgrims.

The 2d, 3d, and 5th Articles have been often repreſented to me as grievous Impoſitions, no leſs in their Amount, than in the Mode of levying them, and a great Diſcouragement to Strangers, whom the Spirit of Devotion might induce to come to Banaris. The Abolition, in itſelf a popular Act, and extending its Influence to every Part of India, is likely to pay the Loſs ariſing from it, by the Inducement which it will afford to greater Numbers to reſort to Banaris, in the Proportion of the Immunity which it preſents to them.

2nd *Requeſt.* The Zemeedars, to whom this Article alludes, are as follows.

Buggut Sing,	Zemeedar of Chowſa.
Eedel Sing,	of Agoree.
Govindjeet,	of Kunteet.
Bikram Majeet,	of ſundry Villages in Zemineeah.
Ally Azeem Khan,	of Ghauzipoor.
Duljeet Sing,	of Bidjeygur.

As

PART II.

As theſe Perſons ſhewed a Zeal for the Service of our Government, and a Deſire of being uſeful to us during the late Troubles, I have thought it proper that their Conduct ſhould not paſs without the Retribution due to it; and for that Purpoſe have directed, that they be reſtored to the Poſſeſſion of the Lands to which they have hereditary Claims. I ſhall alſo give Orders to the Reſident to pay them annually, whilſt they continue out of the Management of their reſpective Diſtricts, an Allowance proportionate to the Jummah of each, as ſoon as that can be aſcertained.

The remaining Requeſts require no Explanation or Comment.

I will not engage the Time of the Board longer than to expreſs my Hope, that the Explanations which I have given of my Proceedings in forming the Settlement will be ſatisfactory. The Proceſs of the Buſineſs I left to Mr. Anderſon, to whom I am much indebted for the Pains and Diligence with which he aſſiſted me in bringing it to a Concluſion. Much remained to be done in Detail at the Time of his Departure on another Service, which of courſe fell upon my Hands with other Buſineſs. To this Cauſe I muſt beg the Board to attribute my Delay in making the Report of my Proceedings, and any Deficiencies that may appear in it.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Eſteem,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Chunar,
21ſt November 1781.

N° 3. B.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT *of the* Annual Jummah *or* Rent Roll *of the* Zemeedary *of* Rajah Cheyt Sing, *and according to the* Pottahs *of the* Farmers *for the* Fussullee *Year* 1188, *including the* Jagheers *allowed to the* Farmers.

NAMES of the PERGUNNAHS.	RENTERS NAMES.	Annual Gross Jummah.	Annual Jummah of Jagheers.	Net Annual Jummah paid into the Rajah's Treasury.
SIRKAR GHAUZIPOOR PERGUNNAHS.				
Pergunnah Cawnpoor — — —	— — — —	18,000 — —	— —	18,000 — —
D° Sidepoor and Bittree — —	Offan Sing — — — —	73,000 — —	50,000 — —	23,000 — —
D° Byreabad — — —	Suddah Nund — — —	30,000 — —	12,000 — —	18,000 — —
D° Siedabad — — —	Jagger Deo Sing — — —	60,000 — —	10,000 — —	50,000 — —
D° Kumah — — —	Omrow Sing Jockrie — — —	58,000 — —	8,000 — —	50,000 — —
Havillee Ghauzipoor — —	Aggaminde — — —	1,01,000 — —	11,000 — —	90,000 — —
Town of Ghauzipoor — —	— — — —	50,000 — —	— —	50,000 — —
Jehoorabad — — —	Jagger Deo Sing — — —	1,30,000 — —	15,000 — —	1,15,000 — —
Gurra Dimma — — —	Jakrow Omrow Sing — — —	50,000 — —	— —	50,000 — —
Mahommedabad — —	Monear Sing — — —	1,25,000 — —	15,100 — —	1,09,900 — —
Bulleiah — — —	— — — —	— —	— —	— —
Khareed — — — — }	Meer Sheriff Ally — — —	4,90,000 — —	40,000 — —	4,50,000 — —
Pachoter, &c. — — }	— — — —	— —	— —	— —
Chowsah — — — —	Boet Sing Jokrie — — —	1,15,000 — —	— —	1,15,000 — —
Zemineak — — —	Boet Sing Jokrie — — —	2,00,000 — —	15,000 — —	1,85,000 — —
Nugrah Zindary — — — —	— — — —	25,000 — —	— —	25,000 — —
	Total Amount Sirkar Ghauzipoor, Rup[s]	15,25,000 — —	1,76,100 — —	13,48,900 — —

N° 3. B.

NAMES of the PERGUNNAHS.	RENTERS NAMES.	Annual Groſs Jummah.	Annual Jummah of Jagheers.	Net Annual Jummah paid into the Rajah's Treaſury.
SIRKAR CHUNAR.				
Pergunnah Baggoat, Havillee, Narroue, Pateeta, Mowy, Mowarry	Ramjewan Sing	3,00,000 — —	30,000 — —	2,70,000 — —
Bovily	Baboo Monear Sing	80,000 — —	— —	80,000 — —
Kerah	In Aummannee to the Rajah	90,000 — —	— —	90,000 — —
Mujivar, an Half Diviſion	—	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —
Doos	In Aummannee to the Rajah	36,000 — —	— —	36,000 — —
Ralloopoor and Ramnagur Town	—	75,000 — —	— —	75,000 — —
Lutteefpoor	—	22,000 — —	— —	22,000 — —
Sattaſghur	Sujan Sing	25,000 — —	— —	25,000 — —
Burhur Beechagur	—	80,000 — —	— —	80,000 — —
Matatch	Durbidjey Sing	50,000 — —	25,000 — —	25,000 — —
Burrah	Bogut	45,000 — —	10,000 — —	35,000 — —
	Total Sirkar Chunar Rup[s]	8,23,000 — —	65,000 — —	7,58,000 — —

N° 3. B.

NAMES of the PERGUNNAHS.	RENTERS NAMES.	Annual Grofs Jummah.	Annual Jummah of Jagheers.	Net Annual Jummah paid into the Rajah's Treafury.
SIRKAR BANARIS.				
Aumeeny				
Seoopoor				
Kutteehur				
Narainpoor				
Ogara				
Rampoor				
Chendipoor				
Kutewar				
Omerow				
Moonderry				
Etafoo				
Lotah				
Chittapoor				
Tickree				
Seeck				
Kuffewar				
Bailfey				
Mudjwah and Kerona				
Apaud and Aughtgongwa				
Town Seepoor				
Jeckney				
	Kalbally Beg	1,40,000 — —	— —	1,40,000 — —
	Ditto	65,000 — —	— —	65,000 — —
		97,000 — —	15,000 — —	82,000 — —
	Villages	40,000 — —	— —	40,000 — —
	Sunker Rutten	32,000 — —	— —	32,000 — —
	Perbaab Rooder	9,000 — —	— —	9,000 — —
		16,000 — —	— —	16,000 — —
	In Aummannee to the Rajah	90,000 — —	— —	90,000 — —
		1,50,000 — —	— —	1,50,000 — —
	Omrow Sing	50,000 — —	— —	50,000 — —
	Ramjeewan Sing	25,000 — —	— —	25,000 — —
	Ditto	1,00,000 — —	— —	1,00,000 — —
	Reza Cooty Khan	55,000 — —	— —	55,000 — —
	Daljeet Sing	30,000 — —	10,000 — —	20,000 — —
	Total Sirkar Banaris — Rup[s]	8,99,000 — —	25,000 — —	8,74,000 — —

N° 3. B.

NAMES of the PERGUNNAHS.	RENTERS NAMES.	Annual Gross Jummah.	Annual Jummah of Jagheers.	Net Annual Jummah paid into the Rajah's Treasury.
SIRKAR JOWNPOOR.				
Kowl	Adjeeb Sing	88,000 — —	— —	88,000 — —
Kherawkut 25,000	Monear Sing			
Chanoah 24,000	Kalbally Beg	53,000 — —	5,000 — —	48,000 — —
Tunwagur 4,000	A Zunnindah			
Kafs Jownpoor	Saheb Khan	3,25,000 — —	25,000 — —	3,00,000 — —
Kubber Deepoor	The Rajah's Brother-in-Law	30,000 — —	6,000 — —	24,000 — —
Menghur	Daljeet Sing	95,000 — —	10,000 — —	85,000 — —
Gurwar	Sujan Sing	1,00,000 — —	15,000 — —	85,000 — —
Gatfoah	In Aummannee to the Rajah	72,000 — —	— —	72,000 — —
Khupperhah	Deiron Sing	12,000 — —	— —	12,000 — —
A Talook of	Moote Lolls	5,000 — —	— —	5,000 — —
Town Jownpoor	Fyzoolah Beg	— —	— —	— —
Buddowy	Ram Bux, Sujan Sing, Duljeet Sing, Taumand Sing	4,00,000 — —	25,000 — —	3,75,000 — —
Murriakhoo	Sundry People	4,75,000 — —	25,000 — —	4,50,000 — —
	Total Sirkar Jownpoor — R^{s}	16,55,000 — —	1,11,000 — —	15,44,000 — —
CANTEET.				
Canteet —	Reza Cooley Khan — —	3,75,000 — —	— —	3,75,000 — —
Kheiraghur pays the Nabob — R^{s} 1,75,000	Lollordoo Sing — — —	25,000 — —	15,000 — —	10,000 — —
ABSTRACT of the above Account.				
Sirkar Ghauzipoor — — —	— — — —	15,25,000 — —	1,76,100 — —	13,48,900 — —
Sirkar Chunar — — —	— — — —	8,23,000 — —	65,000 — —	7,58,000 — —
Sirkar Banaris — — —	— — — —	8,99,000 — —	25,000 — —	8,74,000 — —
Sirkar Jownpoor — — —	— — — —	16,55,000 — —	1,11,000 — —	15,44,000 — —
Canteet — — —	— — — —	3,75,000 — —	— —	3,75,000 — —
Kheiragur — — —	— — — —	25,000 — —	15,000 — —	10,000 — —
	Grand Total — — Rup^{s}	53,02,000 — —	3,92,000 — —	49,09,900 — —

N° 3. C.

PARTICULAR ACCOUNT of the Revenues of Banaris, &c. in the Fuſſullee Year 1184, delivered to the Governor General by Rajah Mehipnarain.

	Jummah.	Deduct Charges of Collection in the Amany Mehals.	Charges in the farmed Mehals allowed under the Name of Maafy Mamooly.	Net Jummah.
Bhagwhut, &c.	4,38,764 1 —	— —	— —	4,38,764 1 —
Havelly Jownpoor	2,84,968 7 —	— —	— —	2,84,968 7 —
Talook Serry Moo, and the Merta Furreka Villages	30,037 3 —	— —	1,500 — —	28,537 3 —
Villages of the Buxey and Cootwal of Jownpoor	31,556 — —	— —	7,750 — —	23,806 — —
Kherakut, containing the Tuppahs of Hurrearpoor Peſſaraht	49,988 10 ½	— —	341 9 —	49,647 1 ½
Gurwarah	88,315 1 —	— —	— —	88,315 1 —
Giſſwah	75,186 10 —	3,600 — —	— —	71,586 10 —
Murriakhoo	3,30,105 7 ¾	— —	11,000 — —	3,17,105 7 ¾
Bhudoee ½ Diviſion	1,58,341 — ½	— —	5,000 — —	53,341 — ½
Amanaut Revenue of the Town of Banaris	1,62,406 — —	— —	— —	1,62,406 — —
Mehal Chunar Behree	21,600 14 —	— —	— —	21,600 14 —
Mehal Byram Gunge	11,028 8 —	— —	— —	11,028 8 —
Chowdrahy Dereeba Paan	301 — —	— —	— —	301 — —
Delally Tela	853 2 —	— —	— —	853 2 —
Cutwally Banaris	4,991 4 —	— —	— —	4,991 4 —
Curthere Pergunnah	91,737 3 ¼	— —	4,000 — —	87,737 3 ¼
Talook of Shewpoor	58,493 10 —	— —	4,000 — —	54,493 10 —
Narainpoor	12,031 — —	— —	— —	12,031 — —
Pundra Booly, &c.	94,221 10 —	— —	— —	94,221 10 —
Cuſſwar Pergunnah	1,13,100 8 ½	6,967 2 ¼	2,303 — —	1,03,830 7 —
Pergunnah Curiat and Borapoor	72,882 12 —	— —	— —	72,882 12 —
Satteſghur	2,256 — —	— —	— —	2,256 — —
Lohta	27,946 — —	— —	4,000 — —	23,946 — —
Chytapoor	1,101 — —	— —	100 — —	1,001 — —
Pergunnah Burrah	32,582 4 —	— —	— —	32,582 4 —

	Jummah of 1184.	Deduct Charges of Collections for the Amanny Mehals.	Charges in the farmed Mehals allowed under the Name of Maafy Mamooly.	Net Revenue.
Brought over				
Bealfee	42,106 — —	— —	2,000 — —	40,106 — —
Colah Affelah	88,221 — —	— —	2,000 — —	86,221 — —
Doof	31,734 5 5	— —	1,000 — —	30,734 5 5
Moongerah	70,218 2 2	— —	— —	70,218 2 2
Juffooree	6,758 6 —	— —	— —	6,758 6 —
Mudhoopoor	10,594 11 —	— —	— —	10,594 11 —
Ahrorow	18,547 4 —	— —	— —	18,547 4 —
Budhur Bejeyghur and Agoree	76,311 1 —	20,000 — —	— —	56,311 1 —
Sayer Mehal of Shewpoor	47,118 — —	— —	2,000 — —	45,118 — —
Pergunnah Raloopoor	50,103 10 ¾	— —	2,927 1 —	47,116 9 ¾
Sayer of Ramnagur	30,168 — —	4,000 — —	— —	26,168 — —
Pergunnah Cuntet Bejeypoor	3,53,161 — —	— —	11,095 — —	3,42,266 — —
Kheyraghur	1,81,046 14 —	— —	— —	1,81,046 14 —
Mint, &c.	18,767 15 ¾	2,552 4 ¾	— —	16,215 11 —
Mahayetch	— —	— —	— —	— —
Dehat Muta Furracat	21,592 7 ¼	— —	21 14 ¾	21,570 8 ¾
Dehat Chunar	6,197 9 ¾	— —	— —	6,197 9 ¾
Mehal Soora	2,001 — —	— —	— —	2,001 — —
Mehal Opium	500 — —	— —	— —	500 — —
Sirkar Ghauzipoor	14,14,831 9 ¾	— —	44,000 — —	13,70,831 9 ¾
	46,95,174 3 ¾			
Add Jagheers not included in the above Accounts	30,324 7 ¾			
	47,25,498 9 ½			
Deduct Kheiraghur, which is included in the above Account, though farmed from the Vizeer	1,81,046 14 —			
	45,44,451 11 ½			
Deduct Jagheers	30,324 7 3			
	45,14,127 5 ¾	37,119 6 ½	1,05,598 8 ½	43,71,409 6 ¼

N° 3. D.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT of the Revenues of Banaris, &c. delivered to the Governor General by Rajah Mehipnarain; being formed from the Accounts of the Fuſſullee Year 1184.

Jummah as per Account — — — —				47,25,498 9 ½
Jummah not included in the Accounts; viz.				
The Jagheers of ½ Bhuddovee — —			1,58,341 — —	
Pergunnah Mahaytch, the Jagheer of Doorbijey Sing —			60,000 — —	
Seidpore, the Jagheer of Owſan Sing,				
Amount Jagheer — —	50,000 — —			
Amount Maffy, or Remiſſion in the Revenue — — —	4,000 — —			
		54,000 — —		
			2,72,341 — —	
Total Jummah of the Diſtricts held by Cheyt Sing —				49,97,839 9 ½
Deduct the Revenue paid to the Vizeer, for the Pergunnah of Kheiragur — — — —				1,81,046 14 —
Total Jummah of the Zemeedary of Banaris, &c. —				48,16,792 11 ½
Deduct				
Amount of the Jagheers as above — —			2,72,341 — —	
Charges incurred in collecting the Revenue of the Aumaunee Mehals, alſo Maafy, or eſtabliſhed Indulgences uſually granted to Farmers and Aumils at the Cloſe of the Year:				
Charges of the Aumanee Mehals	37,119 6 ½			
Maafy Maumooly	1,05,598 8 ½			
		1,42,717 15 —		
			4,15,058 15 —	
		Rup[s]	44,01,733 12 —	

N° 3. E.

ACCOUNT PARTICULARS of the Revenue of Banaris, &c. for the Year 1188, Fuſſulee, delivered to the Governor General by Rajah Mehipnarain.

MEHALS		Jummah.	Charges of Collections in the Amanny Mehals.	Charges allowed in the farmed Mehals, under the Name of Maafy Mamooly.	Net Revenue of 1188.
Bhagwut, &c. — —	Baboo Ram Jerwan — —	4,38,764 1 —	— —	— —	4,38,764 1 —
Havelly Jownpoor — —	Shaaf Khan — —	2,79,968 7 —	— —	— —	2,79,968 7 —
Villages of the Bukſey and Cutwal,	Mirza Fyz Ulla Beg — —	31,556 — —	— —	7,750 — —	23,806 — —
Tallook Serry Moo, and the Muta Furreka Villages	— —	30,037 3 —	— —	1,500 — —	28,537 3 —
Kherakut Hurrearpoor Peſſarah — —	— —	49,988 10 ¾	— —	341 9 —	49,647 1 ¾
Gurwarah — — — —	— —	88,315 1 —	— —	— —	88,316 — —
Gheſwah — — — —	— —	75,186 10 —	— —	3,600 — —	71,586 10 —
Murreakoo — — — —	— —	3,30,105 6 ¾	— —	11,000 — —	3,19,105 7 ¾
Bhuddoe ½ Diviſion — — —	— —	1,58,341 — ¾	— —	5,000 — —	1,53,341 — ¾
Amanaut Renenue of Banaris — —	— —	1,33,000 — —	— —	— —	1,33,000 — —
Mehal Chunar Behreee — —	— —	21,600 14 —	— —	— —	21,600 — —
Mehal Byram Gunge — —	— —	11,00,028 8 —	— —	— —	11,00,028 8 —
Chowdrahy Dereeba Paun — —	— —	301 12 —	— —	— —	301 12 —
Delally Tela — — —	— —	853 2 —	— —	— —	853 2 —
Cutwally Banaris — —	— —	4,991 4 —	— —	— —	4,991 4 —
Cutthere Pergunnah — —	— —	91,737 2 ¾	— —	3,000 — —	88,737 1 ¾
Talook of Shewpoor — —	— —	58,493 10 —	— —	2,000 — —	56,493 10 —
Narrainpoor — — —	— —	10,000 — —	— —	— —	10,000 — —
Pundrha Booly, &c. — —	— —	94,221 9 ¾	— —	— —	94,221 9 ¾
Cuſſwar Pergunuah — —	— —	17,066 — —	6,967 1 ¾	2,303 — —	97,795 14 ¼
Pergunnah Curreat, and Borapoor	— —	67,882 12 —	4,000 — —	— —	63,882 12 —
Satteeſghur — — —	— —	2,20,056 — —	— —	— —	2,20,056 — —
Lohta — — — —	— —	27,946 — —	— —	4,000 — —	23,946 — —
Chetaypoor — — —	— —	11,001 — —	— —	100 — —	10,901 — —
Pergunnah Burrah — —	— —	32,582 4 —	— —	— —	32,582 4 —

N° 3. E.

	Mehals brought over											
Pergunnah Bealfee	42,106	—	—	—	—		2,000	—	—	40,106	—	—
Colah Affelah	88,221	—	—	—	—		2,000	—	—	86,221	—	—
Doos	31,734	4	¾	—	—		1,000	—	—	30,734	4	¾
Moongerah	79,000	—	—	—	—		—	—		79,000	—	—
Juffooree	6,758	6	—	—	—		—	—		6,758	6	—
Mudhoopore	10,594	11	—	—	—		—	—		10,594	11	—
Ahrorah	18,547	4	—	—	—		—	—		18,547	4	—
Budhur, Bejeyghur, and Agoree	69,624	—	—	20,000	—		—	—		49,624	—	—
Sayer of Shewpore	40,118	—	—	—	—		2,000	—	—	38,118	—	—
Pergunnah Raloopore	49,001	—	—	—	—		2,987	1	—	46,013	15	—
Sayer of Ramnagur	30,168	—	—	—	—		4,000	—	—	26,168	—	—
Pergunnah Canteet	3,60,637	7	¾	—	—		11,595	—	—	2,95,042	7	¾
Kheiraghur	1,98,046	—	—	—	—		—	—		1,98,046	—	—
Mahayelch	—	—		—	—		—	—		—	—	
Dehat Muta Furracaut	21,592	6	¾	—	—		21	14	¾	21,570	8	¾
Dehat Chunar	6,197	9	¾	—	—		—	—		6,197	9	¾
Mehal Shoora	20,001	—	—	—	—		—	—		20,001	—	—
Mehal Ophium	500	—	—	—	—		—	—		500	—	—
Tankfal, or Mint	10,634	—	¼	2,552	4	¾	—	—		8,081	11	¾
Sirkar Ghauzipoor	14,14,831	9	¾	—	—		44,000	—	—	13,70,831	9	¾
	46,03,337	5	¾									
Add Jagheers, not included in the above Account	30,324	6	¾									
	46,33,661	12	¾									
Deduct the Revenue of Kheiragur, paid to the Vizier	1,98,046	14	—									
	44,05,290	7	¾									
Deduct Jagheers	30,324	6	¾									
Benaris Siccas	44,05,290	7	¾	41,119	6	½	1,02,598	8	½	42,61,572	9	¾

N° 3. F.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT of the Revenue of Benaris, &c. for the Fussullee Year 1188, delivered to the Governor General by Rajah Mehipnarain.

Jummah or Revenue inserted in the Account, N° 3. E.					46,33,661 12 ½
Jummah of the Jagheers, not included in the Accounts of Revenue; viz.					
The Jagheers of ½ the Pergunnah of Bhuddovee			1,58,341 — —		
Mahaytch, the Jagheer of Doorbigjey Sing	—	—	60,000 — —		
Seidpore, the Jagheer of Owsan Sing	—	50,000 —			
Maafy, or Remission to D°	—	— 4,000 —			
			54,000 — —		
					2,72,341 — —
					49,06,002 12 ½
Deduct the Revenue paid to the Vizeer, for the District of Kheiragur				—	1,98,046 14 —
					47,07,955 14 —
Deductions from the Revenue, Jagheers as above				— —	2,72,341 — —
					44,35,614 14 ½
CHARGES.					
Charges of collecting the Revenues of the Aumanee Mehals			41,119 6 ½		
Maaffy Mamooly, or established Remissions granted to Farmers and Aumils at the Close of the Year	—	—	1,02,598 8 ½		
					1,43,717 15 —
Benaris Siccas	—	—	—	—	42,91,896 15 ½

N° 3. G.

ACCOUNT of the REVENUES of GAUZIPOOR.

Meer Sherf Ally's Diſtricts, on a Mocurrery Jummah.

Bulleah Khareed Goſſah Sekunderpore Luckniſſer Patchooter	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,27,000	—	—

Munnhiar Sing's Diſtricts, held on a Mocurrery Jummah.

Mahomedabad Curreat Pullee	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,15,000	—	—

Takhray Bukht Sing's Diſtricts, on a Mocurrery Jummah.

Gundeah Dahma Zemmaneah Chowſah Curundah	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,77,000	—	—

Baboo Jugger Deo Sing's Diſtricts, held on a Mocurrery Jummah

Zahoorabad Bhadawn Behader Gunge Shaddee Abad	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,50,000	—	—

Baboo Peem Sing's Diſtrict, held on a Mocurrery Jummah

Chandpore	—	—	—	—	—	—	18,000	—	—

Buckſhy Suddanund's Diſtrict, held on a Mocurrery Jummah.

Behry Abad	—	—	—	—	—	—	15,000	—	—

Bauboo Owſan Sing's Diſtricts, held on a Mocurrery Jummah.

Seidpore Bettoree	—	—	—	—	—	—	70,000	—	—

Talook of Booſgan and Burragong	—	—	—	10,000	—	—
Acka Mehdee's Mehals, Havelly, Ghauzipoor, on a Mocurrery Jummah	—	—	—	92,000	—	—
All the Sayer Revenues	—	—	—	55,000	—	—
				1,47,000	—	—
				14,14,000	—	—

PART I.

[N° 3. H.

FORM of the General Settlement concluded by the Governor General with Rajah Mehipnarain.

Jummah, as per Account — — — —			49,06,002 12 —
Add Profits enjoyed by the Bauboos, which may now be resumed, calculated at — — — — —			4,00,000 — —
			53,06,002 12 —
Deduct Articles of Revenue now alienated: (viz.)			
Beneram's Jagheer — — — —		25,000 — —	
Bundoo Khan's Jagheer — —		2,000 — —	
Jaggernaut's Jagheer — — —		1,200 — —	
Half of the Maash and Charity confirmed by Mr. Marriot, afterwards resumed, and now restored		33,296 — —	
			61,496 — —
		Rup^{s}	52,44,506 12 —
Deduct also Charges of Collection, as per Account; viz.			
In the Aumaunee Mehals — —		41,119 6 ½	
In the farmed Mehals allowed to the Farmers —		1,02,598 8 ½	
			1,43,717 15 —
			51,00,788 13 —
Deduct Revenue paid for Kheiragur to the Vizeer — — —			1,98,046 14 —
			49,02,741 15 —
Deduct Jagheers and Allowances for the Support of the Rajah, his Family, and Dependants; viz.			
Jagheer of ½ Buddovee belonging to the Rajah —		1,58,341 — —	
Ditto Mahaytch Doorgbijey Sing		60,000 — —	
Ditto Seidpoor Owsan Sing		54,000 — —	
Allowance granted for the Support of the Rajah, his Houshold Expences, Family, Sewary, &c. —		6,30,400 15 —	
			9,02,741 15 —
Rupees			40,00,000 — —] ☞

N° 3. I.

ABSTRACT of the Allowances paid for the Support of diſtreſſed Families, and Men of Piety and Learning, from the Revenues of Banaris; formed from an Account which was drawn out by Rajah Cheyt Sing at the Deſire of Mr. Fowke, and is now in the Poſſeſſion of the Cauzee; authenticated by Mr. Graham's Signature, and Copy of the Governor General's Minute on this Subject.

A — Eſtabliſhed Allowances ſigned by Mr. Marriot, viz.

MAASH, or old and eſtabliſhed Allowances, conſiſting partly of Aſſignments on the Revenues of Villages, and partly of Monthly Allowances —	58,891	5	—
Rozinadars and poor Men, being Charity Allowances — —	32,111	9	½
	91,002	14	½
B JAGHEERS granted by the King, or by the Vizeers Sujah ud Dowlah and Aſof ud Dowlah, after the Time of Mr. Marriot — —	19,290	—	—
C MAAFY DEHAT, or Aſſignments of Charity on particular Villages, granted by Ditto after Mr. Marriot — — — —	56,375	10	½
Rupees	1,66,668	9	—

A Theſe Allowances were continued until the Year 1183 Fuſſullee, when the Rajah made his Settlement with the Company, after which they were reſumed. Some of them might now be ſtruck out, the Perſons being dead, or the Purpoſes for which they were granted having ceaſed. The Cauzee has engaged to draw out a Liſt of ſuch as may be ſtruck out, or left for Enquiry. Under theſe Allowances are comprehended 323 Names or Families.

B Theſe Grants were after Mr. Marriot's Time, None of the Perſons obtained Lands, but the Rajah paid them an Equivalent in Money. Some of the Grants never took Place, and many of the Perſons are dead.

C Theſe are ſimilar to the Articles under B. only that the Jagheers were temporary, and in Conſideration of Services; whereas the Maafy Dehat were hereditary, and granted to poor People, like the Milk or Ahema of Bahar.

NUM. II.

The Cauzee delivers in a Liſtof Perſons who are not forthcoming, and in general ſuppoſed to be dead, or ſo provided for as not to require the Allowance, the Abſtract of which is as follows:

Abſentees on the Liſt of Allowances ſigned by Mr. Marriott.

Maaſh — — — — —	20,289 8 —	
Rozenadars — — — — — —	4,116 8 —	
		24,406 — —

Abſentees on the Liſt of Allowances granted after the Time of Mr. Marriott.

Maafy Dehaut — — — — —	12,934 3 —	
		12,934 3 —
Rupees		37,340 3 —

Statement ſhewing the whole Amount of the Allowances, and particularizing the Proportion thereof, held in the Names of Perſons who are either dead or abſent.

In Mr. Marriott's Liſt.

Maaſh — — — — —	58,891 5 —		
Dead or abſent — — — —	20,289 8 —		
		38,601 13 —	
Rozenadars — — — —	32,111 9 —		
Dead or abſent — — — —	4,120 8 —		
		27,991 1 —	
			66,592 14 —

After Mr. Marriott's Time.

Maafy Dehaut — — — —	56,375 10 ½		
Dead or abſent — — — — —	12,934 3 —		
	43,441 7 ½		
Jagheers — — — — —	19,290 — —		
		62,731 7 ½	
Rupees			1,29,324 — —

Reſolved, That Copies of the Account be ſent to the Rajah, and that he be directed to reſtore One Half of the ſeveral Allowances confirmed by Mr. Marriott, and held by Perſons who are ſtill in being and preſent, being by the above Account Rs 66,592. 14.—One Half whereof is Rs 33,296. 7. —and that he be allowed, on the Death of the Incumbents, to reſume their Proportions: That Mr. Markham be authorized to examine any Claims which may hereafter be preferred to a ſimilar Indulgence by the Perſons who are ſuppoſed to be dead or abſent, and who are comprehended under the Article of Account N° 2. Rs 24,406, and that he report thereon to the Governor General and Council: That as it does not appear that the Allowances granted after Mr. Marriott's Time were properly beſtowed, it is unneceſſary to reſtore them.

NUM. 3. K.

Paper *relative to a* Grant *of certain* Villages *to the* Fackeers *of the* Mackbarrah *of* Shah Coſſim Soolimany, *and* Shah Waſſel, *at* Chunar.

Former Lands belonging to the Tomb at Chunar :

The Village of Begpoor.
D° Buggerah.
D° Behry.
D° Bibtee.

The Fackeer repreſents that all theſe Villages were reſumed in the Time of Munſaram; and afterwards the Nabob Sufdar-Jung reſtored the Two Villages of Behry and Begpoor, valued at 1000 R^{s} per Annum. Theſe are ſtill in Poſſeſſion of the Fackeers, but they are now ſubject to a Revenue of 500 R^{s} per Annum, which was impoſed about 18 Years ago, when Shumſheer Khan, the Naib of Shujah ud Dowlah, made a general Reſumption of One Half of all the Charity Allowances of Banaris. The remaining 500 R^{s} was confirmed afterwards by Mr. Marriott, and in Exception to all other Allowances has been continued by the Rajah. The Fackeer now requeſts to have the whole Four Villages reſtored, or if this cannot be granted, to have the Revenue of 500 R^{s} taken off. He does not know the Amount of the Villages of Behry and Begpoor.

The Cauzee of Banaris being examined, confirms this Repreſentation.

On the 8th of October, a Sunnud was iſſued to Mahommed Iſmael the Khaleefa, granting the Villages of Begpoor and Behry to be held free of Revenue, for keeping the Tombs and Moſque at Chunar in proper Repair, and for the Maintenance of the Fackeers.

NUM. 3. L.

Tranſlation *of the* Pottah *granted to* Rajah Mehipnarain.

Whereas the Sirkar of Banaris and Chunar, and the Mehals of the Sirkar of Jounpoor, both Maul and Sayer, and Havelee Mahommedabad Banaris, and the Daums of the Mulkoos Khas, and the Pergunnah Bhuddovee, and the Talook of Sungramow, dependant on the Pergunnah of Chanda and Sutteeſgur, and the Pergunnah of Cunteet, called Bidjeypoor, and the Sirkar of Ghauzipoor, and the Pergunnah of Secunderpoor and Khereed, and Shaudeeabad and Tuppa Serincha, with the Maul and Sayer, and Cutwallee of Jounpoor, and the Mokeemee and Yettiſaub, and Sungwozinee of Banaris, both Maul and Sayer, with the Duſtoor Dewannee; beſides Half of the Jagheer of the Pergunnah Bhuddovee, &c. and the Maafy to the Rozenadars and other Expences of the Huſhoo-minhayee, conformably to your Cobooleeat, have been granted to you from the Beginning of the Month of Aſſin, 1189 Fuſſullee, anſwering to the 14th of September 1781, at the Agreement of Forty Lacks of Sicca Rupees, ſtruck in the Town of Banaris, as a fixed and perpetual Sum, without Alteration, for every Year, and from that Amount the Sum of (6,66,666. 10. 10.) Six Lacks Sixty-ſix thouſand Six hundred and Sixty-ſix Sicca Rupees Ten Annas and Ten Gundas for this Year, which is 1189 Fuſſullee, on account of the Devaſtations, &c. in the Two Months of Diſturbances, having been remitted; the remaining Amount of the Maulwajib Maulgoozary of the Sirkar, being (33,33,333. 5. 10.) Thirty-three Lacks Thirty-three thouſand Three hundred and Thirty-three Rupees Five Annas and Ten Gundas of Banaris Sicca Coin, of due Standard and Weight, agreeably to the ſeparate Kiſtbundee and Cobooleeat, which you have written, and delivered under your own Seal, you will, Month by Month, without Excuſe or Delay, and without the Expence of the Sebundee and other Expences, conformably to the Kiſts mentioned in them, pay duly as Khezannah to the Sirkar; and in the next Year the fixed and perpetual yearly Jummah of 40 Lacks of Sicca Rupees, which you have agreed to, and the Kiſtbundee of which alſo you have delivered under your own Seal into the Dufter of the Sirkar, conformably thereto you will yearly diſcharge, the Maulgoozary to the Sirkar. By the Bleſſing of God from this Agreement in no Inſtance ſhall there ever be any Deviation or Failure.

PART I.

The BUNDODUST of the Year 1189 Fussullee.

Conformably to the Papers —	49,06,002 12 —		
Increase to the Advantage of the Sirkar —	4,00,000 — —		
			53,06,002 12 —
Deduct the Jagheers, &c.			
Jagheer of Beneram Pundit — —	25,000 — —		
Jagheer of Bundoo Khan — —	2,000 — —		
Jagheer of Jaggernaut Soobadar — —	1,200 — —		
Restored to the Rozenadars — —	33,296 — —		
			61,496 — —
	Balance —		52,44,506 12 —
Deduct the Expences of Mehals Aumaunee, &c.			
The Expences of Mehals Aumaunee —	41,119 6 10		
Maafy Maumooly — —	1,02,598 8 10		
			1,43,717 15 —
			51,00,788 13 —
Deduct the Mehal of Keiragur, of which the Maulgoozary is appropriated to the Sirkar of the Nabob Vizeer ul Mamalek Behadre —			1,98,046 14 —
	Balance —		49,02,741 15 —
Deduct my Jagheer, &c. with those of my Dependants:			
Half the Pergunnah of Bhuddovee —	1,58,341 — —		
The Pergunnah of Mahaytch — —	60,000 — —		
The Pergunnah of Seidpoor —	54,000 — —		
My Salary, &c. and those of my Dependants	6,30,400 15 —		
			9,02,741 15 —
	Balance —		40,00,000 — —
Deduct the Devastations, &c. of Two Months Disturbances —			6,66,666 10 10
	Balance Banaris S[a] R[s] —		33,33,333 5 10
From the Year 1190 *Fussullee* a fixed and perpetual Sum, conformably to the former Bundobust —	33,33,333 5 10		
Increase taken from the Deductions on account of the Devastations, &c. — —	6,66,666 10 10		
	Total Banaris S[a] R[s] —		40,00,000 — —

Dated the 1st of Assin 1189 Fussullee,
answering to the 14th September 1781.

NUM. 3. M.

Copy *of the* COBOOLEEAT *executed by* Rajah Mehipnarain.

I Rajah Mehipnarain Behadre: Whereas the Zemeedary of the Sirkar of Banaris and Chunar, and the Mehals of the Sirkar of Jounpoor, both Maul and Sayer, and Havelee Mahommedabad Banaris, and the Daums of the Mulboos Khas, and the Pergunnah Bhuddovee and the Talook of Sungramow, dependant on the Pergunnah of Chanda and Sutteesgur and Cunteet, called Bidjeypoor, and the Sirkar of Ghauzipoor, and the Pergunnah of Secunderpoor, and Khereed, and Shaudeeabad, and Tuppa Serincha, with the Maul and Sayer, and Cutwallee of Jounpoor; and the Mokeemee and Yettisaub and Sungwozinee of Banaris, and the entire Mehals both Maul and Sayer, with the Dustoor Dewannee, of the Soubah of Illahabad, besides the Mehal of Kheiragur, of which the Maulgoozary is appropriated to the Sirkar of the Nabob Vizeer ul Mamalek, Asoph-ud-Dowlah-Behadre, and the Mehals of the Jagheers held by the Rozenadars, and the Expences agreeably to the Hushoo-minhayee, or Account of Deductions, have been given in Perpetuity to me from the Honourable Company, at the fixed and perpetual yearly Sum of Forty Lacks of Banaris Sicca Rupees, of full Weight and Standard. I have agreed to it of my own free and entire Will, and of that Amount the Sum of (6,66,666. 10. 10.) Six Lacks Sixty-six thousand Six hundred and Sixty-six Rupees Ten Annas and Ten Gundas having been remitted and deducted on account of the Devastations, &c. in the Two Months of Disturbance for this Year 1189 Fussullee, I have acknowledged, without Hesitation, the remaining Sum of (33,33,333. 5. 10.) Thirty-three Lacks Thirty-three thousand Three hundred and Thirty-three Rupees Five Annas and Ten Gundas of Banaris Sicca Standard, to be due from me as the Maulwajib of the Sirkar for the said Year; and having written and delivered under my Seal, upon a separate Paper, the Kistbundee of it, I engage and deliver in Writing to this Effect, that I will, agreeably to the Kistbundee, Month by Month, without Excuse or Delay, duly pay the Khezanna Aumera of the Sirkar in the Town of Banaris, and at the End of the Year I will take a Receipt and Discharge for the Whole; and the Jummah of the next Year 1190 Fussullee having been settled for the entire Sum of Forty Lacks of Banaris Siccas, as a perpetual and fixed Sum for every Year, that also do I include in this Cobooleeat, and engage that I will, without Excuse or Delay, agreeably to the Kists of the same, discharge, Month by Month, the Khezanna Aumera of the Sirkar; and that I will without Fail pay the Money of the Rozenadars, &c. conformably to the Hushoo-minhayee, and take a Receipt for it; and that, employing myself in the Duties and Affairs of my Zemeedary, I will not neglect or be deficient in any one Point of Diligence and Care, but I will behave with the greatest Attention to the Reyots and to all People of every Rank; and I will exert my utmost Abilities in the Cultivation and Population of the Country, and the Increase of its Revenues, so that it may improve daily; I will act with such Vigour in expelling Thieves, Night Robbers, Murderers, and all Evil Doers, that not one of them shall remain within my Zemeedary, and that no Crimes and Offences shall be heard of.

I have therefore written and delivered these few Lines in the Nature of a Cobooleeat, that it may be made use of when necessary.

Dated the 1st of Assin 1189 Fussullee,
answering to the 14th September 1781.

NUM. 3. N.

Kiſtbundee *of the* Sirkar *of* Banaris *and* Chunar, *and the* Mehals *of the* Sirkar *of* Jounpoor *and* Mahommedabad, *the* Sirkar Ghauzipoor, &c. &c. *for the preſent Year* 1189 Fuſſullee.

		Total Banaris Sicca Rupees —	53,06,002 12 —
Deduct the Jagheers, &c.			
Jagheer of Beneram Pundit — —		25,000 — —	
Jagheer of Bundoo Khan — —		2,000 — —	
Jagheer of Jagernaut Subadar — —		1,200 — —	
Reſtored to the Rozenadars — —		33,296 — —	
			61,496 — —
		Balance —	52,44,506 12 —
Deduct the Expences of Mehals Aumaunee, &c. &c.			
The Expences of the Mehals Aumaunee —		41,119 6 10	
Maafy Maumooly — — —		1,02,598 8 10	
			1,43,717 15 —
			51,00,788 13 —
Deduct the Mehal of Kheiragur, of which the Maulgoozary is appropriated to the Sirkar of the Nabob Vizeer — — —			1,98,046 14 —
		Balance	49,02,741 15 —
Deduct my Jagheer and Monthly Salary, with thoſe of my Dependants:			
Half the Pergunnah of Bhuddovee —		1,58,341 — —	
The Pergunnah of Mahaytch — —		60,000 — —	
The Pergunnah of Seidpoor — —		54,000 — —	
The Salaries, &c. &c. — —		6,30,400 15 —	
			9,02,741 15 —
		Balance —	40,00,000 — —
Deduct the Devaſtations of Two Months Diſturbances — —			6,66,666 10 10
		Balance Banaris Sicca Rupees —	33,33,333 5 10
Month of Aſſin — —		10,000 — —	
Cautic — —		15,000 — —	
Augun — —		2,78,000 — —	
Poos — — —		2,78,000 — —	
Maug — —		2,78,000 — —	
Phaugun — —		2,78,000 — —	
Choit — —		2,78,000 — —	
Byſaak — —		2,78,000 — —	
Jeheit — —		2,78,000 — —	
Aſſar — — —		2,78,000 — —	
Sawaun — —		2,78,000 — —	
Bahadun, the end of the Year		8,06,333 5 10	
		Banaris Sicca Rupees	33,33,333 5 10

Dated the 1ſt of Aſſin 1189 Fuſſullee,
anſwering to the 14th of September 1781.

NUMB. 3. O.

Kiſtbundee *of the* Sircar *of* Banaris *and* Chunar, *and the* Mehals *of the* Sirkar *of* Jounpoor *and* Mahommedabad, *and the* Sirkar *of* Ghauzipoor, *for the Year* 1190 Fuſſullee, *and for ever.*

The Jummah, agreeable to the Papers —		49,06,002 12 —	
The Bazeeaft or Reſumptions taken by the Sirkar from the Bauboos — —		4,00,000 — —	
			53,06,002 12 —
Deduct the new Jagheers and the Rozenadars:			
Jagheer of Beneram Pundit — —		25,000 — —	
Jagheer of Bundoo Khan — —		2,000 — —	
Jagheer of Jagernaut Soobadar — —		1,200 — —	
Reſtored to the Rozenadars — —		33,296 — —	
			61,496 — —
	Balance —		52,44,506 12 —
Deduct the Expences of Mehals Aumaunee, &c. &c.			
The Expences of Mehals Aumaunee —		41,119 6 10	
Maafy Maumooly — — —		1,02,598 8 10	
			1,43,717 15 —
			51,00,788 13 —
Deduct the Mehals of Kheiragur, of which the Maulgoozary is appropriated to the Sirkar of the Nabob Vizeer — — —			1,98,046 14 —
	Balance —		49,02,741 15 —
Deduct my Jagheer and Monthly Salary, &c. with thoſe of my Dependants:			
Half the Pergunnah of Bhuddovee —		1,58,341 — —	
The Pergunnah of Mahaytch —		60,000 — —	
The Pergunnah of Seidpoor — —		54,000 — —	
The Salary, and thoſe of my Dependants —		6,30,400 15 —	
			9,02,741 15 —
	Balance Banaris Sicca Rupees —		40,00,000 — —

Month of Aſſin — — —	2,90,000 — —
Cautic — — —	2,90,000 — —
Augun — — —	2,90,000 — —
Poos — — —	2,90,000 — —
Maug — — —	2,90,000 — —
Phaugun — —	2,90,000 — —
Choit — — —	2,90,000 — —
Byſaak — —	2,90,000 — —
Jeheit — — —	2,90,000 — —
Aſſar — —	2,90,000 — —
Sawaun — — —	2,90,000 — —
Bahadun, which is the End of the Year,	8,10,000 — —
Benaris Sicca Rupees —	40,00,000 — —

Dated the 1ſt of Aſſin 1189 Fuſſullee, anſwering to the 14th of September 1781.

NUM. 3. P.

Agreement *of* Rajah Mehipnarain Behadre, *for the Payment of the* Arrears of the Year 1188 by the actual Collections.

Having been ordered from the Preſence to collect and pay to the Sirkar whatever Balances remain of Cheit Sing's Adminiſtration to the End of the Year 1188; I therefore repreſent, that whatever I can collect of the Balances for the above Year, I will pay to the Sirkar.

NUMB. 3. Q.

Paper *of* Requeſts *preſented to the* Governor General *by* Rajah Mehipnarain *with the* Governor General's *Anſwers annexed.*

The Requeſts of Rajah Mehipnarain, to which he is hopeful that the Governor General's Signature may be affixed.

Firſt Article.

Of the Mint and Adaulut, &c. agreeably to the following Liſt, whatever Part ſhall be divided from my Bundobuſt, I hope that the Receipts of that may be deducted in the Maulgoozary: 1ſt, The Mint. 2d, The Adaulut. 3d, The Fougedary. 4th, The Cutwalee of Banaris. 5th, The Nekhauſs. 6th, The Brokerage from Strangers. 7th, The Talaſhee. 8th, The Khummaur Khanah. 9th, The Duſtoor upon Rings.

Anſwer to the Firſt Article.

Of the Mint and Adaulut, &c. agreeably to the above Liſt, whatever may be the Average Receipts for the Five laſt Years ſhall be deducted in the Maulgoozary. But for the Tax upon Strangers, which out of Regard to the Welfare of the People and the Population of the Country I have annulled, you ſhall have no Deduction.

Second Article.

Whatever may be granted from the Preſence* to the Zemeedars, &c. for their Support, I am hopeful may be deducted in the Maulgoozary.

Anſwer to the Second Article.

The former Zemeedars and Poſſeſſors, who received Allowances and Support, and who were in Poſſeſſion to the End of laſt Year, and who are not included in the Paper delivered to the Preſence, ſhall be continued. Beſides theſe, whatever further Allowance for Support may be made from the Preſence to any Zemeedar, &c. ſhall be deducted in the Maulgoozary.

Third Article.

Whatever may be the Expences on account of the Commiſſions of Engliſh Gentlemen, &c. I am unable to ſupply them. On this Point I requeſt your Orders.

Anſwer to the Third Article.

Whatever Article may be commiſſioned, you ſhall receive the Price of it; and beſides ſuch as ſhall be required on the Company's Account, there ſhall be no Commiſſions.

Fourth Article.

The Way that the Bundobuſt of Affairs has been ſettled is well known to the Preſence. In providing the Maulwajib of the Sirkar, wherever I may ſee the Means of making an Encreaſe of Profit, I will make the Bundobuſt accordingly. I am hopeful that no one may receive Indulgences from the Preſence.

Anſwer to the Fourth Article.

Wherever you may ſee the Means of making an Encreaſe of Profit, you will make the Bundobuſt accordingly. No one ſhall receive Indulgences from the Preſence.

Fifth Article.

I am hopeful that the Troops which ſhall be appointed from the Preſence for the Protection of the Sirkar of Banaris, &c. may be ſtationed agreeably to my Requeſt.

Anſwer to the Fifth Article.

Wherever Troops may be neceſſary they ſhall be ſtationed.

Sixth Article.

Reſpecting the Balances to the End of the Year 1188, during Cheit Sing's Adminiſtration, I have been ordered from the Preſence to collect and pay them to the Sirkar. I therefore repreſent, that whatever of the Balances for the above Year I can collect, I will pay to the Sirkar.

Anſwer to the Sixth Article.

Agreed.

NUM. 4. A.

Copy *of a* Letter *from the* Governor General *to* Colonel Muir, *dated the* 29*th of* Auguſt 1781.

To Colonel Muir,

The Treachery of Rajah Cheit Sing has compelled me to retreat to this Place, where I wait to reduce this Zemeedary; a Work (I truſt) of no great Difficulty or Time. I have received a Letter

* The Reader is deſired to make Allowances for this and ſimilar Expreſſions not ſuitable to our Idiom, but literally tranſlated from the Perſian Original.

from

from you, mentioning that Sindia has offered Terms of Peace; I hereby give you full Powers, in the Name of the Governor General and Council, to conclude a Treaty with him on the following Inſtructions: I have ſent you Credentials in Form*: I do not repeat them in this, on account of the Dangers of the Road; but in caſe of their Miſcarriage, this Letter muſt ſerve in their Stead. Act accordingly, and I will ratify it. Agree with him, either for an Alliance of mutual Defence, or Neutrality. If he deſires to include the Peaſhwa, you may agree to a Treaty of Peace with the Peaſhwa, and an Alliance againſt Hyder Ally Khan, and all common Enemies; or of Peace ſimply, on the Conditions of reſtoring all that we have acquired during the War, except Ahmedabad, and the Territory conquered for Rajah Futteh Sing Gaycwar, and the Fortreſs of Gwalliar, and Fort and Territory of Lahar; that we will never aſſiſt Ragonaut Row, nor interfere in his Concerns, nor admit him into our Forts or Factories; but we will not deliver him into the Hands of any one; let a Time be allowed him to repair to a Place of Security. We will yield what is ours, and what we can in Honour grant; but we will never ſuffer our Treaties to be infringed, nor our Faith to be violated. Reſerve for us Baſſeen if you can, even if it ſhould be neceſſary to yield in exchange for it, all the Lands obtained by the Treaty with Coionel Upton, except Salſett, and the other ceded Iſlands, and the ceded Moiety of Baroach; but do not inſiſt on the Reſervation of Baſſeen to the Hindrance of Peace. We want nothing from them but their Alliance againſt Hyder Ally Khan, and that we diſpenſe with. Be careful that the Agreement do not contain any Thing hoſtile to the Government of Berar, or hurtful to our Connection with it. Obtain the Reſtoration of the Chundery Rajah, and ſecure, as far as you may have the Means, the Intereſts of the Rajah of Nurwar, and any other Chiefs who have been active in our Cauſe. Include the Ranah of Ghode, and Futteh Sing Gaycwar in the Peace. To prevent future Provocations of Hoſtility, let it be agreed to exclude the French and all other European Nations from the Ports and Dominions of the Marattahs. If a Treaty has already taken place between General Goddard and the Marattah State, the preſent Treaty muſt in ſuch Caſe be void; but you may aſſure Sindia that no Peace can or ſhall be made to his Prejudice. Send, if you think proper, a confidential Perſon to Mahdajee Sindia. If he will engage on the above Terms, he muſt conclude them now: I am making my final Arrangements, and if the Time is loſt, a Treaty with him may be for ever precluded by them. Obviate any Concluſions which he may draw from the preſent Scene: It regards myſelf perſonally, and myſelf at this Time but little. Cheit Sing, by the ſudden Maſſacre of ſome of the Sepoys of my Guard, which diminiſhed it to the ſmall Number of 400 Men, ſhut up with me in the cloſe Suburbs of Banaris, might have effected my Deſtruction. I eſcaped the Danger, and Troops are aſſembling daily, to which he can afford no Oppoſition. While the Effect of theſe Inſtructions is paſſing to Sindia, the Rajah's total Excluſion ought to be accompliſhed. I hope it will.

Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 4. B.

Copy *of a* Letter *from the* Governor General *to* Colonel Muir; *dated* Chunar *the* 10*th of* September 1781.

To Colonel Muir.

Sir,

I have lately ſent you Diſpatches in Duplicate, containing Inſtructions and full Powers for negociating and concluding a Treaty of Peace with Mahdajee Sindia, either for himſelf ſeparately, or with a Reſervation in favour of the Peaſhwa, in caſe it ſhould be agreed to include him as a Party in the Treaty. I have ſince received Intelligence that one of my Diſpatches has been intercepted, and it is not unlikely that the other may meet with the ſame Fate. I have alſo ſent a ſecond Letter, of the ſame Subſtance with the firſt, but without Credentials. As the preſent Opportunity promiſes a more ſafe Conveyance, I now ſend you a Duplicate of my laſt Letter of Inſtructions, together with a more full and regular Commiſſion than it was before in my Power to forward to you.

I had Yeſterday the Pleaſure to receive your Letter of the 17th ultimo. The one which you mention to have written on the 13th has not reached me; I imagine it has fallen into the Hands of Cheit Sing's People. It is with great Satisfaction I obſerve, from the Deputation of Chimnajee Row, that Mahdajee Sindia has in ſome Degree anticipated the Overtures of this Government, and that the general Expreſſions of a Deſire of Peace, uſed at his firſt Interview with Mr. Ford, indicate a Diſpoſition ſo conſonant with our own. If Sindia ſhould urge the Return of your Detachment beyond the Boundaries of his Dominions, I ſee no Objection to this Condition being granted; on the contrary, I deſire it. There can be no Uſe for the Continuance of the Detachment after Peace is concluded, nor will there be any Thing in the ſmalleſt Degree diſhonourable in agreeing to its Return.

The Objects of its Equipment were, to divert Mahdajee Sindia from the Operations on the other Side of India, or to withdraw him from the Alliance of the Miniſters of the Peaſhwa; and theſe Objects having been effected, its Return becomes a natural Conſequence.

We are under no Engagements to protect the preſent Dominions of the King, nor thoſe of Nudjiff Khan and the Rajah of Jaynagur; and if Peace is ſettled betwixt Mahdajee Sindia and us, I do not deſire that he ſhould be reſtrained in carrying into Execution any Plans which he may

* See No. 4. B.

have formed againſt them; at the ſame Time, I think it neceſſary to caution you againſt inſerting any Thing in the Treaty which may expreſsly mark either our Knowledge of his Views or Concurrence in them. It will be ſufficient for us (and Sindia ought to be ſatisfied with the Latitude implied in it), if he is only reſtricted in the Treaty from making Encroachments on our own Territories and thoſe of our Allies, the Nabob Vizeer, the Ranah of Ghode, and Futteh Sing Guycwar: For theſe, an expreſs Proviſion muſt be made. He muſt in direct Terms engage, that he will never invade, or in any reſpect moleſt them, as we will in the ſame Manner ſtipulate with reſpect to his Territories. In my Letter of the 29th ultimo, I inſtructed you to obtain the Reſtoration of the Chundery Rajah, and to ſecure the Intereſts of the Rajah of Nurwar, and any other Chiefs who have been active in our Cauſe. This Subject I muſt now leave to your Diſcretion, as it is not in my Power to ſend you ſuch explicit Inſtructions as I could have wiſhed, not having Acceſs at preſent to your and Colonel Camac's Letters, which point out the Nature and Extent of our Connections with each of theſe Rajahs, and the Claims which their paſt Services may have given them to our Protection. In diſcuſſing their Intereſts, we muſt make a Diſtinction betwixt actual and implied Engagements. No actual Engagements whatever exiſt between us and any of theſe Rajahs: Such of them however as have taken an active Part in our Cauſe, are entitled to ſome Degree of Conſideration. You who are on the Spot can beſt judge of their ſeveral Merits, and will attend to them as far as you may be able, without hindering the more important Objects of your Negociations.

It ſeems probable, that few Difficulties will ariſe in ſettling a ſeparate Treaty with Mahdajee Sindia; and this is the Object which I have principally at heart. Let it not be impeded or retarded by the Obſtacles which may occur in adjuſting the more complicated Matters remaining in Diſpute betwixt us and the Peaſhwa. A Peace with the one muſt ſoon produce a Peace with the other. Let an Opening be left for it in the Treaty with Sindia, on the Terms I have mentioned; and though theſe Terms comprehend in our Favour every Object which we could deſire, yet they are, on the whole, ſo advantageous to the Peaſhwa, that I think his Miniſters will acquieſce in them, rather than continue a precarious and expenſive War, deprived of the Support and Aſſiſtance of Mahdajee Sindia.

It will be neceſſary to ſtipulate, that in caſe they ſhall not accede to the propoſed Terms of Peace, Mahdajee Sindia ſhall not, directly or indirectly, aſſiſt them, or ſuffer any of his Tributaries or Subjects to aſſiſt them, with Men, or Money, or Arms, or any other Means of carrying on the War againſt us.

This muſt either be expreſsly ſtipulated, or ſo clearly and ſtrongly implied, that no Doubt ſhall remain regarding it.

In the Event of a Peace being ſettled with the Peaſhwa, it will perhaps be thought proper to recal General Goddard's Detachment, and their beſt Route lies through Mahdajee Sindia's Territories. With a View to ſuch an Event, you will ſtipulate with Mahdajee Sindia, that he ſhall allow them a free Paſſage, and aſſiſt them in procuring Proviſions and other Neceſſaries on the Road.

I encloſe a Letter which I have written to Sindia, informing him of the Powers which I have delegated to you, and deſire that you will urge him to an immediate Deciſion on the Propoſitions which you have to make to him. Inform him, that any Delay or Evaſion on his Part may preclude an Accommodation for ever; and that by your Anſwers I ſhall be regulated in entering into another Plan of Connections, which will not only prove an inſuperable Bar to the Views he has at preſent formed on the Northern Provinces, but draw ſuch a powerful Attack on his own Territories as muſt infallibly end in his Expulſion and Ruin.

If after the Concluſion and Execution of the ſeparate Treaty with Mahdajee Sindia, he ſhould deſire to promote a Peace between us and the Peaſhwa, I will appoint a Perſon with full Powers to negociate the ſame, through the Channel of his Introduction and Mediation.

I am, &c.

Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 4. C.

Extract *of a* Letter *from the* Governor General *to the* Governor General *and* Council; *dated* Banaris *the* 22*d of* October 1781.

I have already expreſſed my Approval of the Orders ſent to Bombay, and to Brigadier General Goddard, on the 24th September, againſt a Plan of offenſive Operations, and an Augmentation of the Military Eſtabliſhment on that Coaſt. The Reaſoning in favour of an Increaſe of their Army is doubtleſs overſet by their own Confeſſion of an Inability to maintain what they have already; and we are unable to ſupply them. I have not yet ſeen the Plan of offenſive Operations recommended, but I am generally againſt it, not being able to diſcover to what uſeful Object it can tend. Be it what it may, this Government has no Object but a Peace; we have acquired all that we fought for when we were forced into the War, and we have offered to part with a large Share of that All, to effect a Peace. But I am influenced by ſtill further Reaſons for approving of the Orders ſent to Brigadier General Goddard; and theſe I ſhall now recite, firſt making an Apology to the Board for not having before given them public Information of the Facts on which they were grounded. I alluded to them diſtantly in an official Letter which I wrote to Mr. Wheler from

 Chunar;

Chunar; but from a Fear of its being intercepted, it was expreſſed with ſo much Caution, that I fear my Meaning may not have been exactly underſtood. In a private Letter, which I have ſince written to Mr. Wheler, I have been more explicit, and ſhall be obliged to him, if he will be pleaſed to lay before the Board, and record on their Proceedings, ſuch Part of it as relates to the Subject.

I was made to underſtand, by a Letter which I received from Colonel Muir, and by diſtant Advances made to me after my firſt Arrival at this Place, that Mahdajee Sindia was very deſirous of a Peace. His Wiſhes coinciding with thoſe of our Government, I ſent Orders to Colonel Muir to negociate, and full Powers to conclude, a ſeparate Peace with him; accompanied by Inſtructions for the Colonel's Guidance, in fixing the Conditions of it. As theſe appear to be the Orders on which a Treaty has ſince been prepared, I tranſmit a Copy of them encloſed for the Information of the Board, together with a Copy of my Credentials to Colonel Muir. They were both drawn up to go in the ſmalleſt Compaſs poſſible, on account of the Danger to which our Letters were expoſed at that Period. Soon after I had diſpatched theſe Orders, and before they could reach Colonel Muir, I received from him a Communication of his Correſpondence with Sindia with reſpect to the Conditions of a Peace; and was happy to find by it, that the Conditions to which Sindia would agree, were, except in very trivial Inſtances, the ſame as thoſe which I had empowered Colonel Muir to yield.

I have the Honour to tranſmit incloſed, for the Information of the Board, a Tranſlation of the Propoſals made to Colonel Muir by Sindia's Dewan, on the Part of his Maſter; a Copy of my Replies, and of a Letter which I wrote with them to Colonel Muir on the 11th ultimo. A Truce had been reſpectively agreed on between the Two Commanders, and my Inſtructions to Colonel Muir fortunately reached him before the limited Period of it was expired. I have been for ſome Time in hourly Expectation of hearing that the Treaty was concluded, having had the Satisfaction to learn from Colonel Muir, that neither the Acts of Cheit Sing, nor the worſt State of our Affairs in this Country, even in the moſt exaggerated Accounts of them, appear to have affected the amicable Diſpoſition of the Marattah Chief; but as it will afford the Board ſome Pleaſure to know what Progreſs Colonel Muir has made, I have the Honour to ſubjoin an Extract of the laſt Letter which I received from him, under Date the 6th Inſtant.—"The Treaty "is at laſt fairly made out, and is this Day tranſmitted to Sindia for his Approbation. To-"morrow it will be returned, and if approved, Captain Ford will be diſpatched to his Camp "to ſee his Signature and Seal affixed; after which Interim, I ſhall be able to write you fully "on every Part of the important Charge intruſted to my Management."—To this Information I beg the Board's Permiſſion to add an Extract of a private Letter received from Colonel Muir's Camp, of a ſtill later Date.—"Leſſai, 11th of October 1781. The Treaty is ready, and Ford is "to ſet out this Morning for the Marattah Camp to have it executed by the Pateel *, as he has "already approved of the Articles in it."

The Board will obſerve in Sindia's Propoſals for a ſeparate Peace, that he promiſes his Interpoſition at Poona, for effecting a general Peace with the Marattah State; and as in ſuch Event it will be neceſſary to take ſome further Steps for ſecuring Succeſs to ſo deſirable an Object, I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to addreſs the Board again on this important Subject.

NUM. 4. D.

Copy *of a* Letter *to the* Governor General *and* Council, *dated the 25th of* November 1781, *reſpecting the Appointment of* Meſſrs. Anderſon *and* Chapman.

To Edward Wheler, and John M'Pherſon, Eſqrs. Members of the Council of Fort William.

Gentlemen,

I have the Honour to tranſmit to you Copies of my Inſtructions ſeverally delivered to Mr. Anderſon and Mr. Chapman; the former deputed to Mahdajee Sindia, and the latter to Naugpoor. Both are ſo conſonant to your Wiſhes, and to the Commands of our Honourable Superiors, that they will need no Comment or Explanation; unleſs it ſhall appear, that the Miſſion of Mr. Chapman is rather oſtenſible than real, little being given him in Charge, but to preſerve the Friendſhip unimpaired between the Government to which he is deputed and ours. In effect, the Advantages propoſed by it are rather contingent, than ſuch as could be preſcribed as determined Objects; an Attention was neceſſary to an ancient and approved Friend of our Government, on the Occaſion of our availing ourſelves of a different Influence. I have judged it neceſſary to provide for a new Channel of Correſpondence with that Government itſelf, having loſt that on which I had hitherto placed a confident and effectual Reliance, in the Dewan Dewaugur Pundit. But my principal Hope from this Deputation is, that it may prove the Means of quickening the Concluſion of the Peace with the Marattah State, by making it an Object of Competition to the Two moſt powerful Members of it. It is not the profeſſed Object of Mr. Chapman's public Credentials, and therefore not liable to any juſt Grounds of Jealouſy in Mahdajee Sindia; but from my Experience of the general Tenor of the Policy of the late Dewan, which the Veneration paid to his Judgment,

* Mahdajee's Title.

especially by the Rajah himself, will continue to make the Rule of the present Administration, or whatever may decidedly succeed to his, I have no Doubt that either the Rajah will endeavour to counteract our Endeavours to obtain a Peace, that we may ultimately have Recourse to him for effecting it; or that he will himself precipitate it, if he sees it likely to be accomplished by another, that he may have the sole Merit of it, and preserve his Consequence with both Parties, by having been the successful Mediator between us. You will observe, that I have sufficiently guarded Mr. Chapman's Instructions against the Possibility of their clashing with Mr. Anderson's.

I am certain that Mr. Chapman will think it no Degradation to act under the Controul of Mr. Anderson, for whose Abilities he entertains a very high and deserved Respect.

Mr. Anderson left Banaris, to proceed on his Deputation, on the 5th of this Month, and Mr. Chapman on the 17th: The former accompanied by his Brother, Lieutenant Anderson, whom I appointed his Assistant, granting him the Allowance usually annexed to such Office; and by Tufuzzul Hoossain Khan, a Native of the first Abilities in Indostan, who had been employed by me under Major Palmer, during his Deputation to the Ranah of Ghode, and had rendered material Services to our Government, and who I knew would be very useful to Mr. Anderson in his Negociations, from the Character which he bears throughout the County for his Integrity and Knowledge: His Salary I fixed at a Thousand Rupees per Month. Mr. Chapman is accompanied by Mr. John White, whom I have appointed his Assistant, with the same Allowance that is given to Lieutenant Anderson; and as the Service on which he is employed is merely temporary, I should hope that the Offices which he holds in Calcutta will not be considered as vacated by this Appointment. Mr. Anderson is authorized by me to draw the same Allowances that were given Colonel Upton, when appointed to the Court of Poona; and Mr. Chapman the same that are given to Mr. Anderson.

I request the Board will be pleased to communicate to Mr. Anderson any Orders which they have lately sent, or may hereafter send, to Brigadier General Goddard, that may be necessary for his Information, or any Instructions given to our Resident at the Court of Hydrabad, respecting the Nazim's Mediation of Peace between us and the Marattahs, that the whole Subject may be completely before him.

Colonel Muir having been unable yet to furnish me with the Particulars of the late Negociation with Mahdajee Sindia, by reason, as his last Letters mention, of the dangerous and continued Sickness of Captain Ford, to whom he had committed the Execution of that Business; and having transmitted to me the Persian Copy of the Treaty, I have the Honour to forward the same for your present Information.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.
Warren Hastings.

Chunar,
25th of November 1781.

NUM. 4. E.

Translation *of the* Treaty *concluded by* Colonel Muir *with* Mahdajee Sindia *on the* 13th October 1781.

Treaty concluded by Colonel Muir on the Part of the English Company, and Maho Rajah Subadar Madho Row, on his own Part.

MR. WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General of Bengal, in virtue of the Powers vested in him by the Governor General and Council of Bengal, having fully empowered Colonel Muir to settle a Treaty of Peace between the Maha Rajah and the Company in this Manner, That whatever he may conclude on the Part of the Company, shall be binding on the said Governor General and Council; and the Maha Rajah and the Colonel being both desirous of a Peace, have concluded one on the following Terms:

ARTICLE 1. Peace and Friendship being solidly established between both Parties, each will remain to their Agreement.

ARTICLE 2. Within the Space of Eight Days from the sealing of the Treaty by both Parties, both Armies shall at one Time begin their March. Colonel Muir with his Camp shall return to the Territory of the Nabob Vizeer, and the Maha Rajah with his Army to his own Country.

ARTICLE 3. If it should be approved, the Maha Rajah will mediate a Peace with Hyder Ally Khan and the Company, and also a Peace between the Peashwa and the Company: If Peace should take place in consequence, it is well; if not, the English Gentlemen are left at Liberty to act as they please, and the Maha Rajah will give no Interruption.

ARTICLE 4. Colonel Muir restores to the Maha Rajah the Territories belonging to him on this Side of the Jumnah, of which the Company have possessed themselves; and the Maha Rajah agrees not to invade the Country of Loke-inder Ranah Chetter Sing Behadre, or Gwalliar, which is now in his Possession, or the Territory of Mehip Rajah Ram Sing Jug-inder Behadre, now also subject to him, provided he (the said Ranah) shall not behave improperly.

ARTICLE 5. The Maha Rajah will restore Ram Chunder, Rajah of Chundery, now under the Protection of Colonel Muir, to his Government, and will make no Demand on him whatever; the Maha Rajah will take the Whole of the said Rajah's Country from his treacherous Dewan, Radjyo

Radjyo Dehir, who rebelled againſt him, and he will reſtore it all to him, except what has for a Length of Time been ſubject to the Peaſhwa; and the Maha Rajah will expel the ſaid Radjyo Dehir.

The above Articles are ratified by the Seals and Signature of Col. Muir on the Part of the Company, and the Maha Rajah on his own Part, on the 13th of October 1781, anſwering to the 24th of Showal 1195 Higerah.

NUM. 4. F.

Copy *of the* Inſtructions *given to* Mr. Anderſon *on the 4th of* November 1781.

Mr. David Anderſon.

Sir,

Having already delegated to you by a formal Commiſſion the full Powers and Authority veſted in me by the Governor General and Council, for the Purpoſe of negociating and finally concluding a Treaty of Peace and Alliance between the Company and the Marattah State, and repoſing the firmeſt Reliance on your Abilities and Integrity, I recommend to your attentive Conſideration and Obſervance the following Inſtructions, for the eaſier and more effectual Attainment of the great Object of your Deputation, and other Purpoſes dependant upon or connected with it.

The Peace lately concluded between our Government and Mahdajee Sindia opens a fair Proſpect for the Succeſs of your Miſſion, by the Offer which that Chief has made to interpoſe his friendly Offices at Poona for an equitable Accommodation. The great Credit and Influence which Sindia poſſeſſes in the Marattah State, leaves no Room for Apprehenſion that his Endeavours will prove ineffectual, if he exerts them ſincerely and heartily.

It is therefore with a View to diſpoſe him more ſtrongly to our Intereſts, that I deſire you to repair to him, to give him the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of my perſonal Eſteem and Friendſhip, and of my Deſire to cultivate and improve the Connection which has lately been formed between us. The moſt effectual Means of accompliſhing theſe Purpoſes, would be a perſonal Interview between Sindia and myſelf; and I deſire that you will endeavour to draw from him his Sentiments concerning it, and adviſe it, if you find him diſpoſed to it, but do not abruptly or formally demand it. Should he be equally inclined to meet me, you may propoſe Allahabad or Khanpoor as the Rendezvous; but if neither of thoſe Places ſhould ſuit his Convenience, I will go to Etawa, or any other Place on the Banks of the Jumnah, that you may judge my Time will admit of. If Sindia ſhould either decline an Interview altogether, or not afford you a proper Encouragement to recommend it, it muſt then reſt entirely with you to effect my Views, which are as follows; firſt, obtain, through the Mediation of Sindia, and in Concert with his Agent, if he ſhall think proper to depute one for that Purpoſe, a Treaty of Peace and Alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the Peaſhwa, againſt all common Enemies, but eſpecially againſt Hyder Ally Khan; or of Peace ſimply on the Condition of reſtoring all that we have acquired during the War, except Ahmedabad, and the Territory conquered for Futteh Sing Guicwar.

We cannot totally abandon the Intereſts of Ragonaut Row; endeavour to obtain for him an adequate Proviſion on the Conditions preſcribed in General Goddard's Inſtructions.

You may conſent to yield what is ours, and what we can in Honour grant; but we will never ſuffer our Treaties to be infringed, nor our Faith to be violated. You will of courſe be attentive to any Engagements ſubſiſting between us and other Powers, in ſettling the Terms of Peace and Alliance with the Marattahs. I except from this Precaution the Ranah of Ghode, who has been guilty of the moſt flagrant Breach of Faith towards us in every Inſtance, after a moſt faithful and ſcrupulous Performance of every Stipulation in his Favour by us, and after we have ſaved him and his Country from certain Deſtruction. Leave him to ſettle his own Affairs with the Marattahs: Colonel Muir will give you complete Intelligence concerning the Ranah's Conduct, and from this you will judge whether he is worthy of being any longer conſidered as our Ally.

Reſerve Baſſeen if you can, even though it ſhould be with the Conceſſion of reſtoring all the Lands obtained by the Treaty with Colonel Upton, except Salſett, and the ceded Iſlands, and the ceded Moiety of Baroach; but do not inſiſt on the Reſervation of Baſſeen, to the Hindrance of Peace. We want nothing from the Marattahs but their Alliance againſt Hyder Ally Khan, and that we diſpenſe with, as the Effect of a poſitive Engagement to which they cannot perhaps in Decency agree, although they may be deſirous of availing themſelves of any Pretext which may lead to it without a direct Breach of their public Faith.

Be careful that your Engagements do not contain any Thing hoſtile to the Government of Berar, or hurtful to our Connection with it.

Include Futteh Sing Guicwar in the Peace, according to the Treaty concluded with him, of which you have a Copy.

Obtain the Excluſion of the French, and all other European Nations, from the Alliance, and from the Ports and Dominions of the Marattahs.

It muſt be a principal Object of your Attention to prevail upon the Marattah Government to invade the Dominions of Hyder Ally Khan. They will not enter into public Engagements for that Purpoſe,

Purpoſe, as they are at preſent in Alliance with him; but Pretexts will not be wanting, when they ſhall perceive the Facility of making Conqueſts upon him.

Endeavour to intereſt Sindia in all theſe Views with the Adminiſtration at Poona, and to engage him ſeparately, or with Tuckoojee Hoolcar, into cloſer Connections with our Government by the Proſpects of mutual Advantage. I leave a large Latitude in this Inſtruction to your Diſcretion. You know my Views, which are for preſent Peace and future Security. Purſue and agree to whatever may promote theſe Views. Reject and ſhun whatever may obſtruct them, and eſpecially ſuch as may draw us into a new Scene of Hoſtilities.

Wait upon Colonel Muir in his Camp at Etawa, before you proceed to Sindia, and obtain from him every Information and Advice which can be uſeful in your Negociations with that Chief.

Since your Departure, Rajah Moodajee Booſla has requeſted, that a Gentleman in my Confidence might attend him, as the Agent of our Government, at his Court; and I have given this Commiſſion to Mr. Chapman. I ſend you a Copy of his Inſtructions. You will furniſh him with ſuch Communications and Orders from Time to Time, as you may judge will tend to promote the Succeſs of your Negociations.

I am, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

Banaris,
the 4th of November 1781.

NUM. 4. G.

Copy *of the* Inſtructions *given to* Mr. Chapman *on the* 12*th of* November 1781.

To Charles Chapman, Eſquire.

Sir,

The Rajah of Berar having expreſſed a Deſire, that an Engliſh Gentleman in my Confidence may be ſent to his Court, I have thought proper to comply with his Requeſt; and depute you thereto accordingly. Your Credentials are incloſed.

You are to conſider the firſt Object of your Commiſſion to be, to ſtrengthen and encreaſe the Friendſhip and Alliance virtually ſubſiſting between the Company and the Berar Government. You will be furniſhed by the Secretary at the Preſidency with Copies of all the Papers that are material to your Information reſpecting the Relation in which the two Governments ſtand to one another; and the Perſian Tranſlator has Orders to give you Copies of ſuch Part of the Correſpondence between them as you may require.

Should any Circumſtances occur that may preſent a favourable Opportunity to the Rajah to act offenſively againſt Hyder Ally, and he or his Miniſters ſhould ſhew a Diſpoſition to employ the Berar Forces in doing ſo, you will encourage it, and acquaint the Board with any reaſonable Conditions on which ſuch Aid may be proffered.

The indeciſive Conduct of the Berar Government, ſubſequent to its Offer of Mediation and Guarantee of a Peace between the Company and Marattah State, having thrown the Credit and Honour of ſuch Interference into other Channels, you can now only accept of the Aſſiſtance which the Rajah's Influence, as a Member of the Marattah State, may enable him to afford, for effecting a ſpeedy Termination of the War, unleſs the other Members of the Marattah State ſhould require or approve his Guarantee, of which you will be adviſed by Mr. Anderſon: And on this, and on every other Occaſion which may reſult from his Negociations, you will act conformably to his Advice and Requiſition.

Should the Rajah, as he declares his Intention to be, pay a Viſit to Poona, and invite you to accompany him, you will comply with his Deſire; but as Mr. Anderſon has been deputed by this Government with full Powers to conclude a Treaty of Peace with the Marattah State, you are on no Account to enter upon any Negociation but at his expreſs Requiſition; and you are in every Reſpect to conſider yourſelf as ſubordinate to him, and to promote the Object which he has been appointed to accompliſh.

In this Qualification of your Powers, I know that I conform to your own Wiſhes; but ſhould any unforeſeen Accident happen to Mr. Anderſon, that will prevent him from being preſent at an Aſſembly of the efficient Members of the Marattah State, or otherwiſe acting on the Orders given him, and he ſhall write to you to that Effect, and you yourſelf be on the Spot, and find them diſpoſed to accommodate their Diſputes with the Company, the Powers entruſted to Mr. Anderſon are in ſuch Caſes to devolve on you, and you will act in conformity to his Inſtructions, a Copy of which is given to you encloſed, and to ſuch further Inſtructions as he ſhall give you.

Mr. John White is appointed your Aſſiſtant in this Deputation, and he and yourſelf are authoriſed to draw the fixed Allowances uſually given to Perſons employed in your reſpective Capacities.

I am, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

Banaris,
12th November 1781.

NUM. 5.

Letter *to the* Governor General *and* Council, *dated the* 22*d of* November 1781, *reſpecting the new Regulations for the Collection of the Cuſtoms within the* Zemeedary *of* Banaris.

To Edward Wheler and John M'Pherſon Eſquires, Members of the Council of Fort William.

Gentlemen,

The Mode of collecting the Cuſtoms on Merchandize paſſing through this Province, being attended with much Abuſe, and the Rates unequal, being proportioned to the Load, not to the Value of the Goods; I have iſſued Orders that the Cuſtoms ſhall be hereafter collected only at Three Stations; namely, Mirzapoor, Banaris, and Ghauzipoor, by appointed Officers inſtead of Farmers, and according to a new Table of Rates formed on the ordinary Prices of the Goods; the Duty to be levied thereon at the Rate of 5 per Cent. and in one ſingle Payment.

Incloſed are Copies of my Orders to the Rajah, and to the Reſident, and of the Table of Rates.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.
Warren Haſtings.

Chunargur,
the 22d of November 1781.

NUM. 6.

Letter *from the* Reſident *at the* Court *of the* Nabob Vizeer, *containing a Relation of the Rebellion in* Gooruckpoor, &c.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

When I had laſt the Honour of ſeeing you, I more than once urged my Reaſons for thinking that the Rebellion of Rajah Cheit Sing was but a Part of a larger and more extenſive Plan, which was, by the good Fortune of your Arrival, prematurely brought forward before all the Parties to it were united and properly prepared for Action. In ſupport of this Belief, and to prove that I am far from being ſingle in the Eſpouſal of it, I beg leave to trouble you with ſome Extracts from the Letters I received from Colonel Hannay, written from the Time of the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion to my Return to Lucknow. His Situation for obtaining the Knowledge he imparts, his Experience, and his Judgment to guide what he advances, muſt make his Sentiments of Weight and Authority.

In his Letter of the 8th of September from Fyzabad, ſcarcely Ten Days after he had ſet about obeying the Nabob Vizeer's Orders to march with his Force to your Aſſiſtance, he writes, "That "the whole Country on the Eaſt Side of the Gogra was in Arms and Rebellion; his own Troops "deſerting, and the ſingle Companies ſcarcely able to join other Detachments; the Forts of "Gooruckpoor, Bilma, and Dumreeagunge, taken from the Aumils by the Zemeedars; and "that even Hircarrahs cannot paſs; ſo that all Communication of Intelligence from his other "Detachments under Major M'Donald, Captain Williams, and Lieutenant Gordon, was cut "off, and at an End." He adds, "This Town (Fyzabad) has more the Appearance of belonging to Cheit Sing than the Vizeer. The Begums have placed Guards to prevent any of my "People going to the Bazar in it. Within theſe few Days Sheakh Chaan, with near 1000 Horſe "and Foot, has marched from hence to Banaris (they were raiſed here); and I muſt confeſs, "that for my own Part I have no Doubt but Jewar Ally Khan and Behar Ally Khan, through "their Agents, have ſtirred up all the Diſturbances which extend from hence to Powey and "Azeemgur. I have ſent Hoolaus Roy to the Begum, to enquire into the Reaſon of my "People being prevented from going into the Town, Cheit Sing's being ſuffered to raiſe Troops "here, and why her Servants attempted to prevent my getting Boats to tranſport the Company's "Guns and Horſe from Amora. I have alſo deſired ſhe will give Orders for ſeizing the Family "of Sheakh Chaan (above mentioned); and when Hoolaus Roy returns, I will write you her "Anſwer. In Kheirabad, Sylack, and all the Country on the (Weſt) Side of the Gogra, be"tween Fyzabad and Kheirabad Bud-amly * in Perfection; the Aumils flying before the Gong"wars, and Cannon firing at all Hours. Cheit Sing has ſent Money to Futteh Shah, Ghinoo "Roy, Ajeetmull, Zalim Sing, and all the refractory Rajahs, to enable them to raiſe Men.—I this "Moment received Gordon's Account of the Loſs of his Detachment, which puts my March to "join you out of the Queſtion. It happened by the Villany of the Fougedar of Tanda, Shum"ſheer Khan, a Cheelah of Behar Ally Khan, who turned his Guns upon the Detachment; and "an unfordable Nullah in Front, and many Thouſands of Rajepoots, who had fought them all "the Way from Chowra Ghaut, made the Sepoys deſpair. Zalim Sing and Puttypaul Sing mean "to attack M'Donald To-morrow, with 2100 Men. Behar Ally Khan deſerves Death, as the Loſs "of Gordon's Detachment can only be imputed to him. His Cheelah would never have acted

* Diſorder.

PART I.

" ſo damning a Part without Orders from him. Jewar Ally Khan, in the Choke of Fyzabad, " aſks every Man who bears the Appearance of a Soldier, why he goes not to Cheit Sing for " Service. I mention theſe Circumſtances, that you may mention them to Mr. Haſtings and the " Nabob, and the neceſſary Steps be immediately taken to prevent what Delay will render a very " ſerious Matter. A few Days more will lead the Ferment which is here to Lucknow. If the " Nabob inſiſts upon my proceeding, I muſt bring every body with me, for whoever is left be- " hind will be ſacrificed."

On the 7th of September Captain Williams writes, " Upon my Arrival here I found that Part " of Futteh Shah's, Ghino Roy's, and Ajeetmull's People, had croſſed to Manjowlay. They have " been urged to this Step by Cheit Sing, who has ſupplied them with a conſiderable Sum of " Money, and promiſed them great Sums, if they will put the whole Country into Confuſion; " 5000 Men are on the oppoſite Side of the River ready to croſs; Futteh Shah has written to all " his Adherents to be in Arms; *Saaaut Ally and the Begums* are concerned deeply in the late Bu- " ſineſs." In a ſubſequent Letter, received immediately after the above, but without Date, Co- lonel Hannay ſays: " I have before told you how violently the Begum's People inflame the pre- " ſent Diſturbances; and, in Addition to this, the principal Zemeedars and Rajahs have all Certi- " ficates, under the Seal of Cheit Sing, that he will ſupply them with whatever Money they may " require for ſubſiſting all the Troops they can raiſe. In a very ſhort Time I apprehend the " greateſt Part of the Nabob's Dominions will be in the State we are in here; and it is the ge- " neral Belief of every Man in this Part of the Country, that the Conduct I have related is a " concerted Plan for the Extirpation of the Engliſh. What may be the Situation of the reſt of " the Nabob's Dominions I know not; but it is moſt certain, that from Goonda to Manjee, " and from Fyzabad to the Banaris Diſtrict, and acroſs from the Gogra to the Ganges, the Coun- " try is in the utmoſt Ferment. Should the preſent Diſturbances proceed from a Plan of Policy, " it will be concealed from you as much as poſſible, and therefore I take all poſſible Means of " communicating to you what I really know to be fact. I know not whether the Dawks paſs " freely from you to Lucknow; but if they do not, and no Meaſure is immediately taken to bring " about Order, and draw the Troops together, we may be deprived of all poſſible Means of aſſiſt- " ing one another, and the Army loſt by detached Regiments. We have no Communication " with Bengal, and the Troops on this Side Banaris are at preſent too much ſeparated to yield one " another timely Aſſiſtance. I hope to God a ſufficient Force is ordered for the Reduction of " Cheit Sing; *for the People who are daily ſent to him, Horſe and Foot, from Fyzabad,* and the Seat " of Rebellion I have before named, is very great."

In his next of the 13th he ſays, " It is impoſſible, in the general Inſurrection which now reigns " almoſt univerſally, for me to get the Force together the Nabob demanded, or to force my Way " to you with a leſs. The greateſt Anarchy prevails. The preſent Inſurrection is ſaid, and be- " lieved, to be with an Intention to expel the Engliſh. I am compelled to give up all the Country " below Goonda. Be upon your guard againſt the Vizeer, for there are many Circumſtances " to make me believe he means to eſpouſe the Cauſe of Cheit Sing; the *Begums* have *almoſt them-* " *ſelves* recruited for him."

In his next Letter of the 18th he ſays, " If you meet but with a Check at Banaris, every Man " in the Country is ready to fall upon your ſcattered Parties."—" The State of the Vizeer's Do- " minions is in general beyond Deſcription; the Inſurrection is not partial, but generally ſpread " throughout the whole, though it rages moſt violently in the Mehals of Sultanpoor, the Mehals " from Fyzabad to the Banaris Country, the Mehals on this (Eaſt) Side of the Gogra, and in " Koonry, Kheirabad, and Sylack; and if I may truſt to the Information I receive, it is already " begun, and will ſoon rage as violently, in Shajehanpoor, Rohilcund, Kora, and the Doaub. " I have already and repeatedly informed you of the Diſpoſitions of thoſe in Power in Fyzabad, " which has in fact been one of the great Sources of the Inſurrection, and the Place of all others " in the Vizeer's Dominions which has ſupplied Cheit Sing with the greateſt Number of Troops. " The old Begum does, in the moſt open and violent Manner, ſupport Cheit Sing's Rebellion " and the Inſurrection; and the Nabob's Mother's accurſed Eunuchs are not leſs induſtrious than " thoſe of the Burra Begum. Capital Examples made of Jewaur Ally Khan and Behar Ally " Khan would, I am perſuaded, have the very beſt Effect."—On the 20th he ſays, after re-ſtating his own imminent Danger, " I have already written you ſo fully my Reaſons of being convinced " of the Treachery practiſed at Fyzabad, and which, I am afraid, extends to your Camp, that I " need ſay no more on the Subject;" and again mentions the general Inſurrection.

The Truth of theſe Poſitions I found moſt fully proved upon my Return, but obſerved in par- ticular, that the moſt vigorous Efforts were limited to the Jagheerdars, among whom the Begums, Fyzullah Khan, and Luttaufut Ally Khan, diſtinguiſhed themſelves. However, the Nabob's Return, the Victories gained by the Troops with you in the total Reduction of Cheit Sing's Country, and the March of the Two Regiments from Khaunpoor to our Aſſiſtance here, have unitedly contributed to reſtore Matters nearly to their uſual Tranquillity. The Example moſt neceſſary to be made of the Two active and turbulent Eunuchs, mentioned by Colonel Hannay, remains yet to be done, as well as of a Villain now in Confinement, who had aſſembled 5000 Gongwars * for the avowed Purpoſe of reſcuing Two principal State Priſoners from their Confine-

* Villagers.

ment

ment with the Nabob, and, as it is univerſally believed, to make an Attempt upon the Treaſury, for which he had fixed the Day of the Duſſarah; but was moſt happily detected, ſeized only a Day before by the Vigilance of the Cutwal, and the Fact proved by Papers found in his Houſe. Unleſs Spirits of this Sort be controuled, the worſt of Conſequences may be expected from the Neglect, ſhould (which God avert!) any freſh Opportunities occur.

I have the Honour to be, with Reſpect, &c. &c.

Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
the 17th of September 1781.

NUM. 7. A.

Tranſlation *of a* Sunnud *granted to* Rajah Cheit Sing, *for the* Zemeedary *of* Banaris, &c. *by the* Governor General and Council.

Be it known to the Muttaſuddies in Office, preſent and to come, Caunoongoes, Mekuddums, Reyots, Cultivators, and to all the Inhabitants and People reſident and belonging to Sircar Banaris, Ghauzipoor, and Chunar, in the Soobah of Illahabad, That whereas by virtue of a Treaty with the Nabob Aſſof-ud-Dowla, concluded on the 20th of Rubby-ul-Auwul 1189 Higerah, or 21ſt of May 1775, the Government and Sovereignty of the Sircars above-mentioned have been ceded to the Honourable Eaſt India Company, from the 4th of Jemaudy-ul-Auwul 1189 Higerah, or 4th July 1775: The ſaid Eaſt India Company therefore, in virtue of the Rights thereby obtained, do confirm unto Rajah Cheit Sing the Zemeedary, Aumeenee, and Fougedaree of the Sircars, agreeably to the Zimmen *, together with the Cutwallees of Jounpoor and Banaris, and the Mint of Banaris, from the ſaid Date; whatever Gold and Silver ſhall be coined in the Mint, the ſaid Rajah ſhall coin conformably to his Mochulka. He is not to be in the ſmalleſt Particular remiſs in the Obſervation and Execution of the ſeveral Duties incumbent on him; he is to behave with Moderation and Kindneſs to the Reyots and People, to promote the Cultivation and Increaſe of the Inhabitants, and Produce of the Lands, expelling Thieves, nightly Aſſaulters, and Robbers, and ſo effectually puniſhing the Diſturbers of the Peace, that no Trace of them may be ſeen; and he is to pay a Tribute of 23,40,249 Banaris Muchlidar Rupees, or 22,66,180 Calcutta Siccas, Annually to the Company's Treaſury. Should he receive Orders to pay the above Revenue at Banaris, he ſhall in that Caſe pay the Sum of 23,40,249 Banaris Muchlidar Rupees, each Rupee to weigh 10 Maſha, and to contain Two Ruttees and Two Chowls † of Alloy, and no more; ſhould the Weight be leſs, or the Alloy more, he ſhall make up the Deficiency. Whenever the Money ſhall not be wanted at Banaris, he is to remit the Annual Amount of 23,66,180 of Sicca Rupees, punctually, agreeably to his Kiſts, and by Monthly Payments, at Calcutta; in Conſideration of which he ſhall be allowed a Deduction of Two per Cent. amounting in all to Sicca Rupees 44,434. 14. 5. Account of Hoondiaun or Exchange; which being deducted, the net Amount is 22,21,745. 1. 15. Sicca Rupees of Calcutta, which he is to pay at that Place. After the Settlement of Accounts at the End of the Year, he ſhall, in the cuſtomary Manner, receive Credit for his Payments; and he is by no means to collect the prohibited Aubwaub of the Durgah of His Majeſty. This Sunnud being granted, is to remain in force, and all former Sunnuds to become null and void. You, the Muttaſuddies and Perſons above-mentioned, are to regard the ſaid Rajah as truly and lawfully poſſeſſed of the Zemeedary, Aumeenee, and Fougedary of the above Sircars, and to acknowledge his Authority in the ſeveral Acts appertaining thereunto: Know, that we have here iſſued the moſt ſtrict and poſitive Commands, and obey them accordingly.

Written on the 25th of Suffer 17 Sun, or 15th of April 1776.

(Signed by the Governor General and Council.)

The ZIMMEN.

The Office of the Zemeedary of Sircar Banaris, Ghauzipoor, Chundery, the Cutwallee, the Duties, and the Mint in the Soobah of Illahabad, have been conferred upon the great Chief Rajah Cheit Sing Behadre, alſo the Aumeenee, and Fougedary.

MEHALS, 19; viz.

Sircar Banaris; Chundery; Sircar Ghauzipoor; Mehals of Jounpoor, comprehending Maul and Duties; Havely Mahommedabad Banaris; the Khauſs Daums, or for ſupplying Clothing to the King; Pergunnah Bhuddovee; the Taulook of Sacramow in Chundar; Suckteeſgur; Bidjeypoor; Sekunderpoor; Khereed Shaudeeabad; Tuppa Serinja; the Cutwallee and Duties of Banaris, free; the Cutwallee of Jounpoor, free; the Mehal of the Mint of Banaris, free; the Banaris Mokeemy, or Brokerage; the Sungwuzzenee, or Stone Weighing of Banaris, and the other Mehals; Yeteſaubee, or Office of Mootteſaub of Banaris.

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* Particulars. † Grains.

PART I.

NUM. 7. B.

Copy *of a* Pottah, *granted to* Cheit Sing.

The Pottah, containing the under-written Stipulations, is granted unto Rajah Cheit Sing Behadre.

Sirkar Banaris, Ghauzipoor, Chunar, and the Mehals of Sirkar of Jounpoor, comprehending the Maul and Duties, Havely, Mahommedabad, Banaris, the Khauſs Daums in Pergunnah Bhuddovee, Talook of Sunkeramow in Pergunnah Chunar, Suckteeſgur, Bidjepoor, Sirkar Ghauzipoor, Pergunnah Sekunderpoor, Khereed, Shaudyabad, Tuppeh Serinja including the Cutwallee Duties of Jounpoor and Banaris, the Mint of Banaris, the Mokeemy, Yetiſaub, and Stone Weighing, both Maul and Duties, and the Duanny Duſtoor, excepting the Naunkar of Half the Jagheer of Bhuddovee, the exempted Jagheers, and Ayma, which have been inſerted for a Length of Time in the Accounts as Deductions: All the Articles of the Tahood are ſettled upon you from the 4th of Jemaudy-ul-auwul 1189 Higerah, or the 4th of July 1775 Engliſh, at a Stipulation per Annum of 23,40,249 Mahidar * Banaris Rupees, not ſhort of the Weight of 10 Maſha each, and not containing a greater Portion of Alloy than Two Ruttees and Two Beringe †, agreeably to your Mochulka and Cobooleeat. This Sum you will therefore pay. But ſhould it not ſuit the Convenience of the Company to receive it at Banaris, you are to pay it in Calcutta, in Sicca Rupees of Calcutta, amounting in that Specie to 22,66,180 Sicca Rupees. The Amount of the Hoondiaun or Exchange allowed you, at the Rate of Two per Cent. is Rupees 44,434. 14. 5. which being deducted, the net Sum will be 22,21,745. 1. 15. Sicca Rupees of Calcutta. This you are to pay without the leaſt Deduction or Depreciation whatever, in the Courſe of each Year, by monthly Payments, agreeably to your ſeparate Kiſtbundy. This you are to pay without any Allowance for Seebundy; you will remit the Money to Calcutta without fail, conformably to the ſaid Kiſtbundee.

Written on the 26th of Suffer, 17th Year of the Reign, or 15th of April 1776.

PARTICULARS of the Tribute; viz.

Former Cobooleeat — — — —			20,86,607 — —
Deduct,			
Nancar — — —		9,800 — —	
Exempted Lands — — —		8,000 — —	
Maafy Fourth Part and Serj Sicca —		2,358 — —	
Half Jagheer of Bhadway — —		67,500 — —	
Altanyaw of Muſſummaut Moraud Barmſo —		500 — —	
			88,158 — —
			19,98,449 — —
Add,			
Nuzzeranna — — —		90,000 — —	
Tuppa — — —		34,207 12 —	
Mukuma, &c. — — —		1,800 — —	
			1,26,007 12 —
Increaſe,			
Total — — —		2,50,000 — —	
Deduct — — —		34,207 12 —	
			2,15,792 12 —
	Banaris Rupees —		23,40,249 — —
Batta to reduce them into Siccas —	— —		74,069 — —
	Remains Sicca Rupees —		22,66,188 — —
Deduct Hindooaun —	— —		44,434 14 5
Remains Nett Amount in Siccas —	— —		22,21,745 1 15

Written on the 26th of Suffer 17th Year, or 15th of April 1776.

* The ſame as Muchlidar. † Grains.

NUM. 7. C.

Tranſlation *of the* Cobooleeat *or* Agreement *executed by* Rajah Cheit Sing, *for the* Zemeedary *of* Banaris, &c.

Whereas a Treaty has been concluded between the Engliſh Eaſt India Company and the Nabob Aſſof-ud-Dowlah Yaheya Khan Behadre, Huzzubber Jung Nazim, of the Soobah of Illahabad, under Date the 20th of Rubby-ul-Auwul 1189 Higerah, or the 21ſt of May 1775 Chriſtian, whereby the Sovereignty of the Sirkars Banaris, Ghauzipoor, Chunar, &c. hath been ceded to the Engliſh Eaſt India Company from the 4th of Jemaudy-ul-Auwul 1189 Higerah, or the 4th of July 1775 Chriſtian; and the Company having granted the Zemeedary, the Aumeenee, and the Fougedary of the aforeſaid Sircars, together with the Cutwallees of Banaris and Jounpoor, &c. and the Mint of Banaris, unto me from the above Date, I do hereby voluntarily conſent and agree, under my Hand, that whatever Coins ſhall be ſtruck in the ſaid Mint, ſhall be conformably to a ſeparate Obligation, which I have executed under Date the 25th of Zihidja, in the 17th Year of the Reign, and delivered to the Government for the Company. It ſhall be my Duty to do every Thing that may be needful and uſual for the Intereſt and Security of the Country; to provide for the Welfare of the Inhabitants; to be attentive to the Increaſe of Cultivation, and Improvement of the Revenues; to uſe my Endeavours in ſuch Manner to expel Robbers and Aſſaſſins, and to puniſh Offenders of every Kind, that not a Trace of them may be left; and I will pay the Annual Revenue of Government, being at Banaris Muchlidar Rupees of Banaris 23,40,249, each Rupee to weigh no leſs than 10 Maſha, and to contain no more Alloy than Two Ruttees and Two Chawl, any Deficiency of the Standard to be made good. If the Government ſhall not have occaſion to receive the ſame at Banaris, I will in ſuch Caſe pay it at Calcutta annually, by monthly Payments, according to Kiſtbundee, and conformably to the Fuzul Zile, or Particulars in the Margin, the Sum being Calcutta Sicca Rupees 22,66,180, including Nuzzeranna, &c. but deducting, on account of Hoondiaun or Exchange, a Premium of Two per Cent. which Premium of Two per Cent. upon the whole Sum, being Sicca Rupees 44,434. 14. 5. I will accordingly deduct, remitting the Remainder to the Company's Treaſury at Calcutta; ſo that, after the Deduction of Exchange, I ſhall pay Nett, and without further Deduction, into the Treaſury at Calcutta, the Sum of Calcutta Sicca Rupees 22,21,745. 1. 15. at the End of each Year.—After Payment of the ſame, and obſerving the Conditions agreed upon, I ſhall receive a Releaſe or Diſcharge in full; wherefore I have written this Agreement, to be adhered to accordingly.

In the Margin follows a Liſt of the Monthly Inſtalments, dated 25th Suffer, 17th Sun, correſponding with the 15th of April 1776 Chriſtian.

(Signed by the Rajah.)

Seal of the Rajah.

APPENDIX.

PART II.

NUM. 1.

Extract *from the* Secret Proceedings *of the* Honourable Governor General *and* Council *on the 9th of* July 1778:

Reſolved, That Rajah Cheit Sing be required in Form to contribute his Share of the Burthen of the preſent War, by the Eſtabliſhment of Three regular Battalions of Sepoys, to be raiſed and maintained at his Expence; and the Governor General is requeſted to write to him to that Effect.

NUM. 2.

Copy *of an* Arzee *from* Rajah Cheit Sing; *received 30th of* July 1778.

I have been honoured by the Receipt of your gracious Letter, communicating the Intelligence of a War having broke out between the Courts of Great Britain and France, and deſiring me to take on myſelf a Share of the Burthen of Expence. My Patron, I am the Servant of the Sirkar. I will write you more fully hereafter; on all Occaſions I am hopeful of your Highneſs's Favour and Support.

NUM. 3.

Extract *from the* Secret Proceedings *of the* Honourable Governor General *and* Council *on the 26th of* Auguſt 1779.

Reſolved, That the Commander in Chief be requeſted to give Orders to Major Camac, or the Officer in Command of his Detachment, for the March of Two Battalions of Sepoys to Banaris, on the Requiſition of Mr. Thomas Graham, the Reſident there, and to remain at that Place for further Orders.

Reſolved, That the following Letter be written to Mr. Graham.

To

PART II.

To Mr. Thomas Graham, Reſident at Banaris.

Sir,

We have received your Letters of the 16th Inſtant, acquainting us that Rajah Cheit Sing had declined to pay the Five Lacks of Rupees which we required of him, as his Proportion of the Expences of the War for the current Year.

Having judged it neceſſary to make this Claim, which was ſuggeſted to us by the Urgency of the Caſe, we cannot admit of any Plea which the Rajah may urge to exempt him from it: Orders have therefore been ſent to Major Camac, or the Officer in Command of his Detachment, to march to Banaris, immediately on your Requiſition, with Two Battalions of Sepoys and to wait our further Orders at that Place. We have thought this Step neceſſary for the Purpoſe of compelling the Rajah to pay the Quota required of him, in caſe of Neceſſity; and we deſire that you repeat your Demand, and inſiſt on his Compliance. If the Rajah ſhould ſtill continue to object to your Claim, and refuſe Payment, you are to require the Officer in Command of the Detachment to march immediately, in conformity to our Orders, and adviſe us of your Proceedings. We hope, however, that you will not be reduced to proceed to this Extremity, as it would oblige us to encreaſe our Demands on the Rajah, by exacting from him the whole Expence of the Detachment from the Day of its March in Addition to our original Claim.

We are, &c.

NUM. 4.

Copy *of an* Arzee *from* Rajah Cheit Sing; *received* 27*th of* Auguſt 1779.

I have been honoured with your Letter, calling on me for Payment of 5 Lacks of Rupees on account of the Expences of the War for the preſent Year, and underſtand its Contents.

My Situation is well known to you; and I aſſure you, without Reſerve, that I have no Ability left, nor is there any Mode of Relief for me but in the Exertion of your Favour. I am fully convinced that it is your Deſire, who are my Maſter, to ſupport me, who am your Servant; and laſt Year you informed Sheakh Ally Nucky, that I ſhould, by any Means, by diſpoſing of my Effects, or by borrowing, make this One Payment, and I ſhould not be called on in future; and that you would take every Means for my Advantage and Support.

I accordingly put in Practice every Method in my Power, and by Loans made good the Requiſition. It is now abſolutely out of my Power to raiſe the Sum required; and I am therefore hopeful you will be kindly pleaſed to excuſe me the Five Lacks now demanded of me beyond the Amount expreſſed in the Pottah, which, through your Favour, I obtained from the Honourable Engliſh Company.

This Raje and Zemeedary, and my Dignity, are the Gifts of your Highneſs; I have judged it neceſſary to repreſent to you my Inability and helpleſs State.

NUM. 5 and 6*.

Copy *of an* Arzee *from* Rajah Cheit Sing; *received* 21*ſt* Auguſt 1780.

I have been honoured by your Orders, directing me to pay Five Lacks of Sicca Muchlidar Rupees to Mr. Fowke for the War, which ſtill continues; and although my diſtreſſed Situation muſt be known to you from other Quarters, notwithſtanding I have been afraid to repreſent it to you myſelf, that I have ſold my Houſe, and borrowed Sums of Money, from which I am not yet releaſed; yet in Obedience to your Orders I have paid One Lack of Rupees out of the Five Lacks to Mr. Fowke, and ſhall pay the other Four in Three Months. I requeſt you will ſend Directions to that Gentleman to allow me that Time, and it ſhall be punctually paid at the End of that Term. You yourſelf muſt be convinced that I have no Abilities or Reſources left.

NUM. 7.

Extract *from the* Public Proceedings *of the* 26*th* October 1780.

Copy *of a* Letter *to General* Giles Stibbert, *Commander in Chief*, &c.

Sir,

Having had late Occaſion to be much diſſatisfied with the Conduct of the Rajah of Banaris towards this Government, in withholding the Payment of the Amount due from him as his Subſidy, we think it neceſſary to direct, and do direct you to iſſue Orders to the Commanding Officers of the Battalions at the Stations neareſt to Banaris, to march immediately to that Place, and wait ſuch further Orders as may hereafter be tranſmitted to them.

We are, &c.

* Suppoſed to have been Two Letters when the Catalogue of the Appendix was written.

NUM. 8.

Extract *from the* Secret Proceedings *of the Honourable* Governor General *and* Council *on the 2d of* November 1780.

Agreed, That the Governor General be requeſted to write to the Nabob Vizeer, recommending to him to require from Fyz-Oolla Khan the Quota of Troops ſtipulated by the Treaty to be furniſhed by the latter for his Service, being 5000 Horſe, to be put under the immediate Command of Lieutenant Colonel Muir, commanding at Futtehgur.

Agreed alſo, That the Governor General be requeſted to write to the Rajah of Banaris, requiring him to furniſh ſuch Part of the Cavalry entertained in his Service as he can ſpare for the Service of this Government, and to inform him what Number he can ſupply; that a Letter be written to Mr. Francis Fowke, directing him to make the ſame Requiſition of the Rajah, and at the ſame Time to obviate any Jealouſy which the Rajah may conceive, that this may be converted to a permanent Impoſition upon him by aſſuring him that the Board will require the Services of thoſe Forces no longer than while the preſent War laſts, after which they will be returned.

NUM. 9.

To Lieutenant Colonel Blair, or in his Abſence the ſenior Officer at Chunargur.

Sir,

I requeſt that you will give immediate Orders for a compleat Battalion of Sepoys, from the Garriſon of Chunargur, to march without Loſs of Time to Ramnagur, where the Commanding Officer will receive my further Inſtructions.

As I underſtand that the Regiment of Sepoys at Chunar is deficient in Arms, I requeſt yon will pleaſe to complete the Battalion ordered for this Service with Arms from the Magazine, and a Quantity of ſpare Ammunition.

You will alſo pleaſe to order the Guards from the 11th Battalion to be relieved immediately, that it may proceed complete in Number. Captain Blair, who is here, has my Orders to return immediately to Chunar, and take Charge of the Detachment for Ramnagur, to which I hope you will have no Objection.

Banaris, 16th Auguſt 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.

Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 10.

To Captain Mayaffre, or Officer commanding the Detachment at Mirzapoor.

Sir,

I deſire that on Receipt hereof you will march your Detachment now at Mirzapoor, by the Route of Chunargur, to Ramnagur. To avoid Delay, it will be beſt to embark your Guns and Stores at Mirzapoor for Chunargur where you may diſembark them, and bring ſuch as are neceſſary for immediate Service with your Detachment by Land.

If you ſhould overtake a Party of Sepoys detached from the Garriſon of Chunar, you will join them, and take Command of the Two Detachments until you receive further Orders.

Banaris, 16th Auguſt 1781. (10 o'Clock P. M.)

I am, &c.

Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 11 *.

To Major William Popham, commanding a Detachment at Banaris.

Sir,

Having inſtructed Mr. Markham, the Reſident at this Place, to arreſt the Perſon of Rajah Cheit Sing, I deſire you will order Two Companies of Sepoys from your Detachment, to hold themſelves in Readineſs to march at a Moment's Warning, on Mr. Markham's Requiſition, for the Purpoſe of aſſiſting and ſupporting him in the Execution of my Inſtructions.

I am, Sir, &c.

Banaris, 15th Auguſt 1781.

Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 12.

To Captain Blair, commanding a Detachment from Chunar.

Sir,

The Rajah having made his Eſcape from hence, is ſtill at Ramnagur, with all his People in Arms, as I am informed. You will therefore be upon your Guard, and diligent to prevent a Surprize or Attack in ſuch a Situation as might give an Advantage over you. You will not proceed to the

* This ſhould have been before No. 9.

PART II.

Town of Ramnagur, as at firſt directed, but halt, upon the Receipt of this, at ſuch a Diſtance, and in ſuch a Situation, as you may judge will afford you Security, until you receive further Orders from me.

Banaris,
16th Auguſt 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 13.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. &c. Banaris.

Honourable Sir,

I have this Inſtant received the Honour of your Commands of Yeſterday's Date, from Banaris; and conformable thereto ſhall, with the utmoſt Expedition, march the Detachment under my Command by the Route of Chunar to Ramnagur, obſerving your Directions in every Reſpect, and otherwiſe acting to the beſt of my Judgment for the Good of the Service.

Camp near Mirzapoor, 17th Auguſt 1781.
(Half paſt 11 A. M.)

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.
James Mayaffre, Captain.

NUM. 14.

To Captain Thomas Blair.

Sir,

The Governor directs you to keep in your preſent Station until you receive further Orders from him, and that you will take care that your Out Poſts be alert, in caſe of an Attack from the Enemy.

I am, Sir, &c.
W. Palmer,
Military Secretary.

Banaris, 18th Auguſt 1781.
(8 o'Clock P. M.)

NUM. 15.

To Lieutenant Colonel Blair, commanding at Chunar.

Sir,

I have received Two Letters from you, dated Yeſterday and To-day.

I have provided a Supply of Money for Captain Blair, and will take inſtant Means for furniſhing you with a Sum for the Remainder of your Garriſon.

I recommend to you to guard againſt a Surpriſe. I do not apprehend that the Rajah will attempt an open Attack upon the Fort or Town, nor is it at preſent neceſſary to lay in any Store of Proviſions.

I requeſt that you will ſend me a Return of the Troops under your Command, including Captain Blair's Battalion, and an Account of the Arrears of Pay due to them; and as it may become neceſſary to make a Proviſion of Victualling Stores for the Fort, I wiſh you to furniſh me with a Liſt of ſuch Articles, and the Quantities of each, as you ſhall judge to be neceſſary.

Banaris,
the 18th of Auguſt 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 16.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

Accompanying I have the Honour to ſend you a Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Miſſing at the Affair of the 16th Inſtant.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
W. Popham.

Banaris,
18th Auguſt 1781.

NUM. 17.

RETURN of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of a Detachment on Service at Banaris, from the Troops encamped at Mirzapoor, commanded by Major William Popham, the 16th of August 1781.

	Lieutenants killed.	Subadars.			Jemmadars			Havildars & Naicks.			Drummers and Fifers.			Sepoys.		
	The 35th Regiment.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
1st Battalion —	Arch. Scott — —	—	1	—	1	—	—	2	7	—	—	1	—	38	33	—
2d Battalion —	Jerem[h] Symes —	1	1	—	1	—	—	2	10	1	—	2	—	33	48	—
Total —	2	1	2	—	2	—	—	4	17	1	—	3	—	71	81	—

RETURN of the Killed and Wounded of the Resident's Body Guard at Banaris on the 16th of August 1781, commanded by Lieutenant John Stalker.

Killed - -	1 Lieutenant.	1 Subadar.		20 Sepoys.	Total 22
Wounded - - -			1 Havildar.	9 Sepoys.	10
Total —	1	1	1	29	32

ABSTRACT of the foregoing Returns.

	1st Battalion.		2d Battalion.		Body Guard.			Killed.	Wounded.
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.			
Lieutenants —	1	—	1	—	1	—	Total.	3	—
Subadars —	—	1	1	1	1	—	—	2	2
Jemmadars —	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	—
Havildars —	1	3	2	—	—	1	—	3	4
Naicks —	1	4	1	—	—	—	—	2	4
Drummers —	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
Fifers — —	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Sepoys — —	38	33	33	48	20	9	—	91	90
	42	42	39	51	22	10	—	103	103

Total killed and wounded — 206

NUM. 18.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

Your Letter of the 16th Inſtant at 9 o' Clock P. M. I received this Morning. I deferred anſwering it till ſuch Time as my Battalion was furniſhed with new Arms, &c. from the Magazine in this Garriſon, which I have the Pleaſure to acquaint you was accompliſhed about Eleven o'Clock. I ſhall march out of the Garriſon at Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, and encamp on the moſt convenient Spot between this and the Town of Ramnagur.

Chunargur, I have the Honour to be, &c.
17th Auguſt 1781. Thomas Blair.

NUM. 19.

To Captain Thomas Blair.

Sir,

On Receipt of this it is my Order that you do immediately move your Detachment towards Ramnagur; and if you ſhall receive Intelligence from Bauboo Owſan Sing, which you will know to be authentic by comparing the Impreſſion of his Seal which I ſend you herewith, or if he ſhall in Perſon give you Intelligence, that you may enter the Town in Safety, and proceed to take Poſſeſſion of the Palace, you will advance and take Poſſeſſion, uſing every Precaution to avoid a Surpriſe. But unleſs you ſhall receive ſuch Intelligence from him, or if you ſhall at the ſame Time have any Grounds to expect an Oppoſition, you will in either Caſe halt and encamp in ſome open and ſecure Place without the Town; but on no Account enter it, unleſs you have every ſuch Aſſurance as your own Judgment can rely upon, added to the Information of Bauboo Owſan Sing as abovementioned, that you may proceed without Hazard of Hoſtilities, which it is my particular Deſire to avoid, as the Ranee and her Family are ſituated in the Neighbourhood and muſt be expoſed to the Conſequences of it.

Banaris, I am, Sir, &c.
19th Auguſt 1781. Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 20.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I herewith ſend you a Return of the Battalion under my Command. I take the Liberty to mention to you, that about 2 o'Clock this Morning ſeveral Elephants and a Guard of Horſemen paſſed near my Camp, on their Way to Lutteefpoor, the Fort in which Rajah Cheit Sing is at preſent. My Hircarrahs acquaint me, the Elephants were loaded with the moſt valuable Things the Rajah left behind him at Ramnagur. The Road to Lutteefpoor is very near my preſent Encampment, and the whole of this Morning ſeveral ſmall Parties of Horſemen, Peons, and Hackeries, have paſſed, ſaid to belong to the different People who are joining the Rajah.

Camp near Mirzapoor, I have the Honour to be, &c.
18th of Auguſt 1781. Thomas Blair.

NUM. 21.

The following is the Subſtance *of an* Order *written, but not delivered, though verbally notified to* Major Popham, *on the 19th of* Auguſt 1781:

" To take the Command of a Detachment to be immediately formed, and of which his own Regiment was to compoſe a Part, and was on the Spot, for the Purpoſes of reducing the Zemeedary of Banaris, which was in a State of general Revolt under the Rajah Cheit Sing, to Obedience; for reſtoring Peace, Order, and Security in the Country; and for granting Pardons to ſuch Perſons as ſhould return to their Duty and make Submiſſion to Government, with the Exception of Rajah Cheit Sing and his Brother Soojaun Sing."

Theſe Orders, or rather Inſtructions, alſo enumerated the Corps of which the Detachment was to conſiſt, and authorized Major Popham to raiſe and form a Corps of Goolaundauze for the Duty of the Train.

Major Popham was left at full Diſcretion in the Conduct of his Military Operations for obtaining the Objects above expreſſed.

Theſe Inſtructions were left behind in the Confuſion of the Retreat from Banaris, and never recovered.

Will. Palmer,
Military Secretary.

NUM. 22.

To Captain Tho. Blair.

Sir,

News is arrived that 2000 Men belonging to Ram Jewan Sing, have taken Poſſeſſion of the Fort of Ramnagur; you are therefore deſired to be on your Guard againſt Surpriſe.

I am, Sir, &c.

Banaris,
the 19th of Auguſt 1781.

Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 23.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I wrote you of my Arrival on the 17th Inſtant in the Evening, and Yeſterday Morning I enclоſed you a Return of my Battalion. As the Hircarrahs have not ſince returned, I am doubtful of their having been able to reach you. Ram Jewan, a Servant of the Rajah Cheit Sing, is about Three Coſs from me, with ſomething more than 2000 Men and 4 Guns. I was informed of his intending me a Viſit laſt Night: I was perfectly ready, and in Hopes of being able to have given a good Account of him and his Guns. A Party of his Horſe came to a Village diſtant about Two Miles, and went off. This Morning One Howda Elephant, and leſs than 200 Horſemen, tolerably well mounted and armed, marched paſt in Front, diſtant about One and a Half Miles. I underſtand the Town of Ramnagur is without Troops, and not more than 250 or 300 Men in the Rajah's Houſe. Troops from the different Pergunnahs are joining Cheit Sing at Lutteefpoor; he has formed a Camp on this Side of it, about Five Coſs from me. I ſhall be glad to receive your further Orders.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Camp near Mirzapoor,
19th of Auguſt 1781.

Tho. Blair.

NUM. 24.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I am juſt now favoured with your Letter of this Date. From the Rajah's Troops being very near me, and paſſing ſome Part of them in my Sight, I have ſince Yeſterday Evening taken Poſt in a Tope, which I have no Doubt of being able to defend againſt conſiderable Numbers. I beg you will be pleaſed to acquaint me whether I may attack any Parties of the Rajah's Troops which are paſſing near my Encampment. My Hircarrahs acquaint me, that Ram Jewan Sing is at Peteete; that Callunder Sing, Nuncoo Sing, and Ball Kiſſen Hazarry, are in the Fort of Ramnagur, with their People, to the Number of 12 or 1500 Men of various Kinds.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Camp near Mirzapoor,
19th of Auguſt 1781.

Tho. Blair.

NUM. 25.

To Major Will. Palmer, Military Secretary to the Honourable Governor General.

Sir,

Your Letter of the 18th Inſtant at 8 P. M. was delivered to me about 12 o'Clock this Morning. I am much concerned that my Orders were ſo poſitive againſt proceeding to Ramnagur, as I have no Doubt but I ſhould have been able to take Poſſeſſion of it with very little Loſs, if the Information I had was good, which I have Reaſon to think was to be depended on. About 10 o'Clock this Morning I was under Arms, and continued ſo till One, my Hircarrahs having brought me Information of the March of the Rajah's Troops from Addilkauhaut: They were in Sight ſoon after. Some Horſemen advanced very near my moſt diſtant Centries, and went off; the whole of the Enemy moved more to the Right, and paſſed my Front within a Mile. I at firſt expected his whole Force; but from my own Obſervation I think they may be 600 Cavalry, not very good, 2 Guns, 200 Sepoys, Matchlock Men, and ſome Peons. They would arrive at Ramnagur before 12 o'Clock.

I have ſince been informed that the Rajah would march from Lutteefpoor about 12 o'Clock for Ramnagur: If he does, I expect him to paſs me about 6 o'Clock this Evening, before which Time I ſhall be under Arms.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Camp near Mirzapoor,
19th Auguſt 1781.

Tho. Blair.

NUM. 26.

To Lieutenant Colonel Blair, commanding at Chunar.

Sir,

On Receipt of this you will pleaſe to order Four Six Pounders, from the Sixteen which were intended for Colonel Cummings, with Two Tumbrils of Ammunition; alſo the Six and Eight Inch Mortars, accompanied by One hundred Shells for each, and double the Number of Fuzees, with the neceſſary Powder for that Number of Shells. Theſe are to come by Water to Chuta Mirzapoor, where the Troops are now under the Command of Captain Mayaffre.

Should the Mortars and their Apparatus not be ready to proceed immediately, they are not to prevent the Six Pounders, &c. &c. being ſent with all Expedition.

Banaris,
20th Auguſt 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 27.

To Lieutenant Colonel Blair, commanding at Chunar.

Sir,

I requeſt that you will uſe your beſt Endeavours to obtain Intelligence of any Parties of the Rajah's Troops at Pateeta, or other Places at no greater Diſtance from Chunar; and if you ſhould judge it practicable and ſafe, attempt to ſurpriſe and defeat them by a Party from your Garriſon. A ſucceſsful Attack, though trifling in itſelf, might produce favourable Conſequences; but I would not have it made at any Riſque of Miſcarriage, and ſtill leſs if there was the ſmalleſt Probability of Misfortune. I would be underſtood only to recommend the Matter to your Conſideration. The Deciſion muſt be left to your own Judgment, formed upon an intimate Knowledge of all Circumſtances.

A Budgerow having been ſtopped and plundered, and an European and ſeveral Dandies belonging to it murdered, by the Rajah's People at Ramnagur, you will be pleaſed to give Orders for preventing all Boats whatever paſſing the Limits of your Garriſon, either up or down the River.

Banaris,
the 20th of Auguſt 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 28.

To Lieutenant Colonel Blair, commanding at Chunar.

Sir,

I deſire you will order the Battalion of Sepoys now at Chunar to croſs the River there, and march directly to this Place: You will pleaſe to furniſh them with as much Ammunition as the Men's Pouches will contain.

I conclude that Captain Mayaffre's and Captain Blair's Corps have retreated to Chunar, as I have certain Intelligence of that Detachment being worſted in an Action with the Rajah's Troops. In this Caſe you will be able to ſpare me the whole Battalion, without leaving the Fort in any Danger; but at any rate ſend me as many Troops as you poſſibly can ſpare.

Banaris, 20th Auguſt 1781.
Half paſt 9 o'Clock.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 29.

To Major Eaton, commanding at Buxar.

Sir,

As it is apprehended that Rajah Cheit Sing's People, in the preſent State of Diſobedience to Government, may ſeize and plunder any Boats which may come into his Diſtricts, I deſire you will not allow any Boats coming up the River to paſs your Station.

Banaris,
the 20th of Auguſt 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 30.

To Captain Tho. Blair.

Sir,

Various Accounts are arrived here of an Action between you and the Rajah's Troops. As there is no Occaſion for you to riſque a Misfortune whilſt a Reinforcement is ſo near you, the Governor General orders that you remain on the Defenſive until joined by Captain Mayaffre.

Banaris, 20th Auguſt 1781.
(5 P. M.)

I am, Sir, &c.
W. Palmer,
Military Secretary.

NUM. 31.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Sir,

I have juſt received your Letter with Owſan Sing's Seal. Captain Mayaffre joined me laſt Night. This Morning he marched to the Attack of Ramnagur, was oppoſed at his Entrance, and obliged to retreat after a conſiderable Loſs. Captains Mayaffre and Doxat are killed; ſeveral Europeans; the Number of Sepoys killed and wounded is very conſiderable. After ſome Time we were with Difficulty able to reach the River, where we are ſurrounded; at preſent I cannot ſay what will be the Fate of the reſt. Captain Sparks commands.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

20th of Auguſt 1781. Tho. Blair.

NUM. 32.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Sir,

I was juſt going to diſpatch the Arms under an Eſcort of about 100 Invalid Sepoy Officers and Sepoys by Land, for there was no Poſſibility of ſending them by Water, when I have Information that there is a large Body of the Rajah's Troops on the oppoſite Side of the River, as alſo that Captain Mayaffre's Detachment has been repulſed: I therefore think it unſafe that they ſhould move from this until I have your further Orders.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Chunargur, 20th of Auguſt 1781. W. Blair,
Paſt 7 P. M. *Colonel, commanding at Chunargur.*

NUM. 33.

LIST of Engliſh Gentlemen at Banaris the 21ſt of Auguſt 1781.

The Governor General.

Covenanted Servants—Meſſieurs Steph. Sulivan, David Anderſon, Rich. Sumner, Rich. Johnſon, Charles Chapman, Edw. Hay, G. F. Grand, Will. Markham, and Edw. Colebrook.

Staff of the Gov. General—Major Will. Palmer, Capt. Tho. Hogan, Lieut. Sam. Turner, and Lieut. James Anderſon.

Majors White, Clark, and Gardiner, on a Viſit to Banaris.

Mr. Totty, Surgeon to the Reſidency.

Meſſieurs Thompſon, Bowers, and Hodges, in the Gov. General's Family.

Mr. Barnet, an Inhabitant of Banaris.

Military Officers on actual Service—Major Will. Popham, Capt. Jonathan Scott, Lieutenants Hamilton, Birrel, Malcolm, Macleod, Wade, Calcroft, D'Eſterre, Evelyn, and Campbell; the Two laſt on the Way to Khaunpoor, ſince appointed to Major Popham's Detachment. Lieut. Fireworkers Grand and Sands, Surgeon and Enſign Laird.

N. B. All the Gentlemen of this Catalogue accompanied the Governor General to Chunar, except Mr. Barnet.

NUM. 34.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Sir,

As you ſeem to be unacquainted with the Misfortune that has happened to Captain Mayaffre's Detachment as late as 9 o'Clock laſt Night, by the Two Letters which I have received of that Date, I am ſorry to inform you, that they were beat out of the Town of Ramnagur with a very conſiderable Loſs; Two Officers killed, Three wounded, Two Field Pieces and a Howitz loſt. The Enemy purſued the Detachment as far as Chuta Mirzapoor, and they arrived within Two Miles of this Fort laſt Night about 9 o'Clock. It has been a moſt unfortunate Buſineſs, and more raſh and intemperate than any Thing I ever heard. Captain Blair, whom I have ſeen, ſays he foretold Captain Mayaffre every Thing that happened. If an Opportunity ſhould offer of attacking any Parties of the Rajah's Force about the Diſtance of Pateeta, I will endeavout to ſurpriſe and defeat them; but I muſt proceed with great Caution, as the Enemy is at preſent flushed with Succeſs, and the Battalion in Garriſon is moſtly compoſed of raw, undiſciplined Men, who never fired a Shot. They have not leſs at this Time than 4000 fighting Men at and about Pateeta. I have this Moment received your Letter at Half paſt Nine o'Clock, and ſhall diſpatch the Battalion immediately agreeable to your Orders.

Chunar, 21ſt Auguſt 1781. I am, &c.
Half paſt 6 A. M. W. Blair.

NUM. 35.

Purport *of a* Letter *written by* Rajah Cheit Sing *to the* Governor General *at* Banaris, *and intended to have been delivered on the Evening of the* 21*ſt of* Auguſt, *but not delivered.—This Draft of it was ſince made by* Abdullah Beg, *the* Rajah's Vakeel, *from his own Recollection of it, and delivered under his Seal to the* Governor General.

I am with Heart and Soul the devoted Servant of the Sirkar; nor have I, within my own Knowledge, committed any Fault: For Example, the Guard which came from the Sirkar, to that too I yielded, nor deviated in the Breadth of an Hair from Obedience and Submiſſion to Authority. In the mean time, Cheitram Chobdar came, and uttering improper Language, for that Cauſe the Men who attended me, who wanted Underſtanding, committed War and Bloodſhed. At that Time I, through Fear of my Life and Honour, withdrew myſelf aſide. Now alſo I have the Hope in your Favour and Mercy, that the Fault of your Servant may be pardoned, and that he may be honoured from the Preſence, and all that I repreſented in the Pinnace, I am ready to act conformably thereto.

21ſt Auguſt 1781.

NUM. 36.

GENERAL ORDERS, 22d Auguſt 1781.

Major Popham is appointed to the Command of the whole Detachment at Chunargur.

NUM. 37.

To the Nabob Vizeer.

Your Excellency will have heard from Report the rebellious and treacherous Conduct of Cheit Sing, which has delayed for a few Days my Departure towards Lucknow; and I am now arrived at Chunargur, where I ſhall remain ſome Time, to puniſh this Treachery and Rebellion, which has originated from his own wicked Diſpoſition. Your Excellency will therefore be pleaſed to return to Lucknow; and as the ſole Object of my Journey from Calcutta to this Quarter was to have an Interview with your Excellency, by the Bleſſing of God having ſhortly puniſhed in an exemplary Manner this Rebel, I ſhall be made happy by meeting your Excellency, who in the mean while muſt not ſuffer any Apprehenſions or Doubts to exiſt reſpecting this Buſineſs.

As in this Time of Neceſſity Troops are wanted here, and our Concerns are the ſame, I have therefore written to Lieutenant Polhill, who is with ſome Companies of your Excellency's Sepoys at Illahabad, to come to this Place, and have promiſed to acquaint you with it; aſſuring him, that your Excellency will approve of his coming here.

Chunargur,
23d Auguſt 1781.

Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 38.

To Major Moſes Crawford, *or Officer commanding the Detachment on its March from* Dinapoor *to* Banaris.

Having ordered Lieutenant Colonel Ahmuty to ſend the Regiment of Sepoys directly to Banaris, from the reſpective Stations of the Two Battalions, I now direct, if the Two Diviſions ſhould have marched ſeparately, that on Receipt hereof you take Meaſures for effecting their Junction, whether they may be on the ſame or oppoſite Sides of the River, and proceed together the Remainder of your Route, which you will direct to this Place, inſtead of Banaris, as at firſt directed. You will purſue your March on whichever Side of the River you may judge moſt ſafe and expeditious for reaching this Deſtination; and will be careful to guard againſt a Surpriſe, and not ſuffer your March to be delayed by any Object but your own Security and Defence.

Chunargur,
the 23d of Auguſt 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 39.

To Mr. Nath. Middleton, *Collector, &c.* Lucknow.

Sir,

Immediately upon Receipt of this Letter you will be pleaſed to pack up and diſpatch One Lack of Rupees in Silver, to be delivered here to the Commanding Officer of this Place. Should you not poſſeſs a Sum equal to this Amount in your Treaſury, you will be pleaſed to exert every Means in your Power to raiſe it upon your own Credit, or otherwiſe; and when prepared, put it in charge of the Officer commanding the Regiment of Sepoys, which I lately ordered from Khaunpoor to Lucknow. He is directed to eſcort the Treaſure with his whole Force to this Place.

You will further be pleaſed, immediately on Receipt of this, to ſend an Agent to Illahabad, with Directions to purchaſe Grain to ſuch Amount as he may be able to diſpatch by Water from thence to this Fortreſs, for the Uſe of the Troops encamped near it.

You will alſo, as ſoon as poſſible, acquaint the Nabob Vizeer, that inſtead of meeting him upon the Road from Lucknow to Banaris, I now intend meeting him at Lucknow; and that I conſequently requeſt he will immediately return to that Place, and there wait my Arrival.

Chunargur,
the 23d of Auguſt 1781.

I am, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 40.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

On the 19th I was acquainted by the Dawk Hircarrah, that Cheit Sing's Country was in Arms, that the Dawks are obſtructed; and a Rumour alſo prevails here, that an Action had happened at Banaris between our Troops and Cheit Sing's; and as no Dawk has arrived here from Banaris the laſt Three Days, I am led to believe there is ſome Foundation for ſuch Report: But as I have no further Advices that can be relied on, I am at a Loſs how to conduct myſelf. I know not whether I ſhould interfere to prevent his Subjects in my Neighbourhood aſſembling, for fear of offending againſt your Inclination, and being conſidered as the firſt Aggreſſor. I ſhall be happy if you will favour me with your Commands, which I ſhall be always proud to obey.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Buxar,
the 19th of Auguſt 1781.

Iſaac Eaton.

NUM. 41.

Subſtance *of a* Letter *from* Hurry Budder, *Nephew of* Beneram Pundit, *to* Beneram Pundit; *received at* Chunar *the 24th of* Auguſt 1781.

Lalla Bucherage and Cuſhmeeree Mull are ready, and will aſſiſt to the utmoſt of their Ability: They require an Invitation from the Governor General, and will accompany Hyder Beg Khan. I have the Lack ready to give it to Contoo, but he is concealed. Lalla will accompany Hyder Beg Khan, and carry the Money which he promiſes: I will come too, and bring our Lack. Moonſhy Sherreut Oola Khan went Yeſterday early to the Nabob. Four Cheſts of the Governor General's are come to our Houſe, and his Bearer has brought me a Cheſt of Cloaths. The Mowlavy and other Incendiaries are carried away. I will receive and take care of all the Governor's People that come to me.

NUM. 42.

To Colonel James Morgan.

Sir,

I am at Chunar; ſend a Regiment of Sepoys to this Place inſtantly with 30 Artillery Men, Officers in proportion, and one of Experience to command them; by Water if you can. Send Grain; a ſtrong Eſcort with it. I have written many Letters to you;—be expeditious.

I am, Sir, &c.

Chunargur,
the 25th of Auguſt 1781.

Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 43.

To Colonel Morgan.

Sir,

March hither with your whole Force, and ſend the encloſed to Colonel Cumming.

Warren Haſtings.

Chunargur,
26th Auguſt 1781.

NUM. 44.

To Colonel Cumming: Encloſed in Colonel Morgan's.

Sir,

March immediately with your whole Detachment to Khaunpoor, and remain there.

Warren Haſtings.

Chunargur,
26th Auguſt 1781.

NUM. 45.

To Major Moſes Crawford.

Sir,

I wrote to you on the 23d Inſtant, to effect a Junction of your Two Battalions, and proceed together to this Place. I now repeat that Order.

Warren Haſtings.

Chunargur,
26th Auguſt 1781.

NUM. 46.

GENERAL ORDERS, 26th Auguſt 1781.

The Governor General having this Day received the Returns of all the Killed and Wounded in the late Attack upon the Town of Ramnagur, and circumſtantial Reports from the proper Officers, finds the greateſt Alleviation to his Sorrow for the unhappy Iſſue of that Event, in the Teſtimonies which thoſe Reports exhibit of the Bravery and Firmneſs diſplayed by the Officers and Troops, both Europeans and Natives, after they were compelled to retire from the Town with ſo conſiderable a Loſs. The Governor General remarks with particular Satisfaction, the ſpirited and

and judicious Conduct of Captain Spark and Captain Blair in effecting a Retreat; and to the latter Gentleman eſpecially, without derogating in the leaſt from the approved and acknowledged Merit of Captain Spark, the higheſt Acknowledgments are due for the Skill and Reſolution with which he extricated the Troops from their dangerous Situation in the Streets of Ramnagur, until their Junction with Captain Spark's Battalion. The Governor General conſiders the Officers engaged in this unfortunate Action entitled to his warmeſt Thanks and Applauſe for their gallant Behaviour, and requeſts they will pleaſe to convey to the Troops under their Command, his entire Approbation of their Courage and Diſcipline; particularly to the Corps of Rangers, who ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves throughout the whole Attack and Retreat, and whoſe Loſs, with his own, on the Death of their unfortunate Companions, he juſtly laments.

Num. 47.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

I have the Pleaſure to inform you, that I arrived at this Place Yeſterday Morning, and only wait for a Company, which I expect to join me every Moment, and ſhall march this Afternoon. I hope to reach Chunargur the 27th in the Forenoon, where I hope I ſhall find Boats ready for my croſſing. My Reaſon for taking this Route rather than that you were pleaſed to direct is, that Reports are circulated here, that you, the Gentlemen, and Troops, have left Banaris and gone to Chunargur. I did myſelf the Pleaſure of writing to you at Banaris, but do not know whether you have received my Letter. I do not hear of any Bodies of the Rajah's Troops within 20 Coſs of this Place. There is in the Villages a Number of the Zemeedars and Reyots aſſembled. I have no Intelligence ſo far as Chunar, but if there ſhould be any large Parties in the Roads I hope you will honour me with the Information. My Detachment, when this Company joins me, will be about 420 Men, but we have nothing but bad Country-made Arms, One out of Ten of which is the utmoſt that will go off. I have Three Days Dawks with me. It is reported here, that there are Troops near Illahabad from Khaunpoor marching this Way.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Camp Handea, 25th of Auguſt 1781. (9 o'Clock in the Morning.)

T. Polhill, Lieut.

Num. 48.

To Major James Crawford, commanding a Battalion at Chitra.

Sir,

I directed you on the 20th Inſtant to take Poſt with your whole Detachment on the Confines of Rotas, and as near as that Situation would admit to Bidjeygur, to prevent all Communication between it and the Rajah, firſt attending to your own Security, and to obey all Orders from Major Popham. The above Orders I now repeat.

I am, Sir, &c.

Chunar, the 26th of Auguſt 1781.

Warren Haſtings.

Num. 49.

To Lieutenant Polhill.

Sir,

I have received your Letter. A Party from hence will croſs the River this Evening to join you; march in the Night; be on your Guard. The Gongwars, or Village People, may probably aſſemble, but cannot make any conſiderable Oppoſition.

I am, Sir, &c.

Chunar, the 26th of Auguſt 1781.

Warren Haſtings.

Num. 50.

To Major Eaton, commanding at Buxar.

Sir,

I have received this Inſtant Duplicate of your Letter of the 19th. Suppreſs any Commotions in your Neighbourhood, if you can effect it without Danger to your own Troops or Garriſon. Let their Safety be your principal Care. Collect Proviſions.

I am, Sir, &c.

Chunar, the 26th of Auguſt 1781.

Warren Haſtings.

Num. 51.

To Lieutenant Polhill.

Sir,

Boats with Arms and Ammunition will croſs the River for you immediately. If you find yourſelf ſtrong enough, I could wiſh you to remain on the other Side; if not, embark your Baggage and prepare to follow it. I hear of no Parties ſent againſt you.

I am, Sir, &c.

Chunargur, 27th Auguſt 1781. (2 o'Clock P. M.)

Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 52.

To Edward Wheler Esquire.

Sir,

I have written to you many Letters; all probably intercepted. I arrived the 14th at Banaris. On the 16th, the Rajah having been put under an Arrest, a numerous Body of armed Men suddenly crossed, attacked, and massacred the whole Party which had him in Custody, consisting of Lieutenants Stalker, Scott, and Symes, and Two Companies of Major Popham's Grenadier Sepoys; these having no Ammunition, fell without Resistance: The Rajah escaped, and fled to Lutteespoor. On the 19th, a large Force returned to Ramnagur. Captain Blair with his Battalion, and Captain Mayaffre with the Remainder of Major Popham's Detachment, were ordered to assemble for the Attack of that Place, and Major Popham to join and conduct the Operations, according to a concerted Plan. The Two Corps having joined, Captain Mayaffre, the Senior Officer, without waiting for Major Popham, and against Orders, on the Morning of the 20th marched precipitately into the narrow Streets of the Town, where in an Instant he fell, with Captain Doxat and 33 Rangers, and almost all the Sepoys of Captain Blair's Battalion that had entered with him. The rest of the Detachment returned to Chunar, with the Loss of 2 Guns, 1 Howitz, and 103 Men of all Denominations killed. I was in Banaris with the broken Remains of Major Popham's first Party, consisting of about 400 Men, in a Place incapable of Defence, even with equal Numbers. Preparations were making to attack me. I waited until the Evening for a Battalion ordered from Chunar to reinforce our Party. At Seven, repeated Intelligence arrived that the Rajah's Boats were in Motion. No News had arrived of the Battalion from Chunar. It was resolved to meet it, and march with it to Chunar. The Resolution was instantly carried into Execution. We passed the Battalion, which returned and overtook us, and on the 22d at Day Break we gained the Banks of the River opposite to Chunar, having met no Opposition. The Detachment crossed on the Morning of the 23d. The Rajah's Forces are divided between Ramnagur and Lutteefpoor; his Family is at Bidjeygur; his fixed Establishment exceeds 10,000 Men, and all his Reyots bear Arms. Major Popham is encamped on the Plain East of the Fort. I expect to be joined by a Regiment from Khaunpoor, one ordered for my Guard at Lucknow. Lieutenant Polhill, with Six Companies of the Nabob's Guard, now at Hand, and Major Moses Crawford's Regiment. My only Distress is the Want of Money, and is great. Bauboos Owsian Sing, Doorgbijey Sing, and his Son Mehipnarain, are with me.

Chunargur, 27th August 1781. I have the Honour to be, &c.
Warren Hastings.

NUM. 53.

To Major Moses Crawford, or to Lieutenant Colonel Ahmuty.

Sir,

I repeat, that if your Regiment has marched in Divisions, you immediately unite them, and march to this Place. You will meet with Opposition. Avoid Ghauzipoor and great Towns. Obey all Orders from Major Popham. If Major Crawford has not marched, I desire that Lieutenant Colonel Ahmuty will instantly dispatch him with his Regiment and Two Guns to this Place.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Hastings.

Chunar, 28th August 1781.

NUM. 54.

To Colonel Muir *.

Sir,

Chunar, 29th of August 1781.

I, the Governor General of the Provinces of Bengal, &c. &c. having received full Powers and Authority from the Governor General and Council of the said Provinces, and relying on your Fidelity, Prudence, Integrity, and Circumspection, have deputed and appointed you to be the Public Minister of the Governor General and Council aforesaid, to treat with Mahdajee Sindia, or any Person by him deputed for that Purpose; and I hereby delegate to you full Powers and Authority to act in that Capacity, according to the Instructions which I have given you for that Purpose.——Given at Chunar, under my Hand and Seal, this 29th Day of August 1781.

Warren Hastings.

NUM. 55.

To Major James Crawford.

Sir,

Understanding that a Man, named Doonea Sing, has a Claim to Part of the Zemeedary of Bidjeygur, and is capable of raising a considerable Body of Men; I have written to him to join, and afford you every Assistance in his Power, and I shall enclose to him this Letter, to serve as an Introduction to you.

Chunar, 29th of August 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Hastings.

N. B. A Letter the same Day sent to Duljeet Sing, and another to Pertiput Sing.

* The Letter which inclosed this is the same as that inserted in the First Part of the Appendix, No. 4. A. except the Clause referring to the Inclosure. The Credentials were written in English and in Persian.

PART II.

NUM. 56.

To Colonel James Morgan, adjoined to Duplicates of 25th and 26th of Auguſt.

Sir,

I repeat the above Orders, and requeſt that you will uſe the utmoſt Diligence to diſpatch the Regiment of Sepoys and Artillery Men; you may follow with the Brigade at more Leiſure. If you can diſpoſe of your Artillery in Safety, you will need no more than may be required for the March, as here is Abundance; nor will you meet with much, if any, Oppoſition.

Chunar, 30th Auguſt 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 57.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have been favoured with your Letter of the 23d Inſtant, and have the Pleaſure to inform you of my Arrival at this Place on the Morning of the 26th, with the 2d Battalion of my Regiment. The Information I received on my Arrival here, of a large Force being aſſembled at Zammaneeah, Ghauzipoor, &c. to obſtruct my March, determined me, with the Advice of Major Eaton, to proceed no further, till joined by the 1ſt Battalion of my Regiment, which I am happy in informing you joined me here at 2 o'Clock P. M. this Day, after a March of 14 Coſs. As a Number of the Men, and moſt of the Cattle of the Battalion, are To-day much fatigued and lame with forced Marches, I ſhall be under the Neceſſity of halting them To-morrow; but next Day I will aſſuredly march, and loſe no Time in joining at Chunargur. You may rely, Sir, on my informing you as frequently as poſſible of my Progreſs and Situation. I propoſe marching up on the Ramnagur Side of the River to evade repeated Croſſing, more eſpecially as it is uncertain whether I ſhould be able to procure Boats for croſſing the Goomty.

Buxar, 31ſt Auguſt 1781.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
M. Crawford,
Major 28th Regiment of Sepoys.

NUM. 58.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

I have the Pleaſure to acquaint you, that I am returned with my Detachment to my Encampment oppoſite the Fort, having ſent all the Grain I could find in the Villages to Colonel Blair.

30th Auguſt 1781. (3 o'Clock P. M.)

I am, &c.
T. Polhill.

NUM. 59.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

About the Month of November laſt I communicated to Mr. Markham the Subſtance of a Converſation ſaid to have paſſed been Rajah Cheit Sing and Saadut Ally, and which was reported to me by a Perſon in whom I had ſome Confidence; the Mode of communicating this Intelligence to you I left entirely to Mr. Markham.

In this Converſation, which was private, the Rajah and Saadut Ally were ſaid to have talked of Hyder Ally's Victory over Colonel Bailie's Detachment, to have agreed, that they ought to ſeize this Opportunity of conſulting their own Intereſt, and to have determined to watch the Succeſs of Hyder's Arms. Some Days after this Converſation was ſaid to have happened, I was informed by the ſame Perſon, that the Rajah had received a Meſſage from one of the Begums at Fyzabad (I think it was from Shujah-ud-Dowlah's Widow), adviſing him not to comply with the Demands of Government, and encouraging him to expect Support in caſe of his reſiſting. This alſo I believe I communicated to Mr. Markham; but not being perfectly certain, I now think it my Duty to remove the Poſſibility of your remaining unacquainted with a Circumſtance which may not be unconnected with the preſent Conduct of the Rajah.

Lucknow, 28th Auguſt 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.
Francis Balfour.

NUM. 60.

To Edward Wheler Eſquire.

Sir,

Encloſed are Copies of Two Letters which I have had the Honour to write to you; the firſt in Duplicate from Banaris, and the laſt from this Place. I doubt the Poſſibility of the firſt having eſcaped the Vigilance of the People who are ſtationed in every Part of this Zemeedary to intercept my Letters. For the Conveyance of this Packet I ſhall truſt to a light Boat, which, with a ſtrong Weſt Wind aiding the Rapidity of the Stream, will certainly paſs without Interruption, if the Fears of the Dandies do not urge them to quit the Boat. In the encloſed Letters you will

will receive a connected Relation of the Events which had befallen me to the 27th Instant, though purposely abbreviated in the last, for the safer Means of Conveyance.

The Arrival of Lieutenant Polhill, whose Activity cannot be too much applauded, has proved of very great Service in freeing our Communication with the opposite Shore. Our greatest Distress has been in the Want of Money and Provisions; the latter has been effectually removed, and with it the former in a Degree, by the Seizure of a large Store of Grain made by Lieutenant Polhill Yesterday Morning, in a Village about Three Miles distant, Information having been given me of it the preceding Evening. He was opposed by a considerable Body of the Enemy, reported to consist of about 150 Horse, Two Companies of Sepoys, and more than 2000 Matchlock-Men, and Gongwars or armed Villagers, but were repulsed and dispersed with some Loss on their Side: On ours none. The Quantity of Grain secured is estimated at 5000 Mds. which in our Situation is a most important Acquisition, as we have every Reason to apprehend a total Failure of our Supplies when the Troops of this Place are reduced, as they soon must be, to the Complement of the Garrison. Numbers are yet assembling to reinforce the defeated Party of the Enemy, and they have been strengthened by Four Guns from Ramnagur, with the professed Determination of making one more Effort.

I have received no Answers to the Letters which I have diversly and repeatedly written to Colonel Morgan, to Mr. Middleton, to Lieutenant Colonel Ahmuty, and to Major James Crawford, to whom it escaped me in my last to inform you that I had sent Orders to march to the Borders of Bidjeygur; but I have received a Letter from Colonel Morgan, written with a Knowledge of the late Events, and cannot doubt that his Prudence will dictate to him the obvious Necessity, on an Occasion of such Emergency, of sending a Party to my Relief, without waiting for the Formality of Orders, which he will know can with Difficulty reach him. I have Accounts, which I trust to as authentic, that Major Moses Crawford with his Regiment is on the Way; and my latter Letters to Mr. Middleton have been safely passed beyond the Borders of this Zemeedary. Upon the whole I can venture to assure you, that my Situation is actually such as, with the Reservation of that Influence which under every Circumstance must be allowed to Fortune in the Events attendant on a State of Warfare, will warrant the Expectation of an easy and complete Success.

Major Popham continues encamped on the Plain lying to the Eastward of the Fort, where he will be strengthened by all the Men that can be spared from this Garrison; and as soon as the Preparations are completed for that Service, he will march to the Attack of Ramnagur.

In the mean time I have not been inattentive to our more remote Concerns, which I shall reserve for a future Detail, and more secure Conveyance.

The Rajah's Situation, and the Disposition of his Forces, except the Detachment which is opposed to Lieutenant Polhill, is much the same as they have been described in my last.

Hyder Beg Khan has been some Time arrived at Banaris, but prevented from joining me by the Destruction of the Bridges laid over the Burna Nulla, on the lower Bank of which he is encamped, and by the sudden great Swell of the Water, which has rendered it unfordable. Yet I expect him soon, and his Presence will afford me material Service.

I have ordered to be enclosed Copies of Major Popham's Return of the Loss sustained in the Massacre of the 16th; of a Letter which has been written to me by Captain Sparks, and the Returns accompanying it, of the Killed and Wounded in the Attack of Ramnagur on the 20th August; and of a Letter from Captain Blair, containing the Particulars of that ill-fated Enterprise; also a List of the Gentlemen who were with me in Banaris on the 21st, and who accompanied me to Chunar.

I cannot close this Letter without testifying my Satisfaction with Lieutenant Colonel Blair, for his Zeal and Attention, and the Alacrity with which he executed the Orders sent to him for the different Movements of the Detachments from his small Garrison; and my entire Reliance on the steady Conduct and approved Experience of Major Popham. My Regrets for the past are personal. I shall ever retain a painful Remembrance of that Scene of Blood, of which I have been too near a Spectator, and which no future Return of Prosperity can ever efface from my Mind; but in the Prospect before me, I think I have every Reason to expect the happiest Termination of it, in the Extension of the Powers and Influence of the Company; and that the past Example may contribute to the Permanency of both, by prompting us to guard against the secret Growth of the like Evil which has produced it.

Chunar, 31st August 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Hastings.

NUM. 61.

To Colonel Morgan.

Sir,

I repeat—Send immediately a Regiment of Sepoys to this Place, with 30 Artillery Men, Officers in Proportion, and One of Experience to command them. Follow with your whole Force. You will not have occaſion for Artillery, if you can diſpoſe of it in Safety. Here is Abundance.

I am, Sir, &c.

Chunar,
1ſt September 1781.

Warren Haſtings.

N. B. With this Letter were ſent Colonel Muir's Credentials, and his Inſtructions in Duplicate 1ſt September. On the ſame Day Duplicate of Colonel Morgan's Letters, and Triplicate of Colonel Muir's; and on the ſame Day Triplicate of Colonel Morgan's laſt Letter; and another Letter to Colonel Muir, with Inſtructions copied from the Firſt Part, with an additional Paragraph, authoriſing him to treat without Credentials. Each of theſe Three Diſpatches was incloſed in a Quill.

NUM. 62.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have the Honour to congratulate you on the Succeſs which Captain Blair has this Morning met with. I ſhall do myſelf the Pleaſure of waiting on you, as ſoon as the Detachment returns to Camp, which I expect in Half an Hour or ſo.

What I gather of this Buſineſs is, that our People advanced under a ſevere Fire at firſt, but the Enemy ſoon gave way, and left us Three of their Guns; One of thoſe is the Gun Captain Mayaffre loſt. Mr. Murray and Four Europeans are ſcorched by the Exploſion of a Gun Cartridge, and ſeveral Sepoys killed and wounded.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Camp, 3d September 1781.

W. Popham.

P. S. The incloſed is juſt come to Hand. (It was a ſhort Account from Captain Blair of the Succeſs of the Day.)

NUM. 63.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

The 3d Inſtant at Night, Major Popham did me the Honour to mention his Wiſh of ſurprizing the Enemy, then encamped near Pateeta, with an Offer to me of commanding the Party which was to perform that Service. I moſt gladly accepted it; and at One o'Clock in the Morning marched off with the greater Part of my own Battalion, the Grenadiers of the 35th Regiment, in all about Five hundred and Fifty Men, and Two Six Pounders. I took my Route by the Left of our preſent Encampment, to avoid their Out Poſts, which I was ſo fortunate to paſs unobſerved, and expected to have arrived by the firſt Appearance of Day Light, but was retarded in my March by the Badneſs of the Gun-Bullocks and Drivers. The Enemy were firſt alarmed by ſome Firing on the Weſt Side of Chunar; nearly at the ſame Time they muſt have received Information of my March and Intentions, for I found them regularly drawn up on an extenſive Plain, more than a Mile to the Eaſtward of their former Station, in Numbers about Four thouſand, including Four hundred Cavalry tolerably well mounted, and Six Pieces of Ordnance. They commenced the Cannonade about Five o'Clock in the Morning, diſtant about Three Quarters of a Mile. I continued to advance, and ſo ſoon as our Round Shot would take effect, I fired upon their Line, and continued doing both; their Infantry and Artillery firing very ſmartly, and their Cavalry having ſurrounded us, which was deterred from charging our Line by a Shot from our Guns now and then. The Fire of our Artillery and Sepoys, which was very quick, obliged their Infantry to fall back. To get Poſſeſſion of their Guns, was immediately neceſſary at this critical Moment. Convinced of it, I ordered the whole of the Grenadiers to advance for that Purpoſe; which they did with ſuch Impetuoſity as overcame all Oppoſition; and ſeized Two Guns, which were immediately turned upon the Enemy. The Grenadiers were led on by Lieutenants Fallen, Birrell, and Murray: I muſt beg leave to mention them in the warmeſt Manner for their gallant, ſteady Conduct. The Enemy began to give way in every Part: Immediately after a very ſmart Fire from all the Guns and Line completed our Succeſs. About Six, or a little after, the Enemy obſerved no Regularity, every Man appeared to be guided by his own Fears, and ran away to the Town and Fort of Pateeta, which was in the Rear of their left Flank. Another Gun was about this Time taken, by a Party which I detached for that Purpoſe. In another Part One of the Enemy's Standards was taken, and ſoon after a Fourth Gun. Our Guns were well pointed and ſerved by Lieutenant Baillie, the Officer of Artillery, to whom I am much obliged for his Activity and Conduct during the whole of the Action.

Taken from the Enemy: Four Braſs Guns, with Limbers and Tumbrils, with a very large Quantity of Ammunition of every Kind, and of the very beſt Materials; One of each Sort I have taken the Liberty of ſending for your Inſpection.—It appears evident to me, from the Quantity and Quality, to have been all prepared long before your Arrival at Banaris, and at a very conſiderable Expence, Part of it being European Materials. I was under the Neceſſity of blowing up a Tumbril, and Two Limber Boxes full of Ammunition, a large Quantity of Powder, and leaving upwards of 1500 Round Shots, and One Gun ſhotted and ſpiked, for want of any Means to bring them off.

Three Braſs Guns, One Tumbril, and One Limber Box of Ammunition, I brought with me. The Sepoys offered their Services to draw them, which I thankfully accepted, and made them a ſmall Recompenſe for their Readineſs.

I now collected my wounded Men, which were very conſiderable, and much diſperſed, occaſioned by the Diſtance I had advanced. I provided them with Palinkeens, Officers Horſes, Doolies, and every Thing which could be collected. Mr. Laird, the Surgeon, was very diligent and active in giving his Aſſiſtance on this Occaſion, as well as during the Action. About Eight o'Clock I was joined by Lieutenants Wade and Malcolm, with One Gun, the Rangers, and One hundred Sepoys; the Rangers made an Offer of dragging the Enemy's Guns, which I accepted, and employed them with the Sepoys, who had before made the like Application, and were much fatigued.

Having accompliſhed the Service, and I believe the Intention of my being detached, though I could not ſurprize the Enemy's Camp, owing to their early Intelligence, I judged it moſt proper to return to our preſent Station; which I did, the Enemy not chuſing to give me any further Trouble. I take the Liberty to mention Lieutenant Birrell's Conduct, during the whole of the Action, as deſerving the higheſt Praiſe from me; alſo every Officer and Soldier I had the Honour of commanding.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
Thomas Blair.

Camp near Chunar,
4th September 1781.

NUM. 64*.

To Lieuteant Colonel Blair, commanding at Chunar.

Dear Sir,

I wrote to you by a Hircarrah ſent this Morning. I am moſt happy to inform you, that the Troops I expect To-morrow, and I will take care to have Proviſions ready for the Europeans, that no Delay may be occaſioned. The firſt Information that Colonel Morgan had of your Want of Troops, was from a Letter I ſent, which I am happy to find haſtened Matters. The Bearer has a Letter from Colonel Morgan to the Governor. As every Endeavour on my Part has been exerted, ſo ſhall it be continued; and I ſhall be moſt happy if my Situation can be rendered in the ſmalleſt Degree ſerviceable.——All quiet.

Believe me, dear Sir, &c.
J. P. Pigott.

Illahabad, Saturday Night,
4th September 1781.

NUM. 65.

To Major Moſes Crawford.

Sir,

Unite your Force.—If you have no Guns, do not hazard an Engagement, but take Poſt, and adviſe me where you are, and Major Popham will march to ſupport you. Write where you are, and your intended Route.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

Chunar,
4th September 1781.

NUM. 66.

To Colonel Morgan.

Sir,

Once more I write, and order that you do inſtantly detach a Regiment of Sepoys to this Place, with 30 Artillery, and Officers in proportion.—Loſe no Time.—Follow with the reſt of your Forces.—Leave your Artillery and Stores, if you can in Safety: Here is Abundance, and you will meet no Enemy in the Way. Colonel Cumming will take your Station.—Anſwer me in this Compaſs.—Give the Bearer 50 Rupees.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

Chunargur,
4th September 1781.

P. S. Yeſterday we defeated the Enemy with great Slaughter, and took 4 Guns, Tumbrils, &c. but we cannot afford even another Victory with our ſmall Force.

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* This ſhould follow No. 66.

PART II.

NUM. 67.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

My dear Sir,

I am this Inſtant favoured with your's of the 24th, and I Yeſterday received your public Letter of the 23d. The Khaunpoor Regiment is arrived at Lucknow, and by To-morrow will, I have no Doubt, be on its March, with a Lack of Rupees, to join you. Proviſions will alſo be ſent you daily from Illahabad. The Nabob will move towards you immediately. No Perſuaſions will induce him to return to Lucknow. On this Subject I have written fully to Johnſon. I have received no Letters from you but the Two above mentioned. We ſhall be near you in Eight Days.

Huſſaupoor,
29th Auguſt 1781.

My dear Sir, &c.
Nath. Middleton.

NUM. 68.

To Edward Wheler Eſquire.

Sir,

Yeſterday Morning Major Popham detached Captain Blair with his Battalion, and Two Companies of his own Grenadiers, and Two Guns (6 Pounders), to attack the Enemy collected at Pateeta. They were prepared to receive him, and made a very ſpirited Reſiſtance. After a very ſevere Action, the Fortune of the Day was happily turned in our Favour, by a bold but well-judged Manœuvre. Captain Blair detached his Grenadier Companies to attack Two Guns which were poſted on the Flank, and galled his Troops exceedingly. The Attack ſucceeded, and the Two Guns were turned upon the Enemy, who were ſoon after totally routed. Captain Blair brought off Three of their Guns, and ſpiked the Fourth, the Carriage of which was diſabled. He brought away alſo One of their Tumbrils, and all his own loaded with their Ammunition. Three more of their Tumbrils, with much looſe Powder, were blown up on the Field. Captain Blair having no Means of bringing them away, he was alſo obliged to leave about 1500 of their Shot piled in a Village. The Enemy's Numbers are reputed 8 or 9000 Men; though Captain Blair judges them from Appearance to be only 3 or 4000. They were their prime Men; our Loſs, which I add with Regret, is 105 Men killed and wounded; theirs muſt be proportionably more, though unknown. It is remarkable, that the Enemy's Artillery and Cartridges made at Ramnagur are almoſt equal to ours; their Cartridges and Portfires compounded with equal Skill, and their Powder much better. This is the ſecond Inſtance in which the Service is ſignally indebted to the collected and intrepid Gallantry of Captain Blair. Other Praiſes are due, which cannot be noticed in this.

I am, Sir, &c.

Chunar,
4th September 1781.

Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 69.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Honourable Sir,

The unuſual Failure of Intelligence from you, and the Reports which are brought to me by the Natives being fraught with alarming Accounts of your Situation, have determined me to detach immediately Two Regiments of Sepoys, 40 European Artillery-Men, with Four Guns and One Howitz, with Orders to proceed with all Expedition to join you; and the Officer commanding the Detachment has Orders to purſue ſuch Meaſures, and make ſuch Movements, as he ſhall deem expedient, according to his Intelligence, for effecting that Service. They will ſet off on Saturday next, September the 1ſt. The Artillery, for the ſake of Expedition, is to go down by Water to Illahabad, where it is to wait for the Arrival of the Sepoys. I ſhall immediately order Three Battalions from the Detachment at Calpee to march to this Station, and One Battalion under Major Gilpin will be left for the Protection of that Place. A freſh Supply of Ammunition has been diſpatched to Lucknow for Major Roberts's Regiment.—Though I cannot but imagine, that were your Situation anyways critical or dangerous, and you ſtood in need of Military Force to aſſiſt you, I ſhould not have remained ſo long without receiving Orders from you to ſend Troops down; yet I doubt not but the Step I have taken will receive your Approbation, as there is a Poſſibility of your Orders having miſcarried, and the Conſequence of a Delay, in ſuch a Caſe, might prove ſerious and dangerous.—I ſhall order the Regiment of my Brigade that is now at Futtehgur, to march down to this Station as ſoon as poſſible.—As the quick Arrival of this Letter to your Hands is promiſed to be rewarded by you, or the Officer who receives it, I beg leave to requeſt that you may be pleaſed to order the Sepoys and Boatmen ſuch Rewards, honorary or pecuniary, as you may think equal to the Merit of their Service.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Khaunpoor,
29th Auguſt 1781.

James Morgan, Colonel.

NUM. 70.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. Banaris.

Honourable Sir,

Since I incloſed the accompanying Duplicate, I have received a Letter from Lieutenant Pigott at Illahabad, covering a Note from Colonel Blair, to communicate your Orders to an Officer commanding a Detachment proceeding from Khaunpoor to Banaris by Water; and Lieutenant Pigott has ſent Three Copies of it that have ſince arrived. His Care and Attention I muſt beg leave to recommend here, as from theſe I received the firſt authentic Intelligence of your being in want of Troops to aſſiſt you; and as by the Words of Colonel Blair's Note, it appears that you had diſpatched Orders to me for ſending a Detachment of Troops down to Banaris; but theſe Orders never reached me, and I am now at a Loſs to know what Strength you wiſhed the Detachment. To-day, Part of the Detachment I ſend down to you under Command of Major Crabb will embark, and To-morrow the whole will ſet off: It conſiſts of a Party of Artillery under Captain Hill, the Two Flank Companies of the European Regiment, and Two Regiments of Sepoys, with Four 6 Pounders and One Howitz; Tumbrils, Ammunition, Draft and Carriage Cattle. All will proceed by Water, but no more Boats can be procured here.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

James Morgan, Colonel.

Khaunpoor,
30th Auguſt 1781.

N. B. The Bearer is highly deſerving a good Reward.

NUM. 71.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Honourable Sir,

I have forwarded you Six Letters by different Diſpatches; but as I have not yet been honoured with your Inſtructions, and am daily receiving Reports of the Situation of Affairs towards Chunar, I am fearful of their having miſcarried, and more ſo from the Diſaffection which ſeems to prevail in this Part of the Country, and particularly in the Pergunnah of Serinjah, where the Inhabitants are aſſembling in a ſmall Fort, and rendering themſelves as formidable as the Situation will admit. Aware of the Conſequences which might attend their Meaſures, I wrote a Letter to the Aumils, Amur Sing and Ooden Sing, to require their Reaſon for this Appearance of Hoſtility; but their Anſwer was evaſive from the Subject I addreſſed them on, and tinctured with Inſolence. Such Steps therefore as I deemed neceſſary for the Defence and Protection of this Place I have been ſtudiouſly attentive to, and am now providing a Magazine of Proviſions for the Expence of the Garriſon in caſe of an Attack, which, from the Information of my Hircarrahs, I find myſelf threatened with. For Aſſiſtance in this Particular I applied to Beecramajeet, Fougedar of Boudgepoor; but though his Profeſſions are tendered with all the Warmth of Sincerity, his Conduct, and Connection with Bucket Sing, induce me to think him but little attached to the Intereſts of our Government, and I have been therefore neceſſitated to make further Application to Mr. Græme at Chupra.—The Number of Troops detached on Command from this Station, reduces my Force to 368 Rank and File, including the contiguous Out Guards and Sick; and I am further deficient in an Eſtabliſhment to work the Ordnance of the Garriſon.—The ſeveral Dawks arrived at this Station ſhall be forwarded under Charge of Major Crawford.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Iſaac Eaton, Major.

Buxar,
30th Auguſt 1781.

NUM. 72.

☞ [*The two following* Letters *were ſent from* Ramnagur *by* Teekchund *to* Govind Ram Pundit *at* Banaris, *and delivered to the* Governor General *by* Beneram Pundit *on the 5th* September 1781.

Tranſlation *of an* Arzee *from* Rajah Cheit Sing *to the Honourable* Governor General.

When I waited upon your Highneſs in your Pinnace, I repreſented to you every Thing which was proper to be repreſented; that my Life, my Country, and Property belonged to your Highneſs; requeſting that you would order whatever was your Pleaſure, and I was ready to obey it with Pleaſure. I beſides performed all the Duties of Obedience and Humility, and repreſented all the Particulars with a View to the preſent Time; for I well knew, that as ſoon as Owſſan Sing ſhould be introduced to your Highneſs, Mr. Markham and the Moulavies, &c. having ſettled this Plan, would make you conceive Diſpleaſure againſt me. At that Time your Highneſs anſwered, that you had no Buſineſs with my Life or Property; that you had not given Admiſſion to Owſſan Sing, or any of his People; that you had no Connection with any of my Relations: What Crime did I afterwards commit, that, by the Advice of my Enemies, you ſhould reſolve to confine me with ſuch Diſgrace? However I remained until Evening in Confinement, and behaved in no Inſtance otherwiſe than with the greateſt Humility and Obedience.—I addreſſed ſeve-

PART II.

ral Arzees, expreſſing my Readineſs to obey your Orders; and that I was your Slave, and was ready with my Life and Property.—Obſerve, that Cheit Ram Chubdar came to me, and reviled me, and with a loud Voice gave both me and my People the vileſt Abuſe. The People of the Sirkar firſt fired Balls from their Guns, and diſcharged their Muſkets; immediately the Tumult aroſe, and, notwithſtanding my moſt earneſt Requeſt for them to deſiſt, no one would hear me. Myſelf, after being wounded by a Sword in the Hand of the Captain, eſcaped with Life from that imminent Danger, and withdrew myſelf. If you will examine with an Eye of Juſtice, and without liſtening to Tale-bearers and Informers, you will find no Crime in me; and your Mind, which is the Mirror of the World, will I am certain approve of it.—I have before addreſſed Arzees to you, but have not yet been honoured with an Anſwer.—Owſan Sing has not yet ceaſed from ruining the Affairs.—Should now my Life and Honour be left to me, I am your Slave.—Beneram Pundit will have repreſented my Situation to you, and will continue to do ſo.]

NUM. 73.

Tranſlation *of a* Letter *from* Rajah Cheit Sing *to* Beneram Pundit.

I formerly wrote all Particulars of my State to you at Calcutta, that you might explain them fully to his Highneſs the Nabob. When his Highneſs came towards this Quarter, I repeated every Thing to him on board his Pinnace: That I was in every Inſtance ready, that my Life, Country, and Property belonged to him, and that he ſhould do whatever he wiſhed. To this he replied, that he had nothing to do with my Country, Property, or Life. A Day or two after he ſent a Battalion to Shewallah, with Mr. Markham and Three other Gentlemen, and put me into Confinement; he likewiſe ſent Guns. Notwithſtanding this I made no Oppoſition, and remained confined till Evening. I addreſſed an Arzee to the Governor, that I ſhould make no Oppoſition, and that he might do with me whatever he liked. This however did not meet with his Approbation. Cheit Ram Chubdar came to me, and gave the vileſt Abuſe to me and my People; they then fired the Guns and diſcharged their Muſkets. In this Inſtant I moſt earneſtly requeſted them to deſiſt; but upon the Captain's ſtriking me with his Sword, the Tumult commenced; I myſelf having eſcaped with Life, remained at a Diſtance, when Battalions and Guns, ſent from the Fort of Chunar, arrived at the Town of Ramnagur. My People, for the Protection of their Honour and Credit, defended themſelves.—As my Honour is beſtowed on me by the Nabob, I have therefore addreſſed an Arzee to his Preſence, which you will preſent, and procure a ſpeedy Anſwer. Whatever may be proper, do you repreſent, and ſend me an Anſwer.

NUM. 74.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Honourable Sir,

The Relation of the unlucky Accident which prevented my going to Chunar, and the Diſtreſſes I have ſuffered ſince, I ſhall forbear mentioning till I have the Honour and Happineſs of ſeeing you; I will only briefly acquaint you, that the Rajah having diſcovered the Place of my Concealment at the Houſe of Gopaul Doſs, he ſent a Number of his People Yeſterday to take charge of me; and I am now with him at Lutteefpoor.

Pardon me, Sir, and do not impute it to any preſumptuous Liberty, if, at the Rajah's humble and earneſt Entreaty, I propoſe, on his Part, Terms of Conciliation and Submiſſion: He ſolemnly declares that the Misfortunes reſulting from the late Event were contrary to his Wiſh and Intent, his Diſpoſition ever leading him to live in Peace and Friendſhip with the Engliſh Nation, and to pay implicit Obedience to your Commands. The Rajah deſires me to ſay, that he is diſpoſed to pay the Honourable Company the cuſtomary Tribute, and any other Demands you may in Reaſon make upon him. To this you will pleaſe to reply, as the Exigency of our Situation and your ſuperior Wiſdom may ſuggeſt.

I aſſure you, Sir, that though I am now in the Rajah's Power, and cannot avoid repeating to you what he has requeſted, I have taken up my Pen with Fear and Trembling, leſt any Thing I have ſaid ſhould give you Diſpleaſure; for I am conſcious of my Inferiority, and ſcarce dare entertain a Hope that any Thing that comes conveyed through me will be attended to; but I confide in the Goodneſs of your Heart; and the bare Poſſibility of being inſtrumental to the putting an End to our preſent Troubles mitigates all my Fears.

You will perceive my preſent diſtreſſed Situation, and pardon every Impropriety and Inaccuracy in this Letter; and believe me to be, with the ſincereſt Attachment and Reſpect,

Honourable Sir, &c.

Lutteefpoor,
Tueſday 5th September 1781.

Jacob Barnet.

NUM. 75.

To the Nabob Vizeer.

I was made happy by the Receipt of your Excellency's Two Letters, accompanied by Mr. Middleton's, acquainting me that you have advanced ſome Days Journey from Lucknow, and arrived at Peepulpoor, and that you would proceed from thence towards this Place, where you would ſoon arrive. Before this I wrote to your Excellency, requeſting that you would lay aſide your Intention of coming here, and return to Lucknow, that you might not ſuffer any Inconvenience on the Road, from the rebellious Diſpoſition of Cheit Sing's People; and that I, having ſettled theſe Matters, would proceed to an Interview with your Excellency; and that you ought by no means to think of coming to this Quarter. But as I learn that notwithſtanding this your Excellency is reſolved on coming to my Aſſiſtance, I am filled with the higheſt Gratitude for ſo noble a Proof of your Friendſhip. It is now incumbent on your Prudence and Circumſpection that you advance with the greateſt Caution, to prevent any Inconvenience from the Treachery of Cheit Sing's People. As ſoon as I am informed of your Excellency's Approach to Chunar, I will croſs the River with as many Troops as I have with me, and will proceed to meet you. Three Days ago Major Popham, with a ſmall Part of his Detachment, attacked a large Force of Cheit Sing's entrenched near the Fort of Pateeta, defeated them completely, and took Four Guns, ſeveral Tumbrils of Ammunition, and a conſiderable Quantity of all Sorts of Military Stores. I beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on this ſignal Succeſs.

September 6th, 1781.

[NUM. 76.

From Cheit Sing to the Governor General.

Before this the Arzees which I have repeatedly addreſſed to your Preſence will have been peruſed by you, but to this Time I have not been honoured with an Anſwer to any one of them. I am in every way ready in my Allegiance and Duty, and have obeyed all your Highneſs's Orders, and never have I been negligent in any one Point; and your Highneſs, from your Goodneſs and Juſtice, has always been pleaſed to protect and ſupport your own Slave, and to ſhew him Favour. All this Time, when from the unfortunate State of the Times the Reports of ſelf-intereſted Perſons have met with Reception at the Preſence, I humbly repreſent that the Words of evil-minded, ſelf-intereſted Perſons be not attended to; but that your Highneſs, looking upon me as a Slave raiſed by yourſelf, will be favourable towards me, becauſe I am your Slave, and am ready in my Duty and Allegiance. Although I have been guilty of no Fault, yet the Slave is by all means criminal, and the Buſineſs of the Maſter is Pardon. By the Bleſſing of God, your Highneſs is the Maſter, and is juſt; let him conſider that in all the Three Battles the Army of the Sirkar was the Aggreſſor. Now Matters have paſſed the Extremities. Should you even now beſtow Life upon me, it would not be foreign from the Duty of a Maſter.

Dated the 21ſt of Ramzaun.]

NUM. 77.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Honourable Sir,

A Detachment of 100 Europeans, 30 Artillery Men under Captain Hill, 2 Regiments of Sepoys, 1 Howitz, &c. under the Command of Major Crabb, ſet off by Water on the 31ſt ult. for Chunargur. Your Order of the 25th ult. I received the 1ſt, and that of the 26th on the 2d. I ſent by Expreſs your Order to Colonel Cumming immediately. I am preparing to follow the Detachment with my whole Force as ſoon as poſſible. I have wrote to you Letters in Triplicate, to inform you of what I have done. I have given Major Crabb particular Orders to carry down Grain and Proviſions with him, and gave him 25,000 Rupees to purchaſe it with, which was all the Caſh in the Treaſury here. I am now much diſtreſſed for Boats. Some of my Letters I ſent down by Water. Depend upon my uſing the utmoſt Expedition.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

James Morgan, Colonel.

Khaunpoor,
4th September 1781.

NUM. 78.

GENERAL ORDERS iſſued at Chunar 8th September 1781.

The Governor General deſires to expreſs publicly the Senſe which he entertains of the gallant Behaviour of the Officers and Troops in the Attack made upon the Enemy's Camp near Pateeta on the 4th Inſtant. The Governor General conſiders Captain Blair as entitled to his warmeſt Approbation, for the Reſolution and Conduct which he evinced in defeating a Force ſo much ſuperior in Number, nor wanting, as it has appeared, in perſonal Bravery.

PART II.

The Spirit exerted by Lieutenants Fallon, Birrell, and Murray, who led the Grenadiers; the Service performed by the Artillery, under Charge of Lieutenant Baillie; and in general the Steadineſs and Attention of every Officer in his Station, materially contributed to the Succeſs of the Action, and give them a Claim to the higheſt Commendations.

The Governor General alſo highly commends the Care and Activity of Mr. Laird, in his Attention to the Wounded during the Action.

It is with great Satisfaction that the Governor General gives the Praiſe, which has been repreſented to him as due, to the diſtinguiſhed Behaviour of the Grenadiers of the Detachment.

NUM. 79.

To Colonel Morgan.

You have acted nobly, and with a Deciſion that does you Honour. I moſt heartily thank you. I have had a Letter from Major Crabb, dated the 2d, from Illahabad: He propoſed to march by Land from thence, and I expect him hourly, though I have not heard from him ſince. The Nabob is near; Major Moſes Crawford is alſo on the Way from Dynapoor, and is reported to be at Sukkerdeea, which is but 4 Coſs from Ramnagur. I have written to you the News of the 3d. On that Morning Captain Blair, with 5 Battalion Companies and 2 Companies of Major Popham's Grenadiers, with Two Six Pounders, attacked the Enemy, encamped in a Body of more than 4000 Men, at Pateeta; and after a very ſevere and doubtful Conflict, in which we loſt 105 Men, killed and wounded, he obtained a moſt deciſive Victory, taking all their Guns and Ammunition, viz. 4 Guns, 4 Tumbrils, and of Ammunition an incredible Quantity, moſt of which he deſtroyed, ſpiked One Gun, and brought away the reſt. I hope that it will be unneceſſary for you yourſelf to proceed this Way; yet march, and uſe your own Diſcretion in advancing. If your Preſence ſhall be required, you will receive the ſureſt Proof of it by the Failure of my Letters. I leſs fear the actual Enemy than the Contagion of the Example. I am much pleaſed with the Nabob.

Chunar, 8th September 1781. Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 80.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Dear Sir,

Futteh Shah, Genoo Roy, and Ajeet Mull, with a large Body of armed Men, are come into Huſſeepoor. The Two laſt have, I underſtand, joined Futteh Shah, on a Promiſe of his Aſſiſtance in obtaining Poſſeſſion for them of their Zemeedaries in Gooruckpoor, which is to be the ſecond Object of this Confederacy. I have no Force to defend any Part of my Diſtricts, and have therefore been under the Neceſſity of calling on the Zemeedars of Sirkar Sarun for their Aſſiſtance on this Occaſion, and ſome of the principal Men amongſt them are gone with their Dependants to Huſſeepoor; but I confeſs I have no great Confidence in them. Several of them are intimately connected with Cheit Sing; there are alſo ſome allied by Marriage to Doorgbijey Sing and to Owſan Sing: The Names of theſe laſt are Gopaul Narain, Serib Narain, Govind Narain, Hir-Govindſaw, Boniſſer Saw, and Ragonaut Saw. Letters to them from Doorgbijey Sing and Owſan Sing would be of infinite Service, and might, in ſome Degree, counteract the infamous Attempts of Cheit Sing. One Letter of his (and I have Reaſon to believe there are many in Circulation) addreſſed to Durjoo Sing, a Zemeedar of the Diſtrict, at preſent employed in Huſſeepoor, was by him carried to the Aumil of that Place, who immediately ſent it to me*. It is ſigned by Cheit Sing's own Hand, and has the large Seal of his Government affixed to it. He therein deſires Durjoo Sing to kill every European and Sepoy he can, and join him with all his People.

In my Letter of the 25th ultimo I acquainted you with the Application I had made to Colonel Ahmuty, for a Battalion of Sepoys, and with his Refuſal. He wrote me, that the whole Force at Dinapoor was Nine Companies, that they were lately incorporated, and the Arms they had unſerviceable.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Chuprah, 4th September 1781. Charles Græme.

NUM. 81.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir;

I wrote you Yeſterday by your Hicarrahs, who were purſued, and are returned. The Body Guard and Troop are with me. I ſhall halt hereabouts till I hear from you, or of your being at Ramnagur. Your Hircarrahs will attempt to return To-night again.

Sir, &c.

Camp, Dildarnagur, September 9th. A. M. Moſes Crawford, Major.

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* This is entered in Part III.

NUM. 82.

To Colonel Muir.

Chunar, 10th September 1781.

[This Letter has already been inserted in the Appendix, Part 1, P. 176, No. 4. B.]

NUMB. 83.

To Edward Wheler Eſquire.

Sir,

I have adviſed you in Triplicate of the Succeſs gained by Captain Blair on the 3d. It was dear, but deciſive. With 550 Men oppoſed to more than 4000, he completely routed them, took all their Guns (4), Tumbrils (4), and Ammunition immeaſurable. Major Moſes Crawford is at Dildarnagur, about the Midway between this and Buxar; there he will remain till Major Popham moves. Yeſterday Morning Major Crabb with his Detachment, conſiſting of 100 European Infantry, 30 Artillery with Captain Hill, and Two Regiments of Sepoys, arrived, and theſe were all tranſported to this Side before the Evening. Major Roberts with his Regiment, and One Lack of Rupees, has paſſed Illahabad, and is hourly expected. The Nabob Vizeer, whoſe Conduct I muſt in Juſtice applaud, arrived this Morning at his Camp on the oppoſite Side of the River. There I met him. He propoſes to croſs and encamp on this Side with a ſmall Guard. His Army would ſtarve us. I hope that Major Popham will be able to begin his Operations on the 14th at the lateſt. Doubt not of the ſpeedy Succeſs. The Rajah has made repeated Overtures for Peace, leſs humble in Terms than in the Mode; but I have declined to anſwer him, or even to temporize: The Example is dangerous, and ought, even with Hazard, to be checked in this firſt Inſtance. You will have heard, and you will hear, many falſe and alarming Reports; for the Enemy invent, and our own Hircarrahs exaggerate. Colonel Morgan has acted with a Promptneſs and Deciſion which merit public Thanks; and I with Pleaſure learn, that all the Officers of the Detachment ſhewed an Eagerneſs equal to his. Colonel Morgan appears to have formed the Reſolution on the 29th; the Troops were embarked on the 31ſt, and they arrived in leſs than Ten Days from Khaunpoor. I avail myſelf of this vacant Space to aſſure you, that all will terminate happily.

Chunar, Warren Haſtings.
11th September 1781.

NUM. 84.

To Major Moſes Crawford.

Sir,

I deſire that you will immediately proceed with Caution, but with Expedition, to this Place; you are not likely to be oppoſed.—I ſhall adviſe Major Popham, with whom your Junction would be at this Time liable to Uncertainty, and is unneceſſary.

Chunar, I am, &c.
17th September 1781. Warren Haſtings.

P. S. Major Popham is at Pateeta.

NUM. 85.

To Colonel Sir John Cumming, commanding the temporary Brigade.

Sir,

It being neceſſary, in the preſent Situation of Affairs, that the whole Military Force beyond the Provinces ſhould act in Concert, and be ultimately under the Orders of the ſenior Officer; you will therefore be pleaſed to obey all ſuch Orders as you may henceforth receive from Colonel Morgan.

Chunargur, I am, &c.
13th September 1781. Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 86.

To Colonel Morgan, commanding the Forces beyond the Provinces.

Sir,

As the preſent Situation of Affairs makes it probable that our whole Military Force beyond the Provinces may be required to act in Conjunction, or at leaſt in Concert, I have, in the accompanying Letter to Colonel Sir John Cumming, directed him to obey all ſuch Orders as you may judge proper to ſend him; and I requeſt, that on Receipt hereof, you will pleaſe to order him to ſend the Regiment of Cavalry, and One Regiment of Native Infantry from his Brigade immediately, to Lucknow for the Protection of that City.

Chunargur, I am, &c.
13th September 1781. Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 87.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Sir,

I received your Note of the 4th, at 1 P. M.; marched in 15 Hours after—empty Magazine, ſhattered Artillery—Troops 3 Months in Arrears—have 10 Rounds per Man—with me 3 Regiments; 2 good, 1 bad—Eight Guns—my whole Force. Conſidered the Circumſtances under which you wrote—Country not to be left without the Appearance of Troops—diſpoſed to Diſturbance—left Landeg with 5 bad Guns—18 Companies that could be of little Uſe with me—will keep all quiet—ſave Cantonments—durſt not recal Daranagur Troops; would be abandoning the whole Upper Country—ſent Expreſs to be ready at a Moment's Notice—ſent Morgan moſt of the Boats, preſſing all on the River—ſhall ſend them off the Moment they arrive—wrote to him, if he will ſtay at Khaunpoor I will go to Chunar—if not marched, believe can be there before him by Land or Water—think there is no Force can prevent me—ſhall be at Khaunpoor the 10th.—No Anſwer from Morgan.—Cavalry cannot get on faſter than the Sepoys.—If I go on, I hope for Ammunition at Khaunpoor.—If Morgan has marched I muſt ſtay at Khaunpoor; or, if he will go, I have your Orders to ſtay—he to march.—Wiſh I had been at Khaunpoor—did not think you would been obliged to go to Chunar Fort.—Have done every Thing for the beſt, am ſatisfied of this; but with your Approbation, if Morgan is marched, and I have bad Accounts, will leave the broken Regiment at Khaunpoor, and puſh down by forced Marches.—Beg, if poſſible, to hear from you.—Send Duplicate of this.

Kanouge,
7th September 1781.

John Cumming.

NUM. 88.

To Major Popham.

Sir,

You will receive into your Charge and Command the following Corps of the Army now aſſembled at this place; viz. The Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the 2d Regiment of European Infantry; a Detachment of Artillery from the 2d Brigade; the Foreign Rangers; 1ſt Battalion of the 6th Regiment; 19th, 30th, and 35th Regiments of Sepoys, and a Detachment of Sepoys commanded by Lieutenant Polhill, and a Body of Cavalry furniſhed by the Nabob Vizeer.—Major Moſes Crawford, commanding the 28th Regiment of Sepoys and a Detachment of Cavalry, and Major James Crawford, commanding the Independent Companies of Sepoys ſtationed at Chitra, have been directed to put themſelves under your Command, and their Corps are to be conſidered as Part of your Detachment.

Theſe Troops you are to employ, without Loſs of Time, in ſubduing and diſperſing the rebellious Forces of Rajah Cheit Sing, and in reducing the Zemeedary of Banaris and its Dependencies to the Obedience of the Company.

That you may be enabled to carry theſe Orders into effectual Execution. I hereby give you full and abſolute Authority, independent of all other whatſoever, except that of the Governor General and Council and my own, to proſecute this Service in whatever Manner you ſhall judge moſt expedient for bringing it to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful Termination.

When the Service will admit of a Reduction in the Strength of your Detachment, you will pleaſe to return to me the 30th Regiment of Sepoys; and as ſoon as a further Reduction can be admitted, the 1ſt Battalion of the 6th Regiment of Sepoys and Lieutenant Polhill's Corps are to return to this Place.

Chunargur,
the 15th of September 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 89.

To Major Iſaac Eaton commanding at Buxar.

Sir,

I have received your Letter of the 12th Inſtant. I approve of the Meaſures you have taken. I encloſe Letters for Ally Azeem Khan and Bauboo Boobnarain Sing, which pleaſe to forward. All here is well. Major Popham is beſieging Pateeta.

Chunar,
the 18th of September 1781.

I am, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 90.

To Edward Wheler, Eſq.

Sir,

My laſt was the 11th.—The Forces now aſſembled are the 6th, 7th, 19th, 30th, and 35th Regiments, Lieutenant Polhill's Battalion of the Body Guard, Two Companies of European Grenadiers and Light Infantry, 30 Artillery Men, and the Rangers, and 600 of the Nabob's Horſe.—Major Popham marched on the 16th; one Diviſion to Pateeta, another with Major Crabb to the

Back of Lutteefpoor.—I do not expect any Thing decifive ſo ſoon as I wiſh—there muſt be Delays, and I feel them ſorely; but I thank God that I am myſelf a Witneſs of the Evils, Wants, and Errors of our Service, though I have been nearly the Victim of them, ſince it has furniſhed me with the Means, though ſlow, of correcting them. The Province of Oud has catched the Contagion; but I ſhall diſmiſs the Nabob in a few Days, and doubt not but his Troubles will be ſoon quelled. I give my ſole Attention to the preſent Object, which accompliſhed, every other will follow. Major Crawford muſt be near. I expect him hourly. Believe no Report. I have not yet received one Letter from you.

I am, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

Chunar,
18th September 1781.

NUM. 91.

Extract of General Orders *iſſued at* Chunar 18*th* September 1781.

Captain Hogan is ordered to raiſe immediately a Corps of Native Infantry, to conſiſt of Seven Companies of One hundred Rank and File each, to form a Guard for the Reſident of Banaris.

NUM. 92.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

I was yeſterday honoured with your Letter of the 8th Inſtant; and it gave me a ſincere Pleaſure to learn the Succeſs of our Arms under Captain Blair, and of there being ſo promiſing a Proſpect of Puniſhment ſpeedily falling on the Rebel Inſurgents. I arrived here, after Five Days March, from Khaunpoor. The Troops ſuffering greatly from the Heat rendered it neceſſary to halt a Day here. To-morrow I proceed to Illahabad, where I hope again to have the Pleaſure of hearing from you, or of getting ſuch Intelligence as may ſerve to direct me to take ſuch Meaſures and make ſuch Movements as may beſt promote your Deſigns. I have Two Packets for you from Colonel Muir: They being large and of Importance makes me unwilling to truſt them as yet to be conveyed by Hircarrahs.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
James Morgan.

Karra,
15th September 1781.

NUM. 93.

To Colonel Morgan.

Sir,

I repeat my Thanks for the effectual Aid which you have given me, and the Deciſion with which you reſolved on it. The Detachment arrived the 10th; Major Roberts's Regiment the 13th; and I hourly expect Major Crawford from Dinapoor. Major Popham has inveſted Pateeta, a Fort 6 Miles S. E. of Chunar. We have now a Force equal to every probable Exigency come to Illahabad, and remain there. You need not advance; and I hope in a few Days to be in a State to deſire you to return. I had leſs Cauſe to guard againſt the actual Enemy than againſt the Contagion of Example. The Nabob has acted moſt honourably. Send immediately to Jooſy the Bazar People of the 7th and 19th Regiments, the Camp Equipage, Laſhcars, &c. of the European Artillery and Infantry with this Detachment, and as much Flour as you can ſpare for the latter. An Eſcort from the Nabob will conduct them from Jooſy.

I am, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

Chunar,
19th September 1781.

NUM. 94.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

It is with the greateſt Concern I ſend you the encloſed for Mr. Middleton, intercepted by the Rajah's People. There is another Letter from Major Hannay, dated Fyzabad, 10th Inſtant; the Purport of which is nearly the ſame as that incloſed, to caution you againſt the ſecret Deſigns of the Nabob, and that he (Major Hannay) is much diſtreſſed and ill. The Rajah will not ſuffer me to ſend the Major's Letter to you, from ſome capricious Whim: I dare not now aſk him; but the Major ſays nothing more than I tell you. I was obliged from ſad Neceſſity to tell the Rajah ſome Part of the Contents of the Encloſed; but I took care it ſhould be merely plauſible: I omitted ſuch Particulars as he might take the leaſt Advantage of. For Heaven's Sake, Sir, condeſcend to liſten to ſome Terms of Conciliation, while we can do it without leſſening our Dignity. Pardon me the Preſumption of adviſing you. I am, it is true, wanting in Wiſdom and the Knowledge of Politics, but I ſee the Rajah is very (I fear too) formidable. I am greatly diſtreſſed at the Contents of the incloſed Letter. Heaven avert the impending Storm, and protect you ever!

Jacob Barnet.

Lutteefpoor,
Tueſday Night 11 o'Clock,
18th September 1781.

NUM. 95.

To Nathaniel Middleton Esquire (enclosed in the above).

My dear Nat.

In such critical Times as these every Man has a Right to relate what he hears. A Friend should and may do it without Impropriety; therefore, before Hannay leaves the Neighbourhood of Fyzabad, I write you my News and Opinion, lest hereafter our Communication be cut off. There is certainly Villainy abroad. The Nabob, it is said, set out well inclined to our Interest; but since, he and Saadut Ally have come to a proper Understanding: The latter wrote him, he was wrong to give us any Assistance; that such another Opportunity might never offer of striking off the Yoke; as yet he need only stand neuter himself, and, under Pretence of assembling his Zemeedars to attack Cheit Sing, privately direct them to obstruct the Junction of our Forces by every possible Means. The Begums gave the same Advice, and Promise of Money. *This* Cheit Sing has already disbursed to a great Amount. This Plan was the Cause of Gordon's Disaster, being attacked in the Nabob's Country while he thought himself amongst Friends. My Information is from some Zemeedars, who I have had it in my Power to be kind to. Also, it is the public Talk of Fyzabad, where my People are daily insulted. Likewise Zalim, who is with 2,000 Men on the other Side, and means to cross in the Morning, boasts that he will soon do for us, as the Nabob will send Hannay no Assistance, that he is sure of; nor will any of the Collectors pay more Money. We shall therefore shortly have none to pay our Troops with, while *they* have Plenty. Hannay is now about Two Cos below Ry Ghaut, on the Oud Side, with only Two Companies, Two Guns, and (I believe) some disaffected Horse. I have written him pressingly to cross to this Place; for should Zalim be over before him, I shall be hemmed up in a small Fort with 150 Sepoys, when Zalim will take care Hannay does not get over to relieve me; perhaps, while attempting to pass the Gogra, be attacked by the People of the Begums, with the Zemeedars set on by her. In such an Event he could not possibly escape Destruction: My Wauselaut would soon be settled after such an Accident. I am apt to think this Marattah Treaty is only a Fetch to gain Time, until the Rains are over for certain, as their Horse could not act during that Season. Look to yourself, Nat; you may be in the Nabob's Power. Mr. Hastings should not leave Chunar until there be Force very sufficient at Hand, both to check his Excellency and do for Cheit Sing, lest he get into a worse Scrape. A very few Days will determine it one way or other with regard to us *Rulers* over these. You may think me humming; but it is more than Odds we never, never meet again. God prosper you! and pray take care, &c.

Amore,
9th September 1781.

Yours, &c.
J. Macdonald.

NUM. 96.

To Mr. Barnet.

Dear Sir,

The Governor has received your Letter of last Night's Date, and desires me to acquaint you that it gives him great Concern to find you are compelled to be the Instrument of Conveyance of the Rajah's Letters and Messages, which the uniform Treatment they have met with from the Governor must have convinced you are totally useless and unavailing. He wishes therefore you would, once for all, acquaint the Rajah, that it will be to no Manner of Purpose to force this disagreeable Task upon you in future, and that every Application from him hereafter will meet with the same Reception as the past, and be absolutely inadmissible. I sincerely wish you released from your present distressful Situation.

Chunargur,
19th September, 1781.

I am, &c.
W. Palmer.

NUM. 97.

To Major Popham *.

I had before heard of your Success, and was pretty well apprized of it from my own Observation at Day-break, and after; but my Satisfaction was checked by my Fears for the Loss which you might have sustained.—Your Note has relieved me. I am happy, and I do most heartily congratulate you on the complete Success of this Atchievement, which in every Light reflects the highest Honour on your Conduct, and on the Bravery and Steadiness with which it was followed. I am sending an Order to Major Crawford to join you this Evening, and will exchange his Guns for 2 Six Pounders.

You will have perceived from Major Crabb's Letter, that his Junction with you is no otherwise to be effected but by the Conquest of Lutteefpoor; for it will ruin his Corps to return by the same Route, and he has no other, except the high Road, which is through Lutteefpoor and Pateeta. Let me know what you propose doing next. I shall send a Transcript of your Note in Quadruplicate to Calcutta; and beg the Favour of you to order Captain Scott, or any other able

* The Letter to which this is an Answer is No. 100.

Hand, to write and ſend me the Particulars of this Day's Action, and a Return (which I yet expect to give me ſome Pain) of your Killed and Wounded. Once more I give you Joy, and add my moſt hearty Thanks; and I beg that you will preſent theſe in the ſtrongeſt Terms (they cannot exceed my Feelings) to the Officers and Men of your Army.

I am, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

Paſt Eleven 20th September 1781.

NUM. 98.

To Edward Wheler Eſquire.

Sir,

I moſt heartily congratulate you on the Succeſs of our Arms in the Conqueſt of Pateeta, for the Particulars of which I refer you to the incloſed Letter from Major Popham. I underſtand that large Reinforcements, both from Lutteefpoor and Ramnagur, oppoſed him in the Field. It was intended to attack both Pateeta and Lutteefpoor at the ſame Time, and the former by an inſtant Aſſault. Major Crabb, with a ſtrong Detachment appointed for the latter Service, marched on the Night of the 15th by a large, and, as it has ſince appeared, ſcarce practicable Circuit, towards a Paſs which lies behind, or to the South of Lutteefpoor. A Letter received this Morning mentions his Arrival on the Plain which adjoins to the Paſs, after a March of Three Days, inſtead of One, as was expected. It is the Road to Bidjeygur, and ſaid to be the Repoſitory of all the Rajah's Ammunition. Major Popham marched at Two of the ſame Night, nor did he reach his Ground with his whole Line until Ten, and then found the Place too ſtrong to attempt it, without a regular Approach and battering Cannon. It fell at Six this Morning. I regard this Victory as a deciſive Turn of our public Influence; but the greateſt Proportion of my Joy is derived from the Conſideration that it was gained with little Bloodſhed, an Advantage which I attribute, as I expected it, to the ſuperior Skill and known Compoſure, nor leſs Humanity, of Major Popham. Major Crawford arrived here Yeſterday Morning, much haraſſed, but without Loſs or Impediment on his Way.

Chunargur,
20th September 1781.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 99.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Honourable Sir,

As my Anſwer to your Favour of the 16th, which I did not receive until the 23d, the Day I wrote the Reply, and alſo my Anſwer to Major Palmer's Letter, dated the 17th, which I received the 21ſt in the Morning, and anſwered it directly, are ſtopped at Buxar with the other Letters, I have engaged two People, to whom I am to give One thouſand Rupees, to deliver this, and bring an Anſwer from Chunargur. Should they get ſafe, you may, Sir, intruſt them with any Letters, and I will forward them. Major Crawford's 2d Battalion, together with the Major, marched from hence the 22d in the Morning. I immediately ſent Orders to Captain Maxwell to croſs over from Manjee, and join Major Crawford at Buxar, which he accompliſhed. I have acquainted General Stibbert with what I have done, and the Neceſſity of ordering up immediately another Regiment and Four Six Pounders as ſoon as poſſible. I have acquainted him with the melancholy Accounts I have heard of your Situation, loſing your Boats, and Major Popham's Regiment being almoſt deſtroyed. You may reſt aſſured, Sir, there ſhall not be any Thing left undone by me for your Service, that I will not do. I have ordered Captain Salt's Troop to march to join Major Crawford as ſoon as poſſible, Mrs. Haſtings having ſignified to me that ſhe would ſend the Fifty Body Guard to join them. I hope you will approve of this, as it cannot be attended with any bad Conſequence, whatever good ſo ſmall a Body of Cavalry may do. I have got out One Six Pounder from the Magazine, the only one ſerviceable there, and am training up ſome of the Sepoys to work it, Two from each Company, not having any other People here. Our Arms are very bad, but I am in Hopes the Boats will arrive with the new Arms in a few Days. Every Thing at preſent is quiet in theſe Parts. Mr. Græme made a Requiſition the 24th Inſtant for a Battalion, but I was obliged to refuſe him on account of this Regiment having unſerviceable Arms and Acccoutrements, and alſo as it has been ſo ſhort a Time incorporated. This I flatter myſelf you will approve of.

Dinapoor,
Auguſt 26 1781.

I have the Honour to remain, &c.
A. Ahmuty.

NUM. 100.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Dear Sir,

I have the Happineſs to inform you we are in Poſſeſſion of Pateeta, and I believe with little Loſs. When the Enemy heard our Attack, a large Body poſted on the Hills to the Left of our Rear, made for the Camp; but the European Grenadiers and Light Infantry, whom I had kept

as

PART II.

as a Corps de Reſerve, moved towards and totally routed them. Their Cavalry at the ſame Time made a Motion, with ſome Infantry, towards the Right of our Camp, on which a Gun was ſent through ſome high Graſs to an Out Poſt, and by firing Two or Three Rounds, obliged them to fly. Could I have afforded a few Sepoys from the Camp, or had the Cavalry done any Thing, Numbers of the Runaways muſt have been deſtroyed. I juſt hear very few of our Sepoys have been killed, and not an Officer hurt. The Enemy has ſuſtained great Loſs. Had you not better, Sir, diſpatch Major Crawford's Corps to relieve Major Roberts's?

I am, &c.
W. Popham.

Camp, 20th September 1781.

NUM. 101.

Journal *of a* March *over the* Binde Hills *from* Chunargur *to* Lutteefpoor; *delivered to the* Governor General *by* Major Crabb, *who conducted it.*

Saturday, 15th September 1781. The following Extract of Orders, iſſued by Major Popham, received from the Brigade Major's Office at Half paſt Five in the Afternoon.

"The 1ſt Battalion of the 6th Regiment, the 7th Regiment with 4 Guns and 1 Howitzer, "Lieutenant Polhill's Corps and his Two Guns, to march this Evening at 7 o'Clock; the "Ammunition for the Guns to be carried on Bullocks. This Detachment to be commanded by "Major Crabb, who will receive his Orders from the Commanding Officer at 6 o'Clock."

The Ammunition and Stores being ready at Ten, the Detachment marched by the Right, over broken Ground, to the Bank of a Nullah; the Water too deep to admit of the Guns croſſing without taking off the Limber Boxes, which were carried on the Laſcars Heads: this occaſioned a Delay of Two Hours.

Sunday 16th. The Rear Guard being croſſed, I moved on over a Plain with low Jungle about one Coſs, with a Hill on the Right, to the Foot of a very ſteep and rugged Paſs, with deep Gullies and thick Jungle on each Side: Near the Top were two ſharp Turnings, which increaſed the Difficulty, and added ſo much to the Delay, that the Sun was riſing by the Time the Guns had gained the Top; the Jungle continuing very thick, but low, for near a Coſs, which opened an extenſive Plain, tolerably well cultivated, and Two inconſiderable Villages in it. About a Coſs from the Entrance on this Plain, a very narrow but deep Nullah delayed us for Two Hours. About ¾ths of a Coſs further on, met with a River, the Bed and Banks of it exceedingly rocky; upwards of an Hour and Half was employed in croſſing it; moved along the Bank under a ſteep Hill about a Mile, the Road full of Rock and large Stones; re-croſſed the River, which was more difficult than before, the Bed of it full of very large Rocks, and the Bank very high, through which it was neceſſary to cut a Road for the Guns. About 2 o'Clock, every Thing being croſſed, the Detachment moved forward through a thick Jungle, with broken Ground and Hills on each Side, to the Bed of a ſmall River full of Rocks; on the oppoſite Side a ſteep Paſs, which with much Labour we got through. The Cattle being much fatigued, the Sepoys were put to the Drag Ropes, to get on the Guns, which delayed us until near 4 o'Clock. A great Scarcity of Water prevailed; Hircarrahs were ſent out in Search, but none was to be found nearer than Three Miles in our Front, where they diſcovered a Lake; a thick Jungle between Two high Hills all the Way to the Water, where it became more open. The Cattle being ſo much ſpent with getting up the Hills, it was Sun-ſet before we got near enough the Lake to halt, which I did, with it on my left, and a very high Hill on my right Flank, having been upwards of 20 Hours on the March; and the Diſtance from Chunar I judged to be about Six Coſs.

Monday 17th. The Detachment got under Arms at 4 o'Clock, and marched through a thick Jungle; croſſed the Bed of a ſmall River, the Banks ſomewhat ſteep, the Road narrow, but tolerably good, to the Foot of a long and ſteep Paſs, with a very deep Gully cloſe on the Right; the Aſcent very difficult, from the Number of large, flat, ſmooth Stones, where the Cattle could not hold with their Feet. With the Aſſiſtance of the Sepoys, about Ten o'Clock we gained the Top, and moved on over a Plain with large Trees, the Ground in many Places rocky, but level. About a Mile from the Top of the Hill came to a River, the Bed of it full of very large Rocks, over which, with much Labour, we got the Guns. At 1 o'Clock moved on over rocky Ground, the Country opening. About One Coſs from the River entered an extenſive Plain, near the Village of Koradee. Several Villages appeared on the Plain, the Inhabitants whereof fled on our Approach. The Country appeared to be well cultivated; the Road over the Plain led through Rice Fields. At Sun-ſet encamped. The Diſtance this Day about Six Coſs.

Tueſday 18th. At Three o'Clock put the Detachment in Motion, and marched for the firſt Part over a Plain full of ſmall deep Holes, which rendered it difficult and dangerous for the Cattle until Day-light, when we entered a thick Jungle, with many deep dry Nullahs, which retarded us very much, being obliged to cut Roads for the Guns, there not appearing the leaſt

Trace of a Road. About 2 o'Clock entered a very large Plain, with ſeveral ſmall Villages on it; the Inhabitants fled to the Jungle on our Approach. About 3 o'Clock encamped near a large Lake, and employed the Smiths and Carpenters in repairing the Bullock-Yokes, and the Pintles of Two Guns. This Day's March about Five Coſs.

Wedneſday 19th. Got under Arms at 4 o'Clock, and marched over a Plain, the Road leading through Swamps and Rice Fields, with high Banks, which retarded us much. Paſſed through the Village of Muddoopoor, a large Village, which ſeemed to have been a Place of ſome Note, but deſerted. Here the Hircarrahs brought Intelligence, that a large Body of the Rajah's Troops were encamped about 3 Coſs in our Front, near the Village of Lora, with ſome Guns. The Road between us for a Coſs was a very thick Jungle. I moved on and took poſt near the Jungle, with a large Lake on my right Flank, and a riſing Ground and Village on the Left; from hence I ſaw the Fortreſs of Bidjeygur, which appeared very high, and above 8 Coſs diſtant. The Day's March above Five Coſs.

Thurſday 20th. At Daylight the Detachment marched, entered the Jungle, which continued for a Coſs in ſome Parts very thick, where I expected to be annoyed by the Enemy. At Sunriſe the Advance Guard got clear of the Jungle, when I diſcovered the Enemy, about 2,000, drawn up in a good Situation, with their Guns on the Right (immediately oppoſite the Road out of the Jungle) on a riſing Ground, and a ſmall Bank thrown up in their Front; a Tope, and the Village of Lora, on their Left; a deep Moraſs in their Front. They began to cannonade on the Approach of the Troops on the Plain, and continued it briſkly, until the whole had cleared the Jungle, and formed the Advance Guard. Returning in with One Gun as ſoon as the Line was formed, I advanced as briſkly as the Ground would admit, firing the Six Pounders, until I had got near enough for the ſmall Arms to do Execution; at the ſame Time I directed Lieutenant Polhill from the Right to advance Two Companies, and ſecure the Guns of the Enemy; but before he could execute the Order, they retreated, leaving their Guns, Ammunition, and about 150 dead, and about 20 wounded, through a Jungle, to Lutteefpoor, about Four Coſs. Having no Means of carrying away the Guns and Ammunition, I deſtroyed it, rendering the Guns uſeleſs, and burying them. The Road to Lutteefpoor led through a Jungle, and over a very ſteep and rugged Hill, where no Water could be got, prevented me from purſuing further than Suckroot, an inconſiderable Village, about a Coſs from Lora, on a ſmall Plain, where I encamped to bury the Dead, and collect the Wounded, amounting to 34, of every Denomination. This Day's Diſtance about Two and Half Coſs.

Friday 21ſt. At 4 o'Clock the Detachment marched over a good Road, but jungly for about 2 Coſs, when we got to a dry Nullah, the Deſcent very rugged, the Aſcent ſtill more ſo; the Road very narrow and winding, and full of very large Stones and Rocks, over which the Guns were lifted; with much Labour and Time we gained the Summit, from whence we ſaw the Fort, diſtant about Three Miles. The Side of the Hill leading to the Town was yet worſe than what we had paſſed; the Road from the Foot of the Hill to the Fort was very narrow, with a thick Jungle on each Side, but pretty level. At Noon I entered the Town of Lutteefpoor, which had been evacuated while the Troops were getting down the Hill; about 800 of the Rajah's People having been all the preceding Night plundering it. They left behind them Six Pieces of Cannon, and a great Quantity of Ammunition and Stores; Three Pieces of Cannon were found on the Hills, intended to defend the Entrance from Pateeta. The Fort ſtands in a Bottom, with high ſteep Hills on Three Sides, with thick Jungle all round cloſe to the Ditch, which is deep on the Pateeta Side, where the Wall is of Stone: the other Sides of the Wall are compoſed of Part Stone and Part Mud, with Loop Holes. The Guns were mounted on wooden Swivels in the Centre of the Baſtions. The Citadel has a deep Ditch and a high Stone Wall (with Loop Holes) in many Places much cracked almoſt from Top to Bottom, and very wide.

NUM. 102.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

I ſhould do great Injuſtice in not acknowledging how much I am indebted to the Officers and Troops of the Detachment, for the Steadineſs they obſerved in the Action of the 20th, as well as the Readineſs they ſhewed in aſſiſting to ſurmount the Difficulties on the March.

Lieutenant Fireworker Baillie of the Artillery in particular I beg Leave to recommend to your Notice for the very great Attention he ſhewed in his particular Department.

Lutteefpoor,
25th September 1781.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
J. W. Crabb, Major 2d Brigade.

PART II.

NUM. 103.

Return *of the* Killed, Wounded, *and* Miſſing in *the Attack of the* Fort *at* Pateeta, *the* 20*th of* September 1781.

Corps.	*Commanding Officers.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Grenadier Corps,	Major Lane —	6 Sepoys	——
19th Regiment,	Major Balfour —	2 Ditto	5 Sepoys
30th Regiment,	Major Roberts —	2 Ditto	4 Ditto
35th Regiment,	Major Humphries —	1 Ditto	1 Ditto
	Total	11	10

NUM. 104.

To Edward Wheler Eſquire.

Sir,

On the 20th Major Crabb defeated and routed a Body of the Enemy on the Plain above the Paſs of Suckroot; their Loſs was 150 Men and 3 Guns, and much Ammunition: Ours ſmall. The Rajah that Evening fled from Lutteefpoor: His Men followed his Example; and Yeſterday at Noon Major Crabb took Poſſeſſion, the Place being totally deſerted. I was Yeſterday in Major Popham's Camp, and viſited the Fort of Pateeta and its Intrenchment. They are both contemptible, but in their actual State abſolutely impregnable againſt an Attack, had they made any Reſiſtance. The Fort, though ſmall, is of Stone, with 4 Towers, a parallel Rampart, and Towers, and a Ditch of great Depth ſurrounding theſe, and the Town itſelf guarded by an Intrenchment extending far beyond it; and the Space between, Hills, Rocks, and Jungle almoſt impenetrable. At One o'Clock we had the Satisfaction to receive, by a regular Salute of 21 Guns, the inſtant Information of the Poſſeſſion of Lutteefpoor by Major Crabb. I have taken upon me to grant a Brevet Commiſſion of Major to Captain Lane, who commanded the Grenadiers of the Army, and performed diſtinguiſhed Service. I this Inſtant receive an authentic Confirmation of the above Intelligence from Major Crabb.

I am, Sir, &c.

Chunargur, 22d September 1781.

Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 105.

To Lieutenant Colonel Blair.

My dear Colonel,

It is with much Satisfaction that I now give you an Account of our Arrival at Lutteefpoor, after a moſt fatiguing March as ever Troops experienced, over Hills, Rocks, Rivers, and through Jungles. It does much Credit to the Abilities and Knowledge of Bundoo Khan, his being able to conduct us by ſuch a Road without loſing our Way. The only Circumſtance is, that he has been deceived in the Length of the Coſes, each of which are at leaſt 4 Miles. We yeſterday were oppoſed at Lora Suckroot by a Body of the Rajah's Troops, ſomething leſs than 2000 Men in Number, and Three Pieces of Ordnance, which we diſperſed and took. Their Guns, Tumbrils, and Ammunition, for want of Means to bring with us, were deſtroyed. One ſmall Gun and Limber we have now with us. The Quantity of Ammunition found in Lutteefpoor is conſiderable. The Place, in conſequence of our Succeſs Yeſterday, was evacuated by the Rajah in the Evening. The People who did not attend him remained only to plunder his Houſe, which they have done, and deſtroyed what was valuable, and of no Uſe to them. I do not believe there was one Man in the Fort when Major Crabb marched in. The Intention of our March, in the main Point, has, I hope, anſwered the Governor's Expectation—the expelling the Rajah from a Place of Strength, and preventing his taking Poſſeſſion of the Ghauts leading to Bidjeygur. Under his preſent Alarm, it appears to me, that if Meaſures are ſpeedily taken to inveſt that Place, little Reſiſtance will be made. I was, during the whole March, under much Concern for the Succeſs of the Expedition, as I conſidered myſelf partly anſwerable for the Conſequences, though I had not the Command; and I ſhall be much pleaſed to find it has met with the Approbation of the Governor, who, I hope, will do me the Juſtice to believe I have done all in my Power to forward the Expedition. I have to requeſt you will mention Bundoo Khan to the Governor. I am much fatigued, and have hurt my Foot a good deal by walking, otherwiſe in perfect Health. I will refer you to Bundoo Khan for the Particulars of our Expedition, till I have the Pleaſure of ſeeing you.

Dear Colonel, &c.

Camp at Lutteefpoor,
21ſt September 1781, at Night.

Thomas Blair.

NUM. 106.

To Major James Crawford.

Sir,

If you have not already detached any Part of your Battalion to Patna, I desire that you will not, but keep your Corps entire, and station it near the Frontier of Bidjeygur; obeying such Orders as you shall receive from Major Popham, who will soon be in that Quarter. If you weaken your Corps, you will be exposed to an unequal Contest with Cheit Sing's whole Force, which will now be assembled there. I will be accountable to the General and to the Board for the Deviation from their Orders.

I am, Sir, &c.

Chunar, Warren Hastings.
22d September 1781.

NUM. 107.

To Lieutenant Colonel Ahmuty.

Sir,

I have received your Three Letters. I have the highest Sense of the Zeal which you have shewn for the Service, in the Orders given for the Reinforcement of Major Crawford's Regiment, and of the Cavalry, and for their speedy Dispatch; and I beg you will accept my particular and most hearty Thanks for your personal Attention to myself. The Hircarrah to whom you promised a Reward of 1000 Rupees deserves as many Lashes; he accompanied Major Crawford, and was exactly Three Weeks on the Way. Major Popham took the Field on the 16th. The Forts of Pateeta and Lutteefpoor are in our Possession, the Enemy routed, and the Rajah fled to Bidjeygur. I request that you will instantly remand the Detachment from Major James Crawford's Battalion, as he will be else in Danger from the Rajah's whole Force assembled in his Neighbourhood, and his Corps united will be essentially necessary for co-operating with Major Popham in the Reduction of Bidjeygur.

I am, Sir, &c.

Chunar, Warren Hastings.
22d September 1781.

NUM. 108.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings Esquire, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

The following Troops, Major Crabb's Regiment of Sepoys, Captain Thomas Blair's Battalion, Lieutenant Polhill's Corps, being Part of the Vizeer's Body Guard, in all about Seventeen Hundred Sepoys, Six Guns, Two Tumbrils, and One Howitz, being ordered on Detachment under the Command of Major Crabb, to attack the Fort of Lutteefpoor from the Hills and Pass to the Eastward of it, we began our March from the Encampment in the Neighbourhood of Chunar about 10 o'Clock in the Evening of the 15th Instant; crossed the Jurgar Nullah, in which there was Three Feet Water; the Banks of that Part steep, which detained the Troops till past Eleven before the whole crossed. From thence the Detachment proceeded to Foolwauree Ghaut, which is over the Hill. The Ascent over the Hill is not very steep, but the large Stones in the Way, and the Want of a sufficient Number of Bildars, retarded the Guns exceedingly. With the Assistance of the Officers and Sepoys, the whole of the Ordnance and Tumbrils were got to the Top of the Hill by Daylight. The Descent to the Plain is very little; for some Distance the Road level, small Villages at a Distance from each other, the Inhabitants of which fled, on our Approach, to the Hills. Passed the Village of Dowau on our left, which is about Two Cos from Chunar; some small Jungles and broken Ground. Proceeded on to Byrah, about One Cos. It is a small Village, with a little round Brick Tower on the Bank of the Goordowr River, where the Troops should have crossed; but on Examination finding it unfordable at that Part, turned to the Left through a Tope, and marched to Putpur Ghaut, the Road Part of the Way very bad; the Passage might be defended by a few Men against the whole Detachment. The Guns were obliged to be unlimbered, and the Tumbrils unloaded, to bring them over the River; the Rocks at the Bottom of it very large; from the East Side of it, thick Jungles for Two Miles. When the Troops came opposite to Byrah Village, the Distance round to cross at Putpur-Ghaut about Two Cos out of the direct Road. Encamped about Five o'Clock in the Afternoon at Bulleeah-Ghaut, below Sutteesgur Hills, on a Spot pretty clear of Jungle, distant from Chunar about Fourteen Miles.

17th September. At Daylight marched by the right; tolerable Road; a small Nullah now and then; no Villages to be seen for Two Cos—Ponsillah-Ghaut; the Hill neither high nor difficult to ascend; a small Village to the right, named Nicarcaw; all the Way Jungle, not very thick; Distance Three Cos: Came upon the Plains, passed Koradee, which is Two Cos; marched to Cersee Village, which is about Two Cos, and encamped at 6 o'Clock in the Evening. Left Simraw, a large Village, on the right; the Country flat and well cultivated. From Bulleeah-Ghaut to Cersee is about Eight Cos.

PART II.

18th September. At Day-light croſſed the Field, and entered the Borriah Jungle; ſeveral Nullahs and broken Ground; ſome ſmall Villages; the Road bad till out of the Jungles; near to Borriah, where the Country is open and cultivated: At the Edge of the Jungle ſurpriſed Sobau Sing, a Relation to Cheit Sing; encamped for the Day: Diſtance from Cerſee Two Coſs.

19th September. Marched at Daylight; to avoid ſome Water and bad Ground went out of the direct Road Two Coſs; encamped in the Afternoon in a clear Spot of Ground, at a ſmall Village named Butt, Diſtance in a direct Road from Borriah about Three Coſs. The Troops marched about Six Coſs this Day. In the Evening ſaw ſeveral of the Enemy's Horſemen mounted as our Troopers; from my Hircarrahs received Intelligence of the Enemy being at Lora, with Three Guns and about 2000 Men.

20th September. Marched by the right; Two Guns in Front of the Body Guard, One in Front of the 7th Regiment, One Gun and One Howitz in the Center, One Gun in the Rear of it, One Gun in the Rear of the 1ſt Battalion 6th Regiment. The Enemy were drawn up on a Piece of Ground free from Jungle, but divided by ſome Ditches. The Cannonade commenced on their Side. The Detachment formed in their Front in the ſame Order as they marched: the Guns as they came up returned the Fire. Soon after the whole was formed, we advanced on the Enemy, who fired ſmartly from their Guns and ſmall Arms, till the Line was within Twenty or Thirty Paces of their Guns, when they ran away. Their Guns were immediately taken. Three Companies of the Rajah's Sepoys, and ſome Matchlock Men, retreated behind a Tank oppoſite the Center of Captain Blair's Battalion, who opened and marched round Two Sides of it, and gave their Fire, which did great Execution, and totally diſperſed the Enemy, who no longer made any Stand, but ran as faſt as poſſible; the Troops purſued the Enemy ſome Way. Halted to collect the Dead and Wounded; the latter were provided with Pallankeens, Dooleys, &c. when we marched on to Suckroot, about One and Half Miles from the Field of Battle, and encamped for the Day. The Rajah's Troops were commanded by Myher, the Commandant of his Sepoys, and Sewpurſaud Sing. The former rode to Lutteefpoor in great Haſte, threw himſelf at his Maſter's Feet, and entreated him to make his Eſcape immediately; that a very large Force, with Artillery, was cloſe in his Rear, and would inevitably take him alive. He at the ſame Time accuſed the Rajah of having deceived him, or being ſo himſelf, reſpecting the Engliſh Force which he went againſt. It appears the Rajah's People had no certain Information of the Deſtination of the Detachment prior to its Arrival at Koradee, or of its Strength till the Engagement commenced. Their Hircarrahs ſeeing the advanced Guard followed by Two Guns, concluded it was the whole Force, and the Followers of the Camp were taken for ſome of Owſan Sing's People, whoſe Head the Rajah had ordered to be brought to him, and the others to be killed and left, as if of no Conſequence. The Rajah received the melancholy Account of the Defeat of his Troops before Noon, and evacuated the Fort before Three. He was followed by Numbers; ſome continued all Night to plunder, and left the Place the next Morning.

21ſt September. Major Crabb marched with his Regiment, Three Guns, and the Howitz, at Four o'Clock; at Six o'Clock Captain Blair's Battalion, Lieutenant Polhill's Corps, with the remaining Guns, Tumbrils, &c. followed; the Road good till we came to Tarrapatill, where there are large Stones and broken Ground, from thence the Road very good through Trees, till we come to Supdur-Ghaut, which, from the Slope and large Stones, is exceedingly difficult for Guns to paſs. Came to a ſmall Village of about Ten Huts; croſſed the Gurriah Nullah; no Water in it. The Road to the Fort through Bamboos and other thick Jungles. Arrived at Lutteefpoor. The Gate being open, and the Place evacuated, Major Crabb took Poſſeſſion of it about Ten o'Clock. The Remainder of the Detachment arrived ſoon after, when Two of our Guns were brought into the Fort, and light Cartridges taken out of the Rajah's Magazine, a royal Salute was fired, and the Union Flag hoiſted on the higheſt Part of the Works. Three Guns were fired on the Hill which overlooks the Fort, and had been placed there to prevent an Enemy from poſſeſſing themſelves of a Spot which gives them every Advantage over the Fort, which is commanded from it. Several Pieces of Ordnance, and a very conſiderable Quantity of Powder and Ammunition ready made up, were found in the Place.

I ſhall be glad if the foregoing Account of our March is ſufficiently correct to convey a general Idea of the Roads, Rivers, and Paſſes. The Diſtances are right, ſo far as I am able to judge without having meaſured them. Troops marching by that Route without Guns would find the Diſtances probably leſs than I have made them, as we were frequently obliged to leave the direct Road to avoid Stones, broken Ground, and other Impediments to Artillery.

Lutteefpoor,
29th September 1781.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
Thomas Blair.

NUM. 109.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The Governor General having himſelf had an Opportunity of ſurveying the Fort and Intrenchments of Pateeta, deſires to publiſh to the Army the Senſe which he entertains of the great Zeal and Abilities of Major Popham, in planning ſo difficult an Attack; and of the great good Conduct of Majors Roberts and Gardiner, and of the Officers of the Detachment, for their Aſſiſtance in the Execution of it. The Governor General expreſſes his particular Satisfaction at the firm and intrepid Behaviour of the Grenadiers under the Command of Captain Lane; to whoſe gallant Example, followed and ſupported by the ſteady Courage and Diſcipline of the reſt of the Troops, it may principally be attributed that a Place of ſuch great Strength has been reduced, and almoſt without Loſs.

The Governor General, in Teſtimony of the Merit and Conduct of Captain Lane, promotes him to the Rank of Major by Brevet.

Chunargur, 22d September 1781.

NUM. 110.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

It is with reflective Satisfaction I acquaint you that our Endeavours to reduce this Place, and diſperſe the Army of the Rajah Cheit Sing, have been attended with complete Succeſs.

My Intention was to have aſſaulted the Town on my Arrival before it the 16th Inſtant; but I had certain Intelligence that a conſiderable Body of the Enemy, with ſome Cannon, were within the Place, ſtrongly intrenched. I judged it proper to encamp till I could gain proper Information of the Strength of the Works, more eſpecially as great Part of the Artillery and one Regiment were far in the Rear, and not likely to reach me till late in the Day. About two Hours after the Camp was pitched, the Enemy began a Cannonade from the Town, which obliged us to file off to the left, out of the Range of their Shot. This done, we received no further Moleſtation during the Day. In the Courſe of the Night I meditated an Attack with the whole Line on their Works; but my Hircarrahs brought Accounts that the Town was defended by a deep Trench and high Parapet, flanked with Towers, on which there were Guns mounted, and the Jungle behind very thick, with a Number of Troops; which obliged me to lay aſide hazarding ſuch an Undertaking till better acquainted with the Place. I now gave Orders for a Battery, and Major Gardiner fixed on a Spot about a thouſand Yards from the Works; but ſoon after, on a nearer Obſervation, he judged proper to take Poſſeſſion of a Tank, the Banks of which would prove an excellent Shelter for the Troops, and effectually command the S. E. Face of the Town, diſtant between Eight and Nine hundred Yards. This Poſt being gained with little Oppoſition, a Battery was formed, and the Eighteen-pounders carried down. On the 19th a ſmart Cannonade was began, which continued at Intervals during the Day; ſome Shells were alſo thrown; however, it was impoſſible we could know what Execution was done, as the Thickneſs of the Jungles obſtructed the View; yet it being obſerved that our Fire obliged the Enemy for the moſt part to quit their Intrenchments and retire further into the Woods, it was judged by Major Gardiner and myſelf, that an early Aſſault next Morning, juſt before the Dawn of Day, might be attended with immediate Succeſs, and though not complete, would gain us a Lodgement within the Works, from whence the Fort might with Eaſe be battered.

This being determined, and Captain Lane's Corps of Grenadiers already at the Battery, at Ten o'Clock at Night the following Orders were iſſued:

" The native Grenadiers of the Line, with the 1ſt Battalion of the 19th, 2d Battalions of the
" 30th and 35th Regiments, to aſſemble at the Southermoſt Battery at Twelve o'Clock To-night:
" Major Roberts to command this Detachment, and regulate it as he ſhall judge neceſſary for the
" Attack of the Town a little before Break of Day To-morrow Morning: The remaining Corps
" of the Line to cloſe the Center (leaving their Quarter and Rear Guards ſtanding) as ſoon as
" the above Detachment marches off, and there lay on their Arms. The Piquetts of the Battalion
" ordered for the Attack, to be relieved immediately by the remaining Battalions. Major Balfour
" to relieve Major Roberts immediately, and Major Roberts to wait on the Commanding Officer
" for his further Inſtructions."

Major Roberts, agreeable to Orders, began the Attack juſt before the firſt Dawn; at the ſame Time a heavy Fire was kept up by Captain Hill, from Major Gardiner's Southermoſt Battery, which ſecured the Jungles to the left of the Attack, and added to that Panic which ſeized the Enemy immediately on the Entrance of the Grenadiers, who, with the reſt of the Troops, ruſhed on, and ſoon made the Victory complete.

While thoſe ſucceſsful Approaches were making on the Town, a Party of the Enemy ſallied from behind the Hill in the Rear of the Battery with Two ſmall Guns, in Hopes that by employing our Attention that Way, the Aſſault on the Town would be diſturbed; but they were ſoon routed by the cool Intrepidity of a Serjeant and One Company of Sepoys. Foiled here, they

moved

moved round the Hills till they came round the left of our Encampment, where they ſeemed to meditate an Attack. On their Motions being obſerved, the European Grenadiers and Light Infantry were ordered, if poſſible, to throw themſelves in the Rear and cut them off. This Meaſure was too ſoon noticed by the Enemy, who immediately run away in great Confuſion.

By this Time Major Roberts had driven the Enemy from the Town and every Poſt, ſo that they had now nothing left but to move with their Baggage and Cannon without the Place towards Ramnagur; which they effected as to the firſt Object; but the only Piece of Ordnance they had ſaved from the Town, was taken by Lieutenant Hamilton, who had Advice, and was long in Purſuit of it; for they had the Folly to fire it from a Diſtance at the Line as they were gaining the Ramnagur Road, which led Lieutenant Hamilton to it.

Had Almaus's Cavalry obeyed Orders, the Enemy's Baggage muſt have alſo been taken; but not a Man of them would move 500 Yards from the Camp.

The Returns of the Killed and Wounded on our Side, with thoſe of the Cannon, &c. taken, will ſhew how fortunate we were on this Service; during which the Behaviour of both Officers and Men was ſuch as merits the moſt ſincere Acknowledgments.

Majors Roberts and Gardiner, Captains Lane and Hill, were particularly active, and I feel a real Pleaſure in doing them the Juſtice to recommend them to your particular Attention.

Camp at Pateeta,
22d September 1781.

I am, &c.
W. Popham, Major.

NUM. III.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Honourable Sir,

Encloſed I have the Pleaſure to tranſmit a Copy of a Letter I have received from Captain Maxwell, commanding the Battalion at Burragong, with which he has ſent me Copies of the Letters written by Baun Sing Roy and Shew Perſhaud Roy, to Futteh Saw. Theſe contain ample Proofs of their Guilt; one of them is a direct Information to him of the March of the Troops from Burragong, and an Invitation to avail himſelf of the defenceleſs State of Huſſypoor, by coming to that Diſtrict.

I have, in conſequence of theſe undoubted Teſtimonies, written Captain Maxwell to ſeize the Perſons of Baun Sing Roy and Shew Perſhaud Roy, and keep them in cloſe Confinement.

I have not complied with Captain Maxwell's Propoſal for diſarming the Country People, as ſuch a Meaſure could not be put in Execution without cauſing a general Alarm throughout the Diſtrict, and greatly obſtructing the Cultivation; beſides which, as no Crime is alledged againſt any other Perſon, I conceive there is no Neceſſity for acting with ſo much Rigour which would involve the Innocent with the Guilty, and ſtill leave it doubtful on whom Puniſhment ought to be inflicted. Though I have deemed it improper to authoriſe Captain Maxwell to diſarm the People, in which I hope for your Approval, I have recommended to him to uſe every Endeavour to diſcover if any other Perſons, and who, were concerned with Baun Sing Roy and Shew Perſhaud Roy, in their villainous Attempts.

The Puniſhment of Futteh Saw's Abettors, within the Diſtrict of Huſſypoor, will doubtleſs be productive of good Conſequences, by awing thoſe who are ſecretly attached to him; but it is in vain to expect his Apprehenſion whilſt he receives Protection in a neighbouring Country. I am well informed, that he is now in the Dominions of Rajah Cheit Sing, and that he has been there ever ſince he was driven out of Huſſypoor by Lieutenant Hutchinſon, in the Month of February laſt.

Chuprah,
19th Auguſt 1781.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
Charles Græme.

To Charles Græme Eſquire.

Sir,

In conſequence of your polite Attention to my Repreſentation, reſpecting the Treachery and traiterous Correſpondence of Baun Sing Roy and Shew Perſhaud Roy with our declared Enemy Rajah Futteh Saw; of their having given him the moſt perfect Intelligence of every Movement or Step taken to entrap him from this Station; of their having ſupplied him with Money, and your turning them out of every Employment, I was further induced to attempt the obtaining the cleareſt Proof of their Guilt, as I could not deem the Puniſhment already inflicted on them (although the moſt in your Power) by any means adequate to their Crimes.

Some Time ago, when I had the Honour of mentioning this Subject, and acquainted you with the Hopes I had of obtaining the original Letters from thoſe Men to Rajah Futteh Saw, you was pleaſed to expreſs your Satisfaction thereat, and offered your Aſſiſtance, if this could be effected, of laying the whole before the Honourable the Governor General and Council for their Deciſion. I have now the Pleaſure to acquaint you, that the Encloſed are exact Copies of the original Letters, atteſted upon Oath, at this Time in my Poſſeſſion. Should further Proof of their Guilt be deemed neceſſary, I can take upon me to promiſe, that the Man employed in carrying Money from Baun Sing Roy to Rajah Futteh Saw ſhall be produced.

I muſt

I muſt further beg Leave to lay before you, that while the Country People, ſo entirely attached to the Intereſts of Rajah Futteh Saw, are permitted to keep Poſſeſſion of Quantities of Arms, which I have the moſt certain Information is the Caſe, he can never be at any Loſs for an armed Force to enter and plunder the Country with. For this Reaſon I would humbly propoſe my being authoriſed to diſarm every Man in the Country, as the only Deſtruction to his Hopes, and Means of fulfilling the Intentions of the Honourable Board, in his preſent Situation, protected and countenanced as he is by Rajah Cheit Sing in his Country, where he now watches for the firſt favourable Opportunity of returning to his old Practices.

I have to requeſt you will be ſo obliging as to laytheſe Circumſtances before the Board, accompanied by this Letter; but ſhould that prove inconvenient, that you will be pleaſed to acquaint me ſo, and I will then do it myſelf through the Commander in Chief.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
Robert Maxwell,
Captain commanding at Burragong.

Burragong,
17th Auguſt 1781.

NUM. 112.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

Bundoo Khan, who conducted me through the Hills, has requeſted from me a Certificate of his Conduct; I do myſelf the Honour to recommend him to your Notice, as a Perſon whom I have every Reaſon to believe well affected to Government.

I have the Honour to ſubſcribe myſelf, with Reſpect,
Honourable Sir, &c.
J. W. Crabb, Major.

Lutteefpoor,
21ſt September 1781.

NUM. 113.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

I had the Honour to addreſs you Yeſterday from Lora, and I now adviſe you of my having this Morning taken Poſſeſſion of the Fort of Lutteefpoor, the Rajah having evacuated it Yeſterday Afternoon, and puſhed acroſs the Hills to Bidjeygur with moſt Part of his Followers; thoſe remaining, amounting to about Seven or Eight hundred, followed his Example. At my Approach I found one of the French Soldiers, who informs me, the reſt were inhumanly maſſacred about the 4th Inſtant; that he received a Wound and pretended to be dead, until the barbarous Raſcals had quitted the Place, and then he crawled out to the Hills, where he lay concealed for ſeveral Days. It was unfortunate for me the Rajah eſcaped; but the many Difficulties I had to encounter rendered it impoſſible to reach this earlier. The Roads, from their Badneſs, have ſhaken all my Gun Carriages ſo much, that it is neceſſary for them to be taken to Pieces, and have a thorough Repair, before they can leave this. I have given the neceſſary Orders reſpecting it. I found here Four Guns of different Calibres. There appear to be a good many Stores; Particulars of them ſhall be taken, and forwarded with all Expedition. I have alſo found a Cohorn here, which was I believe taken from Mirzapoor; it ſeems in good Order. Your Letter of the 17th is juſt arrived, brought by the Bearer. Bundoo Khan has behaved much to my Satisfaction in conducting the Detachment. He was miſtaken reſpecting the Diſtance, as alſo the Situation of this Place from the Paſs mentioned; but I beg leave to recommend him to your Notice. I hope the Roads will be opened between this and Chunargur.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
J. W. Crabb.

Lutteefpoor,
21ſt September 1781.

NUM. 114.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

I had the Honour to inform you of the Evacuation of this Place, and my taking Poſſeſſion the Morning of the 21ſt. At that Time I could only find four Guns, but ſince have diſcovered Five more, together with a large Quantity of Stores and Ammunition; every Houſe almoſt produces Stores, or Materials for making them. I have the Honour to preſent you encloſed a Return of the Killed and Wounded of my Detachment, on the Morning of the 20th, near Lora, in an Action with a Party of the Rajah's Troops, to the Number of about 2000 of all Sorts, with their Guns. Their Loſs amounted in Killed and Wounded to near 200. The Guns fell into my Hands, together with the Stores attached to them, which for want of Carriage I was neceſſitated to deſtroy, having rendered uſeleſs and buried them.

Yeſterday Morning I received Orders from Major Popham to ſend the 1ſt Battalion of the 6th Regiment and the Vizeer's Body Guard to join him at Pateeta, and remain here with my Regiment, the Four Guns and Howitz, till further Orders.

I have

PART II.

I have great Satisfaction in informing you, that Half an Hour ago Contoo Bauboo and Mr. Barnet applied for and received Admiſſion into the Fort, having Yeſterday Morning been diſmiſſed from Bidjeygur by the Rajah. Theſe Two Gentlemen are, from Fatigue of Travelling, and Joy at their Eſcape, incapable of proceeding further before To-morrow, when I ſhall give them all the Aſſiſtance in my Power towards forwarding them to Chunar.

The accompanying Letters were found in an old Houſe Yeſterday.

The Difficulties the Detachment has experienced on the March from Chunar to this Place, were ſuch as induced me to form a Narrative, which I ſhall beg Leave to offer for your Peruſal in Two or Three Days Time. I have the Honour to be, &c.

Lutteefpoor,
23d September 1781.

J. W. Crabb,
Major commanding a Detachment.

NUM. 115.

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Miſſing, of the Detachment, commanded by Major Crabb, in the Action of the 20th of September 1781.

		Subadars.	Jemmadars.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Sepoys.
1ſt Battalion, 6th Regiment	Killed	—	—	—	—	3
	Wounded	1	1	1	—	6
	Miſſing	—	—	—	—	1
7th Regiment: 1ſt Battalion	Killed	—	—	—	—	2
	Wounded	—	—	—	—	5
	Miſſing	—	—	—	—	—
7th Regiment: 2d Battalion	Killed	—	—	—	—	1
	Wounded	—	—	—	—	7
	Miſſing	—	—	—	—	—
Vizeer's Body Guard	Killed	—	—	—	—	1
	Wounded	—	—	—	—	—
	Miſſing	—	—	—	—	—

Artillery—1 Laſhcar killed, 1 wounded; 1 Bullock Driver, and 2 Bullocks, killed.
N. B. One Beaſty killed.

A B S T R A C T.

	Subadars.	Jemmadars.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Sepoys.	Laſhcars.	Bullock Drivers.	Beaſties.
Killed	—	—	—	—	7	1	1	1
Wounded	1	1	1	—	18	1	—	—
Miſſing	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—

NUM. 116.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

At the Deſire of the Rannee, who repreſented Cheit Sing's People having entirely deſerted Banaris, and which was confirmed by my own Intelligence, I have ſent an Officer with a Company of Sepoys along with ſome People of hers to proclaim the Reſtoration of her Authority, and give Confidence to thoſe who are well inclined to our Government; as alſo to take charge of the Gentlemen's Effects, the greateſt Part of which I underſtand to be ſtill there. The Officer is alſo particularly inſtructed to aſſiſt the Rannee's People in apprehending the Aumeen Dyaram, who it is ſaid is ſtill lurking in the Town. Though this Step exceeds my Orders, I flatter myſelf it will meet with your Approbation, as the delaying it till I could have received your Orders might have proved fatal to the Tranquillity of the Town, which ſeemed to require the immediate Appearance of ſome Perſon on the Part of Government. The Inhabitants of this Place are returning faſt, and the Rannee acquaints me, that the People whoſe Names I trouble you with in the enclоſed Liſt, have all ſent Offers to her of coming in immediately; and ſhe requeſts me to beg you will be pleaſed to let her know whom you would chuſe her to receive, as ſhe will not venture to give any of them Aſſurances of her Protection without your previous Approbation. I requeſt to be favoured with your Commands on this Head, and will now only take the Liberty of adding, that I think the People in general ſeem to be ſenſible of their Error, and that the Tranquillity of the Country may ſoon be reſtored.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Ramnagur,
23d September 1781.

A. Balfour.

P. S. There are many Things found here which I ſuppoſe belong to the Gentlemen with you, but I cannot aſcertain exactly to whom; I ſhall collect them all in the Fort, and take care of them till they can be claimed.

NUM. 117.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The Governor General returns his Thanks to Major Crabb, for the Spirit and good Conduct with which he has executed the Service committed to his Charge, and expreſſes his entire Approbation of the Behaviour of the Officers and Troops under Major Crabb's Command.

Chunargur, September 24th 1781.

☞ [NUM. 118.

Tranſlation from the Perſian of a Proclamation iſſued by the Governor General the 25th of September 1781.

Be it known to the Zemeedars, Aumils, Reyots, and all the Inhabitants of the Zemeedary of Banaris, &c. That whereas Rajah Cheit Sing, by many Acts of Rebellion and Perfidy, and the Murder of a Number of Engliſh Officers, Sepoys, and other Dependants of the Government of the Company, who were unarmed, has totally forfeited his Right to the Zemeedary of Banaris, &c. and become amenable to the Juſtice of the Company; it is therefore made known and proclaimed, that Cheit Sing, and his Brother Soojaun Sing, and their Dependants, have, from this Period, no further Right or Intereſt in the Zemeedary of the ſaid Province; and all the Zemeedars and Reyots are required to withhold their Obedience and Submiſſion from him, otherwiſe they will be puniſhed accordingly.—And whereas, by the Sedition of Cheit Sing, the Country has fallen into Confuſion and Alarms, Aſſurances of Protection are hereby given to the Zemeedars, and other Inhabitants of this Country; and they are hereby invited to repair to their former Places of Reſidence, and reſume their uſual Occupations in perfect Security: And, leſt any ſhould entertain Apprehenſions on account of their Miſdemeanors, it is declared, that the paſt Offences of all the Inhabitants of this Country who ſhall conform to this Order, are pardoned: And further, every Zemeedar and Aumil who ſhall, within the Space of One Month, repair to the Preſence of the Governor General, or to Major William Popham, Commander of the Forces in the Field, and make their Submiſſion, ſhall be pardoned; and ſuch as, on account of the Diſtance of the Road, or any other valid Reaſon, cannot attend in Perſon, muſt ſend their Vakeels for this Purpoſe with proper Credentials. But be it known that the Perſons of Cheit Sing and his Brother Soojaun Sing are excepted from this Pardon; and the Town of Gopeegunge, the Inhabitants of which have been particularly active in this Rebellion, and have committed many Acts of Sedition and even Bloodſhed on many of the Dependants of this Government, ſhall be deſtroyed, and the Inhabitants thereof puniſhed, on a due Enquiry into their Crimes—Such Perſons as, availing themſelves of theſe Troubles, ſhall have plundered and oppreſſed the Inhabitants of the City of Banaris, and ſuch as ſhall have committed Murder on peaceable Paſſengers, ſhall be rendered accountable for the ſame in the due Courſe of Juſtice.]

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PART II.

NUM. 119.

To Major Crabb.

Sir,

I duly received your Letter, informing me of the Succeſs of your Expedition; and return you my warmeſt Thanks for the Spirit and Judgment which you exerted in the Conduct of it.

Captain Blair and Bundoo Khan have given me a minute Detail of the Difficulties and Fatigues which you encountered in your March; and I am truly ſenſible of the Zeal and Perſeverance which you have ſhewn in ſurmounting them.

The Defeat of the Rajah's Troops at Lora, beſides the immediate Conſequence of the Evacuation of Lutteefpoor, is likely to be productive of the good Effect of ſpeedily terminating the Diſturbances occaſioned by the Defection of the Rajah Cheit Sing.

Be aſſured that I ſhall always retain a proper Senſe of, and deſire to acknowledge, the Service you have performed.

Chunargur, 25th September 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 120.

To Colonel Morgan.

Sir,

In my Letter to you, dated the 24th Inſtant, I acquainted you, that as the Nabob expected his Return to his Capital would put a Stop to the Diſturbances which have lately ariſen in his Country, it was unneceſſary for you to proceed to Lucknow with your Brigade, as I at firſt directed. From a ſubſequent Converſation with the Miniſter, I find there is a Probability that the Nabob may be deceived in his Expectations, and ſtill require your Aſſiſtance; I have therefore directed Mr. Middleton, on the Nabob's Application to him in Writing for that Purpoſe, to apply to you for the Aid of ſuch a Force as the Nabob may require; which I requeſt you will be pleaſed to furniſh on Mr. Middleton's Requiſition.

Ramnagur, 27th September 1781.

I am, Sir, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 121.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

I was honoured laſt Night with your Letters of the 24th Inſtant; and beg leave to aſſure you, it is the Summit of my Ambition to merit your Approbation of my Conduct; and the Compliment you paid the Troops which I ſent you heightened my Satisfaction with additional Pleaſure. In conſequence of your Letter of the 19th, deſiring me to halt at this Place, I immediately ordered that Part of my Brigade that had croſſed over the Jooſy, to recroſs; but in order to loſe no Time, I ſhall directly march towards Lucknow, and agreeable to your Directions ſhall direct Colonel Sir John Cumming to croſs immediately at Khaunpoor, and proceed to Lucknow with Two Regiments and Four Guns, and to comply with ſuch Requiſitions as the Nabob or the Reſident make to him for Aſſiſtance to eſtabliſh Tranquillity in his Excellency's Dominions. But I have the Pleaſure to inform you, that I learn, both by Letters written by Gentlemen at Lucknow, and from my Intelligence Writer there, that the Commotions have ſubſided, and they entertained no Alarm but from the Situation of Chunar; and I am ready to conclude, that the Brigade's halting here operated in ſome meaſure to produce that good Effect; and I am now concerned I ſent to you that Extract from Mr. Blane's Letter, as I apprehend it was written without a right Conſideration of Circumſtances, and cauſed you ſome unneceſſary Alarm. Captain Law will croſs the River To-morrow Morning with all the Cavalry fit to ſerve on active Service, and I have given him Inſtructions to uſe all Expedition on his Way down to Chunar. I ſhall march on this Side the Water up to Khaunpoor. I will write to Mr. Middleton to let me know if the Aſſiſtance of my Troops is wanted, and ſhall be prepared to afford him any Aid, either with my whole Force or any Part of it, ſhould the Detachment with Colonel Sir John Cumming not prove ſufficient for quelling any Diſturbances in the Nabob's Country; but in the preſent State of the Country I make no doubt of Colonel Cumming's Force being enough. As the Exigence of Affairs does not ſeem now to be preſſing, I have left it to Colonel Cumming's Option, either to proceed with the Detachment, or to go and command at the Station of Futteh Ghur with the Two Regiments he has left there, till further Orders from me.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
J. Morgan.

Camp near Illahabad, 27th September 1781.

NUM. 122.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

I have the Honour to encloſe a Copy of a Second Letter received from Major Lucas, ſince the Action of the 17th with Futieh Saw; by which you will ſee that he narrowly eſcaped being taken Priſoner. Wiſhing to reduce as ſoon as poſſible the increaſed Expence attending the keeping in Pay the Body of Burkandazes raiſed for the Defence of theſe Diſtricts, I had written to Govindram Miſſer to ſend them in here to receive the Arrears that were due to them; but previous to the Receipt of my Letter, a Plan for attacking Futteh Saw's Intrenchments had been formed. They accompanied the Battalion, and did not diſappoint the general Expectation of their being ſerviceable on the Occaſion; for they diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly. I received this Morning another Letter from Major Lucas, wherein he ſays, "Don't determine any Thing about the "Peons till you hear from me again; there is ſomething in Agitation that may require their "further Services." In conſequence of this I have reſolved not to recal them immediately, and hope you will approve of it.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Chuprah,
21ſt October 1781.

Charles Græme.

NUM. 123.

To Mr. Charles Græme.

Dear Sir,

I have been favoured with your's of the 16th. By this, Chuprah muſt be relieved from their Fears of Futteh Saw, who I now find has got a moſt complete Drubbing, and had a very narrow Eſcape himſelf; for, contrary to Cuſtom, he was in his Trenches, but walked off on ſeeing us advance ſo firmly. When he arrived on the Banks of the Jerry, he mounted a favourite Horſe, who was alarmed at the Fire, and had nearly thrown his Maſter into the River, who was obliged to diſmount, and get upon an Elephant, and had juſt got clear, with about Twenty or Thirty Favourites, when my Grenadiers and ſome of Durjoo Sing's People arrived at the River, whoſe Depth or Rapidity did not prevent their following immediately; and had they known the ſhort Diſtance the Rajah had got in proper Time, it is more than probable he would have fallen into our Hands. His Loſs in killed and wounded, from every Account, ſeems to be nearly 300. Moſt of his principal Men fell in the Trenches; Sittabarie, and a Commandant formerly in the Nedjeeb Battalion, ſaid to be ſent here by Cheit Sing, and his Colours taken, beſides ſeveral others whoſe Names I do not recollect. From the Number of Matchlocks, Tulwars, &c. &c. picked up by our Followers in the Jungles about and in the River (which is confirmed by ſome Fakeers who ſtood on the Banks), many of them muſt have periſhed therein, as it was barely fordable in a particular Spot, and very rapid. It is ſuppoſed he had 3000 Men in the Trenches, and that he has not been able yet to collect 300; ſo that his Overthrow muſt, I hope, be now completed. The Lines we attacked muſt not be deemed common temporary Intrenchments; the Rampart at the Baſtion was about 14 Feet high from the Outſide; and it is very evident the whole was intended as a Fort, which in a little Time would have proved very troubleſome. His Headmen often urged a Night Attack, which we expected for ſome Time, and have not been able to ſtrip ſince we left Suvan; ſo that it became abſolutely neceſſary to diſturb this troubleſome Neighbour, which I had determined ſhould take place on the Arrival of the Gun. Encloſed is a ſmall Sketch; I had proceeded with my Battalion to *d. d.* where we received a ſevere Fire, which neither the Gun nor Platoons could ſlacken. Here I was joined by the Aumil, who pointed out the Ford *j.*, on which I formed the Plan of attacking the Baſtion with the Gun and Durjoo Sing, while Captain Bruce advanced with his Battalion through the Jungle; ſo that the Trenches were ſtormed at each End with equal Succeſs, and at the ſame Inſtant. Poverty ſeemed to reign among them, for I ſaw nothing but a few temporary Huts; and nothing worth mentioning has been picked up.

To-morrow I march about 5 Coſs N. E. to a ſuſpected Place, and hope to be enabled to return to Burragong in a few Days. The Aumil has behaved very well on every Occaſion.

I hope you are truly ſenſible of the eſſential Service performed by the Burkandazes, who have ſuffered exceedingly, and hope they may receive ſome Mark of Favour.

Hircarrahs are ſent to all Quarters; no Intelligence of the Enemy as yet, nor do I ſuppoſe they will be eaſily found.

I find our Sepoys have not ſuffered as much as I expected; only Twenty wounded, One ſince dead, and Two or Three in Danger.

Camp Huſſypoor,
18th October 1781.

Your's, &c.
Richard Lucas.

PART II.

NUM. 124.

Tranſlation *of a* Letter *found in* Lutteefpoor *the* 6th *of* October, *and forwarded to the* Governor General *by* Captain Thomas Blair.

On Thurſday, after my Arrival at Banaris from Buxar, I went to Shewallah-Ghaut with a View of repreſenting to you ſeveral Circumſtances which I had learned concerning the oppoſite Party; but as they had got in before me, I was deprived of an Opportunity of ſeeing you. I was preſent at the Place where your Friends and People were ſitting, and where they aſſembled together; and when you went into the Boat, notwithſtanding it was my earneſt Deſire to have accompanied you, yet I had no Opportunity of doing it. The enſuing Day, the Paſſage of Boats to and fro was entirely obſtructed, and I was afraid to ſend you Intelligence from this Place, leſt the Letter ſhould have fallen into the Hands of the Enemy. They remained afterwards Four Days at this Place with a few Men, and if you had then attempted to retaliate on them, you would certainly have taken Two Pigeons in One Trap; but as all your Actions are accompanied with good Fortune, there is no Doubt but the Enemy will be ſoon overcome. For Two Days the Hircarrahs of the oppoſite Party came to my Houſe to make Enquiries; but, by the Bleſſing of God, no ill Conſequence enſued. Now that you have taken this heavy Burthen upon yourſelf, you muſt truſt entirely in God, and ſhew, on all Occaſions, the utmoſt Fortitude. The Alliance of ſeveral Chiefs, at a Time like this, is very neceſſary, and may be eaſily accompliſhed; yet you muſt avoid forming any Connection with a Chief of ſuch Conſequence as may afterwards himſelf attempt an Interference in your Affairs. Whatever Orders you give, muſt proceed from your own Deliberation. I am at preſent perfectly idle here, and I am very ſolicitous of an Interview with you, that I may in Perſon communicate to you my Opinions on ſeveral Points which have occurred to me. By a Letter from Bulwunt Row, I underſtand that you wiſh me to inform myſelf concerning the Arrival of Hyder Beg, and to write you on the Subject.

I will aſſuredly make every neceſſary Enquiry, both about Hyder Beg and the Nabob Aſſof-ud Dowlah, and communicate to you the Reſult. I have already ſent confidential Perſons to both, and whatever I may in conſequence learn, ſhall be communicated to you hereafter. Meanwhile the Matter is briefly this: You muſt never entertain Hopes of the Attachment of Hyder Beg; his whole Strength and Power depend on the oppoſite Party; yet it is proper you ſhould attempt to conciliate the Favour of the Vizeer, by telling him, that you are deſirous of repreſenting ſeveral Circumſtances to him; that you wiſh to perſuade him to detach himſelf from the oppoſite Party, and to reſume his former Authority over you. Without knowing your Sentiments on this Subject, it is not in my Power to act ſo of myſelf.

It is however at all Events adviſeable, that if the Vizeer ſhould entirely embrace the other Party, you ſhould nevertheleſs wait upon him perſonally, and repreſent to him whatever you may deem adviſeable. I beg you will believe me to be in every Reſpect firmly attached to you. Major Hannay with One Battalion has left Gooruckpoor, and Letters have been ſent to Khaunpoor for Troops from thence; you ſhould therefore retaliate on them as ſoon as poſſible. If Hyder Beg, without your Conſent, ſhould attempt to join the oppoſite Party, it is proper you ſhould ſtation a ſuitable Force on this Side of the Fort of Chunar, to prevent his croſſing the River. Yeſterday Rajah Gobind Ram and Lalla Bucheraje went and had an Interview with Hyder Beg. What more ſhall I ſay? The Object of Hyder Beg is certainly to manifeſt his Attachment to the oppoſite Party.

NUM. 125.

To Edward Wheler, Eſquire.

Sir,

My Continuance in this Quarter, and the Events which have happened, have given me an Opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Situation of the Troops beyond the Provinces; and I am concerned to ſay, that in their Equipment they are extremely defective, particularly in ſmall Arms and Accoutrements; the laſt Supplies ſent from Fort William to Chunar are entirely expended; the Indents from the Board upon the Magazine there having exceeded the whole Quantity originally ſupplied. Major Popham's Detachment is indeed amply furniſhed; but thoſe under Colonels Cumming and Muir are very deficient. I have not been informed of the Condition of Colonel Morgan's Brigade, but am afraid it is not much ſuperior to that of the others.

I cannot aſcertain the preciſe Quantity of Arms and Artillery which may be required, nor is it material; but the Neceſſity of having in Store at Chunar ſuch a Supply as may be equal to the Demands of any probable Service on this Side of the Caramnaſſa is evident, and the immediate Want of them is preſſing: I therefore earneſtly intreat your immediate Orders for tranſporting ſuch a Proportion of ſmall Arms and Accoutrements, and of Field Artillery, 12 and 6 Pounders, as may be adapted to this Service, and can be ſpared from Fort William and the Provinces, by Water, before the Swelling of the River ſubſides.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Warren Haſtings.

Banaris,
7th October 1781.

NUM. 126.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I was only Yeſterday favoured by the Receipt of your Letter of the 3d Inſtant. I have for ſome Days paſt been collecting the Papers which have been thrown out in the Streets and Houſes in this Place.

I have the Pleaſure to aſſure you, that the Trouble I have taken to collect the Reyots of the Pergunnahs of Lutteefpoor and Pateeta has been attended with Succeſs. In moſt of the Villages I have diſtributed ſmall Flags, and given them Beetle and a Hircarrah, and to ſome a Sepoy to protect and encourage them. The Reyots are again enployed in their Fields; but few or none of the Zemeedars or Aumils have yet come in. I expect the late Rain which we have had will, with the favourable Report of the Reyots, induce them to return to their former Habitations. You may be aſſured, that nothing ſhall be wanting on my Part to protect and encourage them. The Aumils of Lutteefpoor and Pateeta ſhall have every Aſſiſtance which I can poſſibly give them. In the Jungles a little Diſtance from this, I have diſcovered a ſmall fortified Place, in which, it appears to me, the Europeans were put to Death: Some of their Hats, Shoe-bruſhes, and Pieces of their Coats, were found in it. I have not been able to diſcover any Remains of their Bodies.

I ſend you Shujah ud Dowlah's Agreement with the Rajah, which was found Yeſterday. I am collecting all the Papers into One Room. Two Moonſhees, who take Bauboo Owſan Sing's Name, came to take all the Papers with them. As they had no Letter with them, I deſired they would get a proper Authority for taking Poſſeſſion of them, before I could deliver them: I ſhall be glad to be favoured with your Directions reſpecting them.

Lutteefpoor,
8th October 1781.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
Thomas Blair.

NUM. 127.

To Edward Wheler, Eſquire.

Sir,

I beg Leave to introduce, through you, to the Notice of the Board, an Inſtance of Zeal and Attachment to our Government, which, from the peculiar Circumſtances under which it was exhibited, merits both a Place in our Records, and a public and warm Acknowledgement.

It will be remembered, that a principal Object of my Journey to theſe Provinces was to obtain and facilitate an Interview at Banaris with Dewaugur Pundit, the Miniſter of Rajah Moodajee Booſlah, for the Purpoſe of effecting a final Adjuſtment of the political Concerns of our Government, and that of Berar. The Death of Dewaugur Pundit, the News of which reached me Two Days before my Arrival at Banaris, and which I regret with the moſt ſenſible Concern, diſappointed all the Hopes which I had conceived of forming by his Means a ſolid and laſting Alliance with the Court of Berar.

I was attended in my Journey from Calcutta by Beneram Pundit, the Vakeel of Moodajee Booſla, with his Brother Biſſumber Pundit. The Vakeel, during his long Reſidence with me in that Capacity, had given me conſtant Proofs of a ſincere Diſpoſition to promote the Intereſts of our Government, whilſt he exerted himſelf to advance thoſe of his Maſter.

When I retreated from Banaris, Beneram Pundit and his Brother, on the firſt Intelligence of my Departure, followed, and, unattended by a ſingle Servant, joined me in the March, reſiſting all my Intreaties, and even Injunctions, to return to Banaris, where their whole Family reſided, and where they might have remained in perfect Eaſe and Security.

On my Arrival at Chunar I found myſelf in great and irremediable Diſtreſs for want of Money. The Troops were ſome Four, and others Five Months in Arrears, and as Cheit Sing had the Country on all Sides at his Devotion, I had not the ſmalleſt Proſpect of obtaining Supplies, until the Motion of our Troops from different Quarters ſhould open a Communication. It was with Difficulty that I found Means to raiſe ſo ſmall a Sum as 2500 Rupees, to diſtribute among the Sepoys for their preſſing Neceſſities. I muſt add, though foreign from my immediate Subject, that the Sepoys bore their Diſtreſſes without expreſſing the leaſt Impatience under them.

Being accuſtomed, from my Experience of the Intereſt which Beneram Pundit had always taken in the Succeſs of our Affairs, and as a kind of Acknowledgment of it, to treat him with a greater Freedom of Communication than other Perſons in his Situation, I occaſionally mentioned to him, without any Expectation or Thought of obtaining any Relief from him, the Difficulties under which I laboured for the Want of preſent Subſiſtence. He inſtantly, and with ſome Eagerneſs, replied, That his Family at Banaris were in Poſſeſſion of a Lack of Rupees, collected in Specie, of which he made me the inſtant Offer, propoſing that a Battalion of Sepoys ſhould be ſent to bring it away; his Brother at the ſame Time offering to accompany the Eſcort, and to deliver the Money. I thankfully accepted the Offer, and ſhould have adopted the Mode they recommended for bringing away the Money, had I not been fearful of expoſing their

Family

PART II.

Family to the Vengeance of Cheit Sing; and as my Dewan had been left at Banaris, I hoped by his Means to procure the Treasure to be transported to Chunar, and I received their Orders for the Delivery of it to him. But in this Expedient I was disappointed, for the Dewan was so concealed, that my Letter could not reach him, and Gopaul Dos, the Banker, through whose Agency the intended Plan was to be effected, was about the same Time apprehended and carried a Prisoner to Lutteefpoor, where the Rajah resided; neither could I at that Time devise any other Contrivance to avail myself of the Assistance which had been thus generously pressed upon me. When I returned to Banaris, Beneram Pundit renewed the same Tender; and although my Distress for Money was not then equal in any Degree to that which had before prompted him to make it, I agreed to accept it, willing to furnish an incontrovertible Proof of his Sincerity in the First Offer, and strengthen the Testimony which I have herein given of his steady Attachment to our Government. The whole Sum, amounting to One Lack of Banaris Sicca Rupees, was received between the 30th of September and 1st of October: I have granted to Beneram Pundit a Bond for the same, at the usual Rate of Interest, and in the usual Form, except that it has only my Signature to it. I hope and request that the Board will be pleased to confirm it.

Banaris,
13th October 1781.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
Warren Hastings.

NUM. 128.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings Esquire.

Honourable Sir,

I do myself the Pleasure to acquaint you with my Progress since I left Khaunpoor.

You no doubt heard of my sudden March from thence for the Safety of Lucknow, and a few Days afterwards of my hasty unexpected March for the Relief of Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, whose Situation, from his Letters to me and Mr. Middleton, was beyond Description, and which authorized the March immediately necessary. He was stationed at Sakrora, about 30 Cos from Lucknow; and to get to him I had Four unfordable Rivers or Nullahs to cross, and all the Country almost between the Goompty and Gogra had mostly revolted, and were assembled in a very considerable Body, headed by many of the disaffected Rajahs, which I had to remove before I could possibly attempt to cross the Gogra; in all which I was very successful, and relieved Lieutenant Colonel Hannay the 6th in the Morning. The Rebels who had occasioned such Commotion in that Country, and had occasioned him calling for Assistance, were then assembled at Bopaul Ghaut, on the Banks of the Teerah Nullah, which I was informed was fordable; and that they were determined to maintain their Ground. I halted a Day, and got an Addition of Two 6 Pouuders and Two hundred of the disaffected Horse. I marched, and found them posted as described, across the Nullah, with Two Guns well stationed for their Defence, which they had taken somewhere or other. In this Situation, I advanced the Grenadier Companies with the Four Guns immediately to the Banks of the Nullah, with an Intention to have ordered the Grenadiers and Two Guns over; but I found the Intelligence which I had received, of its being fordable, premature, and it might have been attended with that Consequence that I might have suffered exceedingly. This was an Accident I could not foresee, and which took me nearly Half an Hour to correct in finding out a Place were there was the least Probability of fording, and at this Place the tallest Men could only get through. I then ordered the Grenadiers with Two Guns down to the Ford (having previously provided long and thick Ropes to enable me to drag the Guns through any Nullah where I might not meet with Boats), while the other Two Guns were covering their Crossing. This obliged the whole to give way, leaving their Guns and Two Tumbrils, with near 100 shotted Cartridges, &c. &c. From the first of my Arrival at the Ghaut, until they gave way, was near an Hour. I had only Two Men killed and Four wounded; of the Enemy, I found on the Spot between 60 and 70 killed, and many more lay scattered about at a Distance, which they had endeavoured to carry off; the greater Part of their Wounded were likewise moved away, owing to the Difficulty and Delay that I met with in getting across the Nullah. They are a Set of the most obstinate People I ever met with; for such of the Wounded as were not taken away refused the Assistance which I offered them. Could I have possibly got across sooner, and the Horsemen had recovered from their Panic, there must have been very great Carnage.

It is impossible to ascertain their Numbers; it was supposed they consisted of Ten thousand and upwards, Horse and Foot; but the irregular Manner in which they were drawn up, prevents my forming any Judgment.

This Circumstance of the Intelligence respecting the Ford was unfortunate; however, I have taken care in providing such People as will inevitably prevent the like happening again. They were Natives of this Country; and I am almost certain it was done on Purpose, for the Hircarrahs that carried me to the Ghaut I have not seen since.

To describe to you the Situation of Colonel Hannay's own Sepoys, and which called me to his Relief and Assistance, I suppose you will be acquainted with, either by himself, or from Mr. Middleton; and as I have entered upon the restoring this Country, and a Regiment will be necessary, I beg the Favour I may not be relieved.

Camp near Goonda,
October 13th, 1781.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
F. Naylor.

NUM. 129.

General Orders *issued by the* Governor General *at* Banaris *the* 19*th* October 1781.

The Governor General having received a minute Detail from Major Crabb, of the March and Occurrences of the Detachment lately under his Command, in an Enterprize againſt Lutteefpoor, (which Detail has been hitherto delayed by the Indiſpoſition of Major Crabb) repeats, in a particular Manner, the general Thanks which he gave to the Detachment on the firſt imperfect Account of their Succeſs.

It is with extreme Satisfaction that the Governor General obſerves the Spirit and Perſeverance with which the Troops ſurmounted the many and great Obſtacles which oppoſed their Progreſs through the Mountains, and the Gallantry with which they attacked and defeated a ſtrong Detachment of the Enemy after a moſt fatiguing March.

The Governor General entertains the higheſt Senſe of the Zeal and Abilities with which Major Crabb has conducted ſucceſsfully an Expedition attended with uncommon Difficulties from Nullahs, Jungles, and other Impediments.

The greateſt Commendations are alſo due to the Officers of the Detachment, for their able and active Aſſiſtance in this arduous Expedition.

The ſtrong Recommendations which Major Crabb has given of Lieutenant Fireworker Baillie, for his diſtinguiſhed Attention and Activity in the Management of the Artillery under his Charge, affords the Governor General the Pleaſure of a Second Occaſion of acknowledging the Services of that Officer in the ſame Campaign, and publiſhing his Thanks for them.

NUM. 130.

General Orders, November 8th, 1781.

The Stations of Futtehghur and Daranagur to be immediately and totally withdrawn, and the Troops from both to proceed immediately to Khaunpoor, where they are to remain under the Command of Colonel Morgan until further Orders.

The Detachment, commanded by Colonel Muir, to encamp at Etaya until further Orders.

All Recruiting for any of the Corps beyond the Provinces, to be immediately ſuſpended.

A Regiment of Sepoys from the Station of Khaunpoor to be ſtationed at Lucknow, under the Orders of the Reſident, and relieved every Three Months.

All Britiſh Officers holding Commands, or employed in the Service of his Excellency the Nabob Vizeer, are hereby recalled to their Duty in the Company's Troops; they are firſt to repair with their Corps to Lucknow, where they are to diſcharge all Arrears due to the Troops under their reſpective Commands, and ſettle their Accounts with the Paymaſter General of the Vizeer's Eſtabliſhment under Britiſh Officers, after which they are immediately to proceed to the neareſt Station of the Company's Forces, and wait there until they receive the Orders of the Commander in Chief reſpecting their future Deſtination in the Corps of the Army.

NUM. 131.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

The Mutineers came to Terms with the Rajah the Day before Yeſterday; they receive Four Lacks and quit the Service.

Yeſterday a Letter from Cheit Sing came to the Rajah, requeſting his Aſſiſtance; on its being read, the Rajah expreſſed his Attachment to you.

The Rajah is in good Health.

Naugpoor,
18th October 1781.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
F. B. Thomas.

The Papers that form this Appendix are true Copies of the Original; or, where there are Tranſlations inſerted of Perſian Letters, true Copies of thoſe Tranſlations.

E. HAY,
Sub. Set. to the Honourable Governor General and Council.

APPENDIX.

PART III.

Containing AFFIDAVITS.

FIRST PARCEL.

NUM. 1. A.

Affidavit *of* Major Eaton, *commanding the* Fort *of* Buxar.

Iſaac Eaton, Major of Infantry, in the Service of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, maketh Oath and ſaith, That the annexed Papers, reſpectively marked * N° 1. B, C, D, E, and F, are, as they purport to be, Copies of Letters reſpectively written and received by this Deponent; and that he did believe, from the beſt Information which he had received at the Time of writing the Letters purporting to be written by him this Deponent, that the Subject Matter thereof was true, and ſtill believes the ſame to be true. And this Deponent further ſaith, That he hath at diverſe Times written ſeveral Perſian Letters to the Rajah Cheit Sing, containing Complaints of a like Nature; and that he hath not to this Hour been able to procure Redreſs from the ſaid Rajah, either on account of the Complaints contained in the annexed Letters, or in the ſaid Perſian Letters; that the ſaid Rajah had at different Times inveigled the Sepoys under the Command of this Deponent to deſert and enter into his Service; and that, from the general Conduct of the ſaid Rajah and his People, this Deponent verily believes the ſaid Rajah was diſaffected to the Engliſh Government, and wiſhed the Subverſion of the ſame. And further this Deponent ſaith, that he hath commanded the Fort or Garriſon of Buxar, on the Frontiers of the Company's Poſſeſſions, and next adjoining to thoſe of the Zemeedary of the ſaid Rajah Cheit Sing, for the Space of Three Years and Half, and, from his Office and Situation, had frequent Experience of the Diſpoſition of the ſaid Rajah, and of his People.

Sworn this 9th Day of December, in the Year 1781, before me
E. Impey.

Iſaac Eaton.

NUM. 1. B.

To Thomas Graham Eſq; Company's Reſident at Banaris.

Sir,

From the many contemptuous and diſreſpectful Letters and Meſſages received in anſwer to the different Applications made by me to the Fougedars, Aumils, Zemeedars, &c. of Cheit Sing's Country, on various Subjects, I find myſelf obliged to addreſs you in this public Manner, in Hopes of Redreſs from your Repreſentation to the Rajah; and in order to ſhew you their Diſinclination to aſſiſt the Company, or oblige me, I ſhall here mention the Heads of two or three Circumſtances as I have had occaſion to write to them upon. About Sixteen or Eighteen Months ago, a Boat with Two Twenty-four Pounders, belonging to the Honourable Company going to Chunar, was ſunk a little above Beerpoor on the Ground belonging to the Village of Seerpoor: In conſequence I applied to the Zemeedar of Beerpoor to aſſiſt me in endeavouring to weigh the Boat, at the ſame Time promiſing a Reward to ſuch People as he could let me have. Inſtead of complying with my Requeſt, he returned me an inſolent Anſwer, ſaying, *He had ſeen many Fringees; who was he? (meaning me); that he was Rajah Bahadre's Servant, not mine, and would therefore give me no Aſſiſtance without his Orders.*

I then wrote to the Fougedar of Imaumabad; who made a Shew of Aſſiſtance, by ſending Thirty or Forty Men. As they could be of little or no Uſe, I collected together, from Buxar and Bowjpoor, as many as I poſſibly could, with whom I went and examined the Spot, and found it impracticable, from the Rapidity of the River, at that Time to weigh the Guns, had I been ſupplied with the Number of People required. On my making known to the Board the Impoſſibility of their then being got at, I was ordered to fix a Buoy to the Boat, and poſt a Guard on the Banks neareſt to the Place, in order to prevent its being cut away, in Hopes the Courſe of the River might alter ſufficiently this Seaſon to admit of their being taken up. I gave the Command of the Guard to a Naick, who formerly reſided at the Village of Seerpoor, as I thought him the likelieſt Perſon to get the Aſſiſtance of the Country People when I might want them. The Naick came to me about a Month or Six Weeks ago, and informed me the Buoy and Maſt were cut away in the Night by ſome of the Mullahs either of Seerpoor, Beerpoor, or Barrow; that if I would permit him to go and reſide amongſt thoſe People for a Week or a Fortnight, he would find out who cut it away, and by what Authority, as he had Reaſon to ſuſpect the different Zemeedars, having previouſly heard that ſuch a Thing was in Agitation. I permitted him to go; and in Ten Days he returned, and informed me, Two Mullahs belonging to one of the Villages

* N. B. The Marks of Reference are different from thoſe of the original Manuſcript.

told him, they knew the People, but it was as much as their own and their Families Lives were worth to divulge it, as the Zemeedars had threatened the Life of any Perſon who ſhould inform the Fringees, adding, the Guns would be uſeful to themſelves, as the Engliſh would not poſſeſs the Country long. I wrote to the Fougedar Buckt Sing Toukaury, of Serinja Pergunnah, and Meer Auſſin Ally of Imaumabad Pergunnah, to deliver up the Mullahs of the different Villages, at leaſt thoſe who had cut away the Buoys. In conſequence I obtained an Order on the Zemeedars and Cutwalls for their being delivered up; but the Cutwall of Imaumabad refuſed, ſaying, He did not know me; that if I wanted them, or any Thing elſe, I ſhould fight him for it before I ſhould have it; at the ſame Time collecting a Mob, he drew his Sword, and made a Cut at one of my People, which he defended with his Firelock, or would moſt probably have been killed. Upon this being reported to me, I ſent a Party of Sepoys, with Orders not to make any Diſturbance, but if any Reſiſtance was made, to bring the Cutwall a Priſoner to me. Before the Sepoys could get there, the Mullahs were ſent; but thoſe who gave the Information to the Naick, and which were the People I wanted, were not among the Number; upon my inquiring where they were, I was told that one was dead, and the other gone to Calcutta.

The Practice of drawing their Swords upon my People is very frequent. Whenever I have occaſion to ſend them into the Country, either for Proviſions, Bamboos, Straw, or any other Article I may want for my Garriſon, or the Troops under my Command, although I write to them in the moſt polite and civil Manner for the ſmalleſt Article, and never ſuffer any Perſon under me to take the Value of a Straw without paying for it; notwithſtanding which, they will not ſupply me with any Thing by Conſent, but, on the contrary, abuſe my People in the moſt groſs Manner; and frequently, when the Gentlemen belonging to this Station have ſent their Servants to purchaſe Things, they have been beat in a moſt cruel Manner.

The Zemeedars of Narainpoor, Beerpoor, and Chouſah, make a common Practice of ſtopping Boats, although they have regular Rowannahs and Paſſports from Government. On my ſending to know the Reaſons for their detaining them, they make uſe of the moſt diſreſpectful Invectives againſt the Company and me; particularly the Zemeedar of Narainpoor, who not long ago confined one of the Chowdries of Buxar for Nineteen Days in Irons, and made him pay for another Man Fifty-three Rupees. Upon my writing him on the Subject, to know why he confined him, he drew his Sword on the Sepoy I ſent, and returned a verbal Anſwer, that if the Chowdry came on his Side the River, he would cut his Noſe and Ears off, and make him pay as much more.

Indeed, from the many Inſtances I have experienced of the Inſolence of the ſeveral Zemeedars, and the many Complaints I have made to their different Fougedars of them, I have every Reaſon to believe they are encouraged by them. I ſhall therefore conſider myſelf obliged by your procuring for me from the Rajah, an Order for ſuch Articles as I may have occaſion for, on my paying the cuſtomary Price, as by that means it will prevent any further Trouble.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Buxar,
23d May 1779.

Iſaac Eaton, Capt. commanding.

NUM. I. C.

To Francis Fowke Eſq; Company's Reſident at Banaris.

Sir,

On the 27th Auguſt I did myſelf the Pleaſure of addreſſing you on a Subject, which I conceived of great Moment to the Company, or at leaſt to me, as it ſtruck at their Authority as well as mine; but it not being taken notice of by you, I ſhould ſuppoſe it had not come to hand, and therefore I encloſe a Copy, and beg you will on Receipt hereof intereſt yourſelf with the Rajah, to give me ample Satisfaction for ſuch Behaviour, otherwiſe, in Support of my own Conſequence, I ſhall be obliged to apply to the Board for Redreſs, or for Leave to do myſelf Juſtice; for at preſent the Inhabitants of this Country are in ſuch a rebellious State, that within a Mile of me they refuſe to ſell the ſmalleſt Article wanting either for myſelf or for the Troops under my Command, notwithſtanding I addreſs them in the moſt polite Manner, by Letter, for the moſt trifling Thing. It is but Yeſterday the Zemeedar of Narainpoor treated me with the greateſt Contempt, by throwing a Letter I ſent him on the Ground, and treading on it. The Contents were to requeſt he would ſend Two or Three Dookaundars with Grain, &c. &c. for the Uſe of Captain Crawford's Detachment. The Zemeedar at the ſame Time made uſe of the groſſeſt Abuſe againſt me and the People I ſent, telling them *he could raiſe Four hundred men; that if the Fringees wanted any Thing, they ſhould fight for it.* This Kind of Conduct, if not ſoon put an End to, will be productive of Bloodſhed; for it is impoſſible in my Situation, let what will be the Conſequence, to ſuffer it, or the People under my Command will be ſpit at as they paſs through the Country, and myſelf inſulted at my Fort Gates. Your ſpeedy Reply will much oblige,

Sir, &c.

Buxar,
3d November 1780.

Iſaac Eaton, Captain commanding.

PART III.

NUM. 1. D.

To Captain I. Eaton, commanding the Fort of Buxar.

Sir,

I have but this Moment received your Favour of the 3d Inſtant. I am aſhamed to ſay, that the Original of the Copy which you incloſed, came to hand in due Time. All I can ſay in Excuſe for my Inattention, is a bilious Fever, from which I am now only recovering, and which, during its Continuance, totally incapacitated me for any Kind of Buſineſs.

I will immediately apply to the Rajah in the Manner you deſire, and repreſent to him the Propriety of puniſhing and repreſſing the Inſolence of his Servants, and the Neceſſity of their aſſiſting the Commander in obtaining Supplies for his Garriſon: However, I think I can venture to predict, that a Recrimination is all the Redreſs I ſhall be able to procure; and I am convinced that the Interference of the Supreme Council is become abſolutely neceſſary to put a Stop to theſe Enormities. The Moment I receive the Rajah's Anſwer, I will give you the Subſtance of it.

The Incloſed will inform you of what has already paſſed upon this Subject.

As I have heard nothing from the Board upon this Subject, I conclude that my Letter has been paſſed over amidſt the Multiplicity of Buſineſs in which the General muſt have found himſelf involved on his Arrival at the Preſidency. I remain,

Sir, &c.

F. Fowke,
Reſident.

Banaris,
8th November 1780.

NUM. 1. E.

To Francis Fowke Eſq;

Sir,

I have received your different Favours, and have ſeen the Perwannah, which I am afraid will have little or no Effect, as the whole Country ſeems to be in a State of Ferment. So lately ago as the 14th Inſtant, Three Gentlemen, who were proceeding to join the Army, were inſulted by the Zemeedar of Beerpoor, who not only beat and bruiſed their Servants, and afterwards robbed them, but cut one of the Gentlemen with a Tulwar acroſs the Forehead, and other Parts of the Body, in ſo dangerous a Manner, that he was ſent off from Buxar Yeſterday Morning, to have the Aſſiſtance of the Medical Gentlemen at Patna; but as there is every Appearance of a Fracture, I am much afraid he will not recover. The other Two Gentlemen, after this ſhocking Accident, returned here, and propoſe remaining with me until they hear of Mr. Baſſet (the Gentleman wounded) whether he recovers.

Both the Gentlemen ſay, the Stroke was made by the Zemeedar himſelf; upon which I immediately diſpatched a Serjeant and Thirty Sepoys, who are juſt now returned, having brought along with them a Parcel of Black Fellows from Beerpoor; but as I have not as yet had Time to enquire into the Particulars, I am uncertain whether the Scrutiny will be attended with the deſired Succeſs: I am however reſolved to keep the People I already have in Confinement, Priſoners, until I am able to get to the Bottom of this infamous Affair. I requeſt you will inform the Rajah of my Reſolution, that he may take the proper Steps to have it cleared up; as this is not the only Inſtance of the daring and rebellious Spirit of the Natives in Cheit Sing's Diſtricts. The Incloſed will ſhew you a new Species of Fraud and Extortion, committed by Myup Sing, the Paranparaha Zemeedar, who takes upon himſelf the Collection of Duties on Boats paſſing his Station. The Serang, from whom he ſqueezed Money, has given me the incloſed Account of the Matter, drawn up by himſelf, and to which I refer you; and am,

Sir, &c.

Iſaac Eaton,
Captain Commanding.

Buxar,
17th November 1780.

NUM. 1. F.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. Council.

Gentlemen,

As I have ever conſidered it as an eſſential Duty incumbent on me, as commanding at this Station, to give every Information in my Power, reſpecting the proper and regular Manner of diſtributing Juſtice, and preventing oppreſſive Acts and Irregularities, to the Honourable Board; I have embraced this Opportunity of communicating a Piece of Intelligence, which, from the flagrant Circumſtances and daring Spirit of the Natives in this Part of the World, requires the moſt ſerious Attention of the Honourable Board.

So very lately as the 14th of the current Month, Three Gentlemen, viz. Enſigns Irvine, Horne, and Baſſet, being on their Way to join the Army, were ſtopped by theſe Freebooters at Beerpoor, a Village diſtant from Buxar only Three Coſs. The Zemeedar, at the Head of a numerous Gang, endeavoured and was very aſſiduous in picking a Quarrel with the Gentlemen's Servants,

Servants, Two or Three of whom they cut down with Tulwars, and afterwards robbed a Baggage Boat. Not yet ſatisfied with ſuch cruel and barbarous Treatment, the Zemeedar (as Two of the Gentlemen inform me) made a Stroke at Mr. Baſſet with a Tulwar, and cut him ſo deſperately acroſs the Forehead and other Parts of the Body, that he was brought back to Buxar, and immediately ſent away to Patna to have the Aſſiſtance of the Medical Gentlemen at the Station, though with very little Hopes of Recovery. The other Gentlemen are at preſent with me waiting the Iſſue. Immediately on receiving the above ſhocking Account, I diſpatched a Serjeant and Thirty Sepoys in Queſt of the Offenders; and Yeſterday the Detachment returned, and brought a Number of People Priſoners along with them, which I will loſe no Time in examining, and taking every other Step neceſſary to get to the Bottom of ſo daring an Inſult. So ſoon as I am able to inveſtigate the Matter thoroughly, I will take the earlieſt Opportunity of addreſſing the Honourable Board with the Reſult of my Enquiry.

As this is not the only Inſtance of the daring and inſolent, I may almoſt ſay, rebellious Spirit of the Natives in almoſt every Diſtrict of Cheit Sing's Country, I have officially made repeated Applications to Mr. Fowke, the Reſident at Banaris, to repreſent thoſe Grievances to the Rajah, but hitherto without Effect.

General Coote likewiſe addreſſed Mr. Fowke, in conſequence of my Complaint, a Copy of which I ſend incloſed; alſo Mr. Fowke's Anſwer to the General. Some ſhort Time afterwards, I had a Second Occaſion to addreſs Mr. Fowke on a Second Inſult; a Copy of which I likewiſe incloſe you, with his Reply.

Since writing the above, I have juſt had a Third Complaint preferred to me againſt theſe People, by a Serang that was ſtopped by Myup Sing, the Paranpara Zemeedar, who threatened to murder him, if he did not immediately pay 100 Rupees Duty on a Boat belonging to Major Duff, which he at that Time had charge of, and was conducting to the Preſidency. The Account, as wrote by the Serang himſelf, and delivered by him to me, I have incloſed for your Peruſal.

All theſe Circumſtances, properly conſidered, will evidently ſhew the great Neceſſity there is of ſpeedily falling upon ſome Means to put a Stop to ſuch outrageous Conduct, as at preſent there is no Safety for the Traveller either by Land or Water.

I have the Honour to remain, &c.

Iſaac Eaton.

☞ [SECOND PARCEL.

NUM. 2. A.

Affidavit *of* Major Palmer.

William Palmer, Major in the Service of the Honourable the Eaſt India Company in Bengal, maketh Oath, and ſaith, That about the latter End of the Month of June laſt, the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General of Bengal, diſcourſing with this Deponent on the Subject of his intended Journey to Banaris and Lucknow, declared one of the principal Objects of it to be to exact from Rajah Cheit Sing a Fine or Contribution of Fifty Lacks of Rupees, as a Puniſhment for Breach of Engagements with the Government of Bengal, and for Acts of Miſconduct in his Zemeedary. The Governor General further declared to this Deponent, That he knew the Ability of the Rajah to contribute ſuch a Sum to the Exigencies of Government, and that he the Governor General was determined to convert the Faults committed by the Rajah into a public Benefit. The Governor General further declared to this Deponent, in the ſame Converſation, That an Offer from the Rajah, but indirectly, had been made to him of Twenty Lacks of Rupees for the public Service, as a Retribution for his Failure of Engagements; but that he the Governor General was reſolved to inſiſt upon the firſt-mentioned Sum of Fifty Lacks of Rupees; and if the Rajah ſhould abſolutely refuſe the Demand, that he the Governor General would deprive him of his Zemeedary, or transfer the Sovereignty thereof to the Nabob Vizeer.

Sworn before me this 4th Day of December 1781. W. Palmer.] ☞

E. Impey.

☞ [NUM. 2. B.

Atteſtation *of* David Anderſon *Eſquire.*

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Honourable Sir,

In obedience to your Commands, conveyed to me through Major Palmer, I ſhall endeavour to repeat, as well as I can remember, the Purport of what you were pleaſed to inform me before your Departure from Calcutta, of your Intentions regarding Cheit Sing; but as ſo long an Interval has ſince elapſed, my Recollection, which has never been ſtrengthened by a Communication, muſt neceſſarily be ſomewhat imperfect.

After enumerating ſome of the Reſources which you expected to find up the Country for the Relief of the Company's Exigencies, you mentioned to me the Conduct of Cheit Sing.

PART III.

You obſerved, that he owed his Elevation to the Company; that he was allowed to enjoy a very conſiderable Income, the Revenue exacted from him being much inferior to the Produce of his Diſtricts, and that his Territories were maintained and defended by the Engliſh Army: That on thoſe Conſiderations, it had been reckoned equitable that he ſhould contribute on an Emergency to the Support of Wars carried on by that Government under which he held his Zemeedary, and to which he was indebted for its Protection. Accordingly you mentioned, that a Sum had been demanded from him; that, after ſome Difficulties, he had agreed to pay it at a certain Period; that, truſting to his Promiſes, you had made an Aſſignment on him for the Uſe of Colonel Camac's Detachment; and that Colonel Camac, relying on his Punctuality, had returned a Bill for a leſs Sum, which had been ſent to him by Mr. Middleton; but that this Confidence had nearly proved fatal to the Detachment, and actually did prove the Cauſe of retarding the Expedition: That Cheit Sing, in ſpite of all the Repreſentations which were made to him, delayed ſo long the promiſed Payment, that the Officers of the Detachment were reduced to the Neceſſity of ſelling their Plate: That you therefore determined to call him to an Account, and oblige him to make an Atonement for his Conduct in this Inſtance, and the Want of Attachment he had in general ſhewn to our Government, by paying a conſiderable Sum of Money to the Relief of the Company's Exigencies; that if he conſented, you were deſirous of eſtabliſhing his Poſſeſſion on the moſt permanent and eligible Footing; but if he refuſed, you had in your Power to raiſe a large Sum for the Company, by accepting of an Offer which had been made for his Diſtrict by the Vizeer. You minuted the Particulars of Cheit Sing's Conduct in an Account which you drew up in Calcutta, of the State of the different Powers of Hindoſtan; though I do not believe that in that Paper you expreſſed the Intentions you had formed; and I remember you told me, that you had communicated to Mr. Wheler your Intentions regarding Cheit Sing; and I believe (though I cannot poſitively recollect) you ſaid he had concurred in them.

I am, with the greateſt Reſpect, &c.

D. Anderſon.]

Mahdajee Sindia's Camp, near Dutteah,
the 14th January 1782.

THIRD PARCEL.

NUM. 3. A.

Affidavit of Captain Davy.

Captain William Davy, private Perſian Tranſlator to the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General of Bengal, &c. maketh Oath, and ſaith, That he underſtands the Perſian Language, and that the Engliſh Papers marked Num. 3. B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, hereunto annexed, are reſpectively true and faithful Tranſlates of the ſeveral Perſian Papers, marked, 1 A, 2 A, 3 A, 4 A, 5 A, 6 A, 7 A, 8 A, 9 A, 10 A, 11 A, 12 A, 13 A, 14 A, 15 A, 16 A, 17 A, 18 A, 19 A, likewiſe hereunto annexed, according to the beſt of this Deponent's Skill and Belief.

William Davy.

Sworn before me this 12th
Day of December 1781.

E. Impey.

NUM. 3. B.

Tranſlation *of the* Declaration *of* Hyder Beg Khan, *atteſted before Chief Juſtice* Sir Elijah Impey, *November 26th* 1781.

When I arrived at the Seray of Saumee, the Gov. General, Mr. Haſtings, was in the Fort of Chunar. I was detained at the Seray by the Swelling of the River Burnau. The Vakeel of the Rajah Cheit Sing came to me, and delivered to me thus the Meſſage of the ſaid Rajah.—" I [Cheit Sing] have not been in any Manner deficient in my Obedience to the Gentlemen of high Rank [the Engliſh]—The Governor General arrived at Banaris.—At the Inſtigation of Owſan Sing, Mr. Markham brought Two Companies, and put me in Arreſt.

About Twelve o'Clock my People, ſtretching forth their Hands, brought me out from thence—For the Safety of my Life I came to Ramnagur, and from thence to Lutteefpoor.—After that, a Force came from Chunar to Ramnagur.—Owſan Sing wanted to ſeize upon Ramnagur. My People ſtood upon their Defence; an Engagement followed, and the Troops of the Governor General were cut off. I am now determined not to paſs by aught which may be in my Power to execute. Do you (i. e. this Deponent) write thus to the Vizeer of the Empire, " That if Support is given to me, I will collect together an Hundred thouſand Men, I will go even to Calcutta, and I will totally annihilate the Engliſh Government." I replied to the Vakeel, ' that this Conduct, and theſe Declarations, would be productive of Evil to the Rajah.—When the Companies came to confine the Rajah, he ſhould have gone that Moment to the Governor General.—People ſay that he heſitated whether he ſhould, or not, attend the Governor. If the Governor General had had any ill Intentions towards him, he would have called together the Company's Forces, who were ſtationed in different Parts—To what Purpoſe was it to come alone to Banaris? Or he would

would have ſeized him upon the Road. Such Intentions on the Part of the Governor General, from this Retroſpection, are not to be conceived. If a Maſter and a Ruler exerts his Authority, ſtill there is no Cauſe for Fear and Apprehenſion. On theſe Subjects, with which you are unacquainted, I will communicate Circumſtances as they are. His Highneſs is, in his Life and in his Fortune, joined and united with the Company, and the Engliſh Gentlemen. The whole of his Dominions is from them (or is theirs), nor does he wiſh that there ſhould be any Diſtinction between his and theirs. Such Regard more eſpecially does he pay to the firm and perfect Friendſhip which always ſubſiſted between the Governor General and his Highneſs the late Nabob, that he never will be led to deviate, even the Point of a Hair, from the Sentiments and Wiſhes of the Governor. As ſoon as his Highneſs hears theſe Things, he will march immediately with his Forces to meet Mr. Haſtings. Notwithſtanding the Governor General has repeatedly written to the Vizeer to forbid him, yet his Highneſs will now come on his own Determination. The Engliſh Forces too are near at hand, they will ſpeedily arrive, and the Puniſhment will be ſevere. It is not well for the Rajah; he will be torn up by the very Roots.— To threaten alſo that which is out of his Power to execute, is improper; the Rank of the Rajah is nothing more than that of a Zemeedar; no one will pay regard to his Attempts, and a ſmall Force will be ſufficient to chaſtiſe him. Far better will it be for him to lay aſide ſuch Thoughts as theſe, to implore Pardon of the Governor General, to give up his Forts, and ſend back to him the Boats and the whole of the Baggage; or rather, it would be better that he himſelf ſhould go alone, and with his Hands bound, into the Preſence of the Governor.'

Again he brought this Meſſage from the Rajah: " I can no longer rely with Safety on the Engliſh. If you ſay thus, do you interpoſe, obtain Pardon for my Faults, and take upon yourſelf to ſettle the Subſidy." I ſaid in Reply, ' Your Crimes have been too great; you have attacked the Troops of the Company. I cannot preſume to take upon myſelf to ſettle your Affairs, and to obtain Pardon for your Crimes. If you have actually reſolved on a Change of Conduct, return the Boats and the Baggage, and give up Ramnagur, Lutteefpoor, and Pateeta. Supported by ſuch Proofs, I will once endeavour to obtain a Pardon for you; to grant or to refuſe will reſt with the Governor General.' The Perſon who brought the Meſſage ſaid in Anſwer, ' The Intentions of the Rajah are to ſeize upon the Fort of Chunar, and to extend his Government as far as Calcutta, and you tell him to deliver up Ramnagur, Lutteefpoor, and Pateeta!' I ſaid, ' Then the Rajah, it appears, aſpires to the Empire, yet his Rank is only that of a Zemeedar! theſe Attempts will draw down Deſtruction upon him; he will be extirpated in a Moment.' After this Converſation, he promiſed to return the Boats, but he never performed his Promiſe. An Animoſity to all the Engliſh, plainly and evidently appeared from the Language of the Rajah's Vakeel; he repeatedly ſaid, that he would go even to Calcutta, and that he would expel the Engliſh, nor would he be deficient in aught which he had the Power to execute. When he found that he had nothing to hope from my Interpoſition, he began to act hoſtilely towards me alſo. He denied me Boats to croſs the Burna, and he directed the Tribe of Gurkbunſee to attack me in the Night. During the few Days that I continued there, we were obliged to keep ourſelves ready for Action, and be upon our guard Day and Night. In the Neighbourhood of Jounpoor, the People of the Rajah wounded ſeveral of the Stragglers belonging to the Cavalry in his Highneſs's Service, who were coming to join me, and carried off ſome Horſes. And the People ſtationed at Azumgur, who came in to me, ſet forth, That Nadir Shah, the Son of Azum Shah, Zemeedar of Azumgur, which was formerly under the Government of Cheit Sing, had, by Directions from the Rajah, gone to Azumgur and raiſed Diſturbances. And the Vakeel of Cheit Sing, in the Courſe of his Converſation, ſaid, that the Rajah had ſent Forces towards the Carramnaſſa, and even to the Walls of Patna; and that Letters were gone to the King, to Nujjuf Khan, and to Sindiah. Zaulim Sing, formerly expelled from Amurdeh, was at Budlapoor, in the Government of Cheit Sing: He alſo went to Amurdeh, in the Territories of the Nabob, and raiſed Diſturbances. It appears that the People of Budlapoor accompanied Zaulim Sing. Such were the Reports communicated to me by the People of that Place. Finding it impracticable to croſs the Burna, where I was, without Boats, I marched from thence, and croſſing higher up, where the River was fordable, I proceeded to join the Governor General.

This Account of what I heard, and of what I ſaw, I have truly and faithfully related. There may be a Difference between the Idioms of the Hindoſtan and Perſian Languages, but there is none in the Senſe. I ſwear by the Almighty, that I have truly wrote, without Diminution or Addition, all that I heard and all that I ſaw, and nothing but the Truth.

Hyder Beg. That which is written is true.
Sealed with his Seal.

NUM. 3. C.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of the* Moonſhy Gore Perſhaud.—*The* Deponent *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, December 2d 1781.

Without the Means of Eſcape, I was obliged to put on the Habit of a Fakeer, and with my Brother take ſhelter in the Hindoo Temple Arnepoorna, where I continued undiſcovered for Eight

PART III.

Eight Days. At length a Fakeer, for the ſake of the Reward, went to Girdhauree Laul, the Brother of Diaram, Aumeen of Banaris, and ſaid, that for a Recompenſe he would ſeize and deliver me up. The ſaid Girdhauree Laul gave Five Rupees to the Fakeer, and ſent Five-and-twenty Peadahs along with him, who took me from the Temple, and confined me for twenty-two Days in the Aumeen's Kutcherree. My Pen is unable to deſcribe the Ignominy, and the Severities which they inflicted upon me. After that, I was confined for Four Days at Ramnagur; and at length, on the 27th of Ramzan, in the Twenty-third Year of the Reign, I was tied Hand and Foot and thrown upon a Dooly, and ſent away from Ramnagur to Lutteefpoor. On the Road, near to the Houſe of the Chowdry Sewan, I ſaw a Number of Ladders made of Wood and Bamboos (about Forty or Fifty) lying on the Ground. I enquired of the Peadahs who guarded me, what thoſe Ladders were intended for. They replied, that they had been intended for the Garden of Mehadew Doſs, but it was ordained, that the Engliſh Gentlemen ſhould live: They made their Eſcape, otherwiſe Bauboo Soojaun Sing would not have left one of them alive. Having heard this Reply, I remained ſilent.

Moonſhy Gore Perſhaud.

NUM. 3. D.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of* Hurry Ram Pundit.—*The* Deponent *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, December 2d 1781.

The Rajah Cheit Sing, having reflected on his Conduct, determined with his confidential People, that it was neceſſary he himſelf ſhould go to meet Mr. Haſtings, but that he ſhould go from the Place where he was, with ſuch a Force, and with ſuch Preparations, as would enable him to act both by Land and by Water, and impreſs the above-mentioned Gentleman with an Idea of his ſuperior Strength; for that Mr. Haſtings had with him but a ſmall Number of Troops, and if he ſhould have entertained any ill Intentions toward him, on obſerving the Number and Force of his Followers, he would be led to reflect, that nothing could be effected, and conſequently be deterred from making the Attempt; therefore he gave Information and particular Directions to all his Soldiers and Attendants, that he was going to meet Mr. Haſtings, and that they ſhould hold themſelves in Readineſs to proceed: That he ſhould go by Water, for which Purpoſe, a Fleet of Boats was prepared; for the before-mentioned Gentleman (the Governor General) would come by Water, and conſequently his Fleet of Boats would come with him; therefore it was neceſſary, that he (the Rajah) ſhould have a Fleet of Boats alſo, that his People might always be near at hand: That a Body of Cavalry moreover ſhould proceed by Land, and Tents be pitched at Two Places between Ramnagur and Buxar; for at all Events he muſt meet the Governor General. Accordingly, on the 16th of Shaubaun, the Rajah ſet out from Ramnagur, by Water, to meet Mr. Haſtings. The Jemmadars and Huzzarries, Jaafir Khan, Dillall Khan, Juttoo Khan, Zubburduſt Khan, Lulloo the Son of Kauna Mull, Rambukſh, Baulkiſhen, &c. all together near Five hundred Horſe; alſo Jemmadars of Foot, with Matchlock Men, &c. near Two thouſand, proceeded along the Southern Bank of the Ganges. And by Water, the Rajah was attended by a Fleet of Boats, in Number about a hundred and Forty, in which were embarked Suddanund Buxey, Golaum Hooſſein Tay, Mirza Fyz-ullah Beg, Bauboo Doorgbijey Sing, Munnear Sing, Purtaub Roodur Sing, Doond Bahadre Sing, Ahlaud Miſſur, Meer Hooſſein Ally, &c. Sheakh Mahommed Aumeen, Commandant of the Sepoy Battalions, Dabee Sing, Mahommed Moraud, Dhun Sing, and Hukkoomut Sing, Soubadars, with Two Companies of Sepoys, Huzzooree Peadahs, and Matchlocks, in all about 2000 Men. Godur Mull and Bullum Daſs, who were ſtationed at Ghauzipoor, joined by Orders from the Rajah, who afterwards arrived at Buxar, and had an Interview with Mr. Haſtings.

Written by Hurry Ram Pundit.

☞ [NUM. 3. E.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of* Jewan Ram Moonſhy, *in the* Service *of the late* Lieutenant Stalker.—*The* Deponent *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, December 2d 1781.

After the Arrival of Mr. Markham at Shewallah, I went in and paid my Reſpects to my Maſter; who aſked me, if I knew whether Mr. Markham would come there or not? I replied, It was reported ſo, but that it depended on his Inclinations. Mr. Stalker then told me, I might go, but afterwards ordered me to ſtay. I continued there, and ſaw Doorgbijey Sing ſitting with the Rajah in the center Apartment, and Suddanund Buxey and others whiſpering to the Rajah. Shortly after, News was brought to the Three Gentlemen ſitting in the adjoining Room, that there were Diſputes without. Mr. Stalker went without the Jauli (or Firſt Wall) and aſked the Subadar Biſhun Sing, why he had ordered the Bayonets to be fixed? The Subadar replied, that Numbers of the Rajah's armed Servants had come in, and that they paid no regard to the Company's Orders. After which, Mr. Stalker advanced further out, and aſked of the younger Mowllavy and me, who amongſt thoſe People was the Chief? I anſwered Bauboo Munnear Sing. Mr. Stalker ſent for Munnear Sing, and ſtrongly enjoined him to appeaſe his People, and enquire, why they attempted to diſpute and fight with his Sepoys. Munnear Sing replied, "What Power have they, that any one of them ſhould preſume to fight? We Two,

Father

Father and Son, are desirous to go to the Rajah." Mr. Stalker answered, "Very well, but you must stay here between your People and mine, that they may not come to Blows." After that a Letter arrived from the Governor to the Rajah, which Mr. Stalker, having quieted and soothed the People, presented to him: The Rajah then got up, and went out of the Burradurri to the adjacent Bastion, to perform his Devotions.

At this Time Information was brought to Mr. Stalker, that the Rajah's People opposed and refused Admittance to another Company of Sepoys who had brought Provisions, a Table, &c. for the Gentlemen. Mr. Stalker again went out, and calling to Suddanund Buxey, asked the Cause of this Opposition; and told him to send Directions (to the Rajah's People). Suddanund said he would go himself. Mr. Stalker replied, "No, send One of your Servants." While the Man was going out to silence the People, Mr. Stalker returned within the Jauly. Doorgbijey Sing was gone from thence no one knew whither. Cheit Ram, Mr. Markham's Chubdar, informed Mr. Stalker, that he had a Message to deliver to the Rajah from the Governor General. Mr. Stalker said, "Deliver it." He, the Chubdar, said, "At the Place where the Rajah was at his Devotions, the Governor says your People want to quarrel and fight; it will be better if you forbid them, for every Sepoy is as an European, and every European is as a (or the) Company; if a Drop of their Blood is shed, you shall be plundered and destroyed." At this Period, there was a Report of Guns at the Gate of Shewallah; the Action was commenced. At this Time, Mr. Stalker and Cheit Ram went towards the Rajah. Munnear Sing and others cut down Cheit Ram, pulled Mr. Stalker back, and pushing him on one Side, began the Slaughter. The Rajah escaped through a Window by a Rope made of Turbans, got into a Boat, and went off. His People, by the same Means, drew up Swords and Shields as a Bucket is drawn up from a Well, and began to engage. I stood near the Jauly behind my Master; when my Master was killed, I fled toward the Place where the Rajah's Victuals was dressed. I continued there a short Time, and saw the Rajah's People jump from the Walls and the Trees with their Shields and Swords, and advance. After this I assumed the Character of one of Cheit Sing's Servants, fled with his People, and came to the Presence. The Gentlemen after this went to Chunar, and I should have arrived the next Day, but I was plundered on the Road and confined in the Fort of Pindera. Diaram took away from my House Two Tangon Horses, and placed his Seal and a Guard upon the Door. After the Flight of the Rajah, the Zemeedar of the before-mentioned Fort set me at Liberty. Without a Master, every way disconsolate, to whom can I communicate my Distress? I now hope for Favour and Support from the Almighty, and from you.

Jewan Ram.]

NUM. 3. F.

Translation *of the* Deposition *of* Bishen Sing.—*The* Deponent *sworn before* Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey, December 2d 1781.

I had Two Locks of Muskets fixed on my Ears. Bauboo Soojaun Sing sent for me by Ram Kishen Hircarrah to come into his Presence.—He said, "Deliver up the Trunks of Gold Mohurs which the Governor delivered over to your Care when he went to Chunar." I set forth, That I did not know any thing about such Trunks. He then gave Orders to the Sepoys to press the Locks hard, (saying) that without Severity I would not be prevailed upon to give them up; and then the Blood ran from both my Ears.

Written by Bishen Sing,
the 4th of the Month Ramzan, Year 23d.

NUM. 3. G.

Translation *of the* Deposition *of the* Moonshy Patnimul.—*The* Deponent *sworn before* Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey, 2d December 1781.

The Deposition of Patnimul Moonshy. On the last Day of the Month of Ramzan, in the Year of the Reign Twenty-three, the Gentlemen went to Chunar. I was unable to accompany them for want of a Conveyance. Without Remedy, I remained in the House of one of the Inhabitants for Eight Days. The Aumeen Diaram daily caused a Proclamation, to this Purport, to be made through the City; "In the House of whomsoever a Person belonging to the English Gentlemen may be secreted, let the Owner bring him to the Aumeen's Kutcherry and deliver him up; otherwise, (upon Proof) in the House of whomsoever a Person belonging to the English shall be found, the Owner thereof shall be (considered) as a Criminal to the Government of the Rajah, his House and Property shall be destroyed, and his Belly shall be ript open."

NUM. 3. H.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of the* Moonſhy Gore Perſhaud.—*The* Deponent *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, 2d December 1781.

When the Gentlemen marched for Chunar I was not informed of it. I knew it about Four Gurries after. In Terror for my Life, I ſecreted myſelf in the Houſe of Bauboo Duſſan Ram; I continued undiſcovered for One Day; the next Day the ſaid Bauboo Duſſan Ram ſaid to me, "To-day there has been a Proclamation through the City to this Purport, *Whoever has ſecreted a Follower of the Engliſh in his Houſe, let him produce and deliver him up, otherwiſe, on Diſcovery, his Houſe ſhall be ſeized, and he himſelf ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed.* I cannot keep you in my Houſe, go from my Houſe to ſome other Place." Without Remedy, I put on the Habit of a Fakeer, and took ſhelter in the Temple of Arnapoorna.

Gore Perſhaud.

NUM. 3. I.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of* Doond Sing, Commandant.—*The* Deponent *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th 1781.

In the Month Phagun a Jemmadar and a Havildar, in the Service of Soojaun Sing, the Brother of Rajah Cheit Sing, came to me, and ſaid, "Soojaun Sing has ſent for you." I aſked, "On what Account has he ſent for me?"—they replied, "We do not know."—I ſaid, "I am a Servant to the Engliſh, I will not go to him." They [then] ſaid, "He has ſent for you, to take you into his Service."—I anſwered, "From my Youth to this Day I have been the Servant of the Engliſh; I have never gone to any Rajahs or Bauboos, nor will I go to them." When thoſe People returned to Soojaun Sing, they ſaid, "Doond Sing, the Commandant (i. e. this Deponent), refuſes to come." The Rajah Futteh Saw alſo wrote to the Rajah Cheit Sing, to place a Guard over my Houſe at Banaris, in which Caſe I ſhould (be obliged to) join him with my Sepoys and Guns. This Information was given to me by the Jemmadar Chaint Sing. I ſaid, "My Houſe, and my Wife, and my Children, may be deſtroyed.—Still I am the Servant of the Engliſh, and I am faithful and loyal. By the Bleſſing of God, in a ſhort Time we alſo ſhall go to Banaris and plunder that Rajah, and we will ſpoil the Rajah Futteh Saw alſo." At Sukroreh I was informed that a Guard was placed at my Houſe.

The Commandant Doond Sing not being able to write, either in Perſian or Hindee, has made his Mark.

NUM. 3. K.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of the* Moonſhy Mahommed Moraud.—*The* Deponent *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, Nov. 26th 1781.

On the 19th of Ramzan the Captain* iſſued Orders to all the Subadars for marching towards Banaris, and directed them to get in Readineſs. The next Day we marched to Burragong. The Captain had mounted his Horſe to proceed, and I was in the Rear in Search of a Conveyance for my Baggage, when Five or Six Sepoy Grenadiers and others came and ſurrounded me, and demanded their Pay, in conſequence of which a great many more of the Sepoys came and clamoured for their Pay, and ill uſed me; and they brought me down from the Bungala, and beat me ſeverely with the Butt-ends of their Pieces, and charged Bayonets even to my Breaſt, ſo that my Life was in Danger. A Hircarrah carried Information of this Affair to the Captain, who, on receiving it, turned back and arrived immediately. All the Sepoys then turned their Clamours againſt the Captain, uſing inſulting Language; and they ſurrounded him and ſaid that unleſs they received their Pay they would not ſet him at Liberty—that if I ſhould pay them, well; if not, they would carry me to Baunſy, which is near to Kunkooa; and that, when they ſhould receive the Whole of their Pay from me, they would ſet me free.—They moreover placed a Guard with fixed Bayonets over the Captain, and pointed Bayonets to his Breaſt to ſtab him; and they ruſhed upon us ſeveral Times, ſo that we gave up ourſelves for loſt. In this Situation the Captain ordered them back, and gave them Three Months Pay; and then propoſed to them to march with him to Banaris. The Sepoys anſwered inſolently, that they would not on any Account go to Banaris. Without Remedy, the Captain marched from thence with the Battalion, and arrived at Gooruckpoor. He halted there a few Days, purchaſed Grain for the Sepoys, and marched from thence by the Way of Baunſy. We halted Six Days at Baunſy on account of the heavy Rains; we afterwards marched from thence, and after encountering a thouſand Diſtreſſes arrived at Buſkoreh. The paſt Events, which are known to every one, I have thus related.

Mahommed Moraud,
and ſealed with his Seal.

* Captain Williams.

NUM. 3. L.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of* Doond Sing, Commandant.—*The* Deponent *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th 1781.

It appears from the Letter of Ram Sing Jemmadar, ſtationed at Mutcholi, that the Rajah Ajeet Mull, the Rajah Futteh Saw, and Genoo Roy, had engaged themſelves to each other by Oath to croſs the Rivers Gogra and Surjoo, for as much as they had received a Letter from the Rajah Cheit Sing, and the Sum of Fifteen thouſand Rupees, to cut off the Engliſh in the Diſtrict of Surwur, and drive them out; and Letters have arrived from Futteh Saw, to all the Zemeedars, great and ſmall, to withhold the Collections, and not to pay a ſingle Daum to the Engliſh; and the ſaid Futteh Saw ſent near Two hundred Men, with Matchlocks, into the Jungle of Burragong, and near to Kunkooa. After Three Days, the Three Rajahs croſſed the River, and encamped in the Jungle; and it was reported from all Quarters, that the Zemeedars had ſhut up all the Ghauts on the Rivers, and ſunk all the Boats; and I wrote an Account of theſe Things to Major Macdonald and Captain Williams, and told them that there were great Diſturbances in the Country, and that there were Reports alſo that the Rajahs would croſs the River. And I wrote theſe Things to Major Macdonald, that he might inform the Colonel that the Road to Banaris was ſhut up, for fear the Captain ſhould march from that Quarter towards Banaris; it was alſo reported among the People, that Three Gentlemen had been killed at Banaris. After ſome Days the Captain arrived at Kunkooa, and after a Halt of Three Days, gave Orders for marching, and directed all the Sepoys to get ready, and about Nine o'Clock in the Morning on the Sixth of September, he marched, and came to the Bank of the River Khaukhi; it then rained exceſſively. When we arrived at the Khaukhi, the Captain ordered the Troops to be croſſed over the River; agreeable to Orders, I croſſed them over. When, after a thouſand Diſtreſſes, we had croſſed the River, the Captain ſaid that there were many Rivers in the Road, and no Boats on any of them; that the Ghauts were ſhut up, and no Grain to be procured on the March for the People; how then would it be poſſible to paſs the Guns and Troops through ſuch a Country? It would be better, he ſaid, to go to Banaris by Way of Buxar; therefore we again croſſed the River Khaukhi, and encamped after marching Half a Coſs from it. He (then) gave Orders for marching toward Khunkooa. Moving from the Khaukhi the Captain with the Troops arrived at Khunkooa; he then told all the Subadars and Jemmadars, that the Rajah Futteh Saw, with his Force, was poſted on the Road, and that it was neceſſary to attack and drive him from thence; that he would halt a few Days at Nuddy Kaunoon, and then march toward Banaris. It was now known that the Sepoys of the Battalion had ſaid, "Let them give us our Pay, and wherever they go, we will go with them;" to which the Subadars replied, "they might take it wherever they found it." The ſaid Subadars neither confined thoſe Sepoys, nor informed me of the Circumſtance. I received the Information from Chaint Sing Jemmadar. The Subadar of Grenadiers ſtationed a Sepoy behind his Hackery, and told him, he might either protect and convey it to his (the Subadar's) Houſe, or he might leave it to be plundered by the Country People. The Sepoy told him to ſet his Mind at reſt, for that he would convey it ſafe to his Dwelling. At Night, after Twelve o'Clock, I made my Report to the Captain, who ordered me to go with Bukhtawur Sing, Subadar to the Sepoys, to ſatisfy and explain to them, that he would give them their Pay when they arrived at Burragong. In the Morning we marched a ſmall Diſtance toward Burragong. Firſt, a Sepoy pulled off his Coat, and drew his Bayonet on the Captain; the Subadars and Jemmadars did not interpoſe or check him; the Captain ſaid, "I will pay this Sepoy and diſmiſs him—do you march on." I obeyed his Orders, and marched; but the Sepoys quitted their Colours and their Guns, and aſſembled at Khunkooa. The Subadars and Jemmadars ſaid nothing (to prevent them). Seeing the Situation of Things, I directed the Jemmadar Kihaul Sing to take with him Twelve Sepoys, and go to the Captain, that he might know how Things were. After which, Orders from the Captain came, to return back and join him; I went back, and ſaw that the Sepoys had mutinied violently; that they had drawn their Bayonets, and were threatening the Captain; moreover, Three of the Sepoys loaded their Pieces to fire at him, and they demanded Four Months Pay; and moſt of the Sepoys ſaid, "Let him pay us all our Arrears, and he may go where he pleaſes;" when the Scyoys had received their Pay, they ſaid, one and all, "We will not go to Burragong; we will go to the Begum at Fyzabad; if ſhe will retain us, we will ſtay; if not, we will carry the Gun (or Guns) to the Rajah Cheit Sing, and Saadut Ally Khan." The Sepoys, after this, directed the Subadars to tell the Captain to march; the Captain replied, That the Two Companies and the Gun ſtationed at Nuchlole were coming; he would march as ſoon as they had joined; the Sepoys ſaid, "Let the Captain march, we ſhall meet the Companies on the Road;" however, the Captain halted till the Two Companies arrived; he then ſent Hurdeaul Sing, Commandant, to the Sepoys, to tell them that the People (i. e. the Two Companies) were fatigued; that they ſhould halt One Day, that thoſe People might receive their Pay alſo; and then he would march. The Sepoys refuſed to liſten to Hurdeaul Sing. The Captain then ſent for the Two Subadars, and told them to go and perſuade the Sepoys to make one Halt, that he might give the Two Companies their Pay. The Sepoys were prevailed upon to halt by the Subadars, and the Captain paid the People.

The

PART III.

The next Morning the Captain ſent a Man to the Chucklahdar, and directed him to march alſo. He ſent Word, that he was collecting Cattle for the Baggage, and that he would march as ſoon as he had got them; it was afterwards heard, that the Chucklahdar had given Twelve thouſand Rupees to Futteh Saw—the ſaid Rajah demanded Twenty thouſand from the Chucklahdar, promiſing to protect him—And it was currently reported through the Country, that Saadut Ally Khan was the Nabob, and that the Engliſh Government was overthrown. After this we marched from Kunkooa; the Captain purchaſed Grain for the Sepoys; the Waters were out from the heavy Rain; and whoever loitered behind was plundered by the Villagers. When we arrived at Baunſy, we were obliged to halt Six Days on account of the Rains; after that we marched and arrived at Buſkroreh, but there were many Rivers and Nullahs in the Road.

Doond Sing, Commandant, not knowing to write either Perſian or Hindoo, has made his Mark.

NUM. 3. M.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of* Ahlaud Sing, Subadar, *ſtationed in the* Fort *of* Gooruckpoor. —*The* Deponent *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, 26th November 1781.

I had confined under my Guard, in the Fort of Gooruckpoor, One hundred and Fifteen Burgomauls, Inhabitants of Surwaur. On the 15th of Ramzan, the Rajah of Gooruckpoor, the Zemeedars of Oulooleh, Bechouly, &c. &c. great and ſmall, likewiſe all the Inhabitants of Gooruckpoor, with Six thouſand Matchlocks, and great Numbers of Country People, armed with Clubs, at Four Gurries of the Night ſurrounded the Fort, and made an Attack by Surpriſe; but the Sepoys on Guard at the Baſtions were awake; they began to fire, and an Action immediately followed. Seeing that the Country People were in great Numbers, I went to each of the Baſtions, and encouraged the Sepoys, and called them to me into the Body of the Place, and formed them together. I left a Havildar and Ten Sepoys at the Rung Mahul, to protect the Biggage; but it was Night Time; the Country People made an Aſſault with Ladders, and entered the Fort, and both Parties fought reſolutely. At this Time they placed Ladders againſt the Inner Fort, toward the South, and entered upon the Baſtion: I ſeized an advantageous Opportunity (attacked) and killed Seventeen of the Enemy on the Baſtion, and wounded ſeveral others. About Half after Ten at Night they made an Attack upon the Weſtern Baſtion: As there was a Straw Chupper on that Baſtion, I took Shelter under it, and threw down, with all my Force, a Part of the Brick Battlement on the Enemy, by which Four of them were killed; One other fell by a Muſquet Ball; and they retreated. A Third Time, about Three o'Clock in the Morning, the Country People raiſed a great Shout, and attacked us again: I was then engaged on the Inner Fort Baſtion: Seubunſe Havildar was poſted, with Twelve Sepoys, to guard the Burgomauls; they ruſhed upon him in a Body, and Seubunſe called out to me, with a loud Voice, that the Burgomauls had attacked him: I gave him Orders to put them all to the Sword; he inſtantly ſtruck off the Heads of Eighteen Burgomauls, and threw them out, and he wounded ſeveral others. The Morning now broke, and I entertained a Hope that the Enemy would fly, and that the People of the Town would certainly join me; but the Country People, the Fougedar, &c. were all united with the Rajah; they lifted up their Arms, and ſaid, The Doway * of the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan, and the Begum, has ſpread through the Country; for the Rajah Cheit Sing has deſtroyed all the Engliſh, and Letters have come to the Rajahs to put the Dependants of the Engliſh to the Sword, wherever they may be found: And he ſaid, "Where will they go? the Country is mine; I am a Bhonear Rajah, how long will they (be able to) oppoſe me?" In ſuch Diſcourſe Two Gurries of the Morning had paſſed away. From the Eaſtern to the Weſtern Gate, within the Mahul, they ſurrounded the Inner Fort on all Sides, and the Action was renewed. We continued engaged for Five Pahr (Fifteen Hours) with the Enemy, without taſting either Food or Water. At this Time, Furhaud Beg came from the Rajah Bhonear to make Propoſals, of which he informed me by One of my People. The Havildar Superſaud ſaid, "Perhaps "the Rajah has ſent him to ſupport us; no Matter, let him be called;" ſo I ſent for him, and he came up to the Gate of the Inner Fort, and when he ſaw me, he ſaid to me, "You have no Maſters; the Engliſh are all killed, and the Colonel and Mr. Gordon are confined by the Begum." I gave him inſulting Language in Reply to this, and told him to tell this Story to the Sepoys who were with me; and he did repeat it, with a loud Voice, to the Sepoys; and ſaid to them, "You have no Maſters; give up the Burgomauls, that they may enter into the Rajah's Service, or go where they think proper." In Reply we ſaid, "The good Fortune of our Maſters is on our Side, and while we have Life we will fight; and we will not give up the Burgomauls." At this Juncture Selamut Khan Jemmadar of Grenadiers, with Nine Sepoys, unexpectedly arrived in the Town from Nerownah: My People from the Inner Fort ſaw that a Company had arrived near to the Cutwall's Chubbootre; they gave a loud Shout, and ſaid, "A Company of Grenadiers is arrived from Kunkooa;" and their Spirits were raiſed; and we opened the Gate of the Fort, and Selamut Khan joined us. The Bravery and Reſolution of Selamut

* The Acclamation of Appeal to the Sovereign Power.

Khan

Khan are not to be described. When the Enemy beheld the Arrival of Selamut Khan Jemmadar, they turned their Faces to Flight: I purſued them with my People through the Weſtern Gate, and many of the Enemy were killed and wounded, and Numbers were killed and Numbers were drowned in the River; and, by the Bleſſing of God, we obtained the Victory. I returned into the Fort, and immediately ſecured Ferhaud Beg and Fyz-oolla Beg, who had come to make Propoſals about the Burgomauls; I wrote an Account of the Whole of this Affair to the Colonel, and to the Captain *. After a few Days, an Order came from the Colonel to Munnowur Khan, directing, that if the Rajah Muſtapha Khan had been put to Death, well; if not, ſtrike off his Head. Munnowur Khan ſhewed me the Order. I ſaid, "The Order is not written to me; I will write to the Colonel on the Subject." And it was underſtood from the Country People, that the Captain was marching towards Banaris, (but) that the Grenadier Sepoys had mutinied, and demanded their Pay; that the Captain gave them Three Months Pay, and propoſed to them to march with him to Banaris: The Sepoys all anſwered, that they would go to Bungulla, and deliver up their Arms at the Gate of the Begum; in conſequence of which, the Captain was obliged to give up his Intentions of going to Banaris, and return to Gooruckpoor; and he gave Orders, that the Head of Muſtapha Khan ſhould be ſtruck off; and he was beheaded accordingly; and a Proclamation was made through the Town, that thoſe who were guilty of ſuch Crimes would meet with the ſame Puniſhment. The Captain halted for ſome Days, and brought up Grain for the Sepoys. At this Time, the Brother of Soobaun Sing, Pulwaun Sing, with a thouſand Matchlocks, and others, Country People, was at Gooruckpoor; and they raiſed an Outcry, and ſaid, that the Engliſh ſhould not remain in the Town, and they prepared for Action; ſo the Captain croſſed the Raubty. A Bullock Man belonging to the Artillery, who returned into the Town to buy Fodder, they put to Death. Marching from thence, in Four Days the Captain arrived at Baunſy. The Ranny of Baunſy came to ſee him, but her Son prepared for Hoſtilities; he ſaid, "They have ſtruck off the Head of our Rajah at Gooruckpoor, and I will be revenged." We marched from thence; and the Rajah of Bulrampoor, with his People, had thrown up an Intrenchment acroſs the Road; and he ſaid, "It is the Begum's Orders, that you ſhall not march by this Road." With the greateſt Hazard and Caution we marched from thence, and arrived at Koonda, and the Country People retired into the Fort.

This is a true Account which I have ſet forth.

Ahlaud Sing.

Num. 3. N.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of* Denoo Sing, Subadar.—*The* Deponent *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th 1781.

On the 16th of Ramzan, an Order came to me from the Commander of the Battalion, that a Jemmadar and Sepoys belonging to the Company of Dut Sing were coming to me; that I ſhould deliver over to him the Fort and the Gun, and the Burgomauls, and that I myſelf ſhould march and join Mr. Gordon at Taundeh. On the 13th the ſaid Jemmadar and Sepoys joined me at Dummooreah Gunge; and, being relieved on the ſame Day, on the 14th of the ſaid Month I marched towards Taundeh. The Zemeedars and Villagers ſurrounded us all the Way from Dummooreah Gunge to Ruddouly, and they ſaid, "The Government of the Colonel is at an End;" but they had not the Reſolution to attack us. They alſo ſaid, "The Rajah Cheit Sing has cut off the Engliſh Forces at Banaris; deliver up your Baggage, it is the Order of the Begum." In this Situation I replied, "The Baggage belongs to us, and we have Ammunition to defend it; if any one chooſes to attack it, let him come." We lay the whole Night on our Arms at Ruddouly. We marched the next Morning, and arrived at Buſty; but got no Intelligence of Mr. Gordon to enable us to join him. Ghuffoor Beg, Subadar of the Nabob's Artillery, told me that Bauboo Dhun Sing, with a thouſand Matchlocks, had taken Poſt in the Jungle of Buſty, and that he had moreover ſunk all the Boats on the River. I halted Six Hours at Buſty, ſearching after Boats; at laſt I procured a very ſmall one, and when I was about to croſs, the Subadar Bejy Sing arrived, after a March of Twenty Coſs, in which March a Sepoy and Three Horſes were killed, and Four Sepoys wounded. Bejy Sing deſired I would ſtop for Two or Three Gurry, till his People had ate their Victuals, for they had marched Twenty Coſs. At the Time that Bejy Sing's Sepoys had untied their Commurbunds [laid aſide their Arms], the Country People, with Bauboo Dhun Sing, came and ſurrounded us in the Village of Buſty; in conſequence of which, I reſolved to ſeize upon the Fort of Buſty, and take Poſt there. The Subadar of the Artillery before mentioned, and others of the People, ſaid, "Accounts have arrived from the Begum that all the Engliſh are cut off: Why will you ſeize upon the Fort and take poſſeſſion of it?"—I deſired the ſaid Subadar to join and ſupport me; he replied, "Whoever is appointed Aumil of the Pergunnah I will join him; I will not go with you." At this Time a Man arrived, and brought News, that Mr. Gordon was at Sunjur Ghaut, in the Pergunnah of Ruddouly; ſo I marched to Meer Gunge, intending to go from thence to the ſaid Ghaut, and I ſent a Sepoy, naked, to obtain Intelligence of Mr. Gordon. The ſaid Sepoy returned, and brought Word that Mr. Gordon and the Subadars and Jemmadars

* Captain Gordon.

madars were impriſoned at Taundeh by Orders from the Begum; that many of the Sepoys had deſerted, and ſeveral had been killed: When I heard this News, and that the Ghauts on the River were ſhut, and that the Rajahs, with Six thouſand Matchlocks, had ſurrounded Ahlaud Sing in the Fort of Gooruckpoor, with an Intention to ſet the Burgomauls at Liberty; I determined to march to Gooruckpoor: On the Road, News arrived that through the good Fortune of our Maſters, all the Country People had been put to Flight, and that Ahlaud Sing had obtained the Victory; in conſequence of which I went to Mukhur, and there I ſaw that all the Pergunnah Aumils of that Country had taken ſhelter in the Monument of Kubbeer Daus; from them I learned, that it was the Begum's Orders to cut off all thoſe who were connected with the Engliſh in Surwar, wherever they might be found. I alſo heard that the Rajah Cheit Sing had deſtroyed all the Engliſh Troops, and that Three of the Engliſh had been killed; it was alſo reported, that the Authority of the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan and the Begum was eſtabliſhed throughout all the Country. I marched from Mukhur, and arrived at the Fort of Gooruckpoor. After this a Letter came from Bauboo Ajeet Sing to Ahlaud Sing, to this Purport, "Deliver over the Burgomauls to me, and I will cauſe you to be conducted wherever you think proper to go; or (if you think proper) enter into my Service, for you have no Maſter; why will you give yourſelves up to Deſtruction?" We and Ahlaud Sing ſent a verbal Anſwer, That the Fortune of our Maſters was on our Side; if he thought proper he might come; that while we had Life we would not give up the Burgomauls; but that we would put them all to the Sword. We wrote an Account of theſe Things to the Colonel, and received the following Anſwer, that we ſhould maintain our Poſt in the Fort, and that we ſhould march toward him with the Captain (when he arrived). It was now known that the Captain intended to march to Banaris by the Road of Nuddi Kaunoon; but that the Grenadiers had mutinied, and obliged him to return. It was alſo heard that Futteh Saw, and Genoo Roy, and Rajah Ajeet Mull, &c. had reſolved to attack the Captain, becauſe Letters had come from the Rajah Cheit Sing to all the Zemeedars, to this Purport, "Wherever there are Dependants of the Engliſh, kill and drive them out." It was moreover reported, that when the Captain marched to Kunkooa, on his Way to Banaris, the Grenadiers made a Diſturbance, and demanded their Pay: That he gave Three Months Pay to the Sepoys, to prevail upon them to march with him to Banaris, but that thoſe Cowards would not conſent; they ſaid, "We will not go to Banaris: We are the Servants of the Begum and Saadut Ally Khan; we will deliver up our Guns and our Arms at the Gate of the Begum."—Without Remedy, the Captain was obliged, by the Diſobedience of his Troops, to march to Gooruckpoor, where we joined him; moreover Pulwaun Sing, the Brother of the Rajah Soobaun Sing, came with a thouſand Matchlocks, and he and the Inhabitants of Gooruckpoor raiſed a Clamour, demanding that the Captain ſhould march from thence, and they killed the Brother of the Chowdry of the Bullock Men, who went into the Town to buy Fodder. At this Time Half the Troops had croſſed the Raubty, when the foregoing Accident happened; the Captain marched by the Way of Baunſy. After our Arrival at Baunſy it rained Six Days without Intermiſſion. The Ranny of Baunſy came to ſee the Captain, but her Son ſtood prepared for Hoſtilities. After Six Days, we marched from thence to Purtaul Buckra, from thence to Dummoorea Gunge; marching from thence, we halted at Chunderdeep for Two Days; when we marched from thence the Captain went on in Front; Hurdeaul, Commandant, was in the Rear; a Skirmiſh enſued between him and the Country People; Two of them were taken Priſoners, and One was killed by a Muſket Shot. We marched from that Place to the Nullah of Attroleh, Three Coſs to the Weſtward; we marched from Attroleh, and were oppoſed, near Bulrampoor, by about Two thouſand Country People; but when the Battalion and Gun were drawn up fronting them, they gave way and fled; the Road cleared, we marched, and encamped at the Nuddy Koaubeh; we continued there One Night, and marched to Gonedeh. When we arrived at Gonedeh, the Country People quitted our Rear. This is a true Account which is written.

Denoo Sing.

NUM. 3. O.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of* Ram Sing, Jemmadar.—*The* Deponent *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th 1781.

The Rajah Futteh Saw, and Genoo Roy, and Ajeet Mull, united themſelves all Three together, and bound themſelves by Oath; and theſe were the improper Reſolutions which they had agreed to; that they would croſs the River Gograh, and eſtabliſh their own Authority there, for Letters had arrived from the Rajah Cheit Sing at Banaris, in which he ſaid, "All the Engliſh are cut off; the Government of the Engliſh is overturned; I have taken Poſſeſſion of the Country; do you, the Zemeedars, eſtabliſh your Authority alſo in thoſe Diſtricts."—It was likewiſe publicly reported, that the Rajah Cheit Sing had ſent Fifteen thouſand Rupees in Specie to the ſaid Zemeedars, to raiſe Men, and kill and drive out the Dependants of the Engliſh wherever they might be. It was alſo reported that Colonel Hannay and Captain Williams were in Confinement; the Rajah Futteh Saw came to inform himſelf of this; but not obtaining any certain Intelligence, returned, and determined to go to Kunkooa, to cut off the People and plunder the Place. At this Time the Captain returned from Lucknow, and arrived at Kunkooa. I alſo arrived at Kunkooa agreeably to Orders. In the Evening he informed all the Subadars and Jemmadars and Sepoys, that they

they were to march towards Banaris the next Day. In conſequence of which the Sepoys went to the Subadars and ſaid, that they had no Money. The Subadars replied, their Pay was in the Sirkar, if they could get it they might take it. Early the next Morning we marched, the Companies faced to the Right. Four or Five of the foremoſt Grenadiers ſtept out, ſurrounded the Captain, and ſaid, "Give us our Pay and we will go with you;" the Captain replied, "You are only Four or Five Men, take (your Pay) and I will pay the Battalion when we arrive at Burragong," which is only Eight Coſs from Kunkooa. The Battalion had gone on about a Coſs. On hearing the above, Numbers of Sepoys returned, and loaded their Pieces, and fixed their Bayonets, and pointed them at the Captain; in conſequence of which, he recalled the whole Battalion, and told them to take their Pay and march with him to Banaris; to which they all agreed; but when the Captain had given them Three Months Pay, the Men who were the Mutineers raiſed a Clamour, (and ſaid) "we will take our Arms and the Gun to the Chuckladar, and receive our Pay from him, for the Chuckladar is a Servant of the Begum's, and we alſo are the Begum's Servants, and Saadut Ally's." The Captain ſaid to the Commandant and the Subadars, "I have paid them all, what then is the Cauſe of this improper Behaviour?" but what he ſaid had no Effect upon them; however much he urged them to march to Banaris, they ſtill refuſed, and only ſaid, that they would go to Bungulla, and attend the Begum and Saadut Ally Khan; and that if the Captain attempted to eſcape, they would put a Guard over him, and deliver him up there. Without Remedy, the Captain marched this Way. That which was true has been written.

Ram Sing.

NUM. 3. P.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of* Hurdeal Sing, Commandant.—*The* Deponent *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th 1781.

The Servant Hurdeal Sing, Commandant of Major Macdonald's Battalion, gives the following Account. I was ſtationed in the Pergunnah of Beelpoor, in the Diſtrict of Narrain Buttool, with Two Companies of Sepoys of Captain Williams's Battalion, Three hundred and Fifty Nejeeb and Sehbundy Men, and One Gun, and acted in the Buſineſs of the Sirkar agreeably to my Orders. From the 15th of Ramzan I received ſeveral Letters from Mahommed Shuffee Khan, the Chuckladar, and from the Captain, who were then at Kunkooa, to march ſpeedily with my Force and join them, for that the Power of the turbulent Country People and Rajahs was become exceſſive. At this Time I collected together the People who were ſtationed at different Places; and on the 19th of the ſaid Month, notwithſtanding the Waters were very much out in the Road, I marched toward Kunkooa. When I arrived at Ram Kolah, which is about Fifteen Coſs from my Situation, I heard, from the general Reports of the People, that the Rajahs Ajeet Mull, and Futteeh Saw, and Genoo Roy, who had been expelled from their Zemeedaries, and reſided with the Rajah Cheit Sing in the Country of Banaris, had all Three, by Orders from Saadut Ally Khan and Rajah Cheit Sing, marched from thence, and croſſed the Gograh, and taken Poſſeſſion of their Lands; and that the Rajah Cheit Sing had aſſiſted the ſaid Rajahs with Five and twenty thouſand Rupees to drive out the Engliſh, [directing] that they ſhould drive them and all their Dependants out of their Diſtricts. When I came to the next Stage, I heard that the Grenadiers, who were with Captain Williams at Kunkooa, had mutinied, and confined the Captain, and cruelly beat his Moonſhy; that they had got their Pay, and intended to go off to the Vizeer; and that no one attended to the Orders of the Captain. As the Companies with me had been informed of theſe Circumſtances, I ſoothed and perſuaded them not to think of acting in ſuch a Manner; that Pay was never withheld or loſt in the Engliſh Service; that they would receive every Daum of that which was due to them; but that it would be improper for them, at that Time, to act as others had done. The Sepoys aſſented to what I had ſaid, and, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the Country People on the Road, we arrived in Safety, and with the greateſt Expedition, at Kunkooa, and attended the Captain and the Chuckladar, and I then ſaw with my own Eyes what I had before heard on the Road. The Captain ſaid, when I went to him, "You have without Doubt heard how Things are here; what are the Intentions of the People with you?" I ſaid in Reply, that the People along with me, both the Sepoys, the Nujjeeb, and the Sehbundy Men, had no other Intentions but thoſe of obeying his Orders; and that he might, at all Events, make himſelf eaſy as to thoſe Men. The Captain then ſaid, "It was my Intention to have taken the Grenadier Companies, and the Two Guns, and to have marched to Banaris, and joined the Governor, by the Way of the Nuddy Kaunoon; and to have chaſtiſed the Three Rajahs, with whom we ſhould have fallen in on the Road; but the Grenadiers would not conſent to this; do you inquire of them what their Intentions are." Agreeably to the Orders of the Captain, I went at Night to the Line to the Subadars and Jemmadars and Sepoy Grenadiers, and aſked what they wiſhed for and intended. The Sepoys all replied, "If the Captain reſolves to march to the Eaſtward, not one of us will go with him; moreover, we will march early To-morrow Morning to the Weſtward, to the Vizeer; whoever chuſes to go that Way may accompany us." The Two Grenadier Subadars then told me to go to my Tent, for that theſe Matters the Two Companies had already talked upon with the Captain. I again endeavoured to prevail upon the Sepoys and Subadars, and told them to continue, and ſet their

PART III.

Minds at Reſt; that I would go and ſpeak to the Captain; that, if he approved of it, he would take them with him, and march to the Weſtward; that at all Events, it would be better to obey him. At laſt I ſoothed and appeaſed them, and went to the Captain and told him what had paſſed. After this, the Captain ordered me to go to Mahommed Shuffee Khan the Chuckladar, and tell him to prepare to march. I went to the Chuckladar, and delivered the Meſſage; in anſwer, the Chuckladar, who had ſent a Perſon named Munſhan Ram, on his Part, to the Rajahs Ajeet Mull, Futteh Saw, and Genoo Roy, before mentioned, on a private Buſineſs, made the Want of Cattle for his Baggage an Excuſe; and deſired that we would halt Two or Three Days longer, and that he would then collect Beaſts of Burden, and march. The ſaid Chuckladar told me the next Day, and told the Captain alſo, that a Man of his was returned, and had brought Information, that Four Companies of Sepoys and Four Guns were come from the Rajah Cheit Sing, to the Aſſiſtance of the Rajahs Ajeet Mull, Futteh Saw, and Genoo Roy; and moreover, that they would croſs the Gograh and join them them that Day. At length, Two Days after my Arrival, our whole Force marched toward Gooruckpoor; and, notwithſtanding the Rajahs and the Country People moleſted us on all Sides on the March, and the Waters and Nullahs were out, yet in Six Days we arrived in Safety at Gooruckpoor.—There I heard from the People, that Orders from the Begum had arrived to all the Rajahs of Pergunnahs, not to permit any Engliſh Gentlemen, or any of their Dependants, to paſs in Safety through their ſeparate Diſtricts; and that they had ſurrounded Ahlaud Sing, Subadar, who was ſtationed with a few Sepoys in the Fort of Gooruckpoor; but that, through the good Fortune of our Maſters, the Enemy was repulſed, and obliged to retire; that no Engliſh Letters, or others, or Hircarrahs, were permitted to paſs; and that, if the Country People diſcovered any Engliſh Letters or others in the Hands of Hircarrahs, they ſcourged them with the greateſt Severity. In conſequence of theſe (Accounts) the Captain ſent for me, and ſaid, "The People have raiſed great Diſturbances in the Country; beyond this no Grain will arrive, therefore we muſt buy Grain here, and carry it with us." In the Space of Eight Days Grain was procured for the March, and Bullocks got together, and in Four Days, notwithſtanding the heavy Rains, we croſſed the Raubty, and marched towards Sukroreh: From the Day that we arrived at Baunſy, for Six Days, ſuch heavy Rains fell, both Day and Night, that no one had the Power to ſtir from his Place. Without Remedy, we halted during that Time, and on the firſt Day that the Rain ſubſided we marched, and in Two Days arrived at Dummoorea Gunge. At that Place there was a Nullah in the Road, which was overflowed by the Rains and ſtopt our Progreſs; and we were at laſt obliged to halt there One Day to make a Bridge, over which the Troops were paſſed. While we were croſſing, the Country People ſhowed themſelves, but were repulſed and obliged to retreat. We proceeded from thence the next Day, and March after March to Bulrampoor. As the River Kuwannah croſſed our Way at that Place, we were obliged to halt there for One Day; at laſt we paſſed that River in Safety, and by repeated Marches arrived at Sukroreh. This Account, knowing it proper, is written according to the Truth.

Hurdeaul Sing,
ſealed with his Seal.

NUM. 3. Q.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of* Bejy Sing, Subadar.—*The* Deponent *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th 1781.

On the 13th of Ramzan I received Orders from Mr. Williams to join Mr. Gordon at Taundeh, and to deliver over the Gun and the Burgomauls to Kaumdar Beg. Agreeably to Orders I delivered over the Gun and the Burgomauls to Kaumdar Beg, and ſet out. When I arrived at Naurood the Hooly Rejoicings had commenced; and the Country People gathered together on all Sides, and ſurrounded me. Making an Effort, I puſhed on from thence about a Coſs; but the Enemy were now increaſed to a prodigious Number. Till Nine o'Clock at Night they continued to inſult us; and when the Moon got up they began to fire with Matchlocks; and they ſaid, "You have ſtruck off the Head of the Rajah Juggut Sing; where will you go?—we will ſtrike off your Heads in Return. It is the Orders of the Begum, that whoever ſtrikes off and brings in the Head of an Engliſhman, ſhall receive a Reward of a Thouſand Rupees; and for the Head of a Subadar or Jemmadar a Hundred Rupees; and for every Sepoy's Head ſtruck off and brought, that a Reward of Ten Rupees ſhall be given."—The Attack continued through the Night; One Sepoy was killed, and Seven Men and Three Horſes wounded, of my Party. The Country People ſaid, "Give up your Baggage, and Arms, and Coats, and go naked where you pleaſe:" But I ſtood firm, and we fought with them, and marched on, Night by Night, to Baunſy, where we were quitted by the Enemy. Having joined Dhoon Sing Subadar at Baunſy, we marched from thence with him. This which is related is true.

Bejy Sing,
and ſealed with his Seal.

NUM. 3. R.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of* Merun Moonſhy *to* Mr. Gordon.—*The* Deponent *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 16th 1781.

I Merun, &c. conſidering God and the Prophet of God as preſent, do ſwear upon the ſacred Koraun to the following Facts which I give in Writing:—That on the 7th of the Month of September, Mr. Gordon, with Four Companies of Sepoys, and a hundred Horſe of the Ruſſauleh of Ruzza Beg Khan, did march from the Ghaut Jehoora for Taundeh; and at that Time, from our ſetting out till our Arrival at Taundeh, Thouſands of Country People aſſembled together, and attempted to cut off the Troops and the Baggage; ſo that there was a continued Action, both with Swords and Muſketry, all the Way.—But as the Order of March was well regulated, and the Sepoys were not deficient in Firmneſs and Reſolution, many of the Enemy were killed; and on this Side, not a ſingle Article of the Property of any one was plundered; Mr. Gordon conducting them all, together with the whole of the Baggage, in perfect Safety to the Nullah of Teerah, which runs beneath Taundeh. On our Arrival there he intended to croſs the Nullah, and encamp at Taundeh; and he gave Directions for the Troops to paſs over. When they were about to croſs, (it appeared that) all the Boats were on the oppoſite Side of the Nullah; and the People of the Taundeh Fougedar, whoſe Name is Shumſheer Khan, ſtood Guard over the Boats, and ſaid, "It is the Orders of the Fougedar, that the Boats ſhall not paſs over to that Side."—When Mr. Gordon heard of this, he wrote a Letter to the Fougedar, and ſent it by a Hircarrah. The Contents of the Letter were: "I am a Servant of the Nabob, and am going to join the Army by his Orders; where is the Propriety of ſhutting up the Ghaut, and refuſing to permit People to paſs?"—The ſaid Hircarrah took the Letter, and went to the Ghaut, and endeavoured to get over, but the Fougedar's People would not allow him to croſs.—When I ſaw that they would not permit the Hircarrah to paſs over, I gave Mr. Gordon's Letter to a Servant of the Fougedar's, who had ſwam over to our Side of the Nullah to ſee one of his Friends; and I told him to convey it, by ſome Means or other, to the Fougedar. He put the Letter in his Turban, and ſwam back acroſs the Nullah, and delivered it to the Fougedar, who read the Contents, but returned no Sort of Anſwer. At the Time when the Letter arrived, Mirza Ruzza Beg Khan, Ruſſaulehdar, who by chance had arrived alone on ſome Buſineſs, and had croſſed over before this Affair, was ſitting by Shumſheer Khan, and is an Evidence that the Letter arrived. The ſaid Mirza declared to me, and confirmed it by Oaths, that the Letter came to the Fougedar when he was preſent; and that, although he endeavoured to perſuade him, it was to no Purpoſe. At laſt he ſent for Three Guns, and ſome Tomuns of Matchlock-Men, who were ſtationed at Taundeh; and he pointed the Guns acroſs the Nullah at the Troops, and ſtationed the Men at the Ghaut, and ordered them not to permit a ſingle Perſon to croſs. In conſequence thereof the Fougedar's People ſtood at the Ghaut, and uſed inſulting Language; and ſaid, that if any one attempted to croſs the River, they would fire upon him. When Mr. Gordon ſaw this, that no Anſwer to his Letter had come from the Fougedar, and that his People were inclined to Hoſtilities, he directed me to go and explain Things to Shumſheer Khan, and perſuade him to deſiſt from ſuch improper Conduct. According to the Orders I had received, I went to the Ghaut, and demanded a Boat, and ſaid that I was ſent by Mr. Gordon to the Fougedar on Buſineſs, and deſired that they would allow me to croſs over alone; but they would not liſten to me, or ſend a Boat to carry me over. Without Remedy, I returned to Mr. Gordon, and informed him of the Behaviour of the People at the Ghaut. He ſaid, "If they will not give you a Boat, it is no Matter; mount an Elephant, and ſwim him over."—I obeyed, and mounted an Elephant, and went and endeavoured to puſh the Elephant into the Nullah. The Fougedar's People at once levelled their Pieces at me, and ſaid, "Beware—if you drive the Elephant into the Nullah, we will fire upon you, and kill you." Per Force I returned to Mr. Gordon: It was now almoſt Sunſet. When the Country People ſaw this Affair, that the Fougedar of Taundeh was our Enemy alſo; that he had ſhut up the Ghaut, and would not permit us to paſs, they charged us on all Sides. Our Sepoys ſeeing Thouſands of the Country People aſſembled on one Side, the Ghaut ſhut up, and Shumſheer Khan diſpoſed to Hoſtilities on the other; and being alſo much exhauſted by the Skirmiſhing and Labour on the March, gave up their Reſolution and Firmneſs at once; and throwing aſide their Arms and their Coats, diſpoſed themſelves to Flight; and notwithſtanding Mr. Gordon uſed every Means of Perſuaſion, both to the Sepoys and the Officers, no one either heard or obeyed him, until Mr. Gordon was left with only Ten Men and the Baggage; all the reſt were fled. At this Time Cally Perſhaud, a Bengaly of Mr. Scott's, who was ſtationed at the Kooty, by a thouſand Intreaties and Supplications, obtained an Order to ſend One Boat from the Fougedar, and ſent it over. Mr. Gordon then ſaw that none of his People had remained with him; that continuing there alone was to no Purpoſe, and therefore was obliged to croſs over. All his Baggage, and the Baggage of his Servants and Followers, was plundered; that which they carried over with them when they croſſed, and delivered into the Hands of the Fougedar's People, who promiſed to protect it, was afterwards taken by them, and never returned. Some

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Days after, ſome Firelocks were produced from the Houſe of the Fougedar; and many of the People's Effects were ſeen there; but the Fougedar's Men did not deliver them up. In ſhort, this is the Subſtance of the Affair which happened at Taundeh; and I have wrote this Account upon Oath, that whoever reads it may know it to be true. Written with my own Hand.

Moonſhy Merun.

NUM. 3. S.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſitions *of* Meer Ahmud Ally, Subadar *in the* Battalion *of* Captain Williams, *and* Doond Sing, Subadar.—*The* Deponents *ſworn before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th 1781.

We, Meer Ahmud Ally, Subadar in the Battalion of Captain Williams, and Doond Sing, Subadar of Grenadiers in the Battalion of Major Macdonald, do ſwear (one) upon the ſacred Koraun, and (the other) by the Ganges, &c. to the (Truth of the) following Depoſition, which we give in Writing: That on the 7th of the Month of September, Mr. Gordon, with Four Companies of Sepoys, and a hundred Horſe of the Ruſſauleh of Ruzza Beg Khan, did march from the Ghaut of Jehoorah toward Taundeh, and we (the Deponents) were along with him. From our ſetting out, till our Arrival at Taundeh, Thouſands of Country People ſurrounded us on every Side, with Intention to cut off the Troops and the Baggage; ſo that we were continually engaged both with Swords and Small Arms the whole Way; but as the Order of March was well regulated, the Enemy could not ſucceed in their Attempts upon the Army. After ſkirmiſhing throughout the whole March, by which ſeveral of the Enemy were killed, we arrived in Safety, about Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, on the Bank of the Nullah of Teerah, which runs beneath Taundeh; after our Arrival there, Mr. Gordon wanted to croſs the Nullah, and halt in Taundeh, and he gave us Orders to croſs the Nullah. We attempted to paſs over, but the Fougedar of Taundeh, by Name Shumſheer Khan, hearing that Mr. Gordon was about to croſs the Nullah, prepared Three Guns, and Three or Four Tomuns of Matchlock Men, who were ſtationed with him, and poſted them at the Ghaut, and they pointed the Guns toward the Troops of Mr. Gordon; and the Fougedar gave Orders not to permit a ſingle Man belonging to that Gentleman to croſs. Although Mr. Gordon wrote a Letter to the ſaid Fougedar, it made no Sort of Impreſſion upon him. At laſt the Evening came. It happened that Ruzza Beg Khan had arrived alone on ſome Buſineſs, before this Affair, and croſſed over to Taundeh. The Cavalry belonging to the ſaid Ruſſaulehdar, before any one elſe, ſwam their Horſes acroſs the River, and fled. The Sepoys ſeeing Thouſands of Country People advancing, on one Side; the Ghaut ſhut up by the Fougedar Shumſheer Khan, who would allow no one to paſs, on the other; and that the Cavalry who accompanied them were diſperſed and gone, gave up at once their Steadineſs and Reſolution, and taking off their Coats, and throwing down their Arms, turned themſelves to Flight, until Mr. Gordon was left with only Ten or Eleven Men, for all the reſt had fled. At this Time Cally Perſhaud, Mr. Scott's Bengally, who reſided at the Kooty in Taundeh, by a thouſand Supplications and Entreaties, obtained an Order from the Fougedar for One Boat, which he ſent over. Mr. Gordon was then alone on the Bank; he was forced to croſs; and all the Baggage belonging to him and his Followers was plundered.

Meer Ahmud Ally, and Doond Sing.

NUM. 3. T.

Tranſlation *of the* ſolemn Declaration *of the* Ranny Golaub Kooer, *made on the 12th Day of* November 1781, *before* Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey.

On the 27th of Shabaun, Sunday, the Chiefs who came to Ramnagur from Lutteefgur, appointed by Rajah Cheit Sing, were Mocundy and Ram Bukſh, Bhemun Sing, and Cullian Sing, and Baul Kiſhen Huzzarry, and Sirdar Sing, a Follower of Ramjewun, and Ram Sheweh, a Follower of Ajayb Sing, and Dildar Hooſſein Khan, and Nuzzur Aſhriff, with their own Parties. On the next Morning, which was Monday the 28th of Shabaun, the above-named Chiefs had an Engagement at Ramnagur, with the Companies which came from the Fort of Chunar; at Two Pahr and a Half of the Day, (½ paſt One P. M.) thoſe Companies were defeated, and the Intelligence was immediately ſent to Lutteefgur; and at One Pahr of the Night, (Nine o'Clock) Baubco Soojaun Sing having left Lutteefgur, with Gholaum Hooſſein Khan, and Fyz-Oolla Khan, arrived that ſame Night at Ramnagur, when Two Gurries of it remained.

Tueſday the whole Day he was employed in Preparations, and in ſtationing the above-mentioned Chiefs, and in loading Bamboo Ladders on the Boats, and Guns upon the Pinnace. And he gave Orders to the Chiefs and the Troops, that at Twelve at Night, on Wedneſday, they ſhould croſs and attack the Governor General, and the other Engliſh Gentlemen who reſided in Mehadew Daus's Garden. All the Inhabitants of Ramnagur, as well as I, ſaw and heard theſe Particulars.

(The Ranny's Signature.)

With respect to Cheit Sing's having, from of old, an improper Correspondence with the Begums at Lucknow, and the Rajah of Bheraich and Gooruckpoor, the Declaration of the above Ranny is as follows:

Since Two Years, on account of the Enmity of Cheit Sing to me, I had left Ramnagur, and resided in another Dwelling; and Cheit Sing had always acted towards me with such Enmity and Opposition as cannot be described; how, therefore, should he have acquainted me with his Correspondences?—but I have heard from Report, that he had in many Places improper Correspondences. However, it is very plain that he had Enmity towards the Governor General; because, whenever he learned any thing to the Prejudice of the Governor, from the Letters of his Vakeels, or the Reports of ill-designing Persons, he used to rejoice:—This is known to all the Inhabitants of Ramnagur. Accordingly, when the Governor General was lately coming from Calcutta towards this Quarter, the Rajah and his Companions used to say, "the Governor has been displaced, and is making his Escape to Hindostan." Besides, from the Rajah's going to Buxar to meet him with the greatest Preparations his Intention plainly appears.

Ranny Golaub Kooer.

NUM. 3. U.

Translation *of the* Deposition *of* Gudgerauge Sing.—*The* Deponent *sworn before* Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey, November 12th 1781.

I Gudgerauge Sing, the ancient Kelladar of Ramnagur from the Time of the deceased Rajah Bulwant Sing, do declare and give in Writing without Reserve (considering God to be present and a Witness) all that I have done, seen, or heard, to the following Effect:

On the Day that the Engagement happened between the Forces which came from Chunar and the Troops of Rajah Cheit Sing, I was in Readiness in the Fort of Ramnagur, with the Burkandazes with their Matches lighted. When the Chunar Army had been defeated, a Budgerow from the Westward came near the Ghaut of Buxey Suddanund. Having observed it from the Fort, I went out by the Wicket Gate, which is to the Southward, with Seven or Eight Burkandazes; the Rowers, and other People belonging to the Budgerow, on seeing this, leaped into the Water, and the Gentleman was killed by the Stroke of a Sword from the Men who accompanied me. About this Time I received Intelligence that the Rajah's Cavalry, who opposed the Chunar Army, had fled; upon this I was greatly confused, and was desirous of carrying the Budgerow under the Fort, but the People of Buxey Suddanund took possession of the Budgerow, and declared that they would keep it, as it had come to their Ghaut. Two Burkandazes brought from the Budgerow Two Muskets and some Cloths, and One of my People took One Musket, whilst the Burkandazes took more Cloth and Arms. From thence I went to my Charge in the Fort.

My further Deposition is as follows:

On the Night of the same Day that the Army from Chunar was defeated, about Two Ghurries of the Night remaining, Bauboo Soojaun Sing arrived from Lutteefgur at Ramnagur. I heard from several Persons, that the said Bauboo had given Orders to his Troops and Chiefs, to make a Night Attack on the Governor General and the other Gentlemen who were in Mahadew Das's Garden. Accordingly, he employed his Troops in bringing Bamboo Ladders, and loading them on Boats, and every one was preparing for the Attack.

I swear, that whatever is written in this Paper is true.

Gudgerauge Sing.

FOURTH PARCEL.

NUM. 4. A.

Affidavit *of* Captain Davy.

Captain William Davy, private Persian Translator to the Honourable Warren Hastings Esquire, Governor General of Fort William in Bengal, &c. &c. maketh Oath, and saith, That he understands the Language spoken by the Deponent, Hindoo Sing; and that he faithfully and truly explained to the said Deponent the Contents of the annexed Affidavit, in the Hindostan Language, being the Language of the said Hindoo Sing, before he the said Hindoo Sing had sworn the same.

Sworn before me, this 12th Day of December 1781.

E. Impey.

William Davy.

NUM. 4. B.

Affidavit *of* Hindoo Sing, Adjutant *at* Buxar.

The Deposition of Hindoo Sing, Adjutant at Buxar, says, That the People under the Government of Cheit Sing gave many Proofs of Disaffection to the English—That about Two Months

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before the Arrival of the Governor General at Buxar, Two Sepoys belonging to the Fort of Buxar obtained Leave of Abſence, and did not return—That Soojaun Sing, the Brother of the Rajah Cheit Sing, took them into his Service, and made one of them a Havildar, and the other a Naick—That he received undoubted Information, which was afterwards confirmed by Deſertions from the Garriſon, that Soojaun Sing tutored the Two Deſerters to entice away the Engliſh Sepoys from Buxar, promiſing to make them Havildars and Officers if they would enter into his Service; in conſequence of which, Seven Sepoys deſerted, and entered into the Service of the ſaid Soojaun Sing; and that many more would have followed, but that proper Meaſures were taken to prevent them. The Deponent alſo ſays, That long before this, when Sir Eyre Coote was on his Way to Lucknow, Three Sepoys were ſent to purchaſe Grain at Balleah, in the Country of the Rajah; that they applied to the Fougedar of the Place for his Aſſiſtance in purchaſing the Grain; which he not only refuſed, but he cauſed them to be beaten almoſt to Death; that their Turbans and Bayonets were taken away; and that no Satisfaction could ever be obtained for this Injuſtice and Inſult to the Engliſh Government, nor was the Fougedar called to Account for his Conduct. The Deponent further ſays, That when the Rajah came to Buxar to meet the Governor General, he had with him a Fleet of Boats, in Number Eighty or Eighty-five, on which were embarked, according to the Information which he obtained, Two thouſand or Two thouſand Five hundred Men, Sepoys and Matchlock Men, with Four Guns; that he came to, and encamped on, the Northern Side of the River, oppoſite to Buxar; and that he had ſeveral Bodies of Cavalry on the Road, on the ſame Side of the River—Says, that the Rajah came to Buxar to ſee the Governor General; that he brought with him only Fifty or Sixty People, but that they were all his Relations and particular Friends, on whom he depended; and that they were all armed. The Deponent further ſays, That when Hoſtilities commenced between the Rajah and the Engliſh, the Sepoys and others who happened to be in the Rajah's Country, were all driven out, and the Road on both Sides the River ſo completely ſhut up, that no Individual could paſs—That Four or Five thouſand Matchlock Men were to be collected by Two Brothers, Deir Sing and Beir Sing, at Serinjah, agreeable to Orders from the Rajah; and that the ſaid Rajah wrote Directions to the ſaid Deir Sing and Beir Sing, and to the Kelladar of Serinjah, to reduce the Fort of Buxar, and to eſtabliſh his Government in that Country.

The Deponent further ſays, That about Twelve Months ago Three European Gentlemen were attacked at Beerpoor, in the Country of the Rajah, about Five Coſs from Buxar; that One of the Gentlemen was deſperately wounded; that a Serjeant, a Jemmadar, and Fifty Sepoys, were ſent from Buxar to ſeize the Zemeedar, but without Effect—That Complaints were made to the Rajah, but no Redreſs could ever be obtained.

Hindoo Sing.

Sworn before me (the Contents being firſt explained to the Witneſs by W. Davy Eſquire, in the Hindoſtan Language) the 9th Day of December 1781.

E. Impey.

FIFTH PARCEL.

NUM. 5. A.

Affidavit *of* Captain Davy.

Captain William Davy, private Perſian Secretary to the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General of Bengal, &c. &c. upon Oath, ſaith, That he is acquainted with the Language ſpoken by the Perſons who made the annexed Depoſitions; that he received ſaid Depoſitions verbally, from each of ſaid Deponents his ſeparate Depoſition; and that he has rendered them faithfully into Engliſh, to the beſt of his Knowledge and Judgment; and that he has faithfully explained to ſaid Deponents, in their own Language, to each his proper Depoſition, the Contents of ſaid annexed Depoſition.

Sworn before me this 3d Day of December 1781.

E. Impey.

NUM. 5. B.

Affidavit of Sheakh Mahommed Aumeen Meyher.

Depoſition of Sheakh Mahommed Aumeen Meyher, late a Commandant in the Service of Cheit Sing.—Upon his Oath ſays, He was the Servant of Cheit Sing; that he commanded a Battalion of Eleven hundred and Fifty Sepoys in his Service; that he accompanied Cheit Sing when he went to Buxar to meet the Governor General; that there was with Cheit Sing at that Time, the following armed Force, Two hundred and Twenty-eight Sepoys under the immediate Command of this Deponent, Six hundred Matchlock Men under the Command of Seuperſaud Sing, and Three hundred Peadahs, or Sword Men, called Huzzoory or Guards; that the above-mentioned Troops accompanied the Rajah in Boats; and that the ſaid Rajah Cheit Sing was alſo attended by a Body of Six hundred Cavalry, under different Leaders; that the Cavalry marched down on the Southern Bank of the Ganges, and directed their Movements by the Motion of the Fleet of Boats in which the Rajah and his Infantry were embarked: That when the Rajah Cheit Sing arrived at Ghauzipoor, he was joined by Bullum Daſs the Aumil, and the Dewan Ruggoobur Dial; and that when he proceeded on from thence, a Detachment of Cavalry and Matchlock Men (ſtationary Troops at Ghauzipoor) in Number about Five hundred, accompanied the Rajah, marching along the Northern Bank of the River in the ſame Manner as the Troops on the oppoſite Side, moving when the Fleet moved, and halting when that halted; that the Rajah arrived, and encamped on the Northern Side of the Ganges, oppoſite the Fort of Buxar; that the Governor General arrived at Buxar the next Day; that the Rajah croſſed the River, and waited upon him; that he returned to his Camp, and about Three o'Clock in the Afternoon put his People and Fleet in Motion, returning as he had went, and the Troops on the Banks of the River accompanying the Boats; that the Governor General proceeded the next Morning, and came up with the Rajah at Zemeneeah, about Twenty Coſs from Buxar; that the Rajah again waited on the Governor General on board his Boat, and that the Governor General then proceeded on before the Rajah, the Rajah following at the Diſtance of Four or Five Coſs, until they reached Banaris; that the Governor General went to the Garden of Mahadew Daſs, and the Rajah to Shewallah Ghaut, his armed People taking their Stations in their Neighbourhood; that his (the Deponent's) People did not arrive with the Rajah, but that he joined him with Fifty Sepoys, and took his Station near to Shewallah; that Two Companies of Sepoys alſo joined the Rajah from Ramnagur.—The Deponent further ſays, That on the Day that the Three Gentlemen and the Two Companies of Engliſh Sepoys came to the Rajah, and the Circumſtance of his Arreſt was known, the Rajah's People (who were then ſtationed round Shewallah) to the Number of about Four thouſand, were armed and prepared for Action; that at this Time Munnihar Sing, Seuamur Sing, and Nunkoo Sing, went to the Rajah: That the Diſturbance and Diſpute at the Gate ran high, and encreaſed every Moment: That the Huzzoories, Peadahs, and others, with their Arms, got upon the Chuppers which were erected againſt the Wall on the Outſide; that the Matchlock Men fired upon a Company who were without Shewallah; that the Deponent counted Seven Matchlocks which were fired, and ſaw a Sepoy fall by the Firſt Shot; that the Moment the Firing was heard, the Rajah's People forced their Way Sword in Hand into Shewallah, and cut the Gentlemen and Sepoys to Pieces; that the Rajah Cheit Sing eſcaped during the Conflict to Ramnagur, and from thence to Lutteefpoor.

The Deponent further ſays, That after the Detachment from Chunar was repulſed near Ramnagur and obliged to retreat, Soojaun Sing and the Buxey Suddanund arrived with Troops at that Place, and that by Orders from the Rajah they prepared Scaling Ladders, &c. in order to make a Night Aſſault on the Garden of Mahadew Daſs; that Boats were prepared, and Guns and Troops marched down to the Ghaut of Auſi Sungum; that the Sepoys belonging to the Deponent refuſed to croſs the River until they had obtained ſome Refreſhment, having been without Food for Two Days; that the Night paſſed away without any Thing being done, and that the Governor General on that Night quitted Banaris, and arrived at Chunar; that Soojaun Sing and Suddanund Buxey wrote a Complaint to Cheit Sing againſt the Troops under the Command of the Deponent the next Morning; and that Soojaun Sing ſent a Company of his own Sepoys to take poſſeſſion of the Garden of Mahadew Daſs; that they plundered the Property of the Gentlemen at that Place, and returned to Ramnagur.

The Deponent further ſays, That the following is, to the beſt of his Memory, a true Liſt of the Forces with Rajah Cheit Sing; thoſe on the regular Eſtabliſhment, thoſe newly entertained, and thoſe who came in to his Aſſiſtance.

PART III.

List of the Eſtabliſhed Forces in the Service of Cheit Sing.

Cavalry, Sepoys, Matchlock Men, &c.

			Number.
Cavalry	—	—	1,700
Body Guards, or ſelect Troops, Cavalry and Infantry	—	—	700
Sepoys	—	—	1,150
Matchlock Men	—	—	1,800
Attached to Bullum Dans	—	Horſes 300, Foot 500 } Total	800
With Soojaun Sing	—	Cavalry and Infantry	500
Sepoys and Artillery Men with Two Guns	—	—	340
With Munnear Sing	—	Cavalry and Infantry	700
		—	7,690

Troops entertained after the Arrival of Cheit Sing at Lutteefpoor.

Firſt, entertained at Lutteefpoor	—	Matchlock Men and Sword Men	2,000
Second, — Nujjeeb	—	Sword Men from Lucknow —	1,000
		—	3,000

Troops aſſembled from different Places.

Infantry and Cavalry with Juggurdeave Sing	—	500
Matchlock Men arrived with Bukht Sing, by Orders from Rajah	—	1,200
D° with Gooman Sing, ſent for by the Rajah	—	500
D° from the Fougedar of Bidduwy	—	1,000
Raujpoots of the Tribe of Kugbunſie from Kurraukut	—	3,000
With Dillun Sing, Fougedar of Mukurun Baudſhaahpoodmate	—	1,500
Cavalry and Infantry arrived with Ruzza Rool Khaun	—	300
Raujpoots collected from Agoree and Purwah by Dea Lutchoo	—	500
D° of the Tribe of Cummur collected by Soojaun Sing	—	1,000
Sword and Matchlock Men with Ranju Awun	—	2,000
	—	11,500
Total Troops in the Service of Cheit Sing	—	22,190

To which are to be added Huſbandmen and Adventurers who took up Arms, making the foregoing Number amount to near 40,000 Men.

(Signed) Sheakh Mahommed Aumeen Mhiur.

Sworn (the Contents being firſt explained to the Deponent by William Davy Eſquire) this 3d Day of December 1781.

(Signed) E. Impey.

NUM. 5. C.

Depoſition of Sheakh Hoſſein Oolla, Jemmadar, relative to the Action at Shewallah Ghaut, at which Period he was Havildar and Orderly with Lieutenant Stalker.

The Deponent upon his Oath ſays, He was one of thoſe who attended Mr. Markham and Lieutenant Stalker when they went to the Rajah Cheit Sing at Shewallah Ghaut, with about Fifty orderly Sepoys, armed with Swords only; that a ſhort Time after, Two Companies of Sepoys arrived under the Command of Lieutenants Scott and Symes; that Mr. Markham returned from the Rajah's with about Thirty of the Orderlies; that he, the Deponent, continued during the whole of the ſucceeding Tranſaction near to Lieutenant Stalker; that he ſaw Lieutenants Scott and Symes enter Shewallah with their Swords drawn, and ſhortly after obſerved Guards poſted in different Places, from which he diſcovered for the firſt Time that the Rajah was in Arreſt; that after the Departure of Mr. Markham there were preſent Meſſrs. Stalker, Scott, and Symes, with Seven or Eight Sepoys (Orderlies) attending juſt without the Apartment, where they were ſeated with the Rajah; that ſeveral of the Rajah's People, all armed, to the Number of Forty, were ſeated without the Purdahs; that Centries were poſted round the Building; and that the Two Companies remained without the Inner Gate; that many of the Rajah's Peons, to the Amount of about Three hundred, were aſſembled in the ſame Place; that ſeveral Notes were ſent off by Lieutenant Stalker, and One Note received by him; that about Twelve o'Clock at Noon the Rajah deſired Permiſſion to perform his Ablutions, which was refuſed, unleſs he would ſend for Water and perform them on the Spot, which he did accordingly; that before this Period, the Rajah's People between the Outer Gate and that which led immediately to the Building, made

Two different Attempts to force their Way through the Inner Gate, but were kept back by the Two Companies who were poſted there; that Lieutenant Stalker once went himſelf to the Gate, and ſtruck One of the Rajah's People, who was endeavouring to force his Way in; that the Rajah's People appeared to be highly irritated, and that the Subadars of the Companies found it neceſſary to fix Bayonets—Says, That Meſſrs. Scott and Symes accompanied Lieutenant Stalker on this Occaſion, but that he, the Deponent, continued near the Rajah with Three or Four Sepoys, by Orders from Lieutenant Stalker; that he nevertheleſs ſaw what paſſed through the Stone Lattice, which ſurrounded the Building; that at this Period the Rajah ſent his Buxey to forbid his People from making any Diſturbance, and the Affair ſubſided; that the Gentlemen returned to the Rajah. The Deponent further ſays, That after the Rajah had finiſhed his Ablutions, he retired to a Stone Pavilion, or Sort of Baſtion, to perform his Devotions; that Three or Four orderly Sepoys were directed to attend him at a ſmall Diſtance, to obſerve his Motions (the Officers continuing in their Places); that at this Period a Chubdar (named Cheit Ram) came from Mr. Markham, and delivered a Meſſage to Mr. Stalker; and that the ſaid Chubdar afterwards went to the Rajah Cheit Sing, who was ſtill at his Devotions; that he appeared, by his Manner and the Loudneſs of his Voice, to be ſpeaking inſultingly and paſſionately to the Rajah; that at this Period a Report of Matchlocks was heard, and One of the Subadars, Biſhen Sing, called out to the Officers, that they were fired upon by the Rajah's People from the Outer Wall; that the Gentlemen ſtarted from their Seats, and drew their Swords; that Lieutenant Stalker ruſhed forward toward the Gate, and that Lieutenants Scott and Symes attempted to follow him; that the Moment the Firing commenced from the Outer Wall, the Two Companies were attacked by the Three hundred Peons in the Space between the Two Walls with them; at the ſame Inſtant the Officers and their Orderlies were attacked by the Forty of the Rajah's People (ſaid to be within the Building at the Beginning of this Depoſition); that the beforementioned Subadar Biſhen Sing forced his Way through the Inner Gate, with about Twenty Sepoys, to the Aſſiſtance of the Officers; that the Paſſage was ſoon ſtopped up by the Number of Dead and Wounded in the Gateway; that after the Communication was cut off, the Action ſtill continued both within and without; the Two Companies ſtill fired upon from the Outer Wall; that the Deponent ſaw Lieutenant Stalker defend himſelf with great Reſolution with a Sword, which he had taken from One of his Sepoys; that the Deponent himſelf in a ſhort Time received ſeveral Wounds, and fell; that he fainted, and therefore has no further Knowledge of what paſſed during the Remainder of the Action, or how the Rajah made his Eſcape; that when he recovered his Senſes he ſaw Lieutenant Stalker lying dead near him, with many of the Sepoys; that he heard a Firing, which one of the Wounded told him proceeded from a Company of Sepoys, who were driving off the Rajah's Matchlock-men; that he, the Deponent, continued on the Ground the whole Night, but was removed the next Morning to the Garden of Mahadew Daſs.

The Mark of Sheakh Hoſſein Oolla, Jemmadar.

Sworn before me (the Contents being firſt explained to the Deponent by Will. Davy Eſquire) this 3d Day of December 1781.

E. Impey.

NUM. 5. D.

The Depoſition *of* Biſhen Sing, Subadar, *relative to the Action at* Shewallah Ghaut.

Upon his Oath, ſays, That in the Morning of , Lieutenants Scott and Symes gave Orders that Two Companies of Grenadier Sepoys ſhould be got ready; that the Companies were immediately paraded, and that the above Gentlemen marched with them to Shewallah, where the Rajah Cheit Sing reſided; that Lieutenant Symes with One Company took Poſt within the Firſt Gate; that the Company under Lieutenant Scott ſtationed themſelves at the Inner Gate; that Lieutenant Stalker ordered him to poſt a Guard of a Havildar and Twelve Sepoys at the ſmall Gate leading to the River, and another Guard at the Gate opening from thence into Shewallah; that he poſted Guards as he was ordered, and that he ſent out a Havildar to ſee what Number of Men were in the neighbouring Gardens and Cantonments, and what they were about; that the Havildar brought back Information, that the Rajah's People were all arming themſelves, and loading their Matchlocks; that he communicated this Intelligence to Lieutenant Stalker, and added, that the Rajah's People were certainly preparing to attack them; that at this Period the Rajah's Buxey arrived; that he went in to Cheit Sing, and that he ſaw him make a Motion with his Hand as one ſtriking with a Sword; that the Deponent ſaw this from the Inner Gate where he was ſtanding; that Cheit Sing's People became turbulent, exclaiming on all Sides, that they (the Engliſh) had made their Rajah a Priſoner, and calling out to attack them; that he found it neceſſary to order the Sepoys to fix their Bayonets, and that he ſent Information to Lieutenant Stalker, that they were about to be aſſaulted; in conſequence of which, Lieutenant Stalker came out to the Place where Lieutenant Symes was poſted with his Company; that Lieutenant Symes, pointing to the Rajah's People with his Hand, told Lieutenant Stalker, that thoſe People were

going to attack him; that Lieutenant Stalker ſpoke to the Rajah's People, and returned, and that the Clamour in ſome meaſure ſubſided; that at this Juncture Munnear Sing, and his Son Nunkoo Sing, and Seuamur Sing, arrived, and ſeated themſelves by the Rajah; that at this Inſtant, an Hircarrah brought Intelligence to the Rajah, that another Company of Engliſh Sepoys were coming from Murwarry, and that they were arrived near at hand; that at this Period, one of the Rajah's Matchlock Men fired at the Company which was advancing; that the Moment the Report of the Matchlock was heard, the Rajah's People within, who were alarmed, became very turbulent; the Noiſe and Confuſion increaſed, and Lieutenant Scott came out and enquired into the Cauſe of it; that the Action immediately commenced within, and that Lieutenant Stalker called out to the Deponent to enter with his Company; that he attempted to obey the Orders which he had received, but that the Attack at that Inſtant began without the Inner Gate alſo; that it was no longer poſſible to enter with his Company; but that he nevertheleſs forced his Way in with about Twenty Sepoys; that Mohun Sing, Subadar, the Moulavy, and Cheit Ram (Mr. Markham's Chubdar), were firſt cut down; that Munnear Sing ſtruck at Lieutenant Stalker with his Scymetar, but without Effect; that Lieutenant Stalker made a Thruſt at Munnear Sing with his Sword, without Effect alſo; that Lieutenant Stalker threw the Sword from his Hand, and took a Scymetar from one of his orderly Sepoys, with which he continued the Action; that Nunkoo Sing afterwards made a Stroke at Lieutenant Stalker; that the Rajah's People, who were now aſſembled in great Numbers both within and without, charged the Engliſh Sepoys Sword in Hand, and continued the Attack till Lieutenants Stalker and Scott, with all the Sepoys, were cut down; that the Deponent's Arm was ſtruck off by the Blow of a Scymetar; that he received ſeveral other Wounds, and at laſt fell, and that he continued there among the Dead and the Wounded, until a Company of Sepoys came and carried off thoſe who remained alive.

Biſhen Sing, Subadar.

Sworn before me (the Contents being firſt explained to the Deponent by W. Davy Eſquire) this 3d Day of December 1781.

E. Impey.

☞ [NUM. 5. E.

Depoſition *of* Ruggoobur Sing, *Orderly Sepoy to* Lieut. Stalker.

The Deponent (upon his Oath) ſays, He went with Lieutenant Stalker and Mr. Markham to Shewallah, where the Rajah Cheit Sing reſided, and that he went with them into the Preſence of the Rajah; that ſhortly after Two Companies of Sepoys arrived, with Two Gentlemen, whoſe Names the Deponent does not remember, being a newly enliſted Sepoy; that thoſe Two Officers came in and continued with the Rajah and Lieutenant Stalker; that he the Deponent was directed by Lieutenant Stalker to attend, with Three other orderly Sepoys, in the Apartment where the Officers were ſitting with the Rajah; that the reſt of the orderly Sepoys remained without the Purdahs, which were let down in the Front of the Apartment; that he is unacquainted with what paſſed without the Gate, where the Two Companies were, or what People were there on the Part of the Rajah. The Deponent does not recollect, nor can he, he ſays, relate the Circumſtances which paſſed before the Attack commenced; but in Reply to a Queſtion put to him, Whether Mr. Markham's Chubdar, Cheit Ram, ſpoke to the Rajah? he ſays, that ſaid Chubdar brought a Note to Lieutenant Stalker at the Time when the Rajah's People without were endeavouring to enter; that he delivered the Note to Lieutenant Stalker; that at this Time the Noiſe and Confuſion at the Gateway was very great; that the Chubdar went from Lieutenant Stalker toward Cheit Sing, who was then ſitting at the Place where he performed his Devotions; that he told him to order his People to deſiſt; that he (the Chubdar) was Cheit Ram, and that the Rajah was but Cheit Sing; and that if he did not make his People deſiſt, he would confine him —Says, He was an Ear Witneſs to the foregoing; that it was at this Moment the Firing was heard, and the Attack began; that Lieutenant Stalker's Hircarrah had his Sword; that he called to this Deponent to give him his Sword, which he did, and ſtood behind Lieutenant Stalker by his Orders, with the Scabbard in his Hand, until that Officer fell; that he was ſoon after cut down himſelf; that he was deprived of Senſe, and knows nothing of what paſſed afterwards.

The Mark of Ruggoobur Sing, Sepoy.

Sworn before me (the Contents being firſt explained to the Deponent by W. Davy Eſquire) this 3d Day of December 1781.

E. Impey.] ☜

SIXTH PARCEL.

NUM. 6. A.

Affidavit of Captain Davy.

Captain William Davy, private Perſian Tranſlator to the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General of Fort William in Bengal, &c. &c. maketh Oath and ſaith, That he underſtands the Perſian Language, and that the Paper hereunto annexed, is a true and faithful Tranſlate of the Perſian Verſion of the original Hindoo Depoſition, both hereunto annexed, to the beſt of this Deponent's Skill and Belief.

William Davy.

Sworn before me this 12th Day
of December 1781.
E. Impey.

NUM. 6. B.

Tranſlation *of the* Depoſition *of* Contoo Doſs, *rendered into* Engliſh *from a* Perſian Verſion *of the* Original *in the* Hindoo Language, *written by* Bunny Mull Moonſhy, *according to the* Interpretation *of* Bauboo Juggut Sing.—*The* Deponent, *and the* Writer *of the* Perſian Tranſlate, *ſworn before* Sir Elijah Impey, *one on the 2d, and the other on the 5th of December* 1781.

On the Firſt of the Month Ramzan, Wedneſday, in the 23d Year, Bauboo Soojaun Sing, appointing Diaram Aumeen, ſent him to Banaris; Diaram came, and made a Proclamation through the City, that whoever protected in his Houſe the Dependants of the Engliſh, or the Property of the Engliſh, ſhould be conſidered as a Criminal, and his Houſe be ſeized.

Written by Contoo Doſs.

SEVENTH PARCEL.

NUM. 7. A.

Affidavit of Captain Davy.

Captain William Davy, private Perſian Tranſlator to the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſq. Governor General of Fort William in Bengal, &c. &c. maketh Oath and ſaith, That he underſtands the Hindoſtan Language, being the Language of the Deponents Dadjoo Sing and Gobindram Miſſer; and that he faithfully and truly explained to the ſaid Deponents the Contents of the annexed Affidavit, in the Hindoſtan Language, before they had ſworn the ſame.

W. Davy.

Sworn before me this 22d Day
of December 1781.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 7. B.

Affidavit of Dadjoo Sing and Gobindram Miſſer.

Dadjoo Sing, and Gobindram Miſſer, make Oath, according to the Practice of their Religion, and ſay, That about the 12th of the Month of Baudoon, the Deponent Dadjoo Sing received a Perwannah or Letter from the Rajah Cheit Sing, dated the 4th of the ſaid Month of Baudoon; and that, about the 18th of the Month Kawwar, the ſaid Deponent received a ſecond Perwannah or Letter from the ſaid Rajah Cheit Sing, bearing Date the 10th of the Month Kawwar; that both thoſe Perwannahs or Letters were peruſed by the Deponent Dadjoo Sing, and ſhewn by him to the Deponent Gobindram Miſſer, who read them alſo; and that the ſaid Perwannahs or Letters were immediately ſent to Mr. Græme at Chuprah, by the Deponent Dadjoo Sing.

And theſe Deponents further ſay, That having peruſed the annexed Papers in the Hindoo Character, marked Num. 7 D and Num. 7 E, they are the ſame Perwannahs or Letters which the Deponent Dadjoo Sing received as aforeſaid from the Rajah Cheit Sing.

Dadjoo Sing.
Gobindram Miſſer.

Sworn before me this 22d Day
of December 1781.
Warren Haſtings.

NUM. 7. C.

Affidavit of Captain Davy.

Captain William Davy, private Perſian Tranſlator to the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſq. Governor General of Fort William in Bengal, &c. &c. maketh Oath and ſaith, That he underſtands the Perſian Language, and that he received from Gomauny Lall, a Hindoo, who he believes underſtands both the Hindoo and Perſian Languages, a verbal Interpretation in Perſian of the annexed Papers, written in the Hindoo Language: And the Deponent further ſaith, That the Engliſh Papers hereunto annexed, are true and faithful Tranſlations of the ſaid Hindoo Papers, made from the verbal Interpretation in Perſian of the ſaid Gomauny Lall, to the beſt of this Deponent's Skill and Belief.

W. Davy.

Sworn before me this 12th Day
of December 1781.

E. Impey.

NUM. 7. D.

Tranſlation *of a* Letter *from the* Rajah Cheit Sing *to* Dadjoo Sing, *written in the* Hindoo *Language and Character.—This Verſion made from the verbal Interpretation of* Gomauny Lall, *a* Hindoo Moonſhy.

Complimentary Introduction.

Great Miſunderſtandings have come to paſs between me and the Engliſh; I therefore direct you, with your People, to join me the Moment you ſee this Order; every Encouragement and Support ſhall be given you by me—Let your Mind be at Reſt, and come with Speed.

Wherever you meet with either Europeans or Sepoys, plunder and cut them off—Conſider this as particularly enjoined.

Written the 4th of the Month Baudoon.

Superſcribed by Cheit Sing in his own Hand, "*The Contents approved.*"

The Cover directed to Dadjoo Sing, and ſealed with the Seal of the Rajah Cheit Sing.

NUM. 7. E.

Tranſlation *of a* Letter *from the* Rajah Cheit Sing, *to* Dadjoo Sing, *written in the* Hindoo *Language and Character.—This Verſion made from the verbal Interpretation of* Gomauny Lall, *a* Hindoo Moonſhy.

Complimentary Introduction.

It appears that you are united with the Engliſh—I therefore write to you, that living as you do under my Protection, the taking part with them will be attended with bad Conſequences to yourſelf.

I direct that, immediately on the Arrival of this Order, you join the Rajah Futteh Sing, and ſee the Enemy; in this only you will find your Advantage—Conſider the above as moſt ſtrictly enjoined.

Written the 10th of the Month Kawwar.

If you act according to theſe Orders, you will obtain Honour thereby.

[Superſcribed by Cheit Sing] "*The above is ſtrictly enjoined.*"

The Cover directed to Dadjoo Sing, and ſealed with the Seal of the Rajah Cheit Sing.

EIGHTH PARCEL.

NUM. 8. A.

Affidavit *of* Colonel Blair, *commanding the Fort of* Chunar.

The Affidavit of Lieutenant Colonel William Blair, taken before Sir Elijah Impey, Knight, Chief Juſtice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.—This Deponent, on his Oath, ſaith, That on the 21ſt of Auguſt 1781, to the beſt of his Recollection, about 8 o'Clock in the Morning, and ſomething near an Hour after he had iſſued Orders for the 2d Battalion of the 6th Regiment to croſs the River, and march with all poſſible Expedition to Banaris, a Man was brought to him, who ſaid he had ſome particular Intelligence to deliver; that upon hearing what he had to ſay, he acquainted the Deponent that he had left Ramnagur in the Night, and that it was there determined to attack the Fort of Chunargur the following

Night; he mentioned ſeveral of the Leaders Names, whom the Deponent does not remember, and ſaid, that Ladders had been prepared at Pateeta for that Purpoſe, and that a conſiderable Force was expected to join thoſe at Ramnagur. The Deponent further ſaith, That at the Time this Fellow gave him the above Information, he was going to the Beach to ſee the Battalion paraded, and to expedite the Boats; and that he ſaw the ſame Man upon the Road as he was returning from the River Side. Lieutenant Colonel Blair further ſaith, That a ſhort Time before Dinner, on the ſame Day, another Man was brought to him with Intelligence, who was dreſſed like a Fakeer; he ſeemed a middle-aged Man, and appeared very ſolicitous for the Safety of the Engliſh: His Information correſponded with the former, as to the Time that the Fort was to be attacked; the Forces he ſaid could not in all conſiſt of leſs than between Twenty and Thirty thouſand Men, with Artillery; that they were to be led on by the Rajah in Perſon, and were to come from Lutteefpoor, Ramnagur, and Pateeta. The Deponent remarks, that this Man ſpoke ſo much more than merely anſwering Queſtions that were put to him, that this, joined to his ſeeming Anxiety for the Safety of the Engliſh, created in the Deponent's Mind great Doubts of his Veracity, though he did not totally reject his Information. The Deponent here obſerves, that this Man, and alſo the Perſon that delivered the firſt Intelligence, were perfect Strangers to the Deponent, and every Perſon about him; and that, among other Queſtions, he aſked him what was his Inducement to come to him with ſuch particular Information? to which he anſwered, That he was a poor Man and expected a Reward. The Deponent then told him, that if he called upon him next Day, he would moſt undoubtedly reward him accordingly. The Deponent further ſaith, That as far as he recollects, between Three and Four o'Clock the ſame Afternoon, he was obſerving the laſt of the before-mentioned Battalion croſſing the River, his Jemmadar Hircarrah came to him, and told him that it was the general Belief every where, that a large Army was upon the March, and it was ſuppoſed would reach Chunar that Night, and that vaſt Numbers of the Inhabitants were flying the Town; that he the Deponent warned the ſaid Jemmadar Hircarrah to beware of bringing or ſpreading falſe Intelligence, as he ſhould anſwer for it with his Life; his Anſwer was, that he ſpoke nothing of himſelf. The Deponent, after having ſeen all the Battalion acroſs the River, and begun their March, ordered the Jemmadar Hircarrah to attend him to Camp. That as the Deponent was on the Road, he met a young Man ſeemingly much out of Breath, but could not underſtand what he had to ſay, till he reached the Camp, when he called Captain Blair to interpret for him. The Information this Man gave was, that he was an Inhabitant of Pateeta, and uſed frequently to come to Chunar upon his own Buſineſs; that the Deponent's Jemmadar Hicarrah knew him, which was acknowledged by the Jemmadar himſelf. He ſaid, that when he left Pateeta, there was about Six thouſand Men getting ready to march towards Chunar, and that he underſtood that a very large Body was to follow from Lutteefpoor. The Deponent further ſaith, That, upon reflecting upon the various Intelligence he had received through the Day, he thought it neceſſary to acquaint Captain Sparks and Captain Blair with his Apprehenſions of an Attack being made that Night; that he the Deponent ſaw Out-poſts placed, and gave every neceſſary Inſtruction to prevent a Surprize, and to oppoſe the Enemy with Vigour, as he was conſcious that every Thing depended upon being able to keep the Field. The Deponent after this, when the Troops were turned out at Roll-calling, directed Captains Blair and Sparks to thank their Men in the Name of the Governor General for their late gallant Behaviour at Ramnagur, lamenting at the ſame Time the great Loſs that they had ſuſtained by being imprudently led into a Place where they could not act, but that he the Deponent was confident they could in the fair Field beat any Force that the Rajah could bring againſt them; that the Men expreſſed a perfect Confidence and Readineſs to oppoſe the Enemy if attacked, and the Chaſſeurs expreſſed the greateſt Eagerneſs to embrace the firſt Opportunity of revenging the Death of their Companions and Commandant; and they remained upon their Arms all Night with the utmoſt Cheerfulneſs. The Deponent further ſaith, That when the Governor General arrived at Chunargur next Morning, and that he was told the Danger that threatened him and all the other Gentlemen at Banaris, which he was perfectly ignorant of before, it then crowded on his Mind, as no Enemy had made the leaſt Attempt either upon the Camp or Fort, that all theſe Pieces of Intelligence, which had been brought in the Day before, were entirely calculated for the Purpoſe of detaining the Troops from being ſent to Banaris, and thereby favouring the Deſign of attacking the Governor and Gentlemen there; and the Deponent ſays, that he is the more induced to this Belief, as he was not able next Day, or any Time ſince, to find the People that brought the Deponent this Intelligence, though every Endeavour was made to diſcover them.

W. Blair.

Sworn before me this 2d Day of December 1781.

E. Impey.

NUM. 8. B.

Affidavit of Captain M'Dougall.

The Affidavit of Captain Patrick M'Dougall, taken before Sir Elijah Impey, Knight, Chief Juſtice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal. This Deponent, on his Oath, ſaith, That on the Evening of the 21ſt of Auguſt laſt, after having croſſed the River with his Battalion, in order to march to Banaris, agreeable to Colonel Blair's Orders, ſeveral People came and acquainted him, that there were Two thouſand armed Men poſted in the Neighbourhood of Beety-bur, to oppoſe his marching to Banaris; and not doubting this Intelligence to be well founded, and Night approaching, took every Precaution to guard againſt a Surpriſe, and oppoſe the Enemy; but meeting with no Oppoſition on his March there, or returning to Chunargur, therefore concluded the Information to have been groundleſs.

Sworn before me this 2d Day of December 1781. E. Impey.

Patrick M'Dougall.

NINTH PARCEL.

NUM. 9. A.

Affidavit of Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire.

Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, on his Oath, ſaith, That he left Lucknow on the 19th Auguſt 1781, and joining the Nabob Vizeer at about Ten Coſs diſtant, proceeded with him towards Banaris, with an Intention to meet the Governor General, who was expected ſhortly at Lucknow: That about Three or Four Days after his Departure, he heard of the Diſturbance at Banaris, and of the Maſſacre of Three European Officers, with a Number of Sepoys, at the Inſtigation of Rajah Cheit Sing, which prevented the Governor General's ſetting out for Lucknow, as he had intended; and on his Arrival at Doudnagur, on the 24th of the ſame Month, he received imperfect Accounts, through the Channel of the Vizeer's public Intelligence, of the Retreat of the Governor General and his Party to Chunargur; and the ſame Account, as well as many others, ſet forth, that the Rajah Cheit Sing had iſſued his moſt poſitive Orders to all the Zemeedars and Officers of his Government, to put every European to Death that they could lay hold of; to ſeize and ſeverely puniſh any Natives who ſhould be found in the Service of or connected with the Engliſh; and in general, to uſe every Means in their Power to promote an Inſurrection throughout the Country; for which they ſhould be liberally rewarded: That he had alſo written Perwannahs, or Letters, to many of the Zemeedars of the Vizeer's Country, encouraging them to raiſe Diſturbances in their reſpective Diſtricts, and to aſſiſt him with Troops; for which he promiſed them large Sums of Money: That this Report was made to him repeatedly, through various Channels, and implicitly credited not only by himſelf, but he firmly believes by the Vizeer and every Man in his Retinue: That in conſequence of theſe Occurrences, the Vizeer, who had left Lucknow with a very ſmall Force, determined to wait for Reinforcements before he proceeded; and accordingly, ſummoning his Troops from all Quarters, halted at Huſſanpoor until they joined him: That on the 31ſt of ſaid Month he, this Deponent, in Company with the Vizeer, left Huſſanpoor, and proceeded towards Chunargur: That on his Arrival at or near the Village of Gopee Gunge, he heard from ſeveral different Perſons, whoſe Names he does not at preſent recollect, that a Number of dead Bodies were ſeen, ſome in a Well ſituated near the Road Side, and others lying on the open Plain, partly covered with looſe Earth, or Sand, that had been thrown over them: That theſe Bodies were ſuppoſed and generally believed to be the Bodies of Dauck Hircarrahs, and other Travellers dependant on the Engliſh, who had been ſeized and murdered in conſequence of the aforeſaid Orders of Rajah Cheit Sing: That this Deponent did not ſee the Bodies, but had not a Doubt of the Truth of the Story, as it was mentioned by ſeveral Perſons at the Time they were paſſing the Place, and afterwards by others who had ſtopped to ſee them: That in a ſmall Mud Fort and Village near the Place where the Bodies were diſcovered, he, this Deponent, heard from Almas Ally Khan, a principal Farmer of the Nabob Vizeer's Revenue, that there were ſeveral hundred armed Men aſſembled in the Service of Rajah Cheit Sing; but for what particular Purpoſe he did not learn: That ſome Days after his (this Deponent's) Arrival at Chunar, he was informed by Two Hircarrahs, who brought him an Expreſs from the Aumil of Illahabad, that in paſſing through Gopee Gunge they had ſeen the dead Bodies of Two Europeans, who they ſuppoſed had been murdered by the Inhabitants of that Place: That he heard at the Time, and believed, and does ſtill believe, that much Encouragement, and ſome actual Aid in the raiſing of Troops, was given Rajah Cheit Sing by Behar Ally Khan and Jewar Ally Khan, the Two principal Eunuchs and Counſellors of the Vizeer's Mother at Fyzabad; and that their Conduct, as well as that of their Dependants, during the Continuance of the Diſturbances at Banaris, manifeſted a ſtrong Diſaffection to the Engliſh: That he further

heard

heard from his own News-writer ſtationed at Fyzabad, that a Vakeel, or Agent, from Rajah Cheit Sing had been received at that Place, and allowed to remain under the Protection of the ſaid Eunuchs; but for what particular Purpoſe, or what was the Nature of his Commiſſion or Negociations, this Deponent has not been able to diſcover.

Nathaniel Middleton.

Sworn this 27th Day of November 1781, before me,

E. Impey.

NUM. 9. B.

Affidavit of Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hannay.

Alexander Hannay Eſquire, Lieutenant Colonel, commanding a Corps of his Excellency the Vizeer Aſſof-ud-Dowlah's Sepoys, on his Oath, declares, to the beſt of his Remembrance and Belief, the following Circumſtances reſpecting the State of the Country he was ſtationed in, and the Reports that prevailed there during the Months of September and October 1781:—That, in obedience to Orders he received from his Excellency the Nabob Vizeer for that Purpoſe, on the 28th of Auguſt 1781, he iſſued Orders for forming a Detachment, conſiſting of One thouſand Sepoys, Four Guns, and Five thouſand Horſe, from the Troops under his Command, to aſſemble at Akberpoor, on the Road leading to Jowanpoor: That Eight Companies of Sepoys, Two Guns, and about One hundred Horſe of the ſaid Detachment, were ordered to croſs the Gogra at the Chowra Ghaut, and proceed to Akberpoor: That Two Companies of Sepoys, Two Guns, and the Remainder of the Horſe, were ordered to croſs at Fyzabad, and encamp on the Rumna until the Arrival of the Deponent, who was from thence to march them to Akberpoor, the appointed Rendezvous of the Detachment: That the Deponent arrived at Fyzabad on the Evening of the 7th of September, with the Intention of purſuing his March to Akberpoor the next Morning; but was detained, from the Horſemen having been ſeduced into the Town, where they were tampered with by the Servants and Agents of the Begums to decline proceeding further with him: That the Subadars of the Two Companies of Sepoys repreſented to him, that Guards were placed (ſaid by the Authority of the Begums), to prevent the Sepoys, or any one connected with the Engliſh, from entering the Town; and upon Enquiry, it appeared that ſuch Repreſentation was true: That the Deponent learnt from various, and what he deemed Information to be depended on, that the Agents of Rajah Cheit Sing were publicly ſuffered to raiſe Troops in Fyzabad; and that the Eunuchs of both Begums encouraged the People to enter into his Service, particularly Jewar Ally Khan, who was repreſented to have gone into the Chouk for this Purpoſe: That the Deponent was credibly informed, that Two or Three Days before his Arrival at Fyzabad, a Man named Sheakh Khan, had marched from thence, in order to join Rajah Cheit Sing, with about a Thouſand Horſe and Foot, and that ſeveral other Detachments had before proceeded from thence with the ſame Deſign. Theſe Tranſactions were of ſo public Notoriety, and ſo generally believed, that the Deponent deemed it his Duty to repreſent their Impropriety to the Bow Begum *, but could obtain no Anſwer. On the Evening of the 8th of September, the Deponent received a Letter from Lieutenant Gordon, who was on his March to join him at Akberpoor, informing him that he had been attacked on his March from Chowrah Ghaut by great Bodies of Men, aſſembled to oppoſe him; and that on his Arrival at Taundeh, the Conduct of Shumſheer Khan, the Begum's Aumil of that Place, had effected the Loſs of his Detachment, as appears from the following Copy of his Letter to the Deponent, relating the Circumſtances of that unhappy Diſaſter.

Copy *of* a Letter *from* Lieutenant John Gordon *to* Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, *dated at* Taundeh, *the* 10*th of* September 1781.

" I had the Honour to write you on the 8th Inſtant, acquainting you with the Diſaſter which " happened to my Detachment; and I now beg leave to lay before you the Particulars of that " unfortunate Affair.

" When I croſſed the Gograh, on the 6th, at Chowrah, with the Four Companies of Sepoys, " and about Eighty Horſe (in all near 400), I ſaw that the Country was diſaffected: My Force, " however, I judged to be quite ſufficient to join you at Akberpoor; indeed, I did not conceive " that his Excellency's Troops, marching to join him by his Order, could meet with any " Interruption.

" On the 7th, at Day-break, I marched; and about Half a Mile from Chowrah, when croſſing " a Nullah, where I had ſent Boats Overnight, I obſerved great Bodies of Men aſſembled to " oppoſe my March: I immediately made what I judged to be the beſt Diſpoſition of my ſmall " Corps; and the Behaviour of the Men did them great Credit; for though during the whole " of the March of Eight Coſs, we were attacked, and often ſurrounded, by incredible Num- " bers of People, yet we conſtantly beat them off, killing and wounding many of them; and

* The Nabob Vizeer's Mother, called in the Narrative Navaub Allea.

PART III.

" arrived, with very little Loſs, about One o'Clock in the Afternoon, at the Teerea Nullah,
" which runs by Taundeh, bringing the whole of our Bazar and Baggage in the moſt complete
" Safety. I now imagined myſelf in a Friend's Country, and intended croſſing the Nullah, that
" my People might halt for the Day, and refreſh after their fatiguing March: For this Purpoſe
" I ordered my Bazar and Baggage to be ſent over, and Part of the Sepoys to ſtand to their
" Arms: A great Number of our Enemies were ſtill in Sight; but judge of my Surpriſe, when
" I was informed that the Boats were all on the other Side of the Nullah, and that none of
" them were permitted to croſs. I immediately wrote to the Begum's Aumil, Shumſheer Khan,
" acquainting him, that I was marching with the Vizeer's Troops, by his Orders, to join him;
" that I was aſtoniſhed at his ſtopping the Ghaut, and deſired he would ſend Boats for the
" Tranſport of my Detachment. To this no Anſwer was made; but immediately Three Guns
" were brought near the Ghaut, and pointed to us; and a Number of Nujjeebs were poſted on
" the Banks of the Nullah, who threatened to fire if any Body paſſed. It is proper to remark
" here, that near the Ghaut there were a great many large Boats belonging to Mr. Scott, whoſe
" Gomaſtah, notwithſtanding his moſt earneſt Entreaties, was prevented from ſending them by
" Shumſheer Khan; and even the Plunder of his Factory and his Life were threatened, if he
" attempted it.—When I found this to be the Caſe, I took poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong Ground,
" ſurrounded on Three Sides by the River and Nullah; on the Fourth Side, where only I could
" be attacked by the Country People, I ordered the Sepoys to make a Breaſt-work, by piling
" up Planks, of which there were a great Number; and as I had Ammunition and Proviſions,
" I intended to wait there until I could procure Boats, or diſcover a Ford. While I was thus
" employed, I found that Mahommed Ruzza Beg, the Jemmadar of Horſe, had ſwam acroſs
" the Nullah, and procured Permiſſion for his People to follow him, which they immediately
" did. No Anſwer coming from the Fougedar, I deſired my Moonſhy to go to him, and ex-
" plain the Matter; he accordingly went to the Ghaut, and demanding a Paſſage, he was
" refuſed, and inſulted in Terms the moſt opprobrious to the Engliſh. He returned; and telling
" me this, I ordered him to take an Elephant and ſwim over; but when he attempted to enter
" the Nullah with the Animal, the Nujjeebs pointed their Matchlocks at him, and obliged him
" to deſiſt: The Sepoys ſeeing this, and that the Horſemen were permitted to ſwim acroſs,
" naturally imagined that the Objection was to the Engliſh only, and their Adherents; they
" thought it ſafeſt to abandon me, whom they muſt have concluded to be devoted, and,
" throwing down their Coats and Arms, they followed the Example of the Horſemen in
" ſwimming acroſs the Nullah, making a Merit with Shumſheer Khan of giving me up to my
" Fate. One of the Subadars repreſented to Two others the Folly of their ſuffering for One Perſon;
" and propoſed to them to deliver me up to Shumſheer Khan, or to the Country People; but
" this Propoſal they rejected with Scorn: The Deſertion however was almoſt complete; for in
" a little Time, of the Four Companies, not Twenty Men remained, including Officers. It
" was now almoſt Evening, when Mr. Scott's Gomaſtah, with great Difficulty, at laſt obtained
" Permiſſion from the Fougedar to ſend One Boat; but it came too late to render any effectual
" Service; for with the few Sepoys who remained, Command was at an end; and, as moſt of
" my Servants had gone off, my Baggage was left a Prey to the Badditti, who ſoon carried off
" and deſtroyed it. Some Things, which a few of my Servants brought with them, they gave
" in Charge of the Fougedar's People, to take care of them; but they reſerved them for them-
" ſelves, or rather for the Fougedar; and though many of my Things were ſeen in his Houſe,
" I never could recover a ſingle Article. I am ſtill in Mr. Scott's Factory, which there is every
" Reaſon to think will be attacked, as Numbers of People are aſſembled in the Neighbourhood
" for that Purpoſe; and as the Fougedar poſitively refuſes to grant the leaſt Aſſiſtance, God knows
" what may be the Conſequence: However, as it is evident that Shumſheer Khan was the ſole
" Cauſe of this Diſaſter, I hope that exemplary Puniſhment will be inflicted on him, and if I
" ſurvive I doubt not but I ſhall be reimburſed for what I loſt by his Villany.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

" J. Gordon, Lieut."

The Deponent further ſaith, That both from Obſervation and Information, he doth believe that a general and univerſal Inſurrection took place, before the 15th of September, in all the Country to the Eaſtward of the Gogra, from Mangee to Baraitch, and on its Weſtern Banks from the Borders of the Banaris Diſtricts to the Extremity of Kheirabad; that it was created and fomented by the Agents of Rajah Cheit Sing, diſaffected People at Fyzabad, and about the Vizeer's Court; and that the Expulſion of the Engliſh was its Object. In the Diſtricts of Gooruckpoor, and indeed in all the Pergunnahs below Fyzabad, it was generally aſſerted, and the Deponent never heard the Aſſertion contradicted, that the Rajah Cheit Sing furniſhed the principal Zemeedars, particularly the Rajahs Futteh Saw, Genoo Roy, Ajeet Mull, Zalim Sing, and Perty Pall Sing, with conſiderable Sums of Money, in order to ſubſiſt the Force they collected on this Occaſion; and that he granted them oſtenſible Certificates under his Seal, engaging to diſcharge whatever Expence they might incur in the Service of the Inſurrection. Theſe Certificates and Perwannahs they received, or pretended to have received, under the Seal of the Vizeer, confirming them in their hereditary Zemeedaries; and appointing them

Aumils on the Part of the Sirkar in their reſpective Pergunnahs, gained them an unbounded Influence over the Inhabitants. The Aumils of the Country in general were obliged to fly from their Stations; the Nujjeebs and Sebundy joined the Inſurgents, or diſperſed; all Ferry-boats were ſunk or deſtroyed; many of the Dauck Hircarrahs were ſlain, and the reſt obliged to fly, which effectually cut off all Correſpondence, as well as Communication, and the Country remained in a State of Diſtraction which cannot well be deſcribed, until the Beginning of October; when the News of our Succeſs at Banaris, and the Nabob's Return to Lucknow, calmed the Tumult.

Sworn this 26th Day of November 1781, before me,
E. Impey.

Alexander Hannay.

NUM. 9. C.

Affidavit of Major M'Donald.

John M'Donald, Eſq; Major commanding the Nabob Aſſof-ud-Dowlah's Third Battalion of Sepoys, on Oath ſaith, That he the Deponent was ſtationed at Amora, to aſſiſt the Aumil in collecting the Company's Tunka, alſo to protect the Subjects of his Excellency the Vizeer from the Depredations of Zalim Sing, the Rebel Rajah of the aforementioned Place Amora, alſo the Attacks of others his Adherents: That the ſaid Deponent had been detached by Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, ſome Time in February 1780, with a Body of Horſe and Foot, in Purſuit of the abovementioned Rajah Zalim Sing, who, beſides ſequeſtering the Rents of the Pergunnah, had compelled the Inhabitants to quit the Diſtrict; and further, wantonly, and without Cauſe, murdered Two of the principal Cannoongoes of the Pergunnah aforeſaid. The Deponent could not come up with the flying Rajah, but followed him until he took to a large Jungle, that bounded the Country of the Vizeer to the Eaſtward, and is the Weſtermoſt Limit of the Zemeedary of Cheit Sing, Rajah of Banaris. Zalim Sing was there received in the moſt friendly Manner, and Protection promiſed him. On this, the Deponent ſent proper Spies to watch the Motions of Rajah Zalim Sing, and returned himſelf with the Troops to his Station at Amora: That the Deponent learned by the Spies left about Zalim Sing, that he was allowed to reſide openly under the Protection of Cheit Sing, and had Villages, alſo Lands, aſſigned for the Maintenance of himſelf and Followers.

About the Twentieth of Auguſt laſt, the Deponent was informed, Cheit Sing had, after putting to Death Three Engliſh Officers and Two hundred and Fifty Sepoys, fled from Banaris, and openly ſet up the Standard of Rebellion, inviting all Perſons, who could procure Arms, to repair to him, and by fighting under his Banner, extirpate the Fringies. The Road by which the Poſt uſually travelled from Banaris, became impaſſable from the numerous Parties, it was ſaid, Cheit Sing had ſent out, to cut off all Communication betwixt the Honourable Governor General and the different Stations of the Army. As the Deponent could not obtain any authentic Account of the State of Affairs, he thought it beſt to ſend out Perſons to all Parts for Information, that he might judge from the State of the Country how Matters ſtood at the Place of the greateſt Moment. The Country of the daring Rebel Cheit Sing, and the City of Fyzabad, ſeemed to the Deponent the moſt likely Places to furniſh the wiſhed Intelligence. In the latter Place it was reported, firſt, that the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſq; had been maſſacred at Banaris; then, that he had been cut off on his Way to Chunar; at laſt it was ſaid the Honourable Governor General was in Chunargur, but muſt ſoon fall into the Hands of the Banaris Rebel, as no Relief could poſſibly reach the Place in Time to ſave it; and that ſhortly the Deſtruction of every Engliſhman in theſe Parts would be effected. From the Banaris Diſtrict the Deponent learnt, Cheit Sing had ſummoned the Zemeedars of his Raje to join him with all the Troops they could raiſe, promiſing preſent Pay to thoſe bearing Arms, and a Remiſſion of a Year's Rent to all who repaired to his Standard. Many Rebels who had fled the Company's and Nabob's Territories, and taken Refuge in his Zemeedary, were furniſhed with Money, and joined by ſuch Zemeedars, belonging to the aforeſaid Banaris Rebel, as lay too far diſtant from the principal Scene of Action, to make a Diverſion both towards the Company's Lands and thoſe Parts of his Excellency's Dominions under the Charge of Engliſh Officers, and endeavour to cut them all off, and thereby prevent any Aſſiſtance being ſent from either Gooruckpoor or Bahraich. His Excellency the Vizeer repaired to Sultanpoor, about this Time, which prevented the Rebel Zalim Sing, alſo Perty Pall Sing, the Rebel of Buſty, from quitting the Jungle; but they were buſy in making the neceſſary Preparations, by raiſing of Men, with the Money ſaid to be ſent them by Cheit Sing in Fyzabad: The Khajahs * of the Vizeer's Grandmother, as well as thoſe of the Bow Begum, were raiſing Men under various Pretences, and making every Preparation that might be neceſſary either for offenſive or defenſive War. During the Time the Nabob lay encamped at Sultanpoor, the Deponent's People were inſulted and ill uſed in Fyzabad, by the Peons, Sepoys, and other Servants of Jewar Ally Khan and the Two Begums, as were all who made uſe of the Engliſh Name, or were ſuppoſed to have any Con-

* Eunuchs.

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PART III.

nection of the Kind; but on its being known there that his Excellency had moved towards Chunar, no one who was a Servant of the Engliſh could get Admittance into the City but by Stealth, or in Diſguiſe; even the Duack from Lucknow was not allowed to paſs through as formerly, but obliged to make a large Circuit, and the Hircarrahs put on different Appearances to paſs unnoticed to Amora. After the Departure of the Nabob from Sultanpoor, as before mentioned, the Rebels, who had been driven from the Province of Gooruckpoor, began moving towards the Gogra. The Zemeedars of Amora, where the Deponent then reſided, alſo thoſe of the adjacent Pergunnahs, held frequent Meetings, and ſeemed big with ſome great Plan. On or about the 29th of Auguſt, the Deponent received a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, informing him, that his Excellency the Nabob had written to him (Colonel Hannay) to join him immediately with a thouſand Sepoys, Four Guns, and Five hundred Horſe. Four hundred Sepoys of the Deponent's Battalion were ordered for this Service; alſo his Battalion Guns, and a hundred Horſe that belonged to the Amora Station, were withdrawn, to make up the Number required by his Excellency. No ſooner was this made public, than the Zemeedars abſented themſelves; and the Deponent learnt from all Parts of the Country, that every Man was getting ready his Arms, and that Cheit Sing's Name was in every Body's Mouth; that every Rajah in the Country had declared for him: That the Deponent endeavoured to get ſome Nujjeebs to ſupply the Place of the Troops called away; but all in vain; every Attempt was rendered abortive by the Machinations of the Khajahs belonging to the Two Begums at Fyzabad; and every Soul in that City ſeemed, from their Conduct and Converſation, to look upon the Engliſh as on the very Eve of Extermination, forbidding any one to ſerve the Fringies, but to repair to Cheit Sing and Saadut Ally—Nay, every Method and Way were tried to ſeduce the Sepoys from the Deponent's Battalion, which, however, did not ſucceed while remaining under his Eye, but had the deſired Effect upon the Nujjeeb and Sebundy. After the Sepoys, Guns, and Horſe had croſſed the Gogra, there was an End to all Government in that Part of the Country where the Deponent reſided. Not an Article of any Kind was to be had; and but for the Deponent's having foreſeen the Situation he ſhould be in, and provided accordingly, he would have been under the Neceſſity of leaving his Station from the Want of Proviſions. Thus ſurrounded on all Sides by lurking Enemies (for there was no knowing who to treat otherwiſe) the Deponent knew not when or from what Quarter the Blow was to be ſtruck; but on the 8th of September it broke out in all Parts. All Out Poſts were driven into Camp; the Roads in an Inſtant ſecured by armed Parties; Hircarrahs murdered, Sepoys attacked, and the intended Deſtruction of every Engliſhman openly declared, not only throughout the Pergunnah, Towns, and Villages, but even in the City of Fyzabad. To ſuch Lengths was it carried by the People of Jewar Ally Khan, and other Khajahs belonging to the Begums, that the Women of the Deponent's Camp, that were ſent acroſs the Gogra to be out of the Way of Danger, being obnoxious from the Connection, were refuſed that Protection which the Sex in every Country meets with, but particularly in Hindoſtan claims as a Right. From the above Date, the Deponent was confined to the Limits of his Camp, nor had he any Road open but that to Rye Ghaut oppoſite Owd, at which Place Lieutenant Colonel Hannay then lay with a very ſmall Force; while the Country around him, alſo the City of Fyzabad, ſeemed ready to commence Hoſtilities. On the 10th of September, Rajah Zalim Sing, accompanied by other rebellious Rajahs, appeared with a numerous Force on the Banks of the Gogra oppoſite to Amora. The Deponent's Spies brought him Intelligence from the Rebel's Camp, that his, the Deponent's Property, likewiſe that of all his Camp, was already divided; that the Deponent's Horſes, Camels, &c. Things worth Notice, the Rajah Zalim Sing reſerved to himſelf; the reſt was to be given up to thoſe who could get it. Moreover the Deponent ſaith, his People informed him that Rajah Zalim Sing had produced a Paper, which he, the Rajah, ſaid was a Sunnud from the Nabob, reſtoring him to his Zemeedary, appointing him Collector of the adjacent Pergunnahs, Buſty and Nagger, alſo that he had the Nabob's Directions to drive the Fringies out of his Diſtricts; that he only waited for the *Site* * (Boats being already provided, from Fyzabad, which the Deponent knew abſolutely to be the Caſe) to croſs the Gogra, and carry the Nabob's Orders into Execution. Further, that his Excellency had altered his Sentiments regarding the Part he was to take in the preſent Conteſt; that his Excellency ſet out with the Intent of adhering to his Treaty with the Company, but that Mirza Saadut Ally wrote him he was to blame if he gave any Aſſiſtance; that now was the Time to ſhake off the Engliſh Yoke; that it might not be prudent to declare himſelf at once; that he had only to ſtand neuter, and, under Pretence of defending themſelves, direct his Subjects to take Arms, and endeavour to prevent the Junction of the Engliſh Forces, when the Matter would work of itſelf: Further, to direct the Aumils to ſend no more Supplies of Money, which would cauſe the Sepoys to leave the Engliſh Service for want of Pay, while themſelves would have Plenty of Money. In the City of Fyzabad the ſame Language prevailed as to the Money Part, and Stoppage of the Tunka, until the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan thought proper to iſſue the Grants. During the Night of the 10th of September Rajah Zalim Sing croſſed the Gogra, and advanced within Four Coſs of the Deponent's Camp; on the Evening of the 11th the aforeſaid Rajah puſhed Three Poſts to within a Mile of the Deponent's Lines, and was to have moved from

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* Fortunate Hour.

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his Camp with his main Body when the Moon roſe. Thus ſituated, it was thought expedient, for the Safety of both Parties, that the Deponent ſhould join Lieutenant Colonel Hannay while yet a Paſſage was open; accordingly, about Two in the Morning of the 12th of September, the Deponent quitted his Camp at Amora, and marched to Rye Ghaut. The Deponent was ſcarcely out of his Camp, when the Rajah's People ruſhed into it, ſeizing all they could find, and murdered ſome unhappy Perſons who had neglected to move in Front of the Deponent's Party. The Deponent reached Rye Ghaut at Sunriſe of the 12th. As ſoon as it was known at Fyzabad, that Zalim Sing was in Poſſeſſion of Amora, the whole City was in an Uproar from Joy; and the Deponent heard the Report and ſaw the Smoke of Guns that were diſcharged at Fyzabad, he believes on the Occaſion. The Deponent ſaith, He believed the Reports as before related at that Time, and ſtill is of Opinion the Threats therein contained were intended to be carried into Execution had the League been ſucceſsful; nor did the Deponent then (or even at this Moment) doubt but what the Begums at Fyzabad and their Khajahs were in a League with Cheit Sing the Banaris Rebel; and the Deponent is of Opinion that the Whole of the Diſturbances that happened in the Parts where he reſided, took its riſe from the Rebellion of Rajah Cheit Sing; and the Deponent is further of Opinion, that it would not have extended itſelf ſo wide in the ſhort Time it really did, had it not been a Matter pre-concerted, and brought to light by mere Chance, ere properly ripe for Execution: And the Deponent further ſaith, That he is of Opinion, from the many Converſations he the Deponent has held with ſeveral Perſons, Inhabitants of the Rebel Cheit Sing's Country, that the Rebellion has been meditating even ſome Years; that the Deponent was informed the Matter was abſolutely debated in the Year 1779, and prevented only by the Voice of a Perſon about the Rajah, to whoſe Judgment much Deference was paid by the Rajah Bulwant Sing, Father of the Rebel.

J. Macdonald.

Sworn before me this 27th
Day of November 1781,
E. Impey.

NUM. 9. D.

Affidavit of Captain David Williams.

David Williams Eſquire, Captain of the Firſt Battalion of his Excellency the Vizier Aſſof-ud-Dowlah's Sepoys, on his Oath declares, to the beſt of his Remembrance and Belief, the following Circumſtances reſpecting the State of the Country he was ſtationed in, the Reports that prevailed there, and his own Situation in it, during the Months of September and October One thouſand Seven hundred and Eighty-one. Upon hearing that the Rebellion of Rajah Cheit Sing at Banaris, had become of a very ſerious Nature, he deemed it requiſite to repair immediately to his Station at Gungowah, in the Diſtrict of Gooruckpoor; accordingly he left Lucknow, by Dauck, on the Firſt of September, and reached Sakrora the ſame Evening; on the Second, he arrived at Amora, and on the Third at Gooruckpoor. Upon the Road between Buſty and Meergunge, a Sepoy belonging to Major M'Donald's Battalion overtook him, and gave him Information that the Rebels had attacked a Poſt in the Jungle, which they had carried. On his Arrival at Gooruckpoor, the Jemmadar who commanded in the Fort acquainted him, that the Rajahs Futteh Saw, Genoo Roy, and Ajeet Mull, had received a very conſiderable Sum of Money from Rajah Cheit Sing, to enable them to commence Hoſtilities in Gooruckpoor, and in the Company's Diſtricts, and that they had croſſed the Gogra, and alſo, that they had Promiſes of conſiderable Sums of Money and Supplies of Men upon commencing their Operations. The Fourth, in the Evening, he arrived at Gungowah, and had the ſame Reports confirmed to him by his Commandant, and moſt of the People of that Place. On the Fifth and Sixth, he got all Things in Readineſs to proceed, agreeable to the following Orders from Colonel Hannay, to Ackberpoor.

" To Captain Williams, commanding at Gooruckpoor.

" Sir,

" Having received the Vizeer's Orders to join him without Delay with the greateſt Part of " the Forces acting immediately under my Authority, I have to deſire, that immediately " on Receipt of this Letter, or as ſoon after as poſſible, you do march with the Two " Grenadier Companies of your Battalion complete, and your Battalion Guns, and proceed with " all poſſible Expedition to Ackberpoor on the Road from Fyzabad to Sultanpoor, where " you will receive further Orders. You will march by the Route of Gooruckpoor, and croſs " the Gogra at Taundeh, where you will find Three large Pattallies ready for your Paſſage. " The Four Companies of your Battalion ſtationed at Buſty, Dooreaparah, Dumreagunge, " and Baunſy, have alſo received Orders to march; but as the utmoſt Expedition is required, " they will proceed immediately under the Command of Lieutenant Gordon, and not wait your " Arrival. The Four Companies of your Battalion in Gooruckpoor, and with Hurdial Sing, " will remain under the Authority of Mahommed Shuffy Khan; and I have to deſire you will " particularly inſtruct the Subadars, commanding them to pay the ſtricteſt Attention to

" ſuch

" ſuch Orders as they may receive from Mahommed Shuffy Khan, during your Abſence. " I know not what Quantity of Ammunition the Four Companies at Buſty, &c. have with " them; but it will be neceſſary, if poſſible, to bring a Quantity with you ſufficient to ſupply " the whole Six Companies of your Battalion under Orders of March, with a Complement of " Two hundred Rounds a Man; and incloſed you will receive a Letter from Mahommed Shuffy " Khan, deſiring him to yield you every Aſſiſtance in his Power, in order to procure Carriage " for the Tranſport of it. What elſe may be wanted to expedite your March, your own Pru- " dence and Zeal will ſuggeſt, and I have only to repeat it is neceſſary you ſhould make all " poſſible Diſpatch.

" Alexander Hannay."

On the Seventh he marched with Two Companies and Two Guns, having previouſly ſent Orders to the ſcattered Detachments to repair to Gongowah, there to remain under the Directions of the Aumil, agreeable to Colonel Hannay's Orders. On the Eighth continued his March; on the Evening of the ſame Day certain Accounts were brought him, that the Boats on the Rivers and Nullahs were deſtroyed, and the whole Country to the Gogra up in Arms; and having alſo received Intelligence that Futteh Saw, Genoo Roy, and Ajeet Mull, with their Banditti, were encamped on the Road to Burragong, it determined him to return immediately to Gungowah, and proceed by the Way of Burragong and Chuprah to Buxar, to join Major Crawford's Regiment with the Two Companies and Two Guns; by taking which Route, he would have had an Opportunity of driving off that Party, which would have freed the Country from the principal Rebel. On the Ninth he returned to Gungowah; and, as the Commotions in the Country ſeemed evidently to increaſe, ſince the detached Parties who were directed to repair to Gungowah had been ſeverally attacked on their Way, as they came in, he ſent Orders to Hurdial Sing, Commandant ſtationed at Itchmul, to repair with all Expedition to Gungowah with Two Companies and Guns belonging to the Fougedar of that Place, and in the Evening informed the Aumil Mahommed Shuffy Khan of his Intention of proceeding by Chuprah to Banaris, and gave him Advice reſpecting the Defence of the Country during his Abſence. The Detachment was ordered to march on the Tenth. About One o'Clock in the Morning the Jemmadar attached to the Guns came and informed him that the Companies had mutinied, and would not march without having their Arrears paid them. In the Morning he went to the Parade, and ordered the Men to fall in; they paraded with Reluctance and Difficulty, particularly the Left Hand Company, commanded by Khan Mahommed Subadar. When they were got under Arms, he acquainted them that he was concerned they were not paid ſo regularly as he could have wiſhed, but if there were any of them that were diſtreſſed for Subſiſtence, he would advance them as much of his own Money as they required, as ſoon as they came to their Ground that Day; but that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary that they ſhould march with all Expedition to attack a Party of Futteh Saw, &c.'s Troops, which had taken Poſſeſſion of the Ghaut in the Jerry Jungle, before they ſhould have Time to fortify themſelves. They were ſilent; he directed them to march off. When they had gone about One hundred Yards from the Parade, one of the Men ſtepped out of his File, and demanded all the Arrears of Pay due to him; he immediately ſeized the Bayonet of the Mutineer, with an Intention of putting him to Death; when Six or Seven Men turned out, fixed their Bayonets, and made the ſame Demand; the Black Officers remained ſilent and inactive; he ordered his Commandant to march on, and ordered the Mutineers to take off their Coats, as they were not worthy of being Soldiers, and that his Moonſhy would pay them their Arrears that Inſtant; many more joined them in a few Minutes, loaded their Pieces, laid hold of the Moonſhy, and were going to put him to Death. When he found that to be the Caſe, and that almoſt the whole Two Companies were engaged in the Mutiny, he ordered the Party to return, as it was in vain to proceed. A ſhort Time after, the whole Party ſurrounded him, ſome with loaded Arms and fixed Bayonets, having alſo loaded the Guns with Grape, and with one Voice demanded their Arrears might be paid off. He remonſtrated, that it was impoſſible for him to comply with their Demands, but that all the Money he had, or could get, ſhould be diſtributed amongſt them, if they would obey his Orders. For about Three Hours they behaved in the moſt licentious Manner, and were proceeding to break open the Treaſure Cheſt; at laſt, however, he prevailed upon them to receive Three Months Pay. Upon this being given them they returned to their Lines, but kept Centries at the Bungalow. After this he ſent for the Two Subadars, and deſired them to ſound the Men, and try if they could induce them, upon Promiſe of Forgiveneſs for what they had done, to return to their Duty. They came back, and reported, that they would conſent to obey upon thoſe Conditions. He went to the Parade in the Evening, and promiſed them Forgiveneſs; upon which they took an Oath to obey his Orders, upon Condition that they were not to march to Banaris; ſo that it became impracticable to proſecute the Intentions he had formed. However, in a few Hours more they again mutinied; and, to the beſt of his Recollection, they propoſed to march to Banaris, and join Cheit Sing and Saadut Ally, who, as they ſaid, would pay them their Arrears, and make them great Men; adding, that all the Europeans were cut off, and that he, meaning the Deponent, was the only Perſon left in the Country. In the Evening the Two Subadars Khan Mahommed and Buctour Sing came to him, and propoſed to carry him Priſoner to Banaris. On the Twelfth he repre-

ſented to them, that if they did not immediately march to attack Futteh Saw, &c. who had already poſted Detachments within Sight of the Cantonments, and, as he was informed, was lying near Huſſanpoor with near Seven thouſand Men, they would be diſtreſſed for Proviſion, ſince the whole Country was in Arms. He ſent for all the Black Officers, and begged and intreated of them to uſe their Influence over the Men upon this Occaſion; but they were deaf to all he could ſay. Had they complied, he was confident of Succeſs againſt the Rebels, as Dadjoo Sing and Gobindram Miſſer had engaged to make a Diverſion in his Favour upon their Rear, whilſt he attacked them in Front. In the Evening they came to a Determination to march to Fyzabad to the Begum; who they alſo declared would pay them their Arrears, and take them into her Service; but on the Thirteenth, before they had carried theſe Intentions into Execution, he was joined by Hurdial Sing, with Two weak ſickly Companies; and having borrowed Money ſufficient to pay them the Three Months Pay which the others had received, and thereby render them upon an Equality, they remained ſtaunch, though every poſſible Means had been taken by the Mutineers to corrupt them. Shortly after this he received Information, that the Fort of Gooruckpoor had been attacked by near Six thouſand Rebels. There was a Jemmadar and about Fifty Men in the Fort, who behaved moſt gallantly. The Attack commenced near Nine o'Clock in the Evening. They carried the outward Fort, which was too extenſive; and the Party were obliged to retire to the Citadel, where there were upwards of Two hundred Priſoners confined. They endeavoured to ſeize the Sepoys; in which Attempt Nineteen of them were put to death, and many wounded. The Attack continued till near Four o'Clock in the Afternoon; when Shawmut Khan, a Jemmadar, and Nine Men, who had been ordered to march there from Puroonah, at the Beginning of the Diſturbances in the Country, arrived in the Town; the People told them to thrown down their Arms, and run off to the Jungles to ſave their Lives; for it was impoſſible for them to get into the Fort, as it was ſurrounded by Six thouſand Rebels, who muſt carry it in a few Minutes. The Jemmadar, with admirable Preſence of Mind, replied, That he was only the advanced Party, and that the Captain and the Guns were cloſe after them; called out to a Man to run and bring them up, that the whole of the Rebels might be deſtroyed; and immediately fired upon the Rebels. The Report inſtantly ſpread; a Panic ſeized the whole, and they ran off in the utmoſt Confuſion. He joined the Jemmadar in the Fort with his Nine Men: They ſallied out after the Rebels, and cut off about Two hundred of them. During the Attacks, the Rebels frequently called out to the Jemmadar to deliver up the Place to them, as they had Perwannahs from the Begum, Cheit Sing, and Saadut Ally, for what they did.

Having received Orders from Lieutenant Colonel Hannay to proceed towards him, and alſo a Letter from Lieutenant Gordon, acquainting him that it was Colonel Hannay's Wiſh he ſhould join him at Amora, informing him of the Loſs of Two Companies of his Battalion which were with Lieutenant Gordon; on the Fifteenth he marched from Gongowah with the Aumil and Fougedars of the Country, and all the Stores of his Battalion. The March proved exceedingly fatiguing, on account of the Country's being under Water, and moſt of the Nullahs unfordable, and no proper Boats upon them for croſſing. On the Twentieth arrived at Gooruckpoor, where he found Two Companies belonging to his Battalion, which were directed to join Lieutenant Gordon, but not being able to effect it, they had been under the Neceſſity of returning to Gooruckpoor, alſo a Company of Major M'Donald's Battalion, which had been obliged to retire from Buſty. On the Nineteenth received a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, which determined him to remain at Gooruckpoor till he received further Orders, and wrote a Letter in Anſwer, propoſing to march by the Route of Mugger and Buſty, to chaſtiſe Zalim Sing at Amora, and Lieutenant Colonel Hannay ſhould advance by the Route of Mahadea to Amora, which he thought would be the moſt practicable Means of quieting the Rebellion in the Country. He was under a Neceſſity of borrowing Money to pay his Companies at Gooruckpoor, and alſo Major M'Donald's Company, and to make up the Ammunition that was damaged by the Weather, and repair the Tumbrils and Limbers: His Battalion being ill furniſhed with Arms and Ammunition, and the Draft Cattle very bad, which retarded him much during his March to Gooruckpoor. The Thirteenth received a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, and wrote, for Anſwer, that he would march for certain on the Second of October; but the Difficulty he found in procuring a ſufficient Quantity of Proviſion, and Carriage for it, as the whole Country was hoſtile, and Bodies of armed Men, to the Amount of ſeveral Thouſands, were actually in the Town; added to the heavy Rain which fell on the Fourth and Fifth, rendered it impracticable for him to march till the Sixth. During the Time he remained at Gooroukpoor, it was currently reported and given out by the rebellious Rajahs, that they acted in conformity to the Orders they had received from Cheit Sing, Saadut Ally, and the Begums, to raiſe an Inſurrection in the Country, and to deſtroy the Engliſh wherever they found them. Many Letters were intercepted, but the neceſſary Care was not taken of them, and they were either deſtroyed or loſt. Having the Raubty and ſeveral Nullahs to croſs, he did not reach Baunſy till the Ninth, which is diſtant about Two-and-twenty computed Coſs. On the Ninth in the Evening a violent Storm of Rain began, which laſted to the Sixteenth, with ſcarcely an Hour's Intermiſſion, which rendered it totally impracticable to march during that Time, as the whole Country was overflown, and the Rivers quite full. The March from Sakrora was extremely tedious and difficult, great Delays being occaſioned by the Neceſſity he was under of

making Bridges, added to the Interruptions he ſuffered from the frequent Skirmiſhes he had with the People of the different Diſtricts he paſſed through. On the 23d he arrived at Goondah, and on the Day following joined Colonel Hannay at Sakrora, with Eight Companies of his own Battalion, and a Company of Major M'Donald's Battalion. The Aumils and Fougedars of Gooruckpoor came under his Protection, and a Number of People in Office in the Collections; the Gun belonging to the Fougedary he brought with him, being the only one in the Diſtrict he commanded. During his March from Gooruckpoor to Sakrora, the Rebels who haraſſed gave out, that every Meaſure they took was in compliance with the Directions they received from the Begum, Saadut Ally, and Cheit Sing. Since the Time of his being appointed to the Command of the Battalion, in January One thouſand Seven hundred and Eighty-one, he has only received Two Months Pay, on its Account, from his Excellency the Vizeer, to the preſent Time, November the Twenty-ſeventh: His Battalion was diſperſed in ſuch a Manner, and at ſo great a Diſtance, that he hardly ever had above Two Companies with him, till they joined him by Degrees. During the Rebellion, he continually adviſed Colonel Hannay of his Situation, but it appears few of his Letters reached him, as the Communication was ſhut up.

Sworn this 27th Day of November 1781, before me,
E. Impey

D. Williams,
Captain, commanding the 1ſt Battalion of his Excellency the Vizeer's Sepoys.

NUM. 9. E.

Affidavit of Captain John Gordon.

John Gordon Eſquire, Captain in the Corps of Sepoys of his Excellency Aſſof-ud-Dowlah Nabob Vizeer, on his Oath ſaith, That he croſſed the Gogra on the 6th of September at Chowrah, with Four Companies of Sepoys, and about Eighty Horſe (in all, near 400) under his Command; that he ſaw the Country was diſaffected, but judged his Force to be ſufficient to join Colonel Hannay at Akberpoor; indeed the Deponent did not conceive that his Excellency's Troops, marching to join him by his Command, could meet with any Interruption. On the 7th, at Day-break, the Deponent marched, and about Half a Mile from Chowrah, when croſſing a Nullah, he obſerved great Bodies of Men aſſembled to oppoſe his March; he immediately made what he judged to be the beſt Diſpoſition of his ſmall Corps, and the Behaviour of the Men did them great Credit; for though, during the whole of the March of Eight Coſs, they were attacked and often ſurrounded by incredible Numbers of People, yet they conſtantly beat them off, killing and wounding many of them, and arrived, with very little Loſs, about One o'Clock in the Afternoon, at the Tereea Nullah, which runs by Taundeh, bringing the whole of the Bazar and Baggage in the moſt perfect Safety; the Deponent then imagined himſelf in a Friend's Country, and intended croſſing the Nullah, that his People might halt for the Day and refreſh after their very fatiguing March; for this Purpoſe he ordered the Bazar and Baggage to be ſent over, and Part of the Sepoys to ſtand to their Arms, as great Numbers of their Enemies were ſtill in Sight; but his Surprize was extreme when he was informed, that the Boats were all on the other Side of the Nullah, and that none of them were permitted to croſs. The Deponent immediately wrote a Letter to the Begum's Aumil, Shumſheer Khan, acquainting him that he was marching with the Vizeer's Troops, by his Order, to join him; that he, the Deponent, was aſtoniſhed at his ſtopping the Ghaut; and deſiring Boats might be ſent for the Tranſport of the Detachment. To this no Anſwer was made, but immediately Three Guns were brought near the Ghaut, and pointed to the Detachment, and a Number of Matchlock Men were poſted on the Banks of the Nullah, who threatened to fire if any Body paſſed. There were then near the Ghaut a great many large Boats belonging to Mr. Scott, whoſe Gomaſtah, notwithſtanding his utmoſt Intreaties, was prevented from ſending them by Shumſheer Khan; who threatened the Plunder of his Factory, and even his Life, if he attempted it. This was told the Deponent by the ſaid Gomaſtah repeatedly, and the Deponent believes it to be true, as it correſponds entirely with every other Part of Shumſheer Khan's Conduct. The Deponent, upon being refuſed a Paſſage, took poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong Ground, ſurrounded on Three Sides by the Gogra, and the Nullah on the Fourth Side, whence only he could be attacked by the Country People; he ordered the Sepoys to make a Breaſt Work, by piling up of Planks, of which there were a great Number; and as he had Ammunition and Proviſions, he intended to wait there until he could procure Boats, or diſcover a Ford. While the Deponent was thus employed, Mahommed Ruzza Beg, the Jemmadar of Horſe, had ſwam acroſs the Nullah, and procured Permiſſion for his People to follow him, which they immediately did. No Anſwer coming from the Fougedar, the Deponent deſired his Moonſhy to go to him, and explain the Matter; he accordingly went to the Ghaut, and demanding a Paſſage, he was refuſed, and inſulted in Terms the moſt abuſive to the Engliſh. He returned, and telling this, the Deponent ordered him to take an Elephant and ſwim over; but when he attempted to enter the Nullah with the Animal, the Nujjeebs pointed their Matchlocks at him, and obliged him to deſiſt: The Sepoys ſeeing this, and that the Horſemen were permitted to ſwim acroſs, naturally imagined that the Objection was to the Engliſh only, and their Adherents; they thought it ſafeſt to abandon the Deponent, whom they muſt have concluded to be devoted, and throwing down their Coats and Arms, they followed the Example of the Horſemen, in ſwimming acroſs the Nullah, making a Merit with Shumſheer Khan,

of

of giving the Deponent up to his Fate. One of the Subadars repreſented to Two others, the Folly of ſuffering for One Perſon; and propoſed to them to deliver up the Deponent to Shumſheer Khan or to the Country People; but the Propoſal was rejected with Scorn, and One of the Subadars reported the Behaviour of the other immediately to the Deponent: The Deſertion, however, was almoſt complete; for in a little Time, of the Four Companies, not Twenty Men remained, including Officers. It was almoſt Evening when Mr. Scott's Gomaſtah, with great Difficulty, at laſt obtained Permiſſion from Shumſheer Khan to ſend One Boat, but it came too late to render any effectual Aſſiſtance, for with the few Sepoys who remained, Command was at an End; and as moſt of the Deponent's Servants had gone off, his Baggage was left a Prey to the Banditti, who ſoon carried off and deſtroyed it. Some Things which a few of his Servants brought with them, they gave in Charge to the Fougedar's People, who promiſed to take care of them, but they reſerved them for themſelves, or rather for the Fougedar; and though many of the Deponent's Things were ſeen in his Houſe, he could never recover a ſingle Article. For many Days during the Stay of the Deponent in Mr. Scott's Factory it was threatened to be attacked; and Shumſheer Khan, though often applied to by Mr. Scott's Gomaſtah, conſtantly refuſed to grant the leaſt Aſſiſtance: Notwithſtanding this, Shumſheer Khan was, and the Deponent believes is ſtill, continued in Office; and while the Deponent was at Fyzabad, Shumſheer Khan came there, and was well received by the Begum and her Miniſters: From all which Circumſtances the Deponent is convinced, that Shumſheer Khan could not have dared to act as he did, had he not been authorized by the Begum and her Miniſters, or at leaſt had he not known that ſuch Conduct would be agreeable to them.

J. Gordon.

Sworn this 27th Day of November 1781, before me,

E. Impey.

TENTH PARCEL.

NUM. 10.

Affidavit *of* Jean Honore Mordelait, Private *of the* Company *of* Chaſſeurs.

Jean Honore Mordelait, Natif de Corbell, Province de l'Iſle de France, fait Serment, et dit, Qu'étant malade à Mirzapour il fût laiſſé en arriére avec Quatorze de ſes Camarades, lui inclus, tous ſervant dans la Compagnie de Chaſſeurs, commandée par le Capitaine Doxat; lorſque le dit Capitaine marcha avec les Troupes qui compoſoient le Détachement commandé par le Capitaine Mayaffre; que lors du Départ du dit Capitaine, le Raja de l'Endroit les fit entrer en ſon Entourage pour plus de Sureté contre les Voleurs qui l'environnoient; que ſur leurs Repreſentations qu'ils n'avoient pas d'Argent pour ſe fournir des Vivre, il leur fit donner à manger chaque Jour par un Bannià, qu'il les conſola et les aſſura qu'allant voir ce qui ſe paſſoit à l'Entour de ſon terrain il chercheroit après un Moyen de les faire paſſer à Chandernagore; que des lors il ne revint point: Que le Commandement étant alors dévolu au Second, il les fit appeller le Trentiéme, et leur donna Deux Roupies à chacun pour ſervir à une Route qu'ils devoient faire de Deux Jours de Chemin; qu'il leur fit ſçavoir que c'étoit ſes Ordres de les renvoyer de là, et qu'il avoit auſſi reçu Ordre de couler tous les Batteaux paſſant par Mirzapour: Que pendant ce Temps Cinquante de ſes Gens fûrent envoyés pour s'emparer de leurs Armes, et que ces Gens prirent un Inventaire de ce qui appartenoit à la Compagnie; que le Lendemain ils fûrent contraines de ſe mettre en Route, leur Sacs placés ſur des Chameaux, ſur leſquelles ils fûrent obligés de monter à grands Coups de Fouët pour ceux qui refuſoient: Que durant leur Route ils eûrent toutes Sortes d'Indignités, qu'on leur crachoit au Viſage, qu'on les battoit. Que la ſeconde Journée un de ſes Camarades fût aſſez heureux de mourir; que le Chemin qu'ils faiſoient étoit parmi des Gorges de Montaignes, et qu'avec les Détours qu'ils firent il croit que le Trajet juſqu'à Laitiffghur, ou ils arrivérent le Deuziéme de Septembre, étoit plus de 40 Coſs: Qu'à la fin de la premiére Journée ils s'arretérent à un petit Fort dans les Gorges, ou leur mauvais Traitement fût redoublé. Qu'arrivé à Laitiffghur ceux qui vinrent avec eux ſe diſperſerent; qu'ils fûrent entourés pendans deux Heures qu'ils y reſtérent par environ deux ou trois mille Gens qui les inſultérent groſſiérement, et particuliérement, les accuſa d'avoir aſſaſſiné le Raja de Guàlier: Qu'un de leur Camarades, nommé François, fût mené auprès du Raja lequel à ſon Retour leur declara que le Raja l'avoit aſſuré qu'en cas qu'il lui amena Compagnie Françoiſe qu'il auroit ſon Pain. Qu'aprés ils fûrent conduits hors de Laitiffghur de la même Maniére qu'auparavant ſou le Garde de quelques Sepoys, et autres Gens armés, à une petite Maiſon fortifiée au de là de Laitiffghur une Coſs ſur le Chemin de Beejahghur; que ces Gens y reſtérent pour les garder: Qu'on ne leur donna ni à manger ni à boire: Que le Lendemain, étant le troiſiéme, un Chef de Laitiffghur avec dix Sepoys et environ 40 Hommes armés les fit ſortir à une Portée de Fuſil de la Maiſon: Qu'ils liérent leurs Mains derriére leurs Dos; et qu'en cette Poſition ils leur criérent à manger, leur montrant des Vivres à quelque Diſtance dans des Corbeilles. Qu'aprés s'être amuſé pendant une Heure ou deux

PART III.

deux de leur Miſéres, ces Barbares tirérent leurs Sabres et commencerent le Maſſacre : Que le ſuſdit eût une Baonette paſſée du travers du Corps, et an grand Coup de Pied ſur les Reins pour la faire reſortir : Qu'en cet Etat il feignit le Mort, et deux de ſes Camarades tombant ſúr lui cachérent ſa Feinte : Que les Meurtriers ſe retirant aprés ce Carnage, il eût aſſés de Force pour ſe retirer dans les Jungles à vingt Pas de là : Qu' à la Diſcrétion des Tigres il paſſa toute la Nuit ; qu'accablé de ſoif, le Lendemain il deſçendit à un Ruiſſeau pour boire de l'Eau ; qu'il fût vit par des Campagnards, et amené à l'Endroit d'ou il étoit ſorti le Jour avant ; que les Habitants le raſſurérent contre toute Crainte de ſa Vie : Que leur Chef lui donna pour lui et ſa Femme huit Pice par Jour, laquelle Subſiſtance lui fût continué par moyen d'une Garde qui montoit et étoit relevé chaque Jour de Laitiffghur : Que parmi les Gens qui étoient là, il ne reconnût aucun de ceux qui les tûerent : Que le 20, le Jour que le Raja s'enfuit de Laitiffghur, aprés que lui et ſes Troupes eûrent paſſées auprés de l'Endroit ou le ſuſdit étoit, il ſe rendit à Laitiffghur ſans Empéchement, et même fut mis au large par les Habitants : Que la Nuit du 20 ou 21 il fût obligé de ſe cacher, pour ſe mettre à l'abri des Gens qui pilloient de tous Côtés : Que le Lendemain Matin à l'Entrée du Major Crabb il fût découvert et heureuſement mis en Sûreté de toute autre Pourſuite.

Le ſuſdit fait Serment et dit, de plus qu'il croit que le Maſſacre provenoit d'un Acte deliberé, et que ce ne pouvoit être le Réſultat d'aucune Cauſe, comme ces Camarade et lui étoient trop triſtes pour démontrer aucun Signe de Joie, s'abandonnant à la Mort d'aprés la mauvais Traitement qu'ils avoient ſubits : Qu'au contraire quant ils entendirent le Matin du Jour du Maſſacre, le Bruit des Canons et des Fuſils, ils s'entrediſoient tout doucement que leur Déſtruction ſeroit la Conſéquence infaillible en cas que les Troupes du Raja perdroient la Bataille : Que même, lors de cette Communication d'Idées, ils n'y avoient aucuns de leurs Gardes ou autres Gens pour les écouter ; que leurs Expreſſions à ce Sujet ſe paſſérent, lors du Bruit des Canons et des Fuſils, lequel étoit de grand Matin : Que leurs Meurtriers n'arrivoirent de Laitiffghur qu'environ les onze Heures : Que deux Heures ſe paſſérent à leur contraindre de tirer Habits, Chapeaux, &c. Qu'au lieu du Meurtre ils fûrent conduis en Chemiſe, et qu'il étoit environ une Heure aprés Midi, quand cet Acte de Barbarité fût commiſe.

Mordelait.

Sworn before me, this 5th Day of
December 1781.

E. Impey.

Tranſlation *of the foregoing* Affidavit.

John Honore Mordelait, Native of Corbell, a Province in the Iſle of France, declares upon Oath, That being ſick at Mirzapoor, he was left behind with Fourteen of his Comrades, himſelf included, all of whom belonged to the Company of Chaſſeurs commanded by Captain Doxat, when the ſaid Captain marched with the Troops which compoſed the Detachment commanded by Captain Mayaffre : That upon his Departure, the Rajah of the Place made them come within his own Premiſes, for the greater Safety againſt the Thieves which ſurrounded them : That on their repreſenting they had no Money to ſupply themſelves with Food, he cauſed them to be given ſomething to eat every Day by a Banian : That he comforted them, and aſſured them, that upon ſeeing what paſſed round his Seraglio, he ſought for Means to tranſport them to Chandernagore : That from that Time he did not return : That the Command having then devolved upon the Second, he had them called before him on the Thirtieth, and gave them Two Rupees each, to ſerve for the Journey of Two Days they were to take : That he let them know his Orders were to ſend them from thence ; and that he had alſo received Orders to ſink all the Boats paſſing by Mirzapoor : That during this Time, Fifty of his People were ſent to ſeize their Arms ; and that thoſe People took an Inventory of what belonged to the Company : That the next Day they were obliged to begin their Journey, with their Baggage placed on Camels, which they were obliged to mount ; and thoſe who refuſed, received violent Blows with a Whip : That during their Route every Sort of Indignity was offered to them : That they ſpit in their Faces ; and beat them ſo, that on the ſecond Day one of his Companions was ſo happy as to die : That the Road they took was through narrow Paſſes, between Mountains ; and that with the Circuits they made, he believes the Journey to Laitiffghur, where they arrived the 2d of September, was more than 40 Coſs : That at the Cloſe of the firſt Day they ſtopt at a ſmall Fort in the Paſſes, where their Ill-treatment was redoubled : That being arrived at Laitiffghur, the Perſons who came with them diſperſed : That they were ſurrounded for Two Hours, and remained there, among about Two or Three thouſand People, who inſulted them groſsly ; and particularly accuſed them of having aſſaſſinated the Rajah of Gwallior : That one of their Companions, named Francois, was taken before the Rajah, and declared to them, at his Return, that the Rajah had aſſured him that in caſe he brought the French Company to him, he ſhould be provided for : That afterwards they were conducted out of Laitiffghur in the ſame Manner as before, guarded by ſome Sepoys and other armed Men, to a ſmall fortified Houſe beyond Laitiffghur, One Coſs on the Road from Beejahghur : That thoſe People remained there to guard them : That they had nothing either to eat

eat or drink given to them: That the next Day, being the Third, a Chief of Laitiffghur, with Ten Sepoys, and about Forty armed Men, made them go out to the Diſtance of a Muſket Shot from the Houſe: That they tied their Hands behind their Backs; and that in this Poſition they told them to eat; ſhewing them Proviſions in Baſkets at ſome Diſtance: That after having amuſed themſelves for an Hour or two with their Miſery, theſe Barbarians drew their Sabres and began the Maſſacre: That the Deponent had a Bayonet paſſed through his Body, and a violent Kick on the Reins to make it come out: That in this Situation he feigned Death; and Two of his Companions falling upon him covered the Deceit: That the Murderers retiring after this Carnage, he had Strength enough to retreat to the Jungles, Twenty Paces from the Place: That he paſt the Night at the Mercy of the Tigers: That on the next Day being parched with Thirſt, he went down to a Brook to drink: That he was ſeen by ſome Country People, and carried to the Place which he had left the preceding Day: That the Inhabitants aſſured him his Life was in no Danger: That their Chief gave him Eight Pice every Day for his Wife and himſelf, which Subſiſtence was continued to him by means of a Guard, which was mounted and relieved every Day from Laitiffghur. That he did not recollect the Perſons of any of the Murderers among the People here: That on the 20th, the Day the Rajah fled from Laitiffghur, after he and his Troops had paſſed near the Spot where the Deponent was, he went to Laitiffghur unmoleſted, and was even ſet at Liberty by the Inhabitants: That in the Night from the 20th to the 21ſt he was obliged to lie concealed to ſave himſelf from the People, who were pillaging on all Sides: That the next Morning, at the Entry of Major Crabb, he was diſcovered, and fortunately placed in Safety from all further Purſuit. The Deponent moreover declares upon Oath, That he believes the Maſſacre proceeded from a deliberate Act, and that it could not have been occaſioned by any Cauſe, his Companions and himſelf being too ſorrowful to ſhew any Sign of Joy, as they had abandoned themſelves to Death after the Ill-treatment they had met with: That on the contrary, when on the Morning of the Maſſacre they heard the Report of the Cannons and Muſkets, they ſaid to each other ſoftly, that their Deſtruction would be the infallible Conſequence, in caſe the Rajah's Troops ſhould loſe the Battle: That even at this Communication of Ideas there were none of their Guards nor any other Perſons preſent to hear them: That their Converſation on this Subject paſſed when the Noiſe of the Cannons and Muſkets was heard, when it was broad Daylight: That their Murderers did not arrive from Laitiffghur till about Eleven o'Clock: That Two Hours paſſed in making them take off their Cloaths, Hats, &c.: That they were led in their Shirts to the Place where the Murders were committed; and that it was about One o'Clock in the Afternoon when this Act of Barbarity took place.

Sworn before me,
this 5th Day of December 1781.
(Signed) E. Impey.

(Signed) Mordelait.

ELEVENTH PARCEL.

NUM. II.

Affidavit of Lieutenant Colonel Hannay.

Alexander Hannay Eſquire, Lieutenant Colonel in the Service of the Honourable United Eaſt India Company, maketh Oath, and ſaith, That in the Month of September laſt (1781) he commanded a Body of Troops (Horſe and Foot) in the Service of the Nabob Vizeer: That on the 10th of that Month, being encamped at Ryegunge, near Fyzabad, employed in tranſporting the ſaid Troops acroſs the River Gogra, in order to act againſt the Inſurgents to the Northward of that River, in the Evening he received Intimation from a Perſon living in the Zennana, that the Nabob Begum (Grandmother to the Nabob Vizeer Aſſof-ud-Dowla) had, through her Agents, prevailed upon the principal Jemmadar of Horſe, to engage to detach himſelf from the ſaid Deponent, and to abandon him; and further warning the ſaid Deponent to attend to his own perſonal Safety, as there was an Intention of detaining him at Fyzabad: That this Intimation was given to the Deponent in the Preſence of Lieutenant Charles Middleton, to whom the Deponent did communicate it; and that, during the whole Courſe of that Day (the 10th of September) he the Deponent had not been able to prevail on any of the Horſemen to croſs the River—a Matter which he could not until then account for, but which ſerved to impreſs him ſo ſtrongly with a Belief of the Truth of the Information he had received, that he ſent for the principal Jemmadar of Horſe, circumſtantially communicated the ſaid Information to him, and, as forcibly as he was able, ſtated to him the Treachery, Diſgrace, and Infamy, inſeparable from ſo unmanly a Behaviour: That the ſaid Jemmadar of Horſe appeared much affected at the Converſation, and acknowledged that the Information was true in every Circumſtance, except that of his having acceded to the Propoſals that were made to him, which he declared he had rejected; but ſaid, they had alſo been made to the other Jemmadars of Horſe by the Agents of both the Begums (the Nabob Vizeer's Mother and Grandmother); and the Truth of this Aſſer-

tion was afterwards affirmed to the ſaid Deponent by Two of the ſaid Jemmadars, and ſeveral of the inferior Officers and private Horſemen. The Deponent further declareth, That the above-recited Converſation paſſed in his the Deponent's Tent, to the beſt of his Recollection and Memory, on the Night of the 10th of September, in the Preſence of Lieutenant Charles Middleton; and that, as the ſaid Lieutenant Charles Middleton did not perfectly underſtand the Mooriſh Language, in which the Converſation was held, he the Deponent explained the Nature and Subject of it to him as ſoon as the Jemmadar left the Tent. The Deponent further declareth, That he is reſtrained from mentioning the Names of the Jemmadars alluded to, from an Apprehenſion that their Names becoming public, might operate to their Prejudice, if not Ruin; but that the Facts which he hath depoſed are Truth.

Sworn before me (the Deponent declaring on his Oath, that the above Affidavit is written in his own Hand-writing at Banaris) this 31ſt Day of December 1781,

Alexander Hannay.

Warren Haſtings.

Minute of the Board, entered in the Conſultations of 14 January 1782.

The Board having already paſſed their Opinion, in Terms of the fulleſt Approbation, upon the Governor General's Conduct and Management in the Suppreſſion of the Rebellion of Cheit Sing, and the Regulation of the Province and City of Banaris; they think it unneceſſary to repeat their Opinion of thoſe Meaſures. Extract Secret Conſultations, 14th Jan. 1782.

They cannot at the ſame Time but remark, that the Explanations which the Governor General has given in ſome Parts of his Proceedings, during his firſt Diſcuſſions with Cheit Sing, and ſubſequent to the Convulſion, are rather an open Avowal of the Motives that actuated his Mind, than the guarded Repreſentations of a public Officer, ſtating to his Employers the Meaſures which an extraordinary Situation influenced, dictated, and juſtified.

To a liberal and candid Tribunal, ſuch was the natural, and certainly the wiſeſt Appeal. The Generoſity and Juſtice of a Britiſh Tribunal looks more to the real Motives and Zeal of their Agent, than to the preconcerted Artifice of his Conduct, or the legal Diſcriminations of his Defence. Even where a public Meaſure is unſucceſsful, the Reſponſibility required by the Agent (if riſqued upon public Principles) is frequently his Juſtification, and in many Caſes entitles him to Applauſe.

In theſe diſtant Dominions the ruling Servants of the State attend more to thoſe Rules and Forms which protect from Reſponſibility, than to an ardent Purſuit of the public Intereſt; under every private Riſque, the Hands of Adminiſtration may ſecure themſelves againſt Condemnation, even though the Country ſhould be loſt through their Miſmanagement.

It was not by avoiding perſonal Reſponſibility that the Servants of the Public eſtabliſhed the Britiſh Influence in Aſia; nor is it by ſuch cold Precautions that our Power is to be maintained, eſpecially at an Hour of general Hoſtility againſt us. The Board are led into theſe Obſervations, from an ingenuous Conſideration of the Difficulties in which the Governor General found himſelf involved at Banaris, and a Conviction of the Motives under which he acted. The firſt were ſurmounted with Ability and Fortitude: The latter they moſt ſincerely believe do him real Honour.

Eaſy would be the Taſk to approve the Suppreſſion of the Rebellion, and to ſtand diſconnected with any Reſponſibility, by juſtifying thoſe Acts which certainly precipitated the Storm from the Cloud in which he had gathered; Acts which Judges at a Diſtance, Judges unoppreſſed with the actual Embarraſſments of this Government, may, with great Speciouſneſs of Argument, condemn. But the Board wiſh not, they cannot permit themſelves to proceed ſo diſingenuouſly, or guardedly. They are at the ſame Time aware, that in a rigid Inveſtigation of the whole of this Buſineſs, the following Queſtions will be aſked.

1ſt. Where were the Governor General's particular Inſtructions for ſuch extraordinary Demands upon Cheit Sing?

2dly. Why was that Chief put in Arreſt, when he offered to make every Conceſſion?

3dly. Whether there was not a Compact between him and the Company, which ſpecified, that he was only to pay them a certain annual Tribute?

Subſequent to the Maſſacre of our Troops, and the Events that followed, no Queſtions will be aſked.

In anſwer to the firſt Queſtion, the Board think the Governor General was fully authorized by the general Tenor of his Inſtructions. The Governor General having a deciding Vote, could have written out and approved more particular Inſtructions. There was a Delicacy in the Mode he preferred; and it impoſed a greater Reſponſibility.

In regard to the Second Queſtion; it is evident from Cheit Sing's Anſwers and Preparations, and the whole Tenor of his Conduct, before and at the Time, that nothing but Arreſt could have convinced him of the Governor General's Determination.

That

That the Arreſt was not intended to proceed farther than the Payment of a proper Fine to the Company, who ſtood in the Place of his Sovereign and Benefactors, is evinced by the Governor General's Anſwer to Cheit Sing, after his Confinement.

Had a total Revolution in the Adminiſtration of the Zemeedary been intended, the Arreſt muſt have been effected with more Force, and greater Marks of Severity.

That the Officers who went to execute this Service were convinced that no Meaſure of determined Severity was intended againſt Cheit Sing, appears from that unfortunate Want of Precaution which coſt them and their Followers their Lives.

The Third Queſtion involves much Argument, yet is fully anſwered by that Part of the Governor General's Narrative, which diſcuſſes the Sunnud under which Cheit Sing ruled the Provinces, and which was ſo liberally granted by the Company.

The Correſpondence with the India States, ſhews clearly their Ideas of the Rights of Zemeedars and Rajahs protected in their Zemeedaries by a ſuperior Power. Had Cheit Sing been an Ally Sovereign Prince, who paid only a fixed Subſidy, his Military Preparations, and his inſidious Conduct, under Pretences of Poverty, in diſappointing the Expectations of the Government from the Army under Major Camac, juſtified, together with his Correſpondence with our Enemies, the ſevereſt Exertion of Aid to aſſiſt the Company in their Diſtreſſes, and atone for his Ingratitude and Treachery to a Power who protected him, and to whom he owed his Situation.

On the Subject of the Treaty concluded on the 18th of September laſt, between the Governor General and the Nabob Vizeer, and which the Difficulties of the Communication prevented the Governor General from explaining ſo fully before, the Board have to obſerve, that the Treaty is evidently a political Expedient, which forfeits no Advantage, which promiſes the Acquiſition of many, and which, properly managed by this Government (as Events favourable, or even unfavourable, ariſe), may lead to the final and complete Arrangement of an Alliance with the Vizeer. Such an Alliance, being leſs oppreſſive to him, may be more advantageous and honourable to the Company, and may remove that too general but dangerous Impreſſion, which the different States of this Country have received from the double Character in which we have hitherto appeared in India—that of Allies and Conquerors.

If the Nabob Vizeer ſhould not be able, under the Support of the Troops of this Government ſtationed at Cawnpoor, to maintain the Tranquillity of his Dominions, and collect thoſe Reſources which are neceſſary to defray even his reduced Expences, and diſcharge his heavy Debt to the Company, a new Arrangement muſt follow; and that Arrangement neceſſarily, at the expreſs Requeſt of the Vizeer, will ſecure every Advantage that can be wiſhed or expected from his Provinces by this Government.

The Reduction of that heavy Burthen of Expence, which was at once oppreſſive to the Vizeer, and of no Return to the Company (though a Source of Patronage to this Adminiſtration), the Board approve of moſt heartily; and, with a full Senſe of the Credit which a Meaſure of ſuch Difficulty and Unpleaſantneſs reflects upon the Governor General, they take this Occaſion of pledging to him and to their Employers their utmoſt Support, not only in this, but in every other Branch of public œconomical Reformation, which he may propoſe.

Upon the Return of the Governor General, the Board reſolve to diſcuſs with him thoſe Parts of the Treaty, which carry the Appearance of a haſty Agreement. The Diſaffection of many of the Vizeer's principal Jagheerdars; and the Steps which, from the Repreſentations of Colonel Hannay and other Officers, appear to have been rapidly taken by the Begums, to ſupport the Rebellion of Cheit Sing; were probably very early known to the Governor General, and through the Medium of all the Suſpicions that his Situation, at the Time he met the Vizeer, had naturally created.

At ſuch a Moment, and under ſuch Suſpicions, and even while the Iſſue of the Conteſt of Cheit Sing was depending, it is not ſurprizing that ſome Parts of the Agreement between the Governor General and the Vizeer were ſpeedily adjuſted, and, as the Governor acknowledges, in Converſation at their Firſt Interview.

A ſhort Time will ſatisfy the Board, whether the Vizeer is willing or able to fulfil his Part of the Treaty: If he is that, and the Company can recover their Debt from him in the preſent Emergency and Diſtreſs of their Affairs, the Board cannot then but agree, that the Governor General has acted in the Arrangement not only with Zeal, and the beſt public Intentions, but with a maſterly Deciſion, that muſt entitle him to the grateful and complete Approbation of his Employers.

It remains with the Board to concert with the Governor General, upon his Return, thoſe Meaſures that may ſecure this Government from any future Inconveniencies or Diſtreſs, that can be ſuppoſed connected with the Confidence repoſed in the Vizeer, for the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of his Revenue and Military Eſtabliſhments.

Extract Secrt. Dept. Conſ. 5 Feb. 1782.

The Governor General delivers in the following Minute, in conſequence of that of the Board, entered on the Proceedings of the 14th ultimo.

The Governor General acknowledges his Obligations to the Board, for this repeated Inſtance of the liberal Manner in which they have been pleaſed to record their Judgment on his Conduct. Had it been expreſſed in the ſimple Terms of official Approbation, he ſhould have been pleaſed, and ſatisfied that it had received ſo reſpectable a Sanction; but by tracing the Sources of it, in the Motives which he has avowed; by their Examination of thoſe Motives with their relative

PART III.

relative Facts and Circumſtances; and by the Doubts which they have anticipated and ſolved, on the Propriety of ſuch Parts of his Conduct as might moſt obviouſly ſuggeſt them; they have juſtified their own Approval, and entitled him to expect the ſame favourable Sentiments in their common Superiors.

Nor is he leſs pleaſed with the Reſerve with which the Board have declared their Satisfaction in the Arrangement concluded by him with the Nabob Vizeer; becauſe he thinks it will be received as an Evidence of the Deliberation and Sincerity of their former Approval. He is willing to ſubmit the Propriety of the Meaſure to the Teſt of its Succeſs. The Reſident has already informed the Board, that he had received of the Treaſures of the late Vizeer, left in the Charge of his Widow, and lately reclaimed by his Son, the Amount of the Bond granted by the latter for the Balance of the Year 1178, which ends in September 1780 of our Æra; and was in the actual Receipt of as much as would diſcharge the Balance of the laſt Year, that is, of the Year 1179. The firſt of theſe Balances is 32,68,613. 11, the laſt 12,09,876. 9. 8. The Sum of both is, R' 44,78,490. 4. 8. Owd Siccas. The Reſident ſeems to have underſtood this to be the Whole of the Nabob's Debt. There is a further Balance of 26 Lacks, which appears to have been by ſome means overlooked, or withheld from Mr. Middleton on the Transfer of his Office from Mr. Purling. A rectified Account, drawn to the lateſt Period, has been tranſmitted to Mr. Middleton by the Accomptant General, which it is hoped will arrive in Time to prevent his ſtopping at the Receipt of the ſuppoſed Balance; and at all Events, the Profits of the reſumed Jagheers ought to yield a Fund, more than ſufficient both for the complete Liquidation of what may remain of the Nabob's preſent Debt, and to make up the Deficiency of the Aſſignments granted on his Revenue for the current Year, within the Courſe of it.

The Governor General expects this Service from the Reſident, and relies upon his Fidelity for the Performance of it. But in the Suppoſition of the Poſſibility of a Diſappointment, he again offers his perſonal Services to proceed to Lucknow, on the firſt Symptom of ſuch a Failure; and, with the Confidence which he feels in his own Influence, aided by the powerful Support of the Board, he will venture to promiſe, that he will not return with their Object unaccompliſhed.

He hopes, and believes, that there will be no Neceſſity for this Extremity, but adds it as a Ground for the Aſſurance which he ventures to propoſe; and wiſhes the Board to give to the Honourable Court of Directors, in the Advices to them now under Diſpatch, that there is the faireſt Proſpect, amounting as near to a Certainty as can be affirmed of an Event yet in Expectation, that the Debt due from the Nabob Vizeer to the Company, and even that of the Rohilla Donation, will be completely paid off in the Courſe of the preſent Year, and a Supply added to our ordinary Reſources, which will fully anſwer all our own Wants for that Period, and enable us to contribute ſtill further, and we hope effectual Aids, to thoſe of the Carnatic.

The Governor General forbears to include the Preſidency of Bombay in this Proviſion. Its Expences have already contributed more even than thoſe of the Carnatic to exhauſt theſe Provinces of the Currency; nor will it be poſſible for them to ſupport any longer ſo pernicious a Drain. At a certain Point it muſt have a Cloſe. For this Diſtreſs we muſt ſeek a Remedy in a different Expedient, in the Concluſion of the War with the Maratta State, and the conſequent and moſt neceſſary Reduction of the Armies now employed on that Service. In the mean Time, he truſts that they are not ſo devoid of Reſources in themſelves, as to make them totally dependant for the Subſiſtence on this Government, ſince they have a large and rich Territory, acquired by their late Conqueſts in Guzurat, in the Dependance of Surat, and, as we learn only from an alluſive Paſſage in General Goddard's laſt Letters, even in Concan, of which we were not before appriſed. Theſe Diſtricts, we are aſſured by the ſame Authority, were in a State of perfect Tranquillity, and undiſturbed Collection of their Revenues; and in the ſame State they are likely to remain, ſince in the Proſpect of a Peace the Maratta Government will naturally look to the Reſtitution of their former Poſſeſſions, and would eventually be at leaſt equal Sufferers with us, by any Devaſtations committed in them.

Such are the Expectations which the Governor General wiſhes to have preſented to the Court of Directors, of the Courſe and Iſſue of the Reſources of this Government for the preſent Year. He hopes that Credit will be given to them to that Degree, beyond which it would be preſumptuous on any Grounds to hazard the Promiſe of contingent Events; that if thoſe which he has predicted ſhall not come to paſs, the Cauſes of their Failure ſhall be ſuch as ſhall account for it, and acquit him of the Reproach of it.

Of the Conſequences, as they may affect him perſonally, he is become indifferent; expecting the forced Cenſures of his avowed Enemies, and aſſured of the Applauſe of his Superiors, from the internal Conviction of his own Mind, that he has laboured to the utmoſt of his Ability to merit it.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

Die Veneris, 29° *Februarij* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons they might proceed with their Evidence.

Then the Clerk proceeded to read from the printed Copy of the Narrative of the Governor General already delivered in, beginning at Page 21, where the ſame was broken off Yeſterday, and read as far as Page 29 of the ſaid Narrative (a).

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they ſhould proceed to point out ſuch further Extracts from the ſame, as they particularly deſired to call the Attention of the Houſe to.

Read, the following Extract, from Page 34 of the ſaid Narrative:

" On the 20th or 21ſt, I forget which, I received a Letter from Rajah Cheit Sing filled with Expreſſions of ſlight Concern for what had paſſed, and Profeſſions, but indefinite and unapplied, of Fidelity. I did not think it becoming to make any Reply to it, and I think I ordered the Bearer of the Letter to be told, that it required none.

" On the Morning of the 21ſt, a Perſon came to Mr. R. Johnſon, who was One of my Party, and deſired his Interpoſition with me to receive a Letter and Meſſenger from the Rajah in the Evening, with Propoſals for an Accommodation. The like Application was made by Myrza Abdullah Beg, the Rajah's Vakeel, to my Dewan Contoo Bauboo; and, with my Permiſſion, Contoo Bauboo returned to his own Houſe to meet the Vakeel by Appointment for that Purpoſe, by which Means he miſſed the Opportunity of going off with me; the Intelligence of my Intention reaching him too late for him to join me, or his infirm State of Body not admitting of his taking ſo haſty a Reſolution. The Subſtance of the Meſſage, as it has been ſince delivered to me by Abdullah Beg, in Writing, was to exculpate himſelf from any Concern in what had paſſed, which he charged to the inſolent Behaviour of a Servant of the Reſident, who was preſent, and the Reſentment of his own People, and to profeſs his Obedience and Submiſſion to my Will in whatever Way I ſhould dictate (b)."

Read, alſo, from Page 46, as follows:

" It would break the Attention, and perplex the Thread of the Narrative, to relate every diſtinct Event in its exact Order of Time: I have therefore, in the minuter Points, endeavoured rather to arrange them according to their Relation to the greater, or to find a Place for them in the vacant Intervals and Pauſes of it. It may be proper in this Place to mention, that during the Time of Inaction which ſucceeded to my Arrival at Chunar, I received ſeveral Letters from Cheit Sing, beſides Letters from Mr. Barnet, and One from Contoo Bauboo, who were both his Priſoners at Lutteefpoor, which were written by his Order. Theſe were all alike in Subſtance, containing Acknowledgments and Profeſſions of Submiſſion to my Authority; Aſſertions of his own Innocence, charging the Maſſacre at Shewallah to the Chubdar, whoſe Inſults provoked the Reſentment of his Servants, whom he could not reſtrain; and claiming a Merit from his having in the Three paſt Actions been the ſuffering Party, though ſucceſsful, and in none the Aggreſſor; adding general Offers of Accommodation; and in the Letters written by his Order, a pompous Diſplay of his inexhauſtible Wealth, the Multitude and Bravery of his Forces, and the devoted Affection and Fidelity of all his Subjects. I refuſed to anſwer them, letting him know that they were written with too much Preſumption, in the Style of Equality, and with inapplicable Profeſſions, which were no better than none. Some of theſe Letters will appear in the Appendix; the reſt were loſt (c)."

Read, alſo, from Page 49, as follows:

" The News of theſe concurrent Succeſſes being conveyed to the Rajah at the ſame Inſtant of Time, alarmed him exceedingly for his own perſonal Safety. His Fears were excited with a more forcible Impreſſion by the Surprize of the Advance of ſo great a Force, from a Quarter where he had not expected any. With his Face turned towards Chunar, and his whole Attention, and that of his People, directed to the Movements which we made on that Side, they had no Suſpi-

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(a) See the Whole of the ſaid Extract ſupra, from Page 109 to Page 120, incloſed within the Brackets, and the Hands pointing thereto.
(b) Vide the Narrative ſupra, Page 122.
(c) Vide ſupra, Page 127.

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cion of any Design being formed behind them.—The first Intelligence which was received of Major Crabb's Party described it as consisting of the Followers of Owsan Sing, and only Three Companies of our Sepoys; the Hircarrahs who conveyed the News, possibly mistaking the advanced Guard for the whole Force, and reporting it accordingly; nor was the real Strength of the Party known, even by that which was detached to oppose it, until the Instant of the Action. This Circumstance was related at the Time, and has since been confirmed to me by an Officer named Myher, who commanded a small Body of the Rajah's Sepoys, and the Guns, in the Action. No Design could be more judiciously planned, or more happily executed. Even the Impediments and Disappointments which attended it, served but to promote the Coincidence of the final Movements of its Operations, with so well timed an Effect, that the Difference of the Time which passed between the Engagement at Lora and the Conquest of Pateeta, was little more than that which would be required by the Difference of the Distances of each from Lutteefpoor, for the News of each Success to reach Luteefpoor at the same Instant.

" Cheit Sing instantly prepared for Flight. His Road to Bidjeygur, which was his last Refuge, lay through the Pass, which he durst not attempt. He left Lutteefpoor about Three or Four in the Afternoon, and making a Circuit over the Hills, gained the High Road at the Distance of some Miles beyond the Pass, and proceeded with a few Followers to the Neighbourhood of Bidjeygur: Some others followed and re-joined him; the rest, left without Orders, stayed but to plunder the Place, and evacuated it. The Gaung-Wallahs, or Militia, composed of the Husbandmen, who had been summoned to attend him, all fled to their own Houses. So rapid was the Report of this Event in it's Communication, and so decisive in it's Effect, that the Fort of Sutteesgur, which lies about Seven or Eight Miles to the Northward of Lutteefpoor, and the Palace of Ramnagur, were evacuated on the same Evening; and the Allegiance of the whole Country restored as completely, in the Course of a few Hours, from a State of universal Revolt to it's proper Channel, as if it had never departed from it (a)."

The Managers for the Commons informed the House, the next Extract they should read was to prove the Appointment of the Rajah Mehipnarain to be Rajah of Banaris.

Read, from Page 51 of the said Narrative, as follows:

" My first Care, after my Return to Banaris, was to determine the Succession to the Zemeedary and Rauje, vacated by the Forfeiture of Cheit Sing. The Right of the Company to the Disposal of it certainly had not suffered by the past Events. The Territory had been wholly lost to their Dominion, and wholly conquered by their Arms. Yet the Rest of the Family who formerly possessed it had not merited, by any Act of theirs, to be involved in the Punishment of a Man who had been equally their Enemy, and whom they regarded as the Usurper of their more legal Rights; nor perhaps would it have been prudent to put the Submission of the People to the Test of a new Species of Dominion. I therefore resolved, in virtue of the full Powers which I possessed from the Board for that Purpose, to bestow it on the next lineal Heir. This was Bauboo Mehipnarain. He was the Grandson of Rajah Bulwant Sing, by a Daughter married to Bauboo Doorgbijey Sing. The Widow of Bulwant Sing, named Ranny Goolaub Kooer, was still living, and in an extreme old Age. By the Hindoo Law she might claim the Inheritance; her Daughter also, the Wife of Doorgbijey Sing, might assert the like Pretension. Had it become a Matter of Contest, I had resolved to leave it to the Decision of the whole Body of the Pundits of Banaris. But this Reference was unnecessary. Doorgbijey Sing yielded up the Pretension of his Wife, and the old Ranny her own, by a Writing, sealed with her Name, and acknowledged in the Presence of a confidential Person, whom I deputed to her for that Purpose; declaring it to be her Wish and Request, that the Rauje might be conferred on her Grandson Mehipnarain. He was accordingly invested and proclaimed on the 30th of September. His Father Bauboo Doorgbijey Sing was at the same Time invested with the Office of Naib, and is in Effect the sole acting Manager. He is about Thirty-five Years of Age—his Son Nineteen (b)."

Read, also, from Page 52 of the said Narrative, as follows:

" After having gained Possession of Lutteefpoor, Major Popham lost no Time in prosecuting his March to Bidjeygur. Cheit Sing did not wait his Approach, but fled, taking with him as much Treasure as his Elephants and Camels could carry, which has been reported to me to have consisted of One Lack of Mohrs, and Fifteen or Sixteen of Silver (c), besides Jewels to an unknown Amount. His Wife, a Woman of amiable Character, his Mother Pauna, and all the other Women of his Family, and the Survivors of the Family of his Father Bulwant Sing who were connected with his, were left in the Fort of Bidjeygur. He took the Rout of Rewa, and from thence proceeded to Panna, the Capital of Boondelcund, paying and plundering as he passed. He was by the last Advices in that Country, the Rajah professing in his Letters to me a Resolution to withdraw his Protection from him, and secretly favouring him (d)."

(a) Vide supra, Page 128 to Page 129.
(b) Vide supra, Page 129.
(c) Amounting to about 400,000l. Sterling.
(d) Vide supra, Page 130.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next read an Affidavit of Major Palmer, to prove the Allegation in the Firſt Article of the Charge, which ſtates the Intention of the Defendant to extort a large Sum of Money, by way of Fine, from the Rajah Cheit Sing.(a)

Read, Appendix to the Narrative, Part III. p. 157:

"Second Parcel,

(Num. 2. A.)

Affidavit of Major Palmer.

"William Palmer, Major in the Service of the Honourable the Eaſt India Company in Bengal, maketh Oath and ſaith, That about the latter End of the Month of June laſt, the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General of Bengal, diſcourſing with this Deponent on the Subject of his intended Journey to Banaris and Lucknow, declared one of the principal Objects of it to be, to exact from Rajah Cheit Sing a Fine or Contribution of Fifty Lacks of Rupees, as a Puniſhment for Breach of Engagements with the Government of Bengal, and for Acts of Miſconduct in his Zemeedary. The Governor General further declared to this Deponent, that he knew the Ability of the Rajah to contribute ſuch a Sum to the Exigences of Government; and that he, the Governor General, was determined to convert the Faults committed by the Rajah into a public Benefit. The Governor General further declared to this Deponent in the ſame Converſation, That an Offer from the Rajah, but indirectly, had been made to him of Twenty Lacks of Rupees for the public Service, as a Retribution for his Failure of Engagements; but that he, the Governor General, was reſolved to inſiſt upon the firſt mentioned Sum of Fifty Lacks of Rupees, and if the Rajah ſhould abſolutely refuſe the Demand, that he, the Governor General, would deprive him of his Zemeedary, or transfer the Sovereignty thereof to the Nabob Vizeer.

W. PALMER.

Sworn before me, this 4th Day of December, 1781. E. IMPEY. (b)"

To prove the ſame Facts ſtated in the Affidavit of Major Palmer, and alſo the Tranſaction charged in the Firſt Article to have paſſed between Mr. Haſtings and the Vizier, relative to the Province of Benares;

Read, Appendix, p. 158.

"(Num. 2. B.)

Atteſtation of David Anderſon Eſquire.

"To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

"Honourable Sir,

"In Obedience to your Commands conveyed to me through Major Palmer, I ſhall endeavour to repeat, as well as I can remember, the Purport of what you were pleaſed to inform me before your Departure from Calcutta, of your Intentions regarding Cheit Sing; but as ſo long an Interval has ſince elapſed, my Recollection, which has never been ſtrengthened by a Communication, muſt neceſſarily be ſomewhat imperfect.

"After enumerating ſome of the Reſources which you expected to find up the Country for the Relief of the Company's Exigencies, you mentioned to me the Conduct of Cheit Sing.

"You obſerved, that he owed his Elevation to the Company; that he was allowed to enjoy a very conſiderable Income, the Revenue exacted from him being much inferior to the Produce of his Diſtricts, and that his Territories were maintained and defended by the Engliſh Army; that on thoſe Conſiderations it had been reckoned equitable, that he ſhould contribute on an Emergency to the Support of Wars carried on by that Government under which he held his Zemeedary, and to which he was indebted for its Protection. Accordingly you mentioned that a Sum had been demanded from him; that, after ſome Difficulties, he had agreed to pay it at a certain Period; that, truſting to his Promiſes, you had made an Aſſignment on him for the Uſe of Colonel Camac's Detachment; and that Colonel Camac, relying on his Punctuality, had returned a Bill for a leſs Sum, which had been ſent to him by Mr. Middleton; but that this Confidence had nearly proved fatal to the Detachment, and actually did prove the Cauſe of retarding the Expedition; that Cheit Sing, in Spite of all the Repreſentations which were made to him, delayed ſo long the promiſed Payment, that the Officers of the Detachment were reduced to the Neceſſity of ſelling their Plate; that you therefore determined to call him to an Account, and oblige him to make an Atonement for his Conduct in this Inſtance, and the Want of Attachment he had in general ſhewn to our Government, by paying a conſiderable Sum of Money to the Relief of the Company's Exigencies; that if he conſented, you were deſirous of eſtabliſhing his Poſſeſſion on the moſt permanent and eligible Footing; but, if he refuſed, you had in your Power to raiſe a large Sum for the

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(a) Vide printed Articles, Bottom of p. 5, and Top of p. 6. (b) Vide ſupra, P. 232.

Company, by accepting of an Offer which had been made for his Diſtrict by the Vizeer. You minuted the Particulars of Cheit Sing's Conduct in an Account which you drew up in Calcutta, of the State of the different Powers of Hindoſtan, though I do not believe that in that Paper you expreſſed the Intentions you had formed: And I remember you told me that you had communicated to Mr. Wheler your Intentions regarding Cheit Sing; and I believe (though I cannot poſitively recollect) you ſaid he had concurred in them.

I am, with the greateſt Reſpect, &c.
D. ANDERSON." (a)

Mahdajee Sindia's Camp, near Dutteah,
the 14th January, 1782.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next proceed to read ſeveral Affidavits of Natives. That the Firſt they ſhould produce particularly reſpected the Eſcape of the Rajah Cheit Sing, and what happened upon that Eſcape; and all of them went to prove the Maſſacre and confirm the Narrative in other Particulars.

Read, Appendix, Part III. P. 163, as follows:

" (Num. 3. E.)

" TRANSLATION of the Depoſition of Jewan Ram Moonſhy, in the Service of the late Lieutenant Stalker.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, December 2nd, 1781.

" After the Arrival of Mr. Markham at Shewallah, I went in and paid my Reſpects to my Maſter; who aſked me, If I knew whether Mr. Markham would come there or not? I replied, It was reported ſo; but that it depended on his Inclinations. Mr. Stalker then told me I might go, but afterwards ordered me to ſtay. I continued there, and ſaw Doorgbijey Sing ſitting with the Rajah in the Centre Apartment, and Suddanund Buxey and others whiſpering to the Rajah. Shortly after, News was brought to the Three Gentlemen ſitting in the adjoining Room that there were Diſputes without. Mr. Stalker went without the Jauli (or Firſt Wall), and aſked the Subadar Biſhun Sing, Why he had ordered the Bayonets to be fixed? The Subadar replied, That Numbers of the Rajah's armed Servants had come in, and that they paid no Regard to the Company's Orders. After which, Mr. Stalker advanced further out, and aſked of the younger Mowllavy and me, Who amongſt thoſe People was the Chief? I anſwered, Bauboo Munnear Sing. Mr. Stalker ſent for Munnear Sing, and ſtrongly enjoined him to appeaſe his People, and enquire why they attempted to diſpute and fight with his Sepoys? Munnear Sing replied, " What Power have they, that any one of them ſhould preſume to fight? We Two, Father and Son, are deſirous to go to the Rajah." Mr. Stalker anſwered, " Very well; but you muſt ſtay here between your People and mine, that they may not come to Blows." After that a Letter arrived from the Governor to the Rajah, which Mr. Stalker, having quieted and ſoothed the People, preſented to him. The Rajah then got up, and went out of the Burradurry to the adjacent Baſtion to perform his Devotions. At this Time Information was brought to Mr. Stalker, that the Rajah's People oppoſed and refuſed Admittance to another Company of Sepoys, who had brought Proviſions, a Table, &c. for the Gentlemen. Mr. Stalker again went out, and calling to Suddanund Buxey, aſked the Cauſe of this Oppoſition; and told him to ſend Directions (to the Rajah's People). Suddanund ſaid, he would go himſelf. Mr. Stalker replied, " No, ſend One of your Servants." While the Man was going out to ſilence the People, Mr. Stalker returned within the Jauly. Doorgbijey Sing was gone from thence; no one knew whither. Cheit Ram, Mr. Markham's Chubdar, informed Mr. Stalker that he had a Meſſage to deliver to the Rajah from the Governor General. Mr. Stalker ſaid, " Deliver it." He the Chubdar ſaid, at the Place where the Rajah was at his Devotions, " the Governor ſays your People want to quarrel and fight; it will be better if you forbid them, for every Sepoy is an European, and every European is as a (or the) Company: If a Drop of their Blood is ſhed, you ſhall be plundered and deſtroyed." At this Period there was a Report of Guns at the Gate of Shewallah. The Action was commenced. At this Time Mr. Stalker and Cheit Ram went towards the Rajah. Munnear Sing and others cut down Cheit Ram, pulled Mr. Stalker back, and puſhing him on one Side, began the Slaughter. The Rajah eſcaped through a Window by a Rope made of Turbans, got into a Boat, and went off. His People, by the ſame Means, drew up Swords and Shields as a Bucket is drawn up from a Well, and began to engage. I ſtood near the Jauli behind my Maſter. When my Maſter was killed, I fled toward the Place where the Rajah's Victuals was dreſſed. I continued there a ſhort Time, and ſaw the Rajah's People jump from the Walls and the Trees, with their Shields and Swords, and advance. After this I aſſumed the Character of One of Cheit Sing's Servants, fled with his People, and came to the Preſence. The Gentlemen after this went to Chunar, and I ſhould have arrived the next Day, but I was plundered on the Road, and confined in the Fort of Pindera. Diaram took away from my Houſe Two Tangon Horſes, and placed his Seal and a Guard upon the Door. After the Flight of the Rajah, the Zemeedar of the before mentioned Fort ſet me at Liberty. Without a

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 232.

Maſter,

Master, every Way disconsolate, to whom can I communicate my Distress? I now hope for Favour and Support from the Almighty and from you.

Jewan Ram." (a)

Read next, Appendix, Part III. P. 189, as follows:

" (Num. 5. E.)

" Deposition of Ruggoobur Sing, Orderly Sepoy to Lieutenant Stalker.

" The Deponent (upon his Oath) says, He went with Lieutenant Stalker and Mr. Markham to Shewallah, where the Rajah Cheit Sing resided; and that he went with them into the Presence of the Rajah; that shortly after Two Companies of Sepoys arrived with Two Gentlemen, whose Names the Deponent does not remember, being a newly inlisted Sepoy; that those Two Officers came in and continued with the Rajah and Lieutenant Stalker; that he, the Deponent, was directed by Lieutenant Stalker to attend, with Three other orderly Sepoys, in the Apartment where the Officers were sitting with the Rajah; that the rest of the orderly Sepoys remained without the Purdahs, which were let down in the Front of the Apartment; that he is unacquainted with what passed without the Gate where the Two Companies were, or what People were there on the Part of the Rajah. The Deponent does not recollect, nor can he, he says, relate the Circumstances which passed before the Attack commenced; but in reply to a Question put to him, Whether Mr. Markham's Chubdar Cheit Ram spoke to the Rajah? he says, that said Chubdar brought a Note to Lieutenant Stalker, at the Time when the Rajah's People without were endeavouring to enter; that he delivered the Note to Lieutenant Stalker; that at this Time the Noise and Confusion at the Gate-way was very great; that the Chubdar went from Lieutenant Stalker toward Cheit Sing, who was then sitting at the Place where he performed his Devotions; that he told him to order his People to desist; that he, the Chubdar, was Cheit Ram, and that the Rajah was but Cheit Sing, and that if he did not make his People desist he would confine him. Says, he was an Ear-witness to the foregoing; that it was at this Moment the Firing was heard and the Attack began; that Lieutenant Stalker's Hircarrah had his Sword; that he called to this Deponent to give him his Sword, which he did, and stood behind Lieutenant Stalker, by his Orders, with the Scabbard in his Hand, until that Officer fell; that he was soon after cut down himself; that he was deprived of Sense, and knows nothing of what passed afterwards.

" Sworn before me, the Contents being first explained to the Deponent, by W. Davy, Esq; this 3d Day of December 1781.
E. Impey."

The Mark of
Ruggoobur Sing,
Sepoy." (b)

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the House, that they wished to point their Attention to Two other Affidavits of Natives; the One an Affidavit of Sheakh Hossein Oolla, Jemadar, Havildar and Orderly with Lieutenant Stalker, at the Time of the Action at Shewallah Ghaut, in P. 186 of the Appendix, marked (N° 5. C.) (c); the other, an Affidavit of Bishen Sing Subadar, (marked N° 5. D.) P. 187, of the said Appendix (d), and which they meant to have produced, as being strong to the same Point as the two Affidavits last read: But as they were to the same Effect, in order to save the Time of the House, they should omit reading them; and proceed next to prove the Submission of the Rajah Cheyt Sing, by certain Letters which they stiled *Letters of Submission*, and which Letters were written by him subsequent to his quitting Benares: The Letters hitherto read in the Course of the Evidence were all prior to that Event.

Read, Appendix, Part II. P. 106, as follows:

" N° 72. The Two following Letters were sent from Ramnagur by Teekchund to Govind Ram Pundit at Banaris, and delivered to the Governor General by Beneram Pundit, on the 5th September 1781.

" Translation of an Arzee from Rajah Cheit Sing to the Honourable Governor General.

" When I waited upon your Highness in your Pinnace, I represented to you every Thing which was proper to be represented; that my Life, my Country, and Property, belonged to your Highness; requesting that you would order whatever was your Pleasure, and I was ready to obey it with Pleasure. I besides performed all the Duties of Obedience and Humility; and represented all the Particulars, with a View to the present Time; for I well knew that, as soon as Owsan Sing should be introduced to your Highness, Mr. Markham and the Moulavies, &c. having settled this Plan, would make you conceive Displeasure against me. At that Time your Highness answered, that you had no Business with my Life or Property; that you had not given Admission to Owsan Sing or any of his People; that you had no Connection with any of my

(a) Vide supra, P. 235. (b) Supra, P. 251. (c) Supra, P. 249. (d) Supra, P. 250.

Relations. What Crime did I afterwards commit that, by the Advice of my Enemies, you ſhould reſolve to confine me with ſuch Diſgrace? However, I remained until Evening in Confinement, and behaved in no Inſtance otherwiſe than with the greateſt Humility and Obedience. I addreſſed ſeveral Arzees, expreſſing my Readineſs to obey your Orders, and that I was your Slave, and was ready with my Life and Property. Obſerve, that Cheit Ram Chubdar came to me, and reviled me, and with a loud Voice gave both me and my People the vileſt Abuſe. The People of the Sirkar firſt fired Balls from their Guns, and diſcharged their Muſkets: Immediately the Tumult aroſe, and notwithſtanding my moſt earneſt Requeſt for them to deſiſt, no one would hear me. Myſelf, after being wounded by a Sword in the Hand of the Captain, eſcaped with Life from that imminent Danger, and withdrew myſelf. If you will examine with an Eye of Juſtice, and without liſtening to Talebearers and Informers, you will find no Crime in me; and your Mind, which is the Mirror of the World, will, I am certain, approve of it. I have before addreſſed Arzees to you, but have not yet been honoured with an Anſwer. Owſan Sing has not yet ceaſed from ruining the Affairs. Should now my Life and Honour be left to me, I am your Slave. Beneram Pundit will have repreſented my Situation to you, and will continue to do ſo." (a)

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, that to ſave Time they would paſs over Two other Letters, and proceed to N° 76. Appendix, P. 109.

The ſame was read, and is as follows.

" N° 76. From Cheit Sing to the Governor General.

" Before this, the Arzees, which I have repeatedly addreſſed to your Preſence, will have been peruſed by you, but to this Time I have not been honoured with an Anſwer to any one of them. I am in every Way ready in my Allegiance and Duty, and have obeyed all your Highneſs's Orders, and never have I been negligent in any one Point; and your Highneſs, from your Goodneſs and Juſtice, has always been pleaſed to protect and ſupport your own Slave, and to ſhew him Favour. All this Time when, from the unfortunate State of the Times, the Reports of ſelf-intereſted Perſons have met with Reception at the Preſence, I humbly repreſent that the Words of evil-minded, ſelf-intereſted Perſons be not attended to, but that your Highneſs, looking upon me as a Slave raiſed by yourſelf, will be favourable towards me, becauſe I am your Slave, and am ready in my Duty and Allegiance. Although I have been guilty of no Fault, yet the Slave is by all Means criminal, and the Buſineſs of the Maſter is Pardon. By the Bleſſing of God, your Highneſs is the Maſter, and is juſt. Let him conſider, that in all the Three Battles the Army of the Sirkar was the Aggreſſor. Now Matters have paſſed the Extremities. Should you even now beſtow Life upon me, it would not be foreign from the Duty of a Maſter." (b)

Dated the 21ſt of Ramzaun.

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, that having brought the Matter to that Part of the Charge which relates to the Storming and Surrender of Bidjeygur, they ſhould preſently proceed to call Evidence upon that Head. And in the mean Time they would fill up the Evidence which was left unfiniſhed Yeſterday, owing to the Accident of not having the Records of the Eaſt India Company at Hand.

And firſt, With reſpect to the illegal Delegation to Mr. Haſtings, the Houſe would be pleaſed to recollect that they had produced the Minutes of the Council of the 21ſt of May 1781, and the Minutes of the Council of the 3d of July 1781, by which they had ſhewn Mr. Haſtings's Motive for deſiring that Delegation, the Appointment of himſelf (Mr. Haſtings) to conduct the Buſineſs of the Supreme Council, with all the Authority of that Supreme Council, wherever he ſhould be;—The Authority to Mr. Wheler to conduct all the Buſineſs of the Supreme Council, with all the Authority of the Supreme Council at Calcutta, and in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa; and Mr. Haſtings's Credentials. That they had referred to the Stat. 13 Geo. III. c. 63. ſect. 7. which attaches upon the Two Standing Orders of the Company, the One of 1702, and the other of 1736; and that the Situation of the Evidence, with reſpect to thoſe Orders, was as follows: They had produced the Original Drafts of thoſe Orders ſent out to Bengal by the Court of Directors, and the Names of the Ships in which they were ſent out, docketed upon the Papers: That an Objection had been taken, that there was no Proof of the Orders having arrived at Calcutta; and therefore the Managers, without waving their Right to inſiſt upon that as ſufficient Evidence, were now to prove that theſe Documents did arrive at Bengal, which they ſhould do in the following Manner: Firſt, as to the Orders of 1702, they ſhould prove the Tranſmiſſion of the Standing Orders from Bengal to Europe, in conſequence of the Requeſt of the Court of Directors: And, Secondly, They would ſhew the Arrival of the Standing Orders of 1736 at Calcutta. Having

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 204.

(b) Vide ſupra, P. 206.

done

done that, they ſhould next requeſt the Attention of the Houſe to the Clauſe of the Act of Parliament attaching upon theſe ſtanding Orders; and, laſtly, to conclude the Subject of the Delegation, they would produce a Paragraph of a Letter from the Court of Directors; in the Year 1778, to ſhew that thoſe Parts of the Authority conferred by the Delegation, which regarded the Command of the Military, were particularly rendered illegal by the Orders of the Directors contained in that Letter.

Then Mr. Robert Hudſon was again called, and produced Book 59, indorſed as follows, "1702 to 1727, Bengal Standing Orders."

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Is that a Letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors?
A. No.

Q. What is it?
A. The ſtanding Orders tranſmitted from Bengal at the Requeſt or Order of the Court of Directors.

Q. Were they tranſmitted by Letter from the Council of Bengal to the Court of Directors?
A. They were.

Q. What is the Date of that Tranſmiſſion?
A. 3d February 1728-9.

Q. Was there any ſubſequent Tranſmiſſion of the ſtanding Orders of Bengal to the Court of Directors here that you know of?
A. There was a ſubſequent Tranſmiſſion of the Orders in the Year 1737.

Q. Do you know of any other Tranſmiſſion ſince the Year 1737?
A. There is another Book of the ſtanding Orders, brought down as low as the Year 1753.

Q. Were thoſe likewiſe tranſmitted from Bengal?
A. From Bengal.

Q. Has there been any Tranſmiſſion from Bengal ſince the Year 1753?
A. I believe not.

The Counſel for the Defendant ſtated, That in the Year 1756, when Calcutta was taken, every Muniment of this Sort was, as they underſtood, deſtroyed. They wiſhed therefore to know whether, at the Time of Mr. Haſtings being appointed to the Government, there remained ſubſiſting on Record at Calcutta any ſtanding Orders of this Sort denoting his Duty.

The Counſel were aſked, whether they meant to found upon this any Objection to the reading of theſe ſtanding Orders.

The Counſel replied, they did not; that they had no particular Objection to reading the ſtanding Orders, if taken with this Explanation—that Mr. Haſtings had no Notice of them.—In other Words, that the Orders having been deſtroyed in 1756, and no Renewal of them ſent to the Governor and Council at Calcutta, the Managers ought to prove Notice to Mr. Haſtings, or they could not affect him.

The Houſe obſerved, that it appeared the ſtanding Orders had been tranſmitted from 1702 to 1753, at the laſt of which Periods it would appear, when they came to be read, what the ſtanding Orders of the Company to the Governor and Council at Bengal were; and that the Queſtion, whether they came to the Notice of Mr. Haſtings, was a Matter for after Conſideration.

Then the Managers for the Commons, in anſwer to the Objection taken by the Counſel for the Defendant, deſired to obſerve, that the Seventh Section of Stat. 13 Geo. III, c. 63, by which Mr. Haſtings was appointed Governor General of Bengal, is to the following Effect, "That the whole civil and military Government of the Preſidency, and alſo the Ordering, Management, and Government, of all the territorial Acquiſitions and Revenues, &c. are thereby veſted in the ſaid Governor General and Council, &c. in like Manner, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as the ſame now are, or at any Time heretofore might have been exerciſed by the Preſident and Council, or Select Committee, in the ſaid Kingdoms." That as there was no Diſpute at all concerning the Production of the Book by which the Exiſtence of thoſe ſtanding Orders had been proved, the Act of Parliament attaching upon them was complete and abſolute Notice of them to the Defendant.

Upon which the Counſel for the Defendant were again aſked, whether they did or did not mean to object to the ſtanding Orders, that were ſent to the Company antecedent to the Year 1756, being read? The Counſel replied, that they did not object to their being read, under the Obſervations they had before taken the Liberty of ſubmitting to the Houſe. Whereupon the Managers for the Commons were informed they might proceed to read thoſe ſtanding Orders.

Read, the following Extract from Book 59, Page 183.

"Fort William Standing Orders, N° 23.
Received per Stretham, 10th September 1729.

In the Commiſſion dated 26th Feb. 1702.

" Par. 4. Having heard Complaints of ſome Irregularities in ſome of the Factories of either Companies, we do ſtrictly enjoin that all our Affairs be tranſacted in Council, and ordered and managed as the Majority in Council ſhall determine, and not otherwiſe upon any Pretence whatſoever, and to that End, that all of the Council do reſide upon the Place; and though we hope you will be unanimous in the Purſuit of our common Intereſt, yet if on Occaſion it happen that your Votes are equally divided, the ſame muſt be determined by Lot, as we by our new Charter are directed in ſuch Caſe to do."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 57, indorſed, " Fort William Standing Orders, Collected for 12 Years, No. 6. Received 7th Auguſt 1739, per Wager."

Read, the following Extract.

" Per Ship Nottingham,
Dated 9th February 1736-7.

All the Company's Affairs to be tranſacted in Council.

" Our Orders are, that all our Affairs ſhould be regularly tranſmitted * in Council, and every Member duly ſummoned to attend."

The Managers for the Commons obſerved, That the Word " *tranſmitted*" was a Miſtake, and ſhould have been " tranſacted."

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired the Witneſs might be aſked,

Q. Whether the Orders which had been read, are not now conſidered by the Eaſt India Company as the ſtanding Orders for the Direction of their Servants in Bengal?

A. We always conſider them ſo.

Q. Do you happen to know if they have been varied by any ſubſequent Orders?

A. I do not know of any.

Q. *(Croſs examined.)* Have you made any Search to ſee whether there were any ſubſequent Orders?

A. I have not; but I have gone through the Correſpondence ſo frequently, that if there had I muſt certainly have known it.

Q. Whether there were not Orders contradictory to thoſe Orders, namely, to the Order in 1702, that all the Council ſhould reſide upon the Spot; and to the Order of 1736–7, that every Member ſhould be duly ſummoned to attend?

The Houſe obſerved, That if there were ſubſequent Orders of the Company in any Manner varying from the Orders that had been read, the proper Evidence of that would be to produce them, and then the Fact would appear; but the Witneſs could not give diſtinct Evidence of what is in Writing.

The Counſel for the Defendant ſaid, They did not aſk the Queſtion for the Purpoſe of giving Evidence of the ſubſequent Orders, but to impeach the Memory of the Witneſs, by leading his Recollection to Orders which varied the former Orders, though he had ſaid there were none.

The Houſe obſerved, That nothing would be concluded by whether the Witneſs did, or did not remember the Whole of the Records of the Eaſt India Company; that nothing turned upon it. If there were other Orders they muſt be produced, and then the Fact would appear.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 58, intituled, " Bengal Diſpatches 7th January 1774 to 15th December 1775."

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* Sic in Orig. See the Abſtract in the Margin, and alſo the Extract of the Draught of the Company's General Letter to Bengal, of the 9th February 1736, ſupra, Page 106.

Read,

Read, the following Extract, beginning at Page 49.

"29th March 1774.

"P. 49. Instructions from the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies—To Warren Hastings Esquire, Governor General; Lieutenant General John Clavering, the Honourable George Monson, Richard Barwell Esquire, and Philip Francis Esquire, Counsellors, constituted and appointed the Governor General and Council of the said United Company's Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, by an Act of Parliament passed in the last Session, intituled, 'An Act for establishing 'certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the East India Company, 'as well in India as in Europe.'

Read, from same Book, Page 70.

"Par. 39. It is also our express Direction, that you not only strictly attend to the standing Orders of the Company, communicated to their Presidency of Fort William, but to all such Orders and Instructions as the Court of Directors have transmitted to the Governor and Council, or Select Committee of the said Presidency, and in an especial Manner to those which any Ways relate to forming proper Statements of our Revenues, and to the keeping of our Treasury Accounts; and if any of our Orders remain unexecuted, you are to take care that the same be carried into Execution in every Instance wherein they have not been annulled by the before mentioned Act of Parliament, or superseded by our present Orders and Instructions.

(Signed at the End)

George Cuming,
Joseph Sparkes,
Pet. Lascelles,
Cha^{s} Boddam,
Jn^{o} Michie,
Cha^{s} Chambers, junior,
R^{d} Hall,
John Smith,
Edw^{d} Wheler,
John Harrison,
Jn^{o} Woodhouse,
Sam^{l} Peach,
Fred^{k} Pigou,
Daniel Wier,
W^{m} James,
T. B. Rous,
George Tatem."

London,
29 March 1774.

Then the Witness produced Book 41, "intituled, Bengal Dispatches, 30th January 1778 to 28th December 1778."

Read, from Page 378 of the said Book, the 9th Paragraph of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor General and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated London, the 7th May 1778, and signed,

W^{m} Mills junior
Cha^{s} Boddam,
Sam^{l} Peach,
Tho^{s} Cheap,
G. Tatem,
R^{d} Hall,
Rob^{t} Gregory,
Jn^{o} Woodhouse,
G. Wombwell,
W^{m} James,
Ben. Booth,
Joseph Sparkes,
J. Purling,
Jn^{o} Michie,
Rich^{d} Becher,
W. Devaynes,
L. Sulivan.

"Par. 9. As we do not intend that our Governor General shall at any Time exercise Military Command beyond the Limits of the Garrison of Fort William, it is our Order, that whenever the said Governor General shall find it necessary to be absent from the Presidency, his usual and accustomed Body Guard only shall attend him, and remain under his Command during such Absence as aforesaid; and the same Rule is to be observed respecting every President and Governor at our other Settlements."

Then the Managers for the Commons stated, That there was another Chasm left in the Evidence of Yesterday respecting the Recall of Mr. Fowke, and the Appointment of Mr. Markham to be Resident at Banaris, which they should now supply, in order to shew the Intention and View of Mr. Hastings in making that Appointment, and in his subsequent Journey to Banaris.

Then the Witness produced Book 54, intituled, "Bengal Secret Council, from 4th January to 29th March 1781."

Read,

Read, the following Extract from a Consultation of 14th January 1781, beginning at Page 133 of the said Book.

" Fort William, 14th January 1781.

" At a Council; Present,

The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President;
and Edward Wheler Esquire.

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. absent on Command at Fort St. George.

" The Governor General delivers in the following Minute.

" Governor General.—While this Government is charged with such extensive Concerns, and hath to contend with Difficulties equal perhaps to those in which even the supreme Administration of the British Empire is at this Period involved, it may at least claim as a Right what, under any other System of Government that hath ever yet existed, would be imposed on it as * indispensable Obligation, to employ and exercise the Powers which are inherent in its Constitution, and which are immediately necessary to the Support, and eventually to the Existence of those essential Interests which it holds in Charge. On this Principle I claim the Right of nominating the Agent, of my own Choice, to the Residency of Benares. It is a Representative Station, and cannot, without a Contradiction, be the Charge of a Man not preferably chosen to it, by the Members of the actual Government, and holding it by an Authority independent of theirs. Speaking for myself alone, it may be sufficient to affirm, that Mr. Francis Fowke is not my Agent; that I cannot give him my Confidence; that, while he continues at Benares, he stands as a Screen between the Raja and this Government, instead of an Instrument of Controul; and that the Raja himself, and every Chief in Hindostan, with whom we are in Connection, will regard it as the Pledge and Foundation of his Independance.

* Sic in Orig.

" To Mr. Fowke himself I have no personal Objection: I approve his Conduct, and esteem his Character; and I believe that I might depend upon his exact and literal Obedience and Fidelity in the Execution of the Functions annexed to it. My Objection I have stated above, and it is insuperable.

" The Person whom I have chosen to succeed him I consider as standing in the same Degree of Confidence and Estimation with Mr. Wheler as myself. I adopted him (if I may so express myself) from his Family and Patronage, and assigned him an Office of the highest Trust near my own Person, with Mr. Wheler's Approbation; and from a Foresight of the Event which has since made us the Copartners of this Government, and which suggested to me the Propriety of employing such Agents as would be agreeable to him, while they possessed the other Requisites for my own Confidence. I therefore think him, on every Consideration, the fittest to fill the Office in Question.

" I therefore move that Mr. Francis Fowke be immediately removed from the Residency of Benaras, and that Mr. William Markham may be appointed to it in his Stead.

" While I thus acquit myself of what I conceive to be a public Duty, it is my Desire at the same Time to indemnify Mr. Fowke from the Consequences personally attending it towards him.

" I therefore move, that he be at the same Time invested with the Appointment of Agent for the Provision of all Boats to be employed for the Military Services of this Establishment, with an Allowance of a Commission of 15 per Cent. upon all his Disbursements in this Office; that the executive Charge thereof take Place from the Period of the Expiration of Colonel Morgan's present Contract, and that until that Time, and for Three Months following it, he be allowed to draw his present Allowance of 1000 Rupees per Month.

" I propose this Method in preference to a Contract, because I am convinced from Experience, that the Service will be better performed by this Alteration, although it is liable to one material Objection in its natural Influence on his Expences. This is a Defect which can only be corrected by the Probity of the Person who is entrusted with so important a Charge; and I am willing to have it understood, as a Proof of the Confidence which I repose in Mr. Fowke, that I have proposed this Appointment in Opposition to a general Principle to a Trust so constituted.

" I move, also, that Mr. John Benn be appointed Assistant to the Resident at Benaras.

" Mr. Wheler delivers in the following Minute.

" Mr. Wheler.—I accede to the Propriety of the Governor General's Arguments, and think them particularly applicable to the present State of this Government. I am also highly flattered by the Choice the Governor General has made of a Gentleman to fill this important Station, who was formerly under my Patronage, and who is still in my Confidence: But as Mr. Fowke has not yet signified his Willingness to accept of the Compensation proposed to him in Exchange for his present Appointment, I must decline giving my Assent to his immediate Removal.

" The Governor General's Motion being agreed to,

" Resolved, That Mr. William Markham be accordingly appointed Resident at Benaras, and Mr. John Benn his Assistant.

" Resolved, That Mr. Francis Fowke be invested with the Appointment of Agent for the Provision of all Boats to be employed for the Military Services of this Establishment, with an Allowance of a Commission of 15 per Cent. upon all his Disbursements in this Office, the executive Charge of which is to take Place from the Period of the Expiration of Colonel Morgan's present Contract; and that to that Time, and for Three Months following it, he be permitted to draw his present Allowance of 1000 Rupees per Month.

Edwd. Wheler."

Then

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, That this cloſed the Evidence which had been left unfiniſhed on the preceding Day; and they ſhould now proceed upon the remaining Part of the Article; but that before they entered upon the Evidence relative to the Capture of Bidjegur, they would prove one Circumſtance in Illuſtration of that Part of the Charge which reſpected the Proceedings at Benares.

They deſired the Houſe to recollect, that it had been ſtated as a particular Severity to put an Hindoo under Arreſt*; therefore they would now produce a Letter from Shujah ul Dowlah to Mr. Haſtings, the Governor General, where that Sentiment was expreſſed, and which Sentiment had actually been put upon Record by Mr. Haſtings himſelf. Introductory to which, they added, it might be proper to inform them, that in 1773 Mr. Haſtings made a Journey to the Upper Provinces; that he there concerted various Schemes with the Vizeer, among the reſt a Scheme for the Extirpation of the Rohillas; that Colonel Champion commanded the Britiſh Army upon that Expedition; that the Vizeer complained of the Colonel by Letter to the Board, upon the Receipt of which he was put upon his Defence; and this was the Letter.

* Vide printed Articles, Page 6.

The Commons further ſtated, That they produced this Extract to ſhew, by the beſt Evidence they thought the Nature of the Thing would admit, that the Diſgrace of the Rajah Cheyt Sing was in the Eyes of all the Europeans, and People of Hindoſtan, particularly ſevere to him.

The Witneſs produced Book 60, intituled, "Fort William Country Correſpondence, received from 1ſt January to 29th December 1774."

Read, Extract of a Letter from the Nabob Sujah ul Doulah to the Governor General, received on the 28th November 1774, as follows:

"My Friend,

"The Caſe is, that all the Infantry in my Service know the Cuſtom of the Army, that if any One commits a Fault, he will be impriſoned for it, and think nothing of being put under a Guard; but there are other Hindoſtanies, and the Nejeb Battalions, and others in my Service, who conſider it as the higheſt Diſgrace to be put under a Guard; and if any one attempts it, they will defend themſelves againſt it, and rather loſe their Lives than ſubmit to ſuch a Diſhonour."

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, That they wiſhed now to call the Attention of the Houſe to the Letters or Orders iſſued by Mr. Haſtings to Colonel Popham, reſpecting the Attack of Bidjegur and the Prize Money; previouſly remarking, that the Firſt Letter they ſhould produce would be read from a Copy, without either Addreſs or Concluſion. They obſerved, it had been contended this was a Letter of a private Nature; that it had begun, "Dear Sir," and concluded in the ſame Manner: and Mr. Haſtings having ſhewn he intended to make that Diſtinction between public Orders and private Letters, they ſhould read it, ſubject to the following Obſervation; that no doubt the Houſe would judge from the Letter itſelf, without regarding Addreſſes or Concluſions.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 17, intituled, "Bengal Public Conſultations, from the 23d May to the 3d July 1782;" and the Managers for the Commons deſired an Extract of a Conſultation held on the 23d May 1782, beginning at Page 12, might be read.

The Counſel for the Defendant wiſhed that the Introduction to the ſaid Extract might be read.

Read, the following Extracts, beginning at Page 7 of the ſaid Book.

"Fort William, 23d May 1782. Pub. Dept. Thurſday.

"At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident.
Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.
and John Macpherſon, }
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. abſent on Duty at Fort St. George.

§ ("* The Governor General delivers in the following Minute, and begs Leave to record his Correſpondence with Major Popham on the Subject.

"23d May 1782. The Governor General's Minute and Correſpondence with Major Popham.

"Governor General.—I am much affected by the Letter which has been addreſſed by the "Officers of Major Popham's late Detachment in reply to the Demand made on them by the "Board in their General Orders of the 23d of February. They declare, that, upon a Reference

* Vide Note ſupra, Page 66.

" to my Letters, dated the 22d of October and 3d of November 1781, they cannot but be of " Opinion, that they (*i. e.* thoſe Letters) clearly and inconteſtibly inveſted Major Popham with " full Power to order a Diſtribution of the Effects and Treaſure found in the Fort of Bidjey " Ghur. They remind me of the Conduct of the Troops, of which I myſelf have been an Eye " Witneſs, and to whom every Degree of Merit has been repeatedly allowed; adding, " how " ſenſibly muſt the Honourable Governor General himſelf be affected, were he to ſee the Reward " which he held out to thoſe Troops taken from them by that very Power to whom they have " looked up for Encouragement!" And they expreſs their Hope, that " the Board will be in- " duced to permit them peaceably to enjoy what it is apparent from the whole Tenor of my " Conduct I wiſhed them to poſſeſs."

" I yet acknowledge, with a Conviction of the Obligation unchanged by the Reproach of it, " the ſpirited and effectual Services which were performed by the Officers of Major Popham's " late Detachment, and the Zeal which excited them. I receive and confirm their Atteſtation of " the Wiſhes which were uniformly manifeſted by me, to beſtow on them a Reward adequate to " their Merits; and even that, though with ſome Difference in the Mode, which they aſſumed " for themſelves. But I deny that I ever " inveſted Major Popham with a full Power," or with " any Power to order a Diſtribution of the Effects and Treaſure found in the Fort, or that I had " any ſuch Intention, or that the Words which have been quoted from my Letters to prove it, " are or can be taken in that Senſe by any Conſtruction, however forced.

" When I left Benares, I had Hopes given me of a very different Termination of this Affair; " I therefore ſuppreſſed the Letters which had paſſed between me and Major Popham reſpecting " it. Theſe are now become neceſſary for my Juſtification, and for that Purpoſe I do not, with- " out much Reluctance, lay them in their connected Order before the Board, requeſting that Co- " pies of the other Papers which have been recorded on this Subject may be added to them by the " Secretary, and that the Whole may be tranſmitted by the next Diſpatches to the Court of Di- " rectors.

" Notwithſtanding the Want of Reſpect which has been ſhewn to me by the Officers of Major " Popham's Detachment, I yet feel ſo warm a Remembrance of their Services, that I am un- " willing to truſt to the Equality of my own Judgment, in propoſing the Step which may be " proper to be taken for aſſerting the Rights of the Company, the Authority of Government, or " the relative Claims of the Officers to a Participation of the Treaſure and other Plunder ac- " quired by the Surrender of Bidjey Ghur.

" I will confeſs, that I am not ſolicitous to compel the Officers to refund all the Money " which they have aſſumed; it would perhaps, with all the Aid of the Law, be impoſſible; nor " am I now very anxious for the Uſe of it on Loan. We have it, though not immediarely un- " der its proper Term, nor tendered, as it ought to have been, by the Officers themſelves.

" The Points which I am moſt anxious to obtain are, the Eſtabliſhment of the Right in what- " ever Manner, and a fair Diſtribution. I can ſcarce ſuppreſs a Degree of Reſentment, even at this " Diſtance of Time, when I reflect that many Officers to whom the Service was moſt indebted " for the Reduction of the Province of Benares, and even this Government perhaps to its Exiſtence, " have been ſhared out by others who had no Part in any of the eſſential Actions of the Campaign, " but came in juſt at the Cloſe of it, to make their Fortunes by Treaſures, in the Seizure of which " the ſucceſsful Exertions of others had enabled them to participate.

" I muſt particularly refer to the Caſe of Major Crabb, whoſe Excluſion diſhonours the Deciſion " which paſſed it; I will not enumerate others.

" I entreat the Board, for the Reaſons which I have already alleged, to ſpare me the painful Office of propoſing what may be neceſſary for their Conduct in this Buſineſs, preſuming that they are now in Poſſeſſion of all the Materials required for proceeding upon it.") §

Here the Managers for the Commons obſerved, That as the Houſe were now in Poſſeſſion of the Manner and Cauſe of the Letters they were about to read being introduced upon the Conſultation, it would ſave Time to ſtate the Uſe and Purpoſe they intended to make of them.

Then they ſtated, That there were Two Charges againſt Mr. Haſtings, relative to the Prize Money: one, that he did illegally grant that Prize Money, and the Effect it produced; the other, that he afterwards faithleſsly endeavoured to take it away: That having premiſed this now, they ſhould probably not find it neceſſary to trouble the Houſe with any further Obſervations upon that Head.

Then the Clerk proceeded to read as follows:

" To Major Popham, commanding before Bidjegur.

" Benares, the 22d October 1781, 10 o'Clock P. M.

☞ [" I am this Inſtant favoured with yours of Yeſterday. Mine to you of the ſame Date has before this Time acquainted you with my Reſolutions and Sentiments reſpecting the Rannee. I think every Demand ſhe has made to you, except that of Safety and Reſpect for her Perſon, is unreaſonable. If the Reports brought to me are true, your rejecting her Offers, or any Negociation with her, would ſoon obtain you Poſſeſſion of the Fort upon your own Terms. I apprehend that ſhe will contrive

contrive to defraud the Captors of a conſiderable Part of the Booty, by being ſuffered to retire without Examination; but this is your Conſideration, and not mine: I ſhould be ſorry that your Officers and Soldiers loſt any Part of the Reward to which they are ſo well entitled, but I cannot make any Objection; as you muſt be the beſt Judge of the Expediency of the promiſed Indulgence to the Rannee. What you have engaged for I will certainly ratify; but as to permitting the Rannee to hold the Pergunnah of Kurteek, or any other in the Zemindary, without being ſubject to the Authority of the Zemindar, or any Lands whatever, or indeed making any Conditions with her for a Proviſion, I will never conſent to it.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings."

" N. B. The initial and concluding Addreſſes of this Letter are omitted in the only Copy of it preſerved by the Governor, but he knows that the Letter was familiar and not official."

" Dear Major, " Benares, the 3d November 1781.

" My Duan Contoo Bouboo has ſhewn me a Letter addreſſed to him from Panna, the Mother of Cheit Sing, intreating his Interceſſion that ſhe may be relieved from the Hardſhips and Dangers of her preſent Situation, and offering to ſurrender the Fort of Bidjygur, and the Treaſure and valuable Effects contained in it, provided ſhe can be aſſured of Safety and Protection to her Perſon and Honour, and to that of her Family and Attendants; and that Contoo himſelf will undertake to conduct her out of the Fort to ſuch Place of Security as ſhe ſhall chooſe. As this Offer affords a Proſpect of your obtaining Poſſeſſion of the Fort, and the Wealth which it contains, without further Loſs or Delay, I have judged it proper to accept it, and directed Contoo to repair to your Camp immediately with as many Doolies and Cauhrs as can be collected for the Conveyance of Panna, her Family, and ſuch Neceſſaries as are indiſpenſible to Women of their Condition.

" You will be pleaſed, when Contoo arrives with you, to ſend a Meſſenger of your own, accompanied with one from him, to acquaint Panna that I have ſent him conformably to her Requeſt, to receive and conduct her with Safety and Honour to whatever Place ſhe may chooſe as her Reſidence, and that I am willing to grant her now the ſame Conditions to which I at firſt conſented, provided that ſhe delivers into your Poſſeſſion, within Twenty-four Hours from the Time of receiving your Meſſage, the Fort of Bidjigur, with the Treaſure and Effects lodged therein by Cheyt Sing, or any of his Adherents, with the Reſerve only as abovementioned of ſuch Articles as you ſhall think neceſſary to her Sex and Condition, or as you ſhall be diſpoſed of yourſelf to indulge her with. If ſhe complies, as I expect ſhe will, it will be your Part to ſecure the Fort and the Property it contains, for the Benefit of yourſelf and Detachment. I have only further to requeſt, that you'll grant an Eſcort, if Panna ſhould require it, to conduct her here, or wherever ſhe may chooſe to retire to. But ſhould ſhe refuſe to execute the Promiſe ſhe has made, or delay it beyond the Term of Twenty-four Hours, it is my poſitive Injunction, that you immediately put a Stop to any further Intercourſe or Negociation with her, and on no Pretext to renew it. If ſhe diſappoints or trifles with me, after I have ſubjected my Duan to the Diſgrace of returning ineffectually, and of courſe myſelf to Diſcredit, I ſhall conſider it as a wanton Affront and Indignity which I can never forgive, nor will I grant her any Conditions whatever, but leave her expoſed to thoſe Dangers which ſhe has choſen to riſque, rather than truſt to the Clemency and Generoſity of our Government. I think ſhe cannot be ignorant of theſe Conſequences, and will not venture to incur them; and it is for this Reaſon I place a Dependance on her Offers, and have conſented to ſend my Duan to her.

Yours, &c.

" (Signed) Warren Haſtings."

" Dear Sir, Camp, Bijee Ghur, 10th November 1781.

" I have the Honour to inform you, that laſt Night about Twelve o'Clock, the Grenadiers took Poſſeſſion of the Weſtern Gate of Bijee Ghur, after the Rannee had played with and deceived us from Ten o'Clock in the Morning, when ſhe had agreed that it ſhould have been given up to us.

" Permit me to requeſt your Orders, Sir, with reſpect to the future Diſpoſition of the Troops; and at the ſame Time, to beg Major Gardiner may have the carrying on what Works ſhall be judged neceſſary for the Repairs of the Fort of Bigee Ghur, as it is with the greateſt Truth I aſſure you we are much indebted to his Labours and Services for the Fall of the Place.

" I have the Honour to be,

The Honourable " with the greateſt Reſpect, &c.
Warren Haſtings Eſq. " (Signed) Wm Popham."

" Dear Sir, Camp Bijee Ghur, 12th November 1781.

" I did myſelf the Honour, the Day before Yeſterday, to inform you of the Surrender of this Place, and the Situation of Affairs at that Time.

" The Rhannee came out of the Fort with her Family and Dependants the 10th at Night, owing to which ſuch Attention was not paid to her as I wiſhed; and I am exceedingly ſorry to inform you

you that the Licentiouſneſs of our Followers was beyond the Bounds of Controul; for, notwithſtanding all I could do, her People were plundered on the Road of moſt of the Things which they brought out of the Fort, by which Means one of the Articles of Surrender has been much infringed. The Diſtreſs I have felt upon this Occaſion cannot be expreſſed, and can only be allayed by a firm Performance of the other Articles of the Treaty, which I ſhall make it my Buſineſs to enforce.

" The Suſpicions which the Officers had of Treachery, and the Delay made to our getting Poſſeſſion, had enraged them as well as the Troops ſo much, that the Treaty was at firſt regarded as void; but this Determination was ſoon ſucceeded by Pity and Compaſſion for the unfortunate beſieged.

" The Women are now in Tents at a little Diſtance from the Camp, with a proper Safeguard; and I have ſent into the Fort for thoſe Conveniencies which are neceſſary to their Situation; and the Rhannee will have her Share of Fifteen per Cent. exactly paid her. She will remain here until ſuch Time as Bearers and Carriages can be procured to convey her to Benares, where ſhe wiſhes to reſide, but ſhe earneſtly begs that ſhe may not be dependant upon the old Rhannee, the new Rajah, or Ouſſaun Sing.]—She tells me that ſhe has a Houſe at Benares (that I believe in which the Nabob Saadut Ally now lives), alſo another at Gungapore about four Coſe from the City. Both theſe ſhe hopes for from your Indulgence, and, for future Support, ſhe moſt humbly ſubmits to your Generoſity. Cantoo Baboo is with the Rhannee; and as ſhe has particularly requeſted that Captain Scott may pitch his Tent near hers, and accompany her on her Way to Benares, I have conſented, and he will move accordingly.

" I have to requeſt that you will give Orders for ſuch a Number of Bearers and Coolies as can be collected, to be ſent here immediately to conduct the Rhannee and her Family, &c. who are in all about Three hundred Women, beſides Children. Thirty or Forty Coupalas will alſo be neceſſary; and if ſome Bazaar is likewiſe ſent, it will make the Journey perfectly convenient. I ſhall furniſh a ſufficient Eſcort. Every Means is taking to procure Bearers here, but I fear this Country will afford but very few, on which Account I hope many will come from Benares.

" Dhouda Buggut may juſtly be ſaid to have occaſioned the Rhannee's Sufferings, as he cauſed the Delay in the Surrender of the Fort. Bogwiſdial the Buxey, on the contrary, acted with the greateſt Honour; and ſhould he ſurvive the Fever he is now ill of, I think he will merit the Attention of Government. Chumput Roy alſo demands Praiſe for the Sufferings which his Attachment to our Government has drawn on him. He is likewiſe with the Rhannee.

" I have the Honour to be, with high Reſpect, &c.

(Signed) Wm Popham."

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſq.

" To Major Popham.

" Sir, Chunar, 14th November 1781.

" I have received your Letter of the 12th, and ſincerely congratulate you on the eaſy Conqueſt which you have made of Bidjy Gur.

" It gives me great Concern that the Licentiouſneſs of any Perſons under your Command ſhould have given Cauſe to complain of the Infringement of the ſmalleſt Article of the Capitulation in favour of the Mother of Cheyt Sing and her Dependants. I hope you will diſcover the Offenders, and oblige them to make Reſtitution, and alſo puniſh them in the moſt exemplary Manner. I rely on your Humanity and Juſtice to make her all the Recompence in your Power, by a ſcrupulous Attention to enforce the Performance of the remaining Stipulations in her Favour.

" Bearers, Coolies, and other Conveyances have been ordered for the Women and their Effects. The Mother of Cheit Sing, her Family and Attendants, may reſide wherever ſhe pleaſes; and ſhe ſhall be put in Poſſeſſion of ſuch Houſes as are her own immediate Property.

" The Subject on which I am now to write is a very diſagreeable and painful one to me, but indiſpenſable. I have received Information which, though private, is certainly authentic, that you have already diſtributed One Dividend of the Treaſure found in Bidjy Gur amongſt the Officers and Troops on the Spot. If this be true, I am very ſorry for it, as, on many Conſiderations, it appears to me that ſuch Diſtribution is premature. I apprehend that it is a Propoſition not to be diſputed, that every Thing acquired by the Arms of a State belongs to the State which employed thoſe Arms. By Charters and Acts of Parliament, the ſole Right to all Conqueſts or Captures made by the Company's Arms were veſted in the Company. It was however my Intention to have uſed my utmoſt Authority and Influence to have obtained for the Troops engaged in the Service againſt Cheyt Sing the whole Booty which might be found in Bidjygur or other Places. I regarded it as the due Reward of their Services, and Recompence of their Sufferings, but I never meant that they ſhould ſeize it and ſcramble for it. Beſides, if the actual Right was in the Army, at a Time like this, when the Exigencies of the Company are ſo great, ſurely they might have expected to have benefited by the immediate Uſe of it as a Loan. I had, I muſt own, ſuch Confidence in your Diſcretion, that I did expect, if the Treaſure found in the Fort ſhould prove very conſiderable, you would not have proceeded to any Diſtribution of it until you had reported the Amount to the Board, and obtained their Sanction for appropriating it to the Troops, or at leaſt that you would have repreſented it to me, as I am ſo near you.

" It gives me ſtill greater Concern to learn that you have excluded from any Benefit in this valuable Capture all the Troops not immediately acting in the Siege of Bidjygur. I have received a ſtrong Repreſentation from the Officers of Major White's Regiment of their Claim to an equal Share with the Troops compoſing your Detachment; and when I conſider the Services and Sufferings of that Regiment, I cannot help being of Opinion that their Title is good. You will recollect that it was the firſt employed, and was expoſed in Two Actions, where only Danger and Honour were to be expected; that it marched to our Relief at Benares, and has ever ſince been furniſhing Detachments and Eſcorts to facilitate the Succeſs of your Operations. Surely neither Juſtice nor Generoſity will admit that a partial Diſtribution of Benefits ſhould take place amongſt Corps engaged in the ſame Service, and co-operating to the ſame Effect, becauſe a Part of them happen to be employed at a Diſtance from the Place where ſuch Benefits are immediately obtained. It will hardly be ſuppoſed by thoſe Claimants that you could have overlooked their Pretenſions, or not have expected that they would have urged them; and they will interpret ſo precipitate a Diviſion of the Booty into a Deſign of precluding them from any Share in it. Whatever may be the Deciſion of the Board reſpecting the Treaſure in Queſtion, the Claim of the 6th Regiment is unqueſtionably as juſt as that of the actual Captors. I muſt therefore require of you to ſuſpend any further Dividend or Diſtribution until the Orders of the Board reſpecting it are received, and I deſire you will order and require the Officers, who have already ſhared, to refund the Sums which they have reſpectively received, and acquaint them if they do not they will be reſponſible to Government, and that ſuch Sums, as well as what ſhall remain, are and muſt be ſubject to the final Deciſion of the Board.

" Let me add, as a Suggeſtion worth your Attention, that if you do perſiſt to decide by your own Authority on the Claims of the Captors, you may, and I foretell that this will aſſuredly prove ſo, withdraw the Queſtion from our immediate Government to make it a National Concern. You might have expected every partial Regard from the Board, from myſelf eſpecially, who have been a perſonal Object of your Operations, which we could legally beſtow; and whatever we had decreed on ſo meritorious an Occaſion would have received the undoubted Approval of the Company, with whom it would have finally reſted; or have fallen, with their Diſpleaſure, if they had not approved it, on us alone.

" I am, &c.
(Signed) Warren Haſtings."

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

" Sir,

" Yeſterday Evening I was honoured by your Letter, without Date, too late to reply to it by the Return of the Dawk.

" My moſt earneſt Endeavours have been uſed in performing every Article of the Treaty of Capitulation in Favour of the Mother of Cheit Sing; and ſhe will have the Whole of, if not more than, thoſe Effects, &c. which were agreed to be given up. I have provided as many Bearers, Doolies, and other Conveyance, as will ſuffice for her Journey to Benares, which ſhe began this Day, accompanied, at her own particular Requeſt, by Captain Scott and Cantoo Baboo. I could have wiſhed her to remain a Day or two longer, till more Conveniencies could have been provided; but as ſhe was exceedingly anxious to move, I did not think it adviſable to prevent her.

" It gives me the moſt ſincere Concern to find, that a Conduct, which I flattered myſelf would have met with your Approbation, has unfortunately incurred your Diſpleaſure; but I am the more ſenſibly hurt, as the Letters I had the Honour to receive from you, before this, gave me every Reaſon to ſuppoſe that you were of Opinion the Effects and Money in Bijee Ghur ſhould immediately become the Property of the Captors, which Idea, ſo correſpondent to my own and all the Officers Wiſhes, occaſioned the Conduct I purſued.

" Alluding to the then propoſed Capitulation, in your Letter of the 22d October, you are pleaſed to ſay, " I apprehend, that ſhe will contrive to defraud the Captors of a conſiderable Part of the Booty, by being ſuffered to retire without Examination; but this is your Conſideration, and not mine. I ſhould be ſorry that your Officers and Soldiers loſt any Part of the Reward to which they are ſo well entitled."

" In the Letter which I was honoured with on the 3d inſtant, you are pleaſed to give me the following Order, on the Suppoſition that the Rhannee would ſurrender the Fort:—" It will be your Part to ſecure the Fort, and the Property it contains, for the Benefit of yourſelf and Detachment; and I have only further to requeſt, that you will grant an Eſcort to Panna, ſhould ſhe require it, to conduct her here, or wherever ſhe may chuſe to retire to."

" Convinced before of the Juſtneſs of the Detachment's Claims to the Property in the Fort, your ſo chearful and poſitive Acquieſcence in the Opinion made me doubly happy to ſhare amongſt the Officers and Troops the Reward of their Services; and the Order conveyed to me in the laſt Extract from your Letter made me do it immediately, before a Separation of the Troops ſhould take Place, which I regarded as the beſt Security againſt Jealouſies and Suſpicions that might naturally ariſe, in caſe of Delay.

" Before the Fall of the Fort it was determined, agreeable to the general Senſe of the Officers, that the Seniors ſhould form a Committee for the Diſtribution of the Shares. Major Moſes Crawfurd,

furd, the First of the Number, accordingly was appointed to command the Party to take Poſſeſſion of the Fort. The other Members of the Committee went in with him, and have held the whole Power in their Hands ever ſince, without my having the ſmalleſt Interference, except to demand the ſtipulated Effects and Share of every Thing for the Rhannee.

" It would be diſreſpectful, as well as unneceſſary, for me to enter into Arguments with you, Sir, concerning the Rights of the Company, from Charters and Acts of Parliament in their Favour; but even allowing, for the preſent, that the Right of Plunder was veſted in the Company, I apprehend that your Order to ſecure the Fort, and the Property in it, for the Uſe of myſelf and Detachment, was a ſufficient Authority for my ſharing the Capture among the Officers and Troops under my Command; but more eſpecially as the Minutes of Council, iſſued in General Orders, veſted you with the full Powers of the Board; and, of courſe, any Deciſion you made was regarded as a final one of the Supreme Council.

" The Officers of the Detachment regarded alſo your generous and impartial Determination in their Favour with Veneration and Gratitude, as it ſaved them the Anxiety of Suſpence, and was a Mark of your Approbation of their Services; yet, at the ſame Time, they did not admit a Doubt of the Contents of the Fort of Bidjie Ghur being their Prize.

" With reſpect to the Exigencies of the Company, every Officer of the Detachment would, I dare ſay, be ready to adminiſter ſingly to their Convenience, as their Circumſtances would allow; but to give in One Sum the Whole of their Property, without its being properly divided, they did not think would be expected, as a general Bond ſurely cannot be eſteemed ſufficient Security for every Individual.

" Regarding the Excluſion of Major White's Regiment, the Committee of Diſtribution will undoubtedly give Reaſons for their Conduct, and the Officers of that Regiment will then be able to judge how far the Excluſion has been juſt, which, I believe, has been regulated by Cuſtom.

" The Plunder being ſhared, and become the preſent Property of the different Sharers, I do not think myſelf competent to give an Order for a Refund. The Officers and Troops will judge how far they are liable to anſwer to Government for having received it. The Deciſion of the Board will, I am certain, be received with that reſpectful Attention it is their Duty to pay; and I beg Leave, Sir, to offer you my ſincere Thanks for your promiſed Influence to make it favourable.

" From the Uſages of all Services I have ever heard of, and had the Honour of being employed in, I was firmly of Opinion that the Right of Plunder was veſted in the Captors. The Inſtances of Plunder being ſhared in this and other Countries, without any prior Application to the Members of Government, have been many; and it would be only, Sir, intruding on your Patience to enumerate them. I will therefore only add, ever happy in the Aſſurance of your Eſteem and Friendſhip, that I hope, from your Indulgence, the Claims on the Part of the Company to be withdrawn; and that from your Acquieſcence and Favour we may obtain the quiet Enjoyment of what, I have every Reaſon to believe, you will not think unworthy the Services of myſelf and the Troops under my Command.

" I have the Honour to be, with every Senſe of Reſpect,

" Sir, &c.

" Camp near Bijee Ghur, 16th Nov. 1781. (Signed) William Popham."

" To Major Popham

" Sir, Chunargur, Nov. 18th, 1781.

" I have this Day received your Letter of the 16th inſtant. Since my private Letters have been received and quoted as Authority, I regret that they were not more guardedly written, and yet more that they were written at all. Their obvious Conſtruction is, that I myſelf conſidered the Plunder of Bidjygur as ſo much the due Reward of the Officers and Soldiers whoſe Services had earned it, that I expreſſed it as decidedly theirs. Had my Letters been official, or intended for the ſtrict Interpretation which you have given to them, I ſhould have declared the ſame Sentiments in Subſtance, but in more warrantable Language. It is moſt probable that I ſhould have ſignified my Opinion that the Officers and Soldiers were entitled to ſhare between them the Whole of the Treaſure and valuable Effects taken in Bidjygur; not as theirs by any poſitive or declared Law, or by the Right of Cuſtom, but as the Effect of that Claim which Merit has to optional Bounty; that if the Amount had been even conſiderable, but not enormouſly great, I might have exerciſed the Authority with which I have been inveſted, to allow the immediate Diſtribution of it, that no Part of its Effect might be loſt by Delay; but that if the Sum was ſo great as to become a public Object, I ſhould certainly have hoped, that to remove the popular Envy which might attend its Appropriation to the Benefit of Individuals, it might have been tendered by the Officers themſelves for the immediate Relief of the Company in the preſent Diſtreſſes, on Loan, for Bonds ſeverally granted to each Sharer, not, as you ſuppoſed would be neceſſary, to the Whole collectively; which, as the Company's Bonds are negociable, would have as effectually ſecured their Property in them, as if the Sums charged to each Bond had been actually lent in the common Mode; but, at all Events, if I had thought it proper to refer the final Deciſion to the Board, I ſhould have taken upon myſelf the firſt Reſponſibility of the Gift, by adviſing it, and by becoming the Advocate of

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the Army for obtaining an Act of the Board for that Purpose. I am myself, knowing the Characters of the Gentlemen actually composing that Body, perfectly assured that they would have as heartily joined with me in such a Resolution, as I was disposed to propose it.

" If you thought my Letters conveyed the Sanction which you seem to attribute to them, I am sorry that you did not avail yourself of your intire Knowledge of my private Sentiments, however conveyed to you upon the same Subject; and I must now request that you will enable me to make them known to those, who, from this partial Selection of them, may have acquired a Right to be possessed of the Whole, by furnishing me with Copies of the Letters which have been written by my Secretary Major Palmer, as declaratory of them; particularly One dated the 10th November, which, I believe, comprises my Opinion and Wishes in the fullest and most positive Terms.

" It has been intimated to me, that a Suspicion, that the Treasure found in Bidjygur might, if reported before its Distribution, have been wholly taken by Government for the Benefit of the Company, was the Cause and Motive for the precipitate Division of it. I own it has that Appearance; and I am sufficiently mortified by the Idea which this Construction suggests of the Opinion which you must have entertained of my Sincerity, if you countenanced such a Precaution, since the Passages in my Letters, which you have quoted as ascertaining the Right of the Army, were, under a more favourable Supposition, more likely to have operated as Encouragements to apply for a Sanction to receive it with the Assurance of Success, than to seize it before it could be disputed.

" I am sorry that I am constrained to appear in a Character so different from that in which I hoped to have shewn myself, in Opposition to an Act done for the Benefit of the Army, instead of being the Instrument of promoting their Interest; I must bear, as I can, the Mortification of my present Disappointment, and satisfy myself with the Conciousness that I have been, and the Assurance that they will find it, by the Event, their best Friend and Adviser.

" In the mean Time you have declared, that the " Plunder being shared, and become the present Property of the different Sharers, you do not think yourself competent to give an Order for " a Refund." I am compelled by the Sense of my public Duty to protest, and I hereby protest against the Distribution, not as the Act of the Officers whom you have constituted a Committee for that Purpose, but as yours, the sole and whole Authority being yours, and Responsibility unalienably vested in you. I protest against the Exclusion of the others in Benefit of their own Pretensions, and against the Power granted them for that Purpose, as repugnant to the Principles of Natural Justice, which forbid that Men shall be Judges in their own Causes, when a superior Judgment can be obtained.

" I shall prepare the Materials of this Transaction for the Information of the Board, but shall wait for your Answer, before I finally dispatch them.

" Sir,

" With the greatest Respect, &c.

" (Signed) Warren Hastings."

" N. B. To this Letter I never received any Answer."

" To the Honourable Warren Hastings Esquire, Governor General.

" Honourable Sir,

" It is with the sincerest Regret we are informed by Major Popham, that the Distribution of the Prize Money taken at Bidjee Ghur is repugnant to your Ideas of Propriety and Justice.

" We did conceive that any Money and Effects (Warlike Stores excepted) taken consequent to a Capitulation, was the undoubted Property of those whose Lives were risqued in the Acquisition.

" Consequent to your Order, any farther Participation is suspended, but we trust, from your Candour and Generosity, you will permit us to retain the Residue of what we had always understood you had regarded as our Property, and which now would have been untouched, had not your (supposed) Approval seemingly established the Rectitude of our Claim as incontestible. But, abstracted from this imaginary Admission of our Right, we were influenced to believe that no Doubt existed as to the Validity of our Pretensions, from many reiterated Precedents in Point occurring to our Reflection to confirm them.

" It is not to be imagined that Military Men are acquainted with the Niceties of Legal Distinction, the Usage of the Service can be their only Guide; and if they adhere strictly to that, and yet err, we do not apprehend that any just Imputation of Guilt can result from their Ignorance.

" Respecting a Resumption of the Sum already received, we fear it is impossible, the greatest Portion being already alienated; but we are very ready to submit what remains to your entire Disposal.

" As to the Claim of the First Battalion of Major White's Regiment (Captain Blair's) it was admitted the Moment the Case was clearly understood; but in respect to the other Battalion of that Regiment, we beg Leave to suggest the following Reasons for its Exclusion.

" In the First Place, a Return of that Corps, since the Commencement of the present Service, has never been transmitted to Major Popham; neither has Captain M'Dougall ever received any

official

official Inſtructions from him whatever: Secondly, a Return of that Battalion has never been included in the General Returns tranſmitted to you, the Commander in Chief, or Military Secretary, as any Part compoſing this Detachment: And, thirdly, we believe it to be ſtrictly conſonant to Military Regulations, that Officers commanding Corps do return monthly to their immediate Commanding Officers, as well as to the Commandant of the Regiment or Brigade to which ſuch Corps are attached.

" That Captain M'Dougal has made a Return to Major White (as is cuſtomary) we do not pretend to diſpute; and does it not then inevitably follow that the ſame Rule ſhould have been obſerved in reſpect to Major Popham, had Captain M'Dougal ever entertained an Idea of acting under his Command?

" We write this, Sir, under the cleareſt Conviction of your Regard, Candour, and Impartiality, and beg you will do us the Juſtice to believe that

We are, with the greateſt Eſteem and Reſpect, &c.

C. Crawford, Lieutenant,
R. Maxwell, Captain,
Ed. Humphries, Major,
Thos. Townſhend, Lieutenant,
J. Campbell, Lieutenant,
C. Vernon, Lieutenant,
Rt. Sands, Lieutenant, Fireworker,
Rt Morris, Lieutenant,
J. Noke, Captain,
Olivr Cacy, Lieutenant,
Ludovick Grant, Captain,
James Harwood Lieutenant,
Alexr Macleod, Lieutenant,
J. H. Hutchinſon, Lieutenant,
John Garſtin,
E. O. Donnell, Lieutenant,
R. S. Perreau,
J. Fox Calcraft, Lieutenant,
J. P. Pigott,
G. Ball, Lieutenant,
P. Fallon,
John Gordon, Lieutenant,
B. Noſs, Lieutenant,
D. Reed, Lieutenant.

Wm Popham, Major,
Juſtly Hill, Captain, Artillery,
M. Crawford, Major,
A. Balfour,
James Denty, Captain,
Geo. Birrell, Lieutenant,
Alexr Knox, Lieutenant,
R. Dumes, Captain,
J. J. Windood, Lieutenant,
Thomas Brown, Lieutenant,
W. Lane, Major,
J. Hamilton, Lieutenant,
Ja. Gelleſpie, Lieutenant, Artillery,
J. Underwood, Lieutenant,
Wm Crawford, Lieutenant,
P. Stewart,
Wm Pickett, Lieutenant,
John Morriſon, Lieutenant,
Robert Bell, Lieutenant,
Wm Shipton, Lieutenant, Fireworker,
J. Bellaſſis, Lieutenant,
B. Bruce,
David Birrell,
James Lewis Lucadon,
Wm Comyn, Lieutenant,

" Chunargur, November 30, 1781.

" To Major Popham.

" Sir,

" Expecting your Arrival at this Place ſome Days earlier than it happened, I have delayed my Anſwer to the Letter which you, and the Officers of your Detachment, did me the Honour to Addreſs to me on the 19th Inſtant, on the Subject of the Claims preferred to me for a Participation in the Plunder of Bidjygur, by the Officers and Troops engaged in the Service againſt Rajah Cheit Sing, but not preſent at the Siege of that Fortreſs.

" In the preſent State of the Queſtion, I do not think my ſole Authority competent to the Acceptance of the Propoſition made in the Letter. My Diſpoſition is ſtill more averſe than my Authority is ineffectual to appear in the Character of an Arbiter, and eventually ſubject to that of an Oppoſer of the Intereſt of Gentlemen, whoſe public Services, and perſonal Attachment, have given them the ſtrongeſt Claims to my Eſteem and Support.

" It is my ardent Wiſh that no Altercation, or Diſagreement, may ever ſubſiſt between us, and that our only Intercourſe may be Juſtice in public, and Kindneſs and Cordiality in our private Relations. For theſe Reaſons, I muſt decline anſwering the Arguments upon which the Officers have ſupported the Juſtice and Propriety of the Diſpoſition which has been made of the Treaſure and Effects. But as the Reſult of the Converſation which I have had with you on this Subject, promiſes an equitable and impartial Mode of Deciſion, I ſhall tranſmit the Letter to the Board, with ſuch Obſervations as the Sentiments of Candour and Confidence which it contains, as well as the great Merits and Services of the Detachment, intitle the Gentlemen to expect from me.

" I am, Sir, &c.

" (Signed) Warren Haſtings."

" Chunargur, 30th November 1781.

" To Major Popham.

" Sir,

" I requeſt that you will be pleaſed to repreſent to the Officers of your Detachment, with what Reluctance I return the Preſents with which they have honoured me, and which I eſtimated not by their intrinſic Value, conſiderable as they are, but as Teſtimonies of the Affection of a Body of Gentlemen for whom I entertain the higheſt and beſt founded Eſteem and Reſpect.

" Nothing leſs than the apparent Inconſiſtency which my Conduct would wear in retaining Preſents of ſuch Value, after the Opinion I have delivered concerning the Property of which they compoſe a Part, could prevail upon me to part with the Pledges of an Attachment for which I am ſo ſolicitous. But I ſhall ever preſerve the moſt grateful Remembrance of the Sentiments which thoſe Pledges are intended to convey.

" Although I cannot accept of Preſents which I conſider to be a Part of Property yet undecided, I am deſirous of giving the Gentlemen of the Detachment a Proof that I do not mean to decline receiving any Marks of their Regard, which I think they can with Propriety beſtow, or I accept; and this Proof is afforded me, by requeſting they will indulge me with the Shamſcrit Manuſcripts which may be found in Bidjygur, where, I am informed, Rajah Cheyt Sing had made a curious and valuable Collection.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings."

" Read the following Letters from Captain John Hamilton,
Lieutenant P. Fallon,
. . Falvey,
J. Campbell,
L^t Ol^r Carry,
C. Evelyn."

Officers who have ſhared in the Diſtribution of the Beejy Ghur Prize Money.

" To J. P. Auriol Eſquire, Secretary to the Honourable the Governor General and Supreme Council.

" Sir,

" In Compliance to the Orders of the Honourable Board of the 18th of February laſt, reſpecting the Plunder taken in the Fortreſs of Bejyghur, I have the Honour to acquaint, for the Board's Information, that I am, at all Times, willing to abide by their Deciſion; but having incurred Debts to a conſiderable Amount from the Service of Eleven Years in a Subaltern Line, I, on receiving my Quota of the Prize Money, remitted it to the Liquidation of thoſe Debts, as being preſent at the Capture of ſeveral more important Fortreſſes, the Prize Money was, without Heſitation, immediately divided among the Captors.

" 15th May 1782. I have the Honour to ſubſcribe myſelf, &c.

(Signed) John Hamilton."

" To J. P. Auriol Eſquire, Secretary to the Honourable the Governor General and Council.

" Sir,

" I ſhould no Doubt have done myſelf the Honour of addreſſing you reſpecting the Orders of the Honourable Board, under Date the 18th February, regarding the Prize Money divided amongſt the Troops employed at the Siege of Bidjeeghur, had I not been upon Leave of Abſence theſe laſt Two Months, during which Time I received no official Account of theſe Orders. This, Sir, I hope will ſufficiently juſtify my Conduct in not earlier writing to you on the Subject. I have to requeſt, you will be pleaſed to inform the Honourable Board, ſo far as my Abilities will admit, it ſhall be my conſtant Duty to ſhew them how ready I ſhall be to act with Zeal and Attention to their Commands. Long before any Idea was entertained that the Diviſion of the Prize Money would not meet with the Approbation of the Honourable the Governor General and Council, I had appropriated a conſiderable Share of it to the Payment of my Debts which I had long owed. The Remainder has been reduced to a very ſmall Sum by the unavoidable Acceſſion of Expence which I have incurred in replacing the moſt neceſſary Articles thereby, to the whole Amount of my Property which I had loſt in the Retreat from Mammagur. Theſe Circumſtances, I doubt not, will convince the Honourable the Governor General and Council of my Inability to repay the whole Sum; however, what little remains, I ſhall with Pleaſure ſubmit to their Diſpoſal.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

" Chunar, 26th April 1782. (Signed) Pat. Fallon, Lt."

" To J. P. Auriol Eſq.

" Sir,

" I have received your Letter of the 2d inſtant, deſiring to know if I am willing to ſubmit my Right in the Share of the Booty found in Bijygur, which I have received, to the Determination of the Honourable Governor General and Council; to which I anſwer, that I am, and ever ſhall be, willing

willing to abide by their Determination as far as lies in my Power; but that prior Misfortunes, aggravated by a ſevere Fit of Illneſs, which I got at the Siege of that Fort, involved me ſo much in Debt that a Second Bidjygur Prize would ſcarcely extricate me. You know, Sir, that in the Loſs of the Stafford, all the Property that every Individual had on Board was involved. It is plain, that I, as a Paſſenger, and going to Madraſs to join my Corps, did not leave much behind me, and that of Courſe I muſt have been one of thoſe that ſuffered the moſt. I loſt all I had in the World, and tho' this was not much, yet the richeſt of my fellow Sufferers, in a comparative Senſe, could have loſt no more. Prior to this Event, I was out of Debt, and eaſy in my Circumſtances, but as a Change of Cauſes neceſſarily occaſions a Change of Events, the Cataſtrophe of the Stafford reduced me to the Neceſſity of having Recourſe to Friends, and borrowing Money; the Willingneſs with which they ſerved me, heightened the Obligations on my Part, and I ſighed after the happy Moment when I could pay them with Gratitude; this happy Moment, I thought, came at laſt; but after ſumming up all my Debts, I found my Prize Money inſufficient to the Taſk; however, I made a proportionable Dividend of my Caſh to all my Benefactors; and the Goodneſs of my Intentions ſupplied my want of Abilities for the Balance.

" Chandernagore, 12 May 1782. I am, Sir, &c.
(Signed) M. Falvey."

" On the Service.

" To J. P. Auriol Eſquire, Secretary to the Honourable the Governor General and Supreme Council.

" Sir,

" My having left Burrampore to join my Corps at this Station, has been the Cauſe of my not ſooner anſwering your Letter of the 2d inſtant, which I have juſt received.

" With reſpect to my not having delivered in my Sentiments upon the Requiſition of the Honourable the Governor General and Supreme Council, regarding the Booty found in Bidjyghur, I requeſt Permiſſion to inform the Honourable Board through you, that, with a Confidence of the Propriety of obeying their Orders, and a thorough Reliance upon the Equity and Generoſity with which the Honourable Board would determine; nevertheleſs, being a very young Officer, my Anxiety to aſſert the Character of a Soldier, not only by a ſtrict Obedience to the Orders of my Superiors, but by an Adherence to my Duty, in ſupporting whatever Claims I may be juſtly entitled to, urged me to look to the Conduct of my ſenior Officers, by whoſe Experience I wiſhed to be guided. Being now called upon to anſwer as an Individual, I candidly confeſs my Opinion, that no Man of Honour can feel the leaſt Compunction in ſubmitting his Right to the Determination of that Honourable Board, whoſe Juſtice and Equity forms the Baſis of our Government.

" A Detail of private Concerns may be looked upon as Intruſion; yet give me Leave to repreſent to my Honourable Maſters, that being on my Way to join the Corps I was then attached to, I arrived at Banaris juſt at the Commencement of the Diſturbances, and was immediately deſired to join the Troops then with the Honourable the Governor General: That having no Land Carriage for my Effects upon the March to Chunargur, I was forced to leave all that I was poſ-
* Sic in Orig. ſeſſed of in my Boat, which I * every Thing in it deſtroyed. I was then of Neceſſity obliged to run greatly in Debt, to equip myſelf for the Campaign. This Loſs, together with paying my former Debts, and being rather extravagant, when I found it for the Firſt Time in my Power, leaves ſo ſmall a Part of the Money I received, as my Share of the Booty, in my Poſſeſſion, that it could not afford the ſmalleſt Aſſiſtance to the Honourable Company in their preſent Situation.

" Theſe Circumſtances, the Generoſity of the Honourable Board, and their Promiſe of liberally conſidering the Honourable Governor General's Letters to Major Popham, induces me to hope that the Deciſion of the Honourable Board will be in my Favour, as it is evident, from the above State of my Affairs, that the contrary muſt prove fatal to me.

" Midnapore, 14th May 1782. " I have the Honour to be, &c.
(Signed) John Campbell, Lieutenant,
2d Battalion 17th Regiment."

" Peter Auriol Eſquire, Secretary to the Honourable the Supreme Council.

" Sir,

" I take the earlieſt Opportunity to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter, wherein you complain of my not having given an Anſwer yet to the Requiſition of the Honourable the Governor General and Council, in their Minute of the 18th February laſt, reſpecting the Booty found in Bidjygur, alſo of your being directed to call upon me, to know if I am willing to ſubmit my Right in the Share I have received to their Determination.

" I now acquaint you, for the Information of the Honourable the Supreme Council, that I have, in Obedience to their Requiſition of the 18th February laſt, given my Anſwer in Writing, dated 26th laſt Month. Whether it hath miſcarried in the Dawk, or had met with an Accident through my Servant, after I had ſent it there, I know not.

" The Purport of my Anſwer, both there and now is, that the Share of Prize I got at Bidjygur was given to me as my legal Right, and that by the expreſs Authority of Major Popham; therefore I do not mean to relinquiſh any Part of it, nor is it in all my * Power, though I ſhould even be inclined at this late Time; my having but a ſcanty Mite remaining, after firſt diſcharging all the occaſional Debts which I incurred previous to my receiving it; add to that, the haſty Extravagance that ſuch a Thing generally leads are † Officer of my volatile Rank into, upon his coming to it in that Chance Way.

* Sic in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

" Pleaſe, Sir, to aſſure the Honourable the Governor General and Council, that I retain the higheſt Senſe of Reſpect and Eſteem for them; and I hope to be henceforth able, through a proper Attention, to ſhew the great Duty and Obedience I, as an Officer in the Honourable Company's Service, owe to their certain Wills and Pleaſure.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

" Borhampore, May the 15th, 1782.

(Signed) Olie[r] Cary, Lieutenant,
36th Regiment Sepoys."

" To J. P. Auriol Eſquire, Secretary to the Honourable the Governor General and Council.

" Sir,

" I have received your Letter in the Name of the Honourable Board, and in Anſwer I muſt beg Leave to inform you, that it is out of my Power to lay the Dividend of the Prize Money I received at Bidjygur to ‡ the Determination of the Honourable Board; the greateſt Part of it was required to diſcharge the Debts I had unavoidably contracted. Had I been acquainted before the 31ſt of March, that the Committee had no Intentions of ſending an Anſwer in the Name of the Whole of Major Popham's Detachment, I would have ſent in a ſeparate one before.

‡ Sic in Orig.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

" Berhampore, May 13th, 1782.

(Signed) C. Evelyn, Lieutenant,
28th Regiment Sepoys."

" Agreed that a Committee, conſiſting of all the Field Officers at the Preſidency, whether on Duty or otherwiſe, who have no Intereſt in the Booty taken at Beejygur, nor Pretenſions thereto, be appointed to conſider the Claims of thoſe Officers to ſhare in the ſaid Booty, who, in conſequence of their Excluſion by the Committee of Officers in the Diviſion made by them on the Spot, have applied to the Board to be admitted;—that all the Papers concerning this Buſineſs in the Poſſeſſion of the Board be laid before the Committee now appointed, in order to guide their Conſideration; and that they be deſired to report their Opinion, either eſtabliſhing or rejecting the Pretenſions of ſuch Officers whoſe Caſes may be ſubmitted to them by the Board.

" And in order to eſtabliſh the Right of the Company to the Property found in Beejygur upon the Surrender of that Place:

" It is reſolved, that a Suit be commenced againſt Major Arthur Balfour, whoſe Name is firſt ſigned to the joint Letter, recorded in Conſultation 25th April, from ſeveral of the Officers concerned in the Receipt of the ſaid Booty, refuſing to ſubmit their Rights to the Determination of the Board."

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe they would next proceed to lay before them Extracts of Two ſeparate Letters, from Mr. Haſtings, and from the Board in general, to Colonel Champion in 1774, to prove that Part of the Article which charges Mr. Haſtings with having made a Demand of the Prize Money contrary to his Knowledge of what was right, and contrary to his own former Declaration *.

* Vide printed Articles, Page 7, Par. 2.

The Witneſs produced Book 18, intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations from the 3d January to the 19th September 1774."

Read, the following Extracts of a Conſultation on the 3d June 1774, beginning at Page 276.

" Fort William, 3d June 1774.

Secret Dep. Friday.

" At a Conſultation; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Preſident.

Philip M. Dacres,
James Lawrell,
John Graham,
Nich[s]. Grueber,
} Eſquires.

☞ [" Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor to Colonel Champion, dated May 21, 1774.

" Hitherto every Part of your Conduct has met with my moſt entire Approbation; but there is " One Subject which in ſome Meaſure alarms me; the very Idea of Prize Money ſuggeſts to my

" Remembrance

" Remembrance the former Diſorders which aroſe in our Army from this Source, and had almoſt
" proved fatal to it. Of this Circumſtance you muſt be ſufficiently appriſed, and of the Neceſſity
" of diſcouraging every Expectation of this Kind among the Troops. It is to be avoided like
" Poiſon. However, in caſe any conſiderable Capture ſhould attend your future Operations, I
" think you cannot purſue a better Conduct than that which you intended; to determine nothing
" yourſelf, but acquaint the Board with the Circumſtances, and wait for their Deciſion."

" (A true Extract.)

" (Signed) James Browne,
" Aid-de-Camp."]

" Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor to Colonel Champion, dated May 28th 1774.

" I have received a Letter from the Vizier, complaining of the Claim you made to ſearch for Treaſure in Pelibeet.

" I have already expreſſed my Sentiments upon the Subject of Prize Money to the Army; the only Inſtance wherein our Troops, in the preſent Service, could have any Pretenſions to it by the Cuſtoms of War, would be in the actual Aſſault of a Place by Storm; in every other Caſe it is clear, that the Capture becomes the ſole Property of the Power carrying on the War. In the Inſtance of Pelibeet, which made no ſort of Defence whatever, but fell with the whole Rohillah Country into the Hands of the Nabob, in Conſequence of the Victory, we had no more Right to ſearch or interfere at all in the Riches it contained, than we had to ranſack every defenceleſs Village or Houſe in the open Country for Plunder.

" It is true, that our General obtained that Victory, and our Troops bore the Brunt of the Action; but ſuch was the Tenure of our Engagement with the Vizier, in Conſideration of which he ſtipulated to pay a certain Sum to the Company, and to bear the whole Expence of the Service. His own Argument is unanſwerable on this Subject; if we deprive him of the Fruits of his Conqueſt, we infringe the Agreement upon which the Expedition was ſet on foot; and he has a Right on his Side, to refuſe the Payment ſtipulated to us, becauſe he depended on the Fruits of his Conqueſt to enable him to make that Payment. I muſt here remark, that the Particulars of this Tranſaction, as mentioned by the Vizier, bear a very different Appearance from your Account of it; and that when I approved of the Conduct you intended to have purſued, it reſpected only your Intention of delivering up whatever might be taken to the Vizier, and waiting for the Board's Determination.

" With Reſpect to Pelibeet, however, and to every Capture in the preſent Service, except perhaps, in the Caſe of Plunder taken in an actual Aſſault, the Right is clearly the Nabob's, and will admit of no Diſputation. This is my poſitive Deciſion on the Subject, which muſt be regarded by you as an Inſtruction for your Conduct, until you receive the Sentiments of the Select Committee, in caſe you ſhould judge it neceſſary to apply to them on this Subject.

" (A true Extract)

" (Signed) James Browne,
" Aid-de-Camp."

Country Correſpondence.

" The Preſident alſo ſubmits to the Board, the Tranſlation of a Letter from the Vizier to him, giving an Account of the Claim of the Army to the Treaſure ſuppoſed to have been in Pellybeet; which is read for the Information of the Board, and returned to the Preſident.

" Read the 9th Paragraph of the Company's Orders in their general Letter of the 24th of December 1765, which are as follows:

" Extract of a General Letter from the Court of Directors, dated 24th December 1765.

Company's Orders.

" Par. 9th. To prevent this diſhonourable Practice of ſtipulating for Services that are but the Duty of a Soldier's Profeſſion, we poſitively forbid all future Stipulations by Treaty or otherwiſe, with any of the Country Powers, for any Donation or Gratification for Services to be performed.

Reply to Colonel Champion.

" Agreed that a Copy of theſe Orders be tranſmitted with the following Letter to Colonel Champion.

" To Colonel Alexander Champion, Commander in Chief of the Forces under the Preſidency.

" Sir,

" The Letter which you addreſſed us from Biſſonly, of the 16th Ult°, was duly received.

" It gives us great Concern to find a Claim urged by the Army and ſupported by you with no inconſiderable Degree of Warmth, which we deem equally improper, and at this Time ill founded. We cannot admit of any Right in the Troops to a Share of the Treaſures which the Vizier may acquire in the Rohilla Country. He is the Principal in the War, and to him every Acquiſition of Right belongs, Treaſure and Effects as well as Territory. We know that by the Uſage of War, the Plunder that falls immediately under the Soldiers Hand, in the Storming of any City or Camp, is left with them, but we believe that in no Country or State there is a Right acknowledged in the Army to any further Share of the Fruits of Conqueſt. There are indeed Inſtances where the

Sovereign

Sovereign, in particular Services, grants a Share of the general Plunder to the Troops, and previouſly ſettles the Mode of dividing it; but in this Caſe the Vizir made no ſuch Grant, nor did we ſtipulate for any ſuch from him.

" We obſerve, Sir, that after enumerating the immenſe Spoils which the Vizir is ſaid to have gathered, you teſtify your Belief that we did not foreſee thoſe Circumſtances, otherwiſe, you are perſuaded, we ſhould have made further Conditions for the Company and the Army in our Treaty with him. To this we reply, that we certainly did not foreſee what we cannot yet even give Credit to upon the Strength of Reports, although we find they have been ſufficient for procuring the implicit Belief of the Army. An Inſtance which we think almoſt demonſtrative of the Exaggeration of theſe Reports, is that reſpecting Fiezulla Khan. We cannot conceive that this Nabob, from a Country yielding only a yearly Revenue from 6 to 8 Lacks, which has beſides been the Seat of War, or in the cloſe Neighbourhood of it, for two Years paſt, ſhould be able to amaſs a Treaſure of 75 Lacks in ready Money.

" But ſtill were theſe Acquiſitions to prove real, and were we to have foreſeen them, we do not know that we could have exacted better Terms for the Company. At any Rate, Reflections of this Kind are of no Uſe. Arguments introduced in Oppoſition to Meaſures already decided, can only be conſidered as Accuſations, and we doubt not in this Inſtance to juſtify ourſelves fully to our Employers.

☞ [" It is however certain, that in no Event either would we, or could we, have made any Stipulation for the Army. The bad Effects of a ſimilar Meaſure were but too plainly felt in a former Period; and our Honourable Maſters did not fail, on that Occaſion, to reprobate with their Cenſure, in the moſt ſevere Terms, a Practice which they regarded as the Source of infinite Evils, and which, if eſtabliſhed, would in their Judgment neceſſarily bring Corruption and Ruin on their Army.

" This being their Opinion on the general Practice, they doubtleſs muſt have ſtronger Objections to a partial Diſtribution among the Troops immediately employed, which could not fail of exciting Jealouſy in the others, and carry the Appearance of Injuſtice to them.

" Further, Sir, for your more particular Information on a Subject, concerning which it appears you have ſo widely miſunderſtood both our Motives and Sentiments, we think proper to communicate to you, as a Member of the Adminiſtration, an Extract of the Paragraph of the General Letter of 24th December 1765, in which you will find (what it would ſeem you did not ſuſpect) a poſitive Prohibition from the Court of Directors againſt all ſuch Stipulations for the future.

" This Plan, independent of Argument, muſt appear concluſive on the Point. You will therefore take the proper Method to convey a poſitive and firm Declaration to the Troops, that they are not to expect any Share of the Riches acquired by the Vizir in this Conqueſt. Indeed, the Conſequences which you ſignify to us are to be apprehended from our refuſing this Gratification are ſufficiently alarming; but, at the ſame Time, were there no other Reaſon, the very Appearance of ſo dangerous a Spirit in the Troops would determine us to oppoſe it in the Beginning; and we rely on your Conduct and Firmneſs, and that Subordination and ſtrict Diſcipline, which Experience has taught us it has been always your Pride to maintain, for enforcing, with the Support of your Second in Command and the other Field Officers, theſe Orders, and procuring a complete Acquieſcence in them from all the Officers and Soldiers of the Army. Indeed, we are perſuaded that the general Diſpoſition is to Obedience, however a few unruly Spirits or unthinking Men may have expreſſed different Sentiments.

" We are ſorry to find you imagine the Vizir does not entertain a proper Senſe of the Service of the Army in this Campaign. Although he may not have teſtified it directly to them, we can aſſure you, that he has not been wanting in his Letters to the Preſident in Expreſſions of the warmeſt Sort, both as to their Behaviour and the Services which they have rendered him. It is not in the Manners of the Eaſtern Princes to ſignify directly to the Troops their Satisfaction in them; and very probably the Rumours which prevailed of the Treaſures which he had acquired, prevented the Vizir from expreſſing his Senſe of it in private Converſation, leſt he ſhould raiſe Expectations which it was not in his Power to gratify.

" We conclude with recommending, in the warmeſt Manner, that you exert yourſelf in bringing the Troops to a proper Diſpoſition on the Subject in Queſtion; that you diſcourage in future thoſe occaſional Reports of Riches and Treaſure found by the Vizir, which are generally founded on idle Rumour, and the Cupidity or Self Intereſt of Individuals, and which can only tend to miſlead the Soldier into Hopes which can never be realized, and inſtil Notions into him very incompatible with his Duty and Profeſſion.

We are with Eſteem, &c."] ☞

" Fort William, 3d June 1774.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, That the Subject of the Prize Money was finiſhed for the preſent. That the next Allegation in the Article * which reſpects the Nomination and Appointment of the Rajah Mehipnarain had been proved by a Part of the Narrative before read to the Houſe (†), and that therefore they ſhould proceed to the next Allegation, namely, the Defendant's Exaction of a much larger

(*) Vide printed Articles, P. 7. Par. 3.

(†) Vide ſupra, Page 272.

larger annual Sum of Money than had ever before been paid, and larger than the Province of Benares could afford, viz. 40,00,000 Rupees per Annum as a Tribute.

The Managers for the Commons further ſtated, That the Letter which proved this Allegation would likewiſe prove ſeveral other Matters; and therefore, to ſave Time, they ſhould direct thoſe Parts of the Letter to be read altogether, ſtating firſt ſhortly the different Allegations of the Articles which the Letter went to prove; namely, Firſt, the Advancement of the Tribute to 40,00,000 Rupees per Annum: Secondly, That Mr. Haſtings himſelf thought that Tribute too high: Thirdly, To ſhew the Grants and Penſions out of the Property of the Inhabitants of Benares: Fourthly, That certain Duties were laid upon Goods by his Authority without the Interference of the Council; and, laſtly, To ſhew the Amount of the Revenues of Benares, as ſtated by Mr. Haſtings himſelf; to which Statement they wiſhed particularly to call the Attention of the Houſe, in order that the Houſe might better underſtand the Parole Evidence that would be given to that Point.

Read, from the Narrative of the Inſurrection which happened in the Zemeedary of Benaris, (before delivered in), the following Extracts, beginning at the Appendix, Part I. Page 28. (a)

"Letter to the Governor General and Council, dated the 21ſt of November 1781, reſpecting the Settlement of the Zemeedary of Banaris, &c. (Signed) Warren Haſtings.

"To Edward Wheler and John M'Pherſon, Eſquires, Members of the Council of Fort William.

"Gentlemen,

"In a ſhort Letter dated the 5th of this Month, I informed you that I had on that Day concluded the Settlement of this Zemeedary, for the fixt and perpetual yearly Jummah of Forty Lacks of Rupees, with a Deduction of Rupees 6,66,666: 10: 10, being the Amount of Two Months Collections, eſtimated in equal Diviſions for the current Year. I have now the Honour to ſend you the following Papers which comprehend all the Accounts and Deeds appertaining to this Tranſaction.

"Although I am convinced that with proper Management the Zemeedary might yield an Amount conſiderably exceeding that which I have taken as the Eſtimate of its Value, yet I muſt expreſs my Apprehenſion, that unleſs the Naib can find Means to avail himſelf of better official Aſſiſtance than he at preſent poſſeſſes, his real Profits will fall below their allowed Amount; and on that Account I have encouraged him to hope that if he ſhall prove himſelf diligent in his Office, and punctual in the Diſcharge of his Kiſts to the Company, he may hereafter obtain, from the Indulgence of the Board, ſome Remiſſion from the ſtipulated Jummah, whenever the actual Demands of the Company ſhall be leſſened, and the State of their Treaſury will admit of it; and this I ſhall recommend as an Act of Generoſity becoming their former Relation to this Province, and equally warranted by the Principles of good Policy; for there are certain Lines beyond which the Exaction of a public Revenue, will not only defeat its own Purpoſe, but operate as effectually to a Reduction as an intentional Act of Bounty could do. But it is not my Wiſh to engage the preſent Attention of the Board in a Diſcuſſion upon this Subject; my Deſire being only to premiſe what I may hereafter find neceſſary to introduce to their further Conſideration, ſo that any future Propoſition may not appear to ariſe wholly from the inſtant Occaſion of it.

"I now proceed to the Explanation of the Particulars of the Settlement, as contained in the Account N° 3. H. The firſt Deduction made from the groſs eſtimated Jummah of Rupees 53,06,002: 12 is the Sum of Rupees 61,496 granted in Jagheers and other Alienations. The firſt is a Jagheer granted to Beneram Pundit, of the yearly Amount of Rupees 25,000. I have already acquainted the Board with the faithful Services of this Man and his Family during the late Troubles; which I can take upon me to aſſure the Board, whatever was our Opinion of them at the Time, and how repugnant it may be to our national Character to regard any Situation of Affairs with the Eye of Deſpondency, were conſidered univerſally by all but ourſelves, equally by Friend and by Foe, as utterly deſperate. To the Merits of Beneram Pundit and his Brother, on this Occaſion, I muſt add a long Series of Attachment and effectual Service, from the Year 1773 to the preſent Time." (a)

Here the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that the following Extract, about to be read, was to ſhew the Jagheers upon the Province of Benaris.

P. 31. "The next Article will require little Explanation and no Apology. Bundoo Khan, whoſe Name is affixed to a Jagheer of 2000 Rupees annual Rent, is an Inhabitant of the Town of Chunar. He attended Captain Blair in the unfortunate Attempt on Ramnagur, and in the Battle

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 151.

fought

fought at Pateeta; and was of much Service to that Officer on both Occaſions, by his Knowledge of the Ground, and by a natural good Underſtanding, which enabled him to apply that Knowledge to the Incidents before him. This Man ſuggeſted the Expedition, which was afterwards formed, to take Poſſeſſion of the Paſſes lying behind Lutteefpoor by an unknown and ſecret Route, and was himſelf the Guide of the Detachment. Although his former Services, and that which he offered upon this Occaſion, were gratuitous, yet as the Succeſs of the Enterprize appeared to me, from his Deſcription of it, likely to prove the Criſis of the War, I thought it adviſeable to ſecure his Fidelity, and animate his Exertions by ſuch Incitements as were likely to operate with the greateſt Power on a Man of his Rank and Situation in Life. I promiſed him a Jagheer in any Part of the Company's Dominions, of which he ſhould make Choice, to the Amount of One thouſand Rupees clear yearly Rent, if the Enterprize ſucceeded. The Event proved the Juſtice of his Advice, and the Truth of his Repreſentations, and his Conduct in the Courſe of it obtained the moſt favourable Teſtimony of Major Crabb, the Officer who commanded the Party. On his Return to Chunar, I inſtantly granted him a Perwannah for the Village of Jalaulpoor, of which I had allowed him to make Choice, ſituated in the Pergunnah of Pateeta. He himſelf told me, that it yielded a Revenue exceeding 1500 Rupees, and to prevent Diſputes if it were more, I have inſerted it at the round Sum of Two thouſand.

Page 32. "Jaggernaut Sing, late Commandant in the 3d Regiment of Sepoys, having been ſtrongly recommended to me by Colonels Muir, Auchmuty, and other Officers of Rank, whoſe Recommendation at this Time had particular Weight with me, for a Proviſion in his declining Years, after having paſſed Thirty of his Life in faithful and meritorious Service, I procured for him a Jagheer, in the Zemeedary, to the yearly Value of 1200 Rupees. I am perſuaded the Board will admit the Expediency as well as the Juſtice and Humanity of making a more comfortable Proviſion than our ordinary invalid Eſtabliſhment allows for ſuch native Soldiers as have merited the particular Attention of their Superiours; and I flatter myſelf that the preſent Inſtance, as well as the Principle on which it is founded, will meet with their Approval." (*)

Then the Managers for the Commons informed the Houſe, That what was next about to be read, was the Account of the final Settlement with the Rajah Mehipnarain; and to render it intelligible they would ſtate the Nature of it.—That it was an Account delivered in by Mr. Haſtings, annexed to the Narrative and to the Appendix, No. 3. A. That he takes the total Amount of the Revenues of Benares at 53,06,002 : 12 Rupees. That he makes Deductions for Jagheers, amounting to 61,496 Rupees, leaving a net Balance of 52,44,506 : 12 Rupees. That he then deducts the Charges of the Collection in the Aumaunee Mehals, &c. amounting to 1,43,717 : 15 Rupees, which left a Balance of 51,00,788 : 13 Rupees. That he next deducts for Kheiragur, of which the Maulgoozary is appropriated to the Sircar of the Nabob Vizier, to the annual Amount of 1,98,046 : 14 Rupees, leaving a Balance of 49,02,741 : 15 Rupees. The next Deduction is for the Proviſion for the Rajah's Family, ſtating it to be for different Purpoſes, in ſeveral different Pergunnahs: One Sum of 1,58,341 Rupees, another 60,000 Rupees, another of 54,000 Rupees, and another of 6,30,400 : 15 Rupees, for the Rajah and the Expence of his Family; which laſt mentioned Sum of 6,30,400 : 15 Rupees, the Managers for the Commons deſired the Houſe to obſerve was the Sum to which their Attention was meant to be particularly directed. That theſe Three make together 9,02,741 : 15 Rupees, which being deducted from the laſt Remainder, left a net Balance of Forty Lacks; namely the very Sum of the Tribute Mr. Haſtings thought fit to exact of the Province of Benares, after the Expulſion of the Rajah Cheit Sing.

P. 38.—"NUM. 3. H.

"FORM of the General Settlement concluded by the Governor General with Rajah Mehipnarain.

Jummah, as per Account — — — —		49,06,002 12 —
Add Profits enjoyed by the Bauboos, which may now be reſumed, calculated at — — — —		4,00,000 — —
Carry over		53,06,002 12 —

(*) Vide ſupra, P. 153.

		Brought over	53,06,002 12 —
Deduct Articles of Revenue now alienated: (viz.)			
Beneram's Jagheer	— — — —	25,000 — —	
Bundoo Khan's Jagheer	— — —	2,000 — —	
Jaggernaut's Jagheer	— — —	1,200 — —	
Half of the Maash and Charity confirmed by Mr. Marriot, afterwards resumed, and now restored		33,296 — —	
			61,496 — —
		Rup[s]	52,44,506 12 —
Deduct also Charges of Collection, as per Account; viz.			
In the Aumaunee Mehals	— —	41,119 6 ½	
In the farmed Mehals allowed to the Farmers	—	1,02,598 8 ½	
			1,43,717 15 —
			51,00,788 13 —
Deduct Revenue paid for Kheiragur to the Vizeer	— — —		1,98,046 14 —
			49,02,741 15 —
Deduct Jagheers and Allowances for the Support of the Rajah, his Family, and Dependants; viz.			
Jagheer of ½ Buddovee belonging to the Rajah	—	1,58,341 — —	
Ditto Mahaytch Doorgbijey Sing		60,000 — —	
Ditto Seidpoor Owsang Sing		54,000 — —	
Allowance granted for the Support of the Rajah, his Houshold Expences, Family, Sewary, &c.	—	6,30,400 15 —	
			9,02,741 15 —
		Rupees	40,00,000 —"(*)

Then the Managers for the Commons desired Leave to state to the House, That an Omission had been made in the Evidence relative to the Proceedings at Bidjegur, which they thought extremely material to be supplied.

Read accordingly, from Appendix, Part II, Page 138, as follows:

"N° 118. Translation from the Persian of a Proclamation issued by the Governor General the 25th of September 1781.

"Be it known to the Zemeedars, Aumils, Reyots, and all the Inhabitants of the Zemeedary of Banaris, &c. That whereas Rajah Cheit Sing, by many Acts of Rebellion and Perfidy, and the Murder of a Number of English Officers, Sepoys, and other Dependants of the Government of the Company, who were unarmed, has totally forfeited his Right to the Zemeedary of Banaris, &c. and become amenable to the Justice of the Company; it is therefore made known and proclaimed that Cheit Sing and his Brother Soojaun Sing, and their Dependants, have, from this Period, no further Right or Interest in the Zemeedary of the said Province; and all the Zemeedars and Reyots are required to withhold their Obedience and Submission from him, otherwise they will be punished accordingly. And whereas by the Sedition of Cheit Sing the Country has fallen into Confusion and Alarms, Assurances of Protection are hereby given to the Zemeedars and other Inhabitants of this Country, and they are hereby invited to repair to their former Places of Residence, and resume their usual Occupations in perfect Security. And lest any should entertain Apprehensions on Account of their Misdemeanors, it is declared that the past Offences of all the Inhabitants of this Country, who shall conform to this Order, are pardoned. And further, every Zemeedar and Aumil who shall, within the Space of One Month, repair to the Presence of the Governor General, or to Major William Popham, Commander of the Forces in the Field, and make their Submission, shall be pardoned; and such as, on Account of the Distance of the Road, or any other valid Reason, cannot attend in Person, must send their Vakeels for this Purpose with proper Credentials. But be it known that the Persons of Cheit Sing and his Brother Soojaun Sing are excepted from this Pardon; and the Town of Gopee Gunge, the Inhabitants of which have been particularly active in this Rebellion, and have committed many Acts of Sedition, and even Bloodshed on many of the Dependants of this Government, shall be destroyed, and the Inhabitants thereof punished, on a due Enquiry into their Crimes. Such Persons as, availing themselves of these Troubles, shall have plundered and oppressed the Inhabitants of the City of Banaris, and such as shall have committed

(*) Vide supra, P. 167.

Murder on peaceable Paſſengers, ſhall be rendered accountable for the ſame in the due Courſe of Juſtice (a).

Which being read, the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould return to the Part they had interrupted, and next produce Evidence of the oppreſſive Duties which were laid by the Defendant upon Goods and Merchandize in the Province of Benares.*

* Vide printed Articles, Page 7. Par. 3.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 45, intituled, "Bengal Council, from the 8th April to the 20th May 1782."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 8th April 1782, beginning Page 103 of the ſaid Book.

"Fort William, 8th April 1782. Secret Dep. Monday.

"At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor General; Preſident,
Edward Wheler, and
John M'Pherſon, } Eſquires.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. abſent on Service at Fort St. George.

☞ ["Read, the following Letters from the Reſident at Benares.

"Honourable Sir and Sirs,

"I do myſelf the Honour of tranſmitting you, according to the Orders of the Honourable Governor General when at Benares, Account Particulars of the Cuſtoms as deſigned to be levied, and of the Duty as levied by Rajah Cheit Sing. Reſident at Benares, 20th and 29th March.

"You will perceive that, to preſerve Uniformity and to point out whatever Difference there may be between the preſent Duty and that propoſed to be levied in a more ſtriking Manner, I have rated the Three laſt Columns on a Tungay, or Six Maunds, the Load which a Bullock is ſuppoſed to carry; as the former Method of collecting the Duty was on the Weight, not on the Value of the Goods.

"I ſhall truſt to the Candour of your Honourable Board for my Excuſe in pointing out ſome Articles on which a Duty of 5 per Cent. will be too heavy, and by which the Collection would be required, viz. Mace, Cloves, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, and Silk.

"The People who principally trade in theſe Articles are the Maratta Merchants, and a religious Sect called Ahteets, who generally land their Goods at Mirzapore, and from thence carry them by Land and Bullocks into the Decan, or to Delhy; and they will find it more profitable to unload their Boats at Patna, and carry their Goods through Ramgur, than to pay ſo heavy a Cuſtom as 5 per Cent. will amount to in the Road from Patna to Mirzapore.

"I know for certain, that on the Rumour being ſpread, in December laſt, that 5 per Cent. was to be levied on every Article, by the Directions of the Honourable the Governor General, that the principal Houſes in the Decan immediately ordered their Gomaſtahs to ſtop all their Boats at Patna, and to ſend their Goods by the Rout above mentioned, if the Duty of 5 per Cent. was continued.

"I beg leave to lay before your Honourable Board another Propoſition; Whether it will not be judicious to reduce the 5 per Cent. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ on our own ſtaple Commodities, viz. Broad Cloth, Europe Iron, Steel, and Copper.

"I have the Honour to be, &c.
(Signed) Wm Markham.

"Benares, the 20th March 1782.

"P. S. I have not been able to bring ſome certain Articles within the accompanying Statement, on Account of their indefinite Value and Weight. You will obſerve that Cloths more particularly are in the above Predicament.

(Signed) W. Markham."] ☜

"Reſolved, That the Duties of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent collected by the Aumeen be aboliſhed.

"Agreed that the following Letter be written to Mr. Markham.

"Sir,

"We have received your Letter of the 20th ultimo, with the Account of Duties deſigned to be levied by the Governor General's late new Arrangement, and of thoſe exacted by the late Raja. To the Reſident at Benares.

"As we agree with you in Opinion, that the Duty of 5 per Cent. being a great Increaſe upon the former Rates on ſome Articles would be too heavy, we direct that it be reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. upon the following Goods, viz.

Saffron,
Cinnamon,
Mace,
Cloves,

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 222.

Nutmegs,

Nutmegs,
Cochineal,
Raw Silk,
Broad Cloth,
Europe Iron,
Steel,
Copper.

"Fort William, the 8th April 1782. We are, &c."

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, That the Evidence they were about to produce, related not only to the Points ſtated in the Letter read from the Appendix, No. 3. A, ſupra, Page 294, but likewiſe to ſome other Points, which, for the Sake of Perſpicuity, they would ſhortly ſtate; whereupon they deſired the Houſe to recollect there was a Charge in the Firſt Article againſt Mr. Haſtings of his having carried on a clandeſtine Correſpondence with Mr. Markham *.

There were other Charges in the ſame Article as to the Removal of Doorgbijey Sing from his Office, the confining of him in Priſon, and the Exactions made upon him by the Defendant †. There was alſo a further Charge relative to the Appointment of Jagger Deo Sing (called in the Charge Jagger Deo Seo) to the Office of Adminiſtrator of the Province of Benares ‡: All which Charges in the Article the Papers about to be produced would prove to be true.

* Vide printed Articles, P. 7, Par. 4.

† Vide printed Articles, P. 7. Par. 4, 5, 6.

‡ Vide printed Articles, P. 8, Par. 2.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 19, intituled, "Bengal Secret Council, from 23d September to 31ſt December 1782."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of 4th December 1782, beginning Page 711 of the ſaid Book.

"Fort William, 4th December 1782.

"At a Council; Preſent,

Edward Wheler,
John M'Pherſon,
and
John Stables,
} Eſquires;

The Governor General and Sir Eyre Coote indiſpoſed.

☞ ["The Proceedings of the 25th ultimo read and approved.

"The Secretary having received the following Minute, with the Letter incloſed in it, from the Governor General, they were circulated agreeable to his Inſtructions.

Governor General's Minute.

"Governor General.—I deſire the Secretary to lay the accompanying Letters from Mr. Markham before the Board, and requeſt that Orders may be immediately ſent to him concerning the Subjects contained in them. It may be neceſſary to inform the Board, that on repeated Information from Mr. Markham, which indeed was confirmed to me beyond a Doubt by other Channels, and by private Aſſurances which I could truſt, that the Affairs of that Province were likely to fall into the greateſt Confuſion, from the Miſconduct of Baboo Doorkbijey Sing, whom I had appointed the Naib: Fearing the dangerous Conſequences of a Delay, and being at too great a Diſtance to conſult the Members of the Board, who I knew could repoſe that Confidence in my local Knowledge as to admit of this occaſional Exerciſe of my own ſeparate Authority, I wrote to Mr. Markham the Letter to which he alludes, dated 29th September laſt, of which I now lay before the Board a Copy. The firſt of the accompanying Letters from Mr. Markham arrived at a Time when a ſevere Return of my late Illneſs obliged me, by the Advice of my Phyſicians, to leave Calcutta for the Benefit of the Country Air, and prevented me from bringing it earlier before the Notice of the Board. It had indeed been my Intention, but for the ſame Cauſe, to have requeſted the Inſtructions of the Board for the Conduct of Mr. Markham in the Difficulties which he had to encounter immediately after the Date of my Letter to him, and to have recommended the Subſtance of it for an Order of the Board, of which indeed I had given him Expectation; and this will account for his Letter of the 24th October, ſtating the Subject without any Reference to the Orders which I had given him, and for his ſubſequent Letters, referring to my Orders for what he had done in Obedience to them, and in Default of Orders from the Board. I do now moſt earneſtly recommend that the Board will be pleaſed to confirm the Appointment which Mr. Markham has made, and to direct him to exact from Baboo Doorkbijey Sing, with the utmoſt Rigour, every Rupee of the Collections which it ſhall appear that he has made, and not brought to Account, and either to confine him at Benares, or to ſend him a Priſoner to Chunar, and to keep him in Confinement until he ſhall have diſcharged the Whole of the Amount due from him.

Governor General's Minute.

"I feel myſelf, and may be allowed on ſuch an Occaſion to acknowledge it, perſonally hurt at the Ingratitude of this Man, and the Diſcredit which his ill Conduct has thrown on my Appointment of him. In my own Juſtification, it will be ſufficient to recur to the Remembrance of my aſſigned Motive for his Appointment. The Rajah himſelf, ſcarcely arrived at the Verge of Manhood, was

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in Underſtanding but little advanced beyond the Term of Childhood, and it had been the Policy of Cheit Sing to keep him equally ſecluded from the World and from Buſineſs. It was therefore indiſpenſibly neceſſary to depute ſome Perſon for the Management of his Affairs; and no one certainly could appear ſo fit for this Truſt as his own Father, whoſe external Appearance and Behaviour, and the Mode of his Education, which Qualities were all that could be yet known of his Character, ſeemed beſides to qualify him for that Charge. He has deceived me. He has offended againſt the Government which I then repreſented, and merits at leaſt the Puniſhment of a rigid Exaction of its Dues, and, in my Opinion, a Forfeiture of its Bounties. As he was allowed a Jagheer of a very liberal Amount to enable him to maintain a State and Conſequence ſuitable both to the Relation in which he ſtood to the Rajah, and the high Office which had been aſſigned to him, and ſufficient alſo to free him from the Temptation of little and mean Peculations, it is therefore my Opinion, and I recommend that Mr. Markham be ordered to diveſt him of his Jagheer, and re-unite it to the Maulguzary, or the Land paying its Revenue through the Rajah to the Company.]

" The Oppoſition made by the Rajah and the old Rannee; both equally incapable of judging for themſelves, do certainly originate from ſome ſecret Influence, which ought to be checked, by a decided and peremptory Declaration of the Authority of the Board, and a Denunciation of their Diſpleaſure at their Preſumption. If they can be induced to yield the Appearance of a chearful Acquieſcence in the new Arrangement, and to adopt it as a Meaſure formed with their Participation, it would be better than that it ſhould be done by a declared Act of Compulſion; but at all Events it ought to be done. In the Management of this Buſineſs, I would recommend that the Board truſt to Mr. Markham's Diſcretion for the Execution of their Orders.

" I muſt beg leave farther to recommend that Mr. Markham be authoriſed to grant the Khelaut for the Niabut to Baboo Jagger Deo Sing, and to carry into Execution the other Points of my Letter of the 29th September.

" The Inſtitution of the new Offices therein recommended will effectually guard againſt the Embezzlements and concealed Practices which the Example of Doorkbijey Sing may ſuggeſt to others entruſted with that Charge.

Warren Haſtings."

Copy of a Letter from the Governor General to Mr. Markham, Reſident at Benaris.

[" Nia Serai, September 29, 1782.

" I have received your Letter of the 8th inſtant, and am no leſs pleaſed with your Conduct than I am diſſatisfied with that of Doorbijey Sing. I am thoroughly convinced of his Incapacity, and of the Neceſſity of removing him. Your Recommendation of Ally Ibrahim Khawn gives me Pleaſure. I conſider it as a Confirmation of his Worth, and as an additional Proof of yours, that you have conceived a Friendſhip for the Man who, from the Nature of his Office, might poſſibly have been to many others in your Situation an Object of Jealouſy. For the Reaſons you have aſſigned, I think he cannot, with Propriety, accept the Niabut; and for the ſame Reaſons I ſhould be unwilling to make him a Sezawul. It is an invidious Office, inferior in Point of Dignity even to that of Naib, and invariably expoſes the Perſon who poſſeſſes it, to the Ill-will not only of his immediate Superior in his Diſtrict, but of all over whom his Authority extends. The Poſt he already fills is as laborious as it is uſeful and important. Not only perfect Leiſure, but popular Eſteem, is in ſome Meaſure neceſſary to the perfect Diſcharge of its Duties; and I ſhould be very ſorry to give him an Employment that might contribute to rob him of either. Avail yourſelf, however, of his Experience and Abilities upon all Occaſions, where they can be of Service to you in your public Buſineſs, and particularly upon the Arrangements which this Letter will authoriſe you to make.

" I need not tell you, my dear Sir, that I poſſeſs a very high Opinion of your Abilities, and that I repoſe the utmoſt Confidence in your Integrity. The Whole of your Conduct ſince our Acquaintance has ſerved to impreſs me with theſe Sentiments; and mine, I hope, has proved, that I entertain them. From your long Reſidence at Benaris, and from the Part you have had in the Buſineſs of that Zemindarry, you muſt certainly beſt know the Men who are moſt capable and deſerving of public Employment. From among theſe, I authoriſe you to nominate a Naib to the Rajah, in the Room of Doorbijey Sing, whom, on account of his ill Conduct, I think it neceſſary to diſmiſs from that Office. It will hardly be neceſſary to except Ooſſann Sing from the Deſcription of Men to whom I have limited your Choice; yet it may not be improper to apprize you that I will on no Terms conſent to his being Naib. In forming the Arrangements conſequent upon this new Appointment, I requeſt you will, as far as you can with Propriety, adopt thoſe which were in uſe during the Life of Bulwant Sing, ſo far at leaſt as to have diſtinct Offices for diſtinct Purpoſes, independent of each other, and with proper Men at the Head of each; ſo that One Office may detect or prevent any Abuſes or Irregularities in the others, and together form a Syſtem of reciprocal Checks. Upon that Principle, I deſire you will in particular eſtabliſh under whatever Names one Office of Receipts, and another of Treaſury. The Officers of both muſt be reſponſible for the Truth and Regularity of their reſpective Accounts, but not ſubject in the Statement of them to the Controul or Interference of the Rajah or Naib; nor ſhould they be removeable at Pleaſure, but for manifeſt Miſconduct only. At the Head of one or other of theſe Offices, I could wiſh to ſee the late Boxey Rogoober Dyall; his Conduct in his former Office, his Behaviour

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on the Revolt of Cheit Sing, and particularly at the Fall of Bidjeygur, together with his general Character, prove him worthy of Employment, and of the Notice of our Government. It is poſſible that he may have Objections to holding an Office under the preſent Rajah; offer him one however, and let him know that you do ſo by my Directions. In forming theſe Arrangements, do not wholly neglect the Rajah; conſult with him in Appearance, but in Appearance only. His Situation requires that you ſhould do that much; but his Youth and Inexperience forbid that you ſhould do more.

" With reſpect to Doorbijey Sing, he has diſhonoured my Choice of him. It now only remains for me to guard againſt the ill Effects of his Miſconduct; to detect and puniſh it. To this End I deſire, that the Officers to be appointed, in conſequence of theſe Inſtructions, do, with as much Accuracy and Expedition as poſſible, make out an Account of the Receipts, Diſburſements, and Tranſactions of Doorbijey Sing, during the Time he has acted as Naib of the Zemindar of Benaris; and I deſire you will, in my Name, aſſure him, that unleſs he pays at the limited Time every Rupee of the Revenue due to the Company, his Life ſhall anſwer for the Default. I need not caution you to provide againſt his Flight, and the Removal of his Effects.

" I am, &c.

" (Signed) Warren Haſtings."]

" The Letters which follow were alſo circulated with the above Minute.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſq. &c. &c. &c.

" Benares, 24th October 1782.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, from Mr. Markham.

" Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

" I have delayed ſending to you the Accounts Treaſury for the Month of September, as I have yet only received from Rajah Myip Narain the Sum of 1,55,000 Rupees in Part Payment of the Kiſt of Bahdown due the 21ſt ultimo.

" The Month of Aſſin is now elapſed, and I ſee no Probability of his ſpeedily completing the Balance due on account of the Malguzzarry of the laſt Year. I have in the ſtrongeſt Terms repreſented to the Naib Durbeetzy Sing the Impropriety of his Conduct, and the Ruin which muſt attend him, if thus acting contrary to my Advice, he will fully abuſe the Truſt repoſed in him by your Honourable Board. He cannot plead Inability, for I am confident that he has ready Caſh now by him more than ſufficient to anſwer every Demand.

" I am ſorry that my Duty obliges me to mention to your Honourable Board my Apprehenſions of a ſevere Loſs accruing to the Honourable Company, if Baboo Durbeetzy Sing is continued in the Naibut during the preſent Year. I ground my Fears on the Knowledge I have had of his Miſmanagement: The bad Choice he has made of his Aumils, the Miſtruſt which they have of him, and the ſeveral Complaints which have been preferred to me by the Ryotts of almoſt every Purgunnah in the Zemindarry. I did not chooſe to waſte the Time of your Honourable Board in liſtening to my Repreſentations of his Inattention to the Complaints of Oppreſſion, which were made to him by his Ryotts, as I hoped that a Letter he received from the Honourable Governor General would have had Weight ſufficient to have made him more regular in his Buſineſs, and more careful of his Son's Intereſt. I am ſorry to obſerve that it was but a temporary Remedy to the Evil.

" During a Courſe of Two Months Illneſs, he was incapable of tranſacting any Buſineſs whatſoever. In the moſt preſſing Letters, I repeatedly enjoined him to appoint either One of his Brothers, or ſome confidential Servant, for the ſettling the Accounts of his Aumils, and for receiving the Kiſts due from them. I imagine he will find himſelf a very conſiderable Loſer by neglecting this Advice.

" An innate Sloth in his Diſpoſition, and a ſtudied Procraſtination in every Buſineſs where Application and Diſpatch are neceſſary, mark him as unfit for the preſent Station, to which he has been elevated by his Alliance with the old Family of Bulwant Sing, and the Regard which the Honourable the Governor General paid to the obvious Idea of the Father's being the moſt proper Perſon for the Management of the Son's Affairs.

" I intended to have repreſented theſe Circumſtances to your Honourable Board ſome Weeks ago, but was prevented by a ſevere intermittent Fever, which confined me to my Bed.

" I acquainted Mr. Day, the Paymaſter to Sir John Cumming's Detachment, that I had your Directions for advancing Three Months Pay; but he required only Two Lacks of Rupees, for which I have taken his Drafts on the Military Paymaſter General.

" I have the Honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

" Wm Markham, Reſident."

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, &c. &c. &c. from Mr. Markham, Benaris, Nov. 12th 1782.

[" Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

" The Loſs which would accrue upon this Year's Collections, if ſome immediate Step had not been taken, has obliged me to put in force the Orders which I received from the Honourable the Governor General, in a Letter dated 29th of September, and which I at that Time delayed to do, hoping that the Difference of a few Days would occaſion no Detriment in the Collections, and that I ſhould be able to perſuade the Naib Durbeetzy Sing to pay up the Balances of his laſt Year's Malguzary. I have been deceived in the latter of my Expectations, and find Durbeetzy Sing

more

more obſtinate than ever in withholding the Balance of his Bahdoor Kiſt, Two Lacks of which only have as yet been received. It is neceſſary that I ſhould make One Obſervation to you, that I am confirmed in an Opinion which I formerly had, but which I could not with Propriety mention to your Honourable Board, that it never was Durbeetzy Sing's Intention to hold the Country longer than throughout the Fuſſilee Year One thouſand one hundred and eighty-nine. My Reaſon is as follows: He has often expreſſed a Diſguſt that the Country ſhould be given to him on harder Terms than thoſe on which the late Rajah Chyet Sing held it; and you will obſerve that he has this Year only paid Twenty-ſeven Lacks Twenty-ſeven thouſand Rupees, which is nearly the Amount of what Rajah Chyet Sing's Tribute was, after the Five Lacks on his Contribution towards the Expences of the War was levied upon him. I am confident, and hope I ſhall be able to prove, that he has collected at leaſt Forty Lacks from the Râje. I have therefore, in conſequence of the Honourable the Governor General's Orders, ſent him a Letter, informing him that he is diſmiſſed from his former Employment; a Tranſlation of which I have the Honour to incloſe. I thought it proper that Durbeetzy Sing ſhould be put under a gentle Confinement until I ſhall receive your Honourable Board's Orders for any future Meaſures.

" As the Honourable the Governor General has given me an Authority to ſelect a proper Perſon for Naib, and as Baboo Naibul Sing and Baboo Jagger Deco Sing are the only Two of the Family of Rajah Bulwant Sing who are fit for ſuch a Truſt, I recommended the latter to the Honourable the Governor General; and as his Illneſs has prevented me from receiving further Inſtructions, I have appointed him Naib.

" The Honourable the Governor General alſo ordered me to eſtabliſh Offices, which might not only be a reciprocal Check upon each other, but might alſo prevent any Colluſion on the Part of the Naib. I ſhall therefore appoint a Dewane; One Office for Receipts of Revenue into the Treaſury; a Treaſury; and a Fourth Office, in which are to be kept all Diſburſements from the Treaſury. If I had waited for further Directions from the Honourable the Governor General, or your Honourable Board, the Collections on the Khareef Fuſſil would have been entirely loſt, and a Deficiency perhaps happened in the Forty Lacks, which is the Malguzarry from Rajah Mehipnerain this Year, as a moſt unuſual Drought has been univerſally felt over the Country, no Rain having fallen ſince the latter End of Auguſt, which may prove very detrimental to the Rhabbee Fuſſil.

" Babbao Durbeetzy Sing has certainly Money by him ſufficient to pay up the Arrears of the Month Bhadoon, and it would be proper that ſome ſtricter Confinement ſhould oblige him to part with it for that Purpoſe; yet, let me aſſure your Honourable Board, that I will exert myſelf as much as poſſible to recover any Balances which may be due to him from the Country, and that it ſhall be my moſt earneſt Endeavour to avert any Loſs from the Honourable Company, which his obſtinate Conduct and impolitic Diſhoneſty might otherwiſe occaſion.

" I hope that your Honourable Board will approve of my Conduct in this Buſineſs; and that you will believe

" I am,

" Benaris, Nov. 12th, 1782. " Honourable Sir and Sirs, &c. &c. &c.

W^m Markham, Reſident."]

" A TRANSLATION of a Perſian Letter to the Naib Durbeetzy Sing.

Tranſlation of a Perſian Letter to the Naib Durbeetzy Sing.

" After Compliments—The Impropriety of your Conduct, and intentional Delays in paying up your Bhadoon Khiſt, have at length determined the Honourable Nabob Imaud ul Dowlah, &c. &c. &c. to remove you from the high Station to which he formerly raiſed you, from all Interference in the Affairs of your Son, and conſequently in thoſe of this Zemindarry.

" You have ſince the Firſt of Aſſeen of the Fuſſilee Year 1189, paid no more into the Treaſury than Twenty-ſeven Lacks Twenty-ſeven thouſand Rupees. It is impoſſible, from a Country by your own Account affording an eaſy Revenue of Forty-nine Lacks, that no more ſhould be collected: I therefore recommend it to you moſt earneſtly to make up the Balance due, and avoid the Diſhonour and Shame, and perhaps even worſe, which will inevitably purſue you, if you diſregard theſe Injunctions. In the mean Time I have thought proper to keep a Guard upon your Perſon. I deſire that you without Delay give me a Paper, containing the Names of all your Mutzuddies, Writers of Accounts, &c. &c. &c.; that you in the Courſe of this Day ſend me a Liſt of the Balances due to you from the Aumils whom you have employed; that you give the moſt poſitive Orders to your Mutzuddies, &c. &c. &c. to render me a juſt Account and Information of the preſent State of the Country, and to attend me whenever I ſhall call upon them.

" W^m Markham."

" Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, &c. &c &c from Mr. Markham. Benares, Nov. 14th 1782.

" In a Letter which I did myſelf the Honour of writing to you on the 12th inſtant, I informed you that I had given Baboo Jagger Deeo Sing the Appointment of Naib. He could not at that Time be inveſted with the Khalaat, as the Bramins prognoſticated it a Day of ill Omen; and the 15th was fixed upon for the Ceremony.

" Since

" Since that Time the old Rannee and the Rajah, inſtructed by Durbeetzy Sing, have moſt vehemently declared to me, that they will by no Means give their Conſent that any other Perſon ſhall be appointed Naib. I therefore have deferred the Ceremony of granting him the Khalaat till I receive further Orders from your Honourable Board.

" It is neceſſary to be remarked, that Baboo Jagger Deeo Sing and Baboo Neehul Sing are the only Two of the old Family of Bulwant Sing, and indeed the only Two Men with whom I am acquainted in the Zemindarry, to whoſe Hands ſo high an Employment can be entruſted; and I gave the Preference to the former, as Age and Deafneſs are great Impediments to Buſineſs in the latter.

" I have the Honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

" Benares, Nov. 14th, 1782. W^m Markham, Reſident."

" The following Minute was returned with the foregoing Papers, and the Letter which is entered after it written to Mr. Markham:

" In Circulation.

" A Minute from the Governor General.
" Three Letters and One Incloſure from the Reſident at Benares.
" Copy of the Governor's Letter to D°, dated 29th September.

" Thurſday, 28th Nov. 1782.

" Mr. Wheler.—I approve of the Meaſures recommended by the Governor General's Minute reſpecting Baboo Doorkbijey Sing, and of the Mode of carrying them into Execution through the Reſident of Benares, which is his official Duty; and alſo of the Appointment of Jagger Deeo Sing to fill the Office of which Doorkbijey has been diſpoſſeſſed; and of the Appointments recommended in the Governor General's Letter of the 29th September. The ſevere Indiſpoſition with which the Governor General was afflicted when theſe Letters were received, and his Abſence from the Preſidency, are Subjects well known to every Member of the Board.

" (Signed) E. W.
J. M'P.
J. S."

" Sir,

To Mr. Markham, " We have now before us your Letters of the 24th October, 12th and 14th November. The Governor General has likewiſe communicated to us a Copy of the Letter which he wrote to you on 29th September from Nia Serai.

" The Meaſures which you have taken with Baboo Doorbijey Sing are perfectly right and proper, ſo far as they go; and we now direct that you exact from him, with the utmoſt Rigour, every Rupee of the Collections which it ſhall appear that he has made and not brought to Account, and either confine him at Benares, or ſend him a Priſoner to Chunar, and keep him in Confinement until he ſhall have diſcharged the Whole of the Amount due from him.

" We likewiſe direct, that for the Offence which he has been guilty of you diveſt him of the Jagheer which was aſſigned him, and re-unite the Property of it to the Malguzarry, or the Land paying its Revenue through the Rajah to the Company.

" We approve and confirm your Appointment of Baboo Jagger Deeo Sing to the Office of Naib of the Zemindarry, in the Room of Doorbijey Sing, and deſire that you will inveſt him immediately with the uſual Khelaat in due Form.

" We alſo direct you to carry into Execution the other Points of the Governor General's Letter to you of the 29th September, which remain to be accompliſhed.

" Fort William, 4th Dec. 1782. " We are, &c. &c. &c."

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, That they had now read all the Letters they propoſed to give in Evidence relative to this Part of the Charge; and that what was not completely made out by thoſe Letters would be ſupplied by parole Teſtimony: That they ſhould now proceed to the Concluſion of the firſt Article of the Charge, which they ſhould read from the Article itſelf, in order to point out to the Houſe what the remaining Part of the Proof would apply to, viz. " That " the Conſequence of all theſe violent Changes and arbitrary Acts were the total Ruin " and Deſolation of the Country, and the Flight of the Inhabitants; the ſaid Warren " Haſtings having found every Place abandoned at his Approach even by the Officers " of the very Government which he eſtabliſhed, and ſeeing nothing but Traces of " Deva[illegible]tation in every Village; the Province in Effect without a Government; the " Adminiſtration miſconducted; the People oppreſſed; Trade diſcouraged; and the " Revenue in danger of a rapid Decline. *"

* Vide Printed Articles, P. 8. Par. 4.

This

This the Managers ſtated would be proved by a Letter of the 2d of April 1784 (already alluded to in the opening of this Article) from Mr. Haſtings at Lucknow to the Council at Calcutta upon his ſecond Expedition, giving an Account of the Situation of the Country from his own ocular Inſpection;—but before they produced this Letter, it might be more in order to read the Petitions or Arzees from the Rannee the Widow of Bulwant Sing, and the Rajah Mehipnarain, and then proceed to the abovementioned Letter, which would be the laſt Piece of written Evidence they ſhould have occaſion to produce upon this Article of the Charge.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 46, intituled, "Perſian Correſpondence, Public Department, Letters received in the Year 1782."

Read, the following Letters to the Governor General, both received on the 15th December 1782, No. 46 and No. 47 in the ſaid Book.

"From the Ranny, Widow of Raja Bulwant Sing.

"Received 15th December 1782.

"N°. 46. I and my Children have no Hopes but from your Highneſs, and our Honour and Rank are beſtowed by you. Mr. Markham, from the Advice of my Enemies, having protected the Farmers, would not permit the Balances to be collected. Baboo Dirgbejey Sing frequently before deſired that Gentleman to ſhew his Reſentment againſt the People who owed Balances, that the Balances might be collected, and to give Eaſe to his Mind for the preſent Year, conformably to the Requeſts ſigned by the Preſence, that he might complete the Bundobuſt. But that Gentleman would not liſten to him, and having appointed a Muteſeddy and Taveeldar, employs them in the Collections of the Year, and ſent Two Companies of Sepoys and arreſted Baboo Dirgbejey Sing upon this Charge, that he had ſecreted, in his Houſe, many Lacks of Rupees from the Collections, and he carried the Multeſeddies and Treaſurer, with their Papers, to his own Preſence. He neither aſcertained this Matter by Proofs, nor does he complete the Balance of the Sircar from the Jaidads of the Balances; right or wrong he is reſolved to deſtroy our Lives. As we have no Aſſylum or Hope except from your Highneſs, and as the Almighty has formed your Mind to be a Diſtributor of Juſtice in theſe Times, I therefore hope, from the Benignity of your Highneſs, that you will enquire and do Juſtice in this Matter, and that an Ameen may be appointed from the Preſence, that having diſcovered the Crimes or Innocence of Baboo Dirgbejey Sing, he may report to the Preſence. Further Particulars will be made known to your Highneſs by the Arzie of my Son, Raja Mehipnaraine Bahader."

"Arzie from Raja Mehipnarain Bahader.

"Received 15th December 1782.

"N° 47. I before this had the Honour of addreſſing ſeveral Arzies to your Preſence, but, from my unfortunate State, not one of them has been peruſed by your Highneſs, that my Situation might be fully learnt by you: The Caſe is this; Mr. Markham, from the Advice of my Enemies, having occaſioned ſeveral kinds of Loſſes, and given Protection to thoſe who owed Balances, prevented the Balance from being collected; for this Reaſon, that the Money not being paid in Time, the Baboo might be convicted of Inability. From this Reaſon, all the Owers of Balances refuſed to pay the Malwajib of the Sircar: before this the Baboo had frequently deſired that Gentleman to ſhew his Reſentment againſt the Perſons who owed the Balances, that the Balances might be paid, and that his Mind might be at Eaſe for the preſent Year, ſo that the Bundebuſt of the preſent Year might be completed; adding, that if next Year ſuch kinds of Injuries and Protection of the Farmers were to happen he ſhould not be able to ſupport it. But that Gentleman did not reprove the Owers of Balances; and with reſpect to the Satisfaction for the preſent Year, he ſaid that he could not at this Time do it. From this Reaſon ſo great a Balance to the Sircar ſtill remains. Beſides this, upon the falſe Repreſentations of my Enemies, that Gentleman ſaid to the Baboo, "You have ſecreted in your Houſe ſeveral Lacks of Rupees from the Collections, and do not pay the Balance to the Sircar." The Baboo requeſted that this Matter might be properly inquired into; but that Gentleman, without aſcertaining it, appointed a Muteſeddy and a Treaſurer from his own Sircar, for the Collections of the preſent Year. Afterwards, on the 4th of Zeheidja he ſent an Engliſh Gentleman with Two Companies of Sepoys who put the Baboo under Arreſt, at the ſame Time he threw the Muteſeddies and Treaſurer, with their Papers, into Confinement, and brought them to his own Preſence, and told me that Orders had come from the Preſence for a new Naib, and that I muſt appoint Jugdeo Sing Naib to finiſh the Bundebuſt of the preſent Year; and that having ſettled this Point with the Ranny, I ſhould return. I gave him a proper Anſwer, and again went to the Preſence of that Gentleman, and conformably to the Directions of the Ranny, I ſaid to him, "That, with reſpect to the Neabut of Jugdeo Sing, which he had ordered, I was now myſelf able to attend to and manage the Affairs * the Sircar, and that the Ranny did not conſent or approve of a Naib: that it would have been incumbent on him, firſt, to have proved the Crime of Baboo Dirgbejey Sing, and then confined him: That this would have been proper, becauſe, in the Room of all the Ranks and Honours beſtowed upon him by the Preſence, from the Event, Diſgrace and

* Sic in Orig.

Injury,

Injury, without Bounds, have come upon him: That now, from the carrying the Muteſeddies and Treaſurer, with their Papers, to the Preſence, no Secrecy remained. If this Matter ſhould be carried to the Proofs, the Baboo is entirely guilty; but in caſe of his Innocence, let the Guard be taken off, and then the Affairs of this Year may be fully diſcuſſed." Mr. Markham replied, that he would again write this Matter to the Preſence.

" My Maſter, I do not know what he may have written to your Preſence, I have therefore repreſented fully my diſtreſſed Situation; my only Hopes are from your Highneſs; my Honour and Rank are beſtowed by you. Mr. Markham having written falſe Complaints to your Preſence, has brought me to this Situation, and has thrown the Concerns of this Year into Incompletion and Ruin. I am therefore hopeful that an Ameen be appointed, who having enquired into the Crime or Innocence of the Baboo, may inform the Preſence, and may compel the Owers of Balances to pay the Balance of the Sircar. You have approved of the Concerns of the preſent Year being completed by me; favour me ſo far as to prevent the Injuries, and Protection of the Farmers from that Gentleman, and that I may remain firm, conformably to the Requeſts ſigned by the Preſence, that I may complete the Malwajib of the Sircar with Eaſe."

The Managers for the Commons ſaid, They would in the next Place ſhew that there was but One Month in Arrear at the Time of Doorbidjey Sing's being put into Confinement.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 61, intituled, " Bengal Council, from 2d January to 11th February 1782."

Read, Extract of a Conſultation on 5th February 1782, beginning at Page 387 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 5th February 1782.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheler, and John M'Pherſon, } Eſquires.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. Abſent on Service at Fort St. George.

" Extract of a Letter to the Governor General and Council, dated Benares, 25th Jan. 1782.

" Received the following Letter from the Reſident at Benares.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" I herewith have the Honour to tranſmit you an Account of the Receipts and Diſburſements at this Treaſury, from the 1ſt Aſſin, anſwering to the 14th of September 1781, to the 20th of January 1782, by which you will perceive, that Rajah Myipnarain has liquidated the Three firſt Kiſts of Aſſin, Kautick, and Augun."

Then Book 45, intituled, " Bengal Council from the 8th April to the 20th May 1782," was delivered in.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation held on 20th May 1782, beginning at Page 619 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 20th May 1782.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheler, and John M'Pherſon, } Eſquires.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. abſent on Service at Fort St. George.

" The Proceedings of the 16th inſtant read and approved.

" Read the following Letter from the Reſident at Benares.

Reſident at Benares, 3d April.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" I herewith have the Honour to tranſmit you an Account of the Receipts and Diſburſements at this Treaſury, from the 3d March 1782 to the 3d April 1782, by which you will perceive, that Rajah Myipnarain has liquidated his two Kiſts for Maug and Phaugun."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 62, intituled, " Bengal General Council, from the 16th September to the 28th October 1782."

Read, Extract of a Consultation of 30th September 1782, beginning at Page 234 of the said Book, as follows:

" Fort William the 30th September 1782.

Pub. Dep. Monday.

" At a Council; Present,

Edward Wheler, and John M'Pherson, } Esquires.

The Governor General indisposed.

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote absent on Command at Fort St. George.

Extract Letter from Mr. Markham to the Governor and Council, dated from Benares, 22d Sept. 1782.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" I herewith have the Honour to transmit you an Account of the Receipts and Disbursements at this Treasury, from the 3d August 1782 to the 3d September 1782, by which you will perceive, that Rajah Myipnarain has liquidated his 11 Kist for Saween."

Then the Witness produced Book 64, intituled, " Bengal Council, from 2d January to the 10th of February 1783."

Read, the following Extract of a Consultation, 27th January 1783, beginning at Page 510 of the said Book.

" Fort William, the 27th January 1783.

Pub. Dept. Monday.

The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President;
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote,
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherson,
John Stables.

" Received the following Letters from Mr. Markham.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" I herewith have the Honour to transmit you an Account of the Receipts and Disbursements at this Treasury from the 3d of October 1782 to the 3d of November 1782, by which you will perceive, that only 2,00,000 Rupees of the Bhadoon Kist, due the 21st September, has been received, and that a Balance of 6,06,333 : 5 : 10 yet remains to be liquidated.

" I am in Hopes of obtaining this Balance in a few Days from the late Naib Durbeetzy Sing, who, according to your Orders, still remains in Confinement.

" Benares, I have the Honour to be, &c.
30th September 1782. (Signed) Wm. Markham."

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" I herewith have the Honour to transmit you an Account of the Disbursements at the Treasury from the 3d September 1782 to the 3d October 1782.

" Benares, I have the Honour to be, &c.
30th December 1782. (Signed) Wm. Markham."

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" I have the Honour to enclose you an Account of the Receipts and Disbursements at this Treasury, from the 3d December 1782 to the 3d January 1783, by which you will perceive that Baboo Jagger Devo Sing has liquidated Rajah Myipnarain's 1st Kist for Assin, due the 21st October.

" I expect to receive the 2d Kist for Kautich in the Course of Four or Five Days.

" Benares, I have the Honour to be, &c.
8th January 1783. (Signed) Wm. Markham."

Then the Witness produced Book 65, intituled, " Bengal Council, from 12th May to 3d July 1783."

Read, the following Extract from a Consultation of 19th May 1783, beginning at Page 142 of the said Book.

" Fort William, 19th May 1783.

" At a Council; Present,

The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President.

Edward Wheler,
John Macpherson, } Esquires.
John Stables,

" Read the following Letters from the Resident at Benares.

Letter from Mr. Benn to the Governor and Council.

" To the Honourable Warren Hastings Esquire, Governor General, &c. Council.

" Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

" Mr. Markham, the late Resident at Benares, has left this Station to the * proceed to the Presidency, agreeable to your Orders, having previously delivered the Public Letters, Accounts, and other

* Fac simile of Orig.

other Documents, belonging to the Appointment of Reſident, to me, in Charge, till the Arrival of Mr. Fowke.

" Mr. Markham's Letter, incloſing the Public Accounts, would inform your Honourable Board, that the Kiſts for the preſent Year, and the Balance due from Baboo Deerbidzy Sing, on account of the laſt, have been received into the Company's Treaſury, except ſuch Sums as your Honourable Board may not think juſt, and conſequently not admit in the Claims which Baboo Durbidzy Sing has made for Deductions.

" I have the Honour to be
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) John Benn,
Aſſiſtant to the Reſident at Benares."

" Benares,
April 12, 1783.

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired the Witneſs might produce the Letter of Mr. Haſtings from Lucknow before alluded to.

The Witneſs produced Book 47, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, from 18th March to 30th June 1784."

Read, Extract of a Conſultation on 20th April 1784, beginning Page 247 of the ſaid Book, as follows:

" Fort William, the 20th April 1784.

See. Depart. Tueſday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Edward Wheler Eſquire,
and
John Macpherſon Eſquire.
The Honourable the Governor General abſent on a Viſit to the Nabob Vizier.
John Stables Eſquire indiſpoſed.

☞ ["Read, the following Letter from the Honourable the Governor General.

Edward Wheler Eſquire, Council, &c. &c. &c. Fort William.

" Gentlemen, Lucknow, the 2d April 1784.

Governor General, Lucknow, 2d Apr. 1784.

" Having contrived, by making forced Stages, while the Troops of my Eſcort marched at the ordinary Rate, to make a ſtay of Five Days at Benares, I was thereby furniſhed with the Means of acquiring ſome Knowledge of the State of the Province, which I am anxious to communicate to you: indeed, the Enquiry, which was in a great Degree obtruded upon me, affected me with very mortifying Reflections on my own Inability to apply it to any uſeful Purpoſe. From the Confines of Buxar to Benares, I was followed and fatigued by the Clamours of the diſcontented Inhabitants; it was what I expected in a Degree, becauſe it is rare that the Exerciſe of Authority ſhould prove ſatisfactory to all who are the Objects of it. The Diſtreſſes which were produced by the long continued Drought, unavoidably tended to heighten the general Diſcontent; yet, I have Reaſon to fear, that the Cauſe exiſted principally in a defective if not a corrupt and oppreſſive Adminiſtration. Of a multitude of Petitions which were preſented to me, and of which I took Minutes, every one that did not relate to a perſonal Grievance, continued the Repreſentation of one and the ſame Species of Oppreſſion, which is, in its Nature, of an Influence moſt fatal to the future Cultivation. The Practice to which I allude is this. It is affirmed, that the Aumils and Renters exact from the Proprietors of the actual Harveſt, a large Encreaſe in Kind on their ſtipulated Rent, that is, from thoſe who hold their Pottahs by the Tenure of paying One Half of the Produce of their Crops, either the Whole without a Subterfuge, or a large Proportion of it by falſe Meaſurement, or other Pretexts; and from thoſe whoſe Engagements are for a fixed Rent in Money, the Half, or a greater Proportion is taken in Kind. This is, in effect, a Tax upon the Induſtry of the Inhabitants; ſince there is ſcarce a Field of Grain in the Province, I might ſay not one, which has not been preſerved by the inceſſant Labour of the Cultivator, by digging Wells for their Supply, or watering them from the Wells of Mariſonry *, with which this Country abounds, or from the neighbouring Tanks, Rivers, and Nullahs. The People who impoſed on themſelves this voluntary and extraordinary Labour, and not unattended with Expence, did it in the Expectation of reaping the Profits of it; and it is as certain that they would not have done it, if they had known that their Rulers, from whom they were entitled to an Indemnification, would take from them what they had ſo hardly earned. If the ſame Adminiſtration continues, and the Country ſhall again labour under a Want of the natural Rains, every Field will be abandoned, the Revenue fail, and Thouſands periſh through the Want of Subſiſtence; for who will labour for the ſole Benefit of others, and to make himſelf the Subject of Vexation? Theſe Practices are not to be imputed to the Aumils employed in the Diſtricts, but to the Naib himſelf. The avowed Principle on which he acts, and which he acknowledged to myſelf, is, that the whole Sum fixed for the Revenue of the Province muſt be collected, and that for this Purpoſe, the Deficiency ariſing in Places where the Crops have failed, or which have been left uncultivated, muſt be ſupplied from the Reſources of others, where the Soil has been better ſuited to

* Sic in Orig.

the Seaſon, or the Induſtry of the Cultivators more ſucceſsfully exerted; a Principle which, however ſpecious and plauſible it may at firſt appear, certainly tends to the moſt pernicious and deſtructive Conſequences. If this Declaration of the Naib had been made only to myſelf, I might have doubted my Conſtruction of it; but it was repeated by him to Mr. Anderſon, who underſtood it exactly in the ſame Senſe. In the Management of the Cuſtoms, the Conduct of the Naib, or of the Officers under him, was forced alſo upon my Attention. The exorbitant Rates exacted by an arbitrary Valuation of the Goods, the Practice of exacting Duties Twice on the ſame Goods, firſt from the Seller, and afterwards from the Buyer; and the vexatious Diſputes and Delays drawn on the Merchants by theſe Oppreſſions were loudly complained of; and ſome Inſtances of this Kind were ſaid to exiſt at the very Time when I was in Benares. Under ſuch Circumſtances we are not to wonder if the Merchants of foreign Countries are diſcouraged from reſorting to Benaris, and if the Commerce of that Province ſhould annually decay. Other Evils, or imputed Evils, have accidentally come to my Knowledge, which I will not now particularize, as I hope, that, with the Aſſiſtance of the Reſident, they may be in part corrected. One however I muſt mention, becauſe it has been verified by my own Obſervation, and is of that Kind which reflects an unmerited Reproach on our general and national Character. When I was at Buxar, the Reſident, at my Deſire, enjoined the Naib to appoint creditable People to every Town through which our Route lay, to perſuade and encourage the Inhabitants to remain in their Houſes, promiſing to give them Guards as I approached, and they required it for their Protection; and that he might perceive how earneſt I was for his Obſervance of this Precaution (which I am certain was faithfully delivered) I repeated it to him in Perſon, and diſmiſſed him, that he might precede me for that Purpoſe; but, to my great Diſappointment, I found every Place through which I paſſed abandoned; nor had there been a Man left in any of them for their Protection. I am ſorry to add, that from Buxar to the oppoſite Boundary, I have ſeen nothing but the Traces of complete Devaſtation in every Village, whether cauſed by the Followers of the Troops which have lately paſſed, for their natural Relief, and I know not whether my own may not have had their Share, or from the Apprehenſions of the Inhabitants left to themſelves, and of themſelves deſerting their Houſes. I wiſh to acquit my own Countrymen of the Blame of theſe unfavourable Appearances, and in my own Heart I do acquit them; for at One Encampment near a large Village, called Derrera, in the Pergunnah of Zemaneea, a Crowd of People came to me, complaining, that their former Aumil, who was a Native of the Place, and had long been eſtabliſhed in Authority over them, and whoſe Cuſtom it had been, whenever any Troops paſſed, to remain in Perſon on the Spot for their Protection, having been removed, the new Aumil, on the Approach of any military Detachment, himſelf firſt fled from the Place, and the Inhabitants, having no One to whom they could apply for Redreſs, or for the Repreſentation of their Grievances, and being thus remedileſs, fled alſo; ſo that their Houſes and Effects became a Prey to any Perſon who choſe to plunder them. The general Concluſion appeared to me an inevitable Conſequence from ſuch a State of Facts, and my own Senſes bore Teſtimony to it in this ſpecific Inſtance; nor do I know how it is poſſible for any Officer commanding a military Party, how attentive ſoever he may be to the Diſcipline and Forbearance of his People, to prevent Diſorders, when there is neither Oppoſition to hinder, nor Evidence to deter them. Theſe and many other Irregularities I impute ſolely to the Naib, and I think it my Duty to recommend his inſtant Removal. I would myſelf have diſmiſſed him, had the Controul of this Province come within the Line of my Powers, and have eſtabliſhed ſuch Regulations and Checks as would have been moſt likely to prevent the like Irregularities. I have ſaid Checks, becauſe unleſs there is ſome viſible Influence, and a powerful and able one, impended over the Head of the Manager, no Syſtem can avail. The next appointed may prove, from ſome Defect, as unfit for the Office as the preſent; for the Choice is limited to few, without Experience to guide it. The firſt was of my own Nomination: His Merits and Qualifications ſtood in equal Balance with my Knowledge of thoſe who might have been the Candidates for the Office. But he was the Father of the Rajah, and the Affinity ſunk the Scale wholly in his Favour; for who could be ſo fit to be entruſted with the Charge of his Son's Intereſts, and the new Credit of the riſing Family? He deceived my Expectations. Another was recommended by the Reſident; and, at my Inſtance, the Board appointed him. This was Juggerdeo Sing, the preſent Naib. I knew him not, and the other Members of the Board as little.

" While Mr. Markham remained in Office, of whom, as his immediate Patron, he may have ſtood in Awe, I am told that he reſtrained his natural Diſpoſition, which has been deſcribed to me as rapacious, unfeeling, haughty, and to an Extreme vindictive. I cannot avoid remarking, that excepting the City of Benares itſelf, the Province depending upon it is in effect without a Government; the Naib exerciſing only a dependant Juriſdiction without a Principal. The Rajah is without Authority, and even his Name diſuſed in the Official Inſtruments iſſued or taken by the Manager. The Repreſentation of his Situation ſhall be the Subject of another Letter: I have made this already too long, and ſhall confine it to the ſingle Subject, for the Communication of which it was begun: This permit me to recapitulate. The Adminiſtration of the Province is miſconducted, and the People oppreſſed; Trade diſcouraged, and the Revenue, though ſaid to be exceeded in the actual Collections by many Lacs (for I have a minute Account of it, which ſtates the nett Amount, including Jagheers, at ſomething more than Fifty-one Lacs) in Danger of a rapid

a rapid Decline, from the violent Appropriation of its Means. The Naib or Manager is unfit for his Office: A new Manager is required, and a Syſtem of official Control; in a Word, a Conſtitution; for neither can the Board extend its ſuperintending Powers to a Diſtrict ſo remote from its Obſervation; nor has it delegated that Authority to the Reſident, who is merely the Repreſentative of Government, and the Receiver of its Revenue in the laſt Proceſs of it; nor indeed would it be poſſible to render him wholly ſo, for Reaſons which I may hereafter detail. If, Gentlemen, you ſhall think it proper to entruſt me with Powers for this Purpoſe, I will chearfully undertake the Reformation of the Country, and will be anſwerable for its Effects; but I entreat that your Reſolves may be inſtant: for from the Hour that it is known, that ſuch a Deſign is in Contemplation, and it will be known in Ten Days after your Receipt of it, the Authority of the Manager will ſink with his Influence, unleſs it is preſerved by ſome immediate Pledge of Confirmation; and ſuch I would adviſe, if you ſhall deem it improper to yield to my Recommendation. I have the Happineſs to find all Men ſatisfied and happy in the excellent Adminiſtration of the City of Benares, and have experienced, what few Men of the firſt Station have known in the Intercourſe with the Natives of India, if of any other Country, the Voice of Adulation diverted, even in my own Preſence, from myſelf, in the Eagerneſs of beſtowing a better merited Praiſe on another. Such is the Tribute which the Wiſdom and Integrity of Ally Ibrahim Cawn have extorted from the Hearts of thoſe who have been ſubjected to his Juriſdiction; and I dare truſt to the Reſult of your own Enquiries, let who will make the Report of him, for a Confirmation of mine.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings."

" P. S. The above Letter was written immediately after my leaving Benares, but the Interruptions of travelling occaſioned a Delay in tranſcribing it until the preſent Day. This Delay has, however, given me an Opportunity of aſcertaining more fully the Informations I received at Benares, and of confirming the Opinion I before entertained.

(Signed) W. H.]

" Ordered, That the foregoing Letter do lie for Conſideration until there ſhall be a full Meeting of the Council."

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired John Stables Eſquire might be called.

Then JOHN STABLES Eſquire was called, and being ſworn, was examined as follows:

Q. Whether you were not in the Province of Benaris in the Year 1764, during the Period of Bulwant Sing's Zemindary?

A. I was, in the Year 1764.

Q. In the Year 1764?

A. Yes.

Q. And Bulwant Sing was at that Time Zemindar?

A. Bulwant Sing was at that Time Zemindar.

Q. In what Capacity was you in the Province of Benaris at that Time?

A. An Officer in the Army.—I had the Honour to be Aid de Camp to the Commander in Chief, and acted then as an Officer in the Service.

Q. Whether you had any Intercourſe with Bulwant Sing, and what your Opinion was of the State and Rank of Bulwant Sing?

A. I thought him a very conſiderable Prince.—He was in Poſſeſſion of a very fine Country, and had a large Body of Troops.

Q. Whether you ever was in Company with Bulwant Sing in any Progreſs through the Country, or upon any other Occaſion, which gave you an Opportunity of obſerving the Affections of his Subjects to him?

A. I had the Honour once of riding out with him, and I had great Pleaſure in obſerving the Affection of his Subjects to him; his Villages were full, and they all came out to meet him.

Q. What State did the Country of Benaris ſeem to be in at the Time of which you have ſpoken with reſpect to Cultivation and Fruitfulneſs, in the Year 1764?—It may be neceſſary to aſk firſt how long you ſtaid at Benaris in 1764?

A. I cannot exactly ſpeak to the Time we were there; I ſhould ſuppoſe between Two and Three Months.

Q. In

Q. In what Part of the Year?
A. I think in November. The Battle of Buxar was the 23d of October. We marched afterwards to Benares, and we ſtaid from thence it might be about Three Months—not quite Three Months.

Q. During the Time that you was there, had you any, and what Opportunity of obſerving the Condition of the Country?
A. The Country appeared to me in high Cultivation.

Q. What Part of the Country had you an Opportunity of obſerving?
A. The Army marched from Buxar to Benaris, and round Benaris.

Q. What is the Length of that March?
A. I do not recollect exactly.

Q. I do not mean exactly; how many Days march?
A. I cannot recollect.

Q. That was the Part of the Country you had an Opportunity of obſerving?
A. Yes.

Q. And you thought it in high Cultivation and rich?
A. It appeared ſo to me.

Q. Who was Commander in Chief at that Time, under whom you ſerved as Aid de Camp?
A. At the Time I ſpeak of, Major Hector Munro, now Sir Hector Munro.

Q. During the Whole of the Time you ſpeak of?
A. Yes, during the whole Time.

Q. The Witneſs ſaid the Troops went round Benaris, I wiſh to know whether the Troops, or thoſe under the Command of the Engliſh Officers, were permitted to enter the Town of Benaris?
A. I believe not: a Chain of Centinels and Guards were ſet round it.

Q. Do you mean ſtationed round, or marched round?
A. We were encamped at ſome little Diſtance from the Town of Benares, and ſet Guards to prevent the Troops from getting into the City and committing Irregularities.

Q. Whether there was any Reaſon, peculiar to Benares, that made it neceſſary to place thoſe Guards upon the Troops to prevent them entering into the Town?
A. Benares is an open defenceleſs Town, the Habitation of People of Religion, and of great Property, and they were not moleſted, and were requeſted to remain quiet in their Houſes.

Q. They were not moleſted; but it was enjoined them to remain quiet in their Houſes?
A. They were requeſted to remain quiet in their Houſes.

Q. By your Commander in Chief, I ſuppoſe?
A. Yes.

Q. *(By a Lord.)* What was the State of the Population of that Part of the Country you ſaw?
A. The Villages appeared to me full of Inhabitants.

Q. Were the Villages near to each other, or remote from each other?
A. I thought there were a great many more Inhabitants than in our Provinces which adjoined to it.

Q. Which Provinces do you particularly allude to?
A. Gauzepore and Buxar.

Q. At what Diſtance, upon an Average, and generally ſpeaking, are the Villages in that Part of the Country you went through?
A. They are ſcattered about here and there, about a Mile, ſome perhaps two Miles diſtant from each other.

Q. *(Croſs examined.)* Whether you had any Opportunity of knowing and being acquainted with the Conſtitution of the Country, except from your caſual Reſidence of Three Months?
A. I was as an Officer of the Army, and had no Opportunity of inquiring into the Particulars at that Time.

Q. You were with the Army, and had not ſo good an Opportunity of enquiring?
A. Not at that Time.

Q. Whether you had ever been in the Country before the Period of 1764 which you ſpeak to, or ever have been there ſince the Time that you returned?
A. No, I never have.

Q. How

Q. How long had you been in the Service of the Company in India when you went to Benares?
A. I arrived in India the latter End of the Year 1759; this I am ſpeaking of was in 1764.

Q. In what Part of India did you arrive at in 1759?
A. Firſt at Madraſs, afterwards in Bengal.

Q. Can you recollect what Time it was you came to Bengal?
A. I cannot ſpeak particularly to the Diſtance of Time we arrived. I ſuppoſe it was either in September or October 1759.

Q. In Bengal?
A. In Bengal.

Q. Whether you had any Opportunity of knowing the preciſe Relation in which Bulwant Sing then ſtood to Sujah ul Dowlah?
A. No, I had not.

Q. Whether you can take upon yourſelf to ſay whether Bulwant Sing was at that Time an Aumil under Sujah ul Dowlah, or had any independent Rights of his own beyond the Office of Aumil?
A. I conſidered him as a Man of very great Conſequence. We had taken every Step the Year before to bring him over to our Intereſt.

Q. *(By a Lord.)* We have taken your Anſwer to be, that you underſtood him to be a Man of great Conſequence, and that the Engliſh had taken every Means the Year before to bring him over to their Intereſt?
A. Yes.

Q. The Queſtion beyond that is, whether you know any Thing of the Manner and Conſtitution of his Office beyond what you obſerved, namely, that he appeared to have great Conſequence belonging to him; his particular Situation you had no Means of knowing?
A. His particular Situation I had no Means of knowing, but I underſtand he paid Tribute to Sujah ul Dowlah; but that he had by ſome Meaſures rendered himſelf rather Independent. A particular Inſtance was, that he refuſed to go to the Preſence of Sujah ul Dowlah, as I heard, when he was particularly called for.

Q. Do you know any Thing yourſelf of that Refuſal to go to the Preſence of Sujah Dowlah?
A. He was afraid, I ſhould apprehend, for his own Safety.

Q. Does it fall within your Knowledge that he refuſed to go to the Preſence?
A. It was a general Report in our Camp, and of the People who brought us Intelligence from the Enemy.

Q. Whether Bulwant Sing was not, at the Time you have been ſpeaking of, ſerving in the Army of Sujah ul Dowlah?
A. In October I believe he was; but I ſaid before that we endeavoured to draw him over to our Intereſt. Our Army was forced to retreat, and, of Courſe, he would not afterwards join us.

Q. Do you happen to know how long it was that Bulwant Sing was ſerving in the Army of Sujah ul Dowlah?
A. I don't recollect the preciſe Time when he joined Sujah ul Dowlah; but for a long Time he kept aloof while Sujah ul Dowlah was making his Preparations to attack Bengal.

Q. Was you in the Army with the Engliſh Forces at the Time that Bulwant Sing ſerved in the Army of Sujah ul Dowlah?
A. Yes, I was.

Q. At what Time was that?
A. When Sujah ul Dowlah came down to invade the Provinces of Bengal, he came down with him, as we heard.

Q. Do you mean that he was in the Service of Sujah ul Dowlah, or that he was in our Service at the Time that Sujah ul Dowlah was defeated?
A. At the Time Sujah ul Dowlah was defeated he was in Sujah ul Dowlah's Service.

Q. At what Time was he defeated?
A. On the 23d of October 1764.

Q. When did he join our Arms?
A. At our Arrival at or near Benares.

Q. At what Time before the 23d of October 1764 was it he was ſerving in the Army of Sujah ul Dowlah?
A. I don't recollect how many Months. He was there for ſome Time acroſs the River, and would not go to join Sujah ul Dowlah.

Q. At what Time was he in the Army of Sujah ul Dowlah?
A. He was in the Army of Sujah ul Dowlah on the 23d of October 1764; and I cannot exactly ſay how long before.

Q. Can you go to any general Average of Time?
A. Early in the Year 1764, or the latter End of 1763, when our Army lay at Buxar, we were in Treaty with Bulwant Sing to join us.

Q. Between that Time and the 23d of October, had you any Thing more to ſay?
A. The Treaty broke off.

Q. Do you recollect when that Treaty broke off?
A. It broke off immediately upon our retiring: We were obliged to retreat from Buxar to Patna.

Q. Can you recollect what Time of the Year that Retreat was?
A. I cannot exactly ſay; it was early in the Year 1764, I think.

Q. At that Time you underſtand the Treaty broke off?
A. We underſtood he would not come to join us, becauſe he would not join an Army that was retreating.

Q. *(By a Lord.)* Whether, when Bulwant Sing was ſerving in the Army of Sujah ul Dowlah, he was employed to command any of the Troops of Sujah ul Dowlah, or to command his own Troops?
A. We underſtood in our Camp, that he railed a large Body of Troops, and had joined Sujah ul Dowlah with near 10,000 Cavalry; we ſpeak in round Numbers; we cannot exactly tell.

Q. Whether theſe Cavalry under Bulwant Sing, that joined Sujah ul Dowlah, were Troops in his own Pay, or whether they were in the Pay of Sujah ul Dowlah?
A. I believe they were in his own Pay.

Q. Whether, when a Tributary joins the Army of his Prince at the Head of his own Troops, he does not always command his own Troops, and thoſe Troops only?
A. I believe in general that is the Caſe; but Sujah ul Dowlah aſſigned, as we heard, a different Command to Bulwant Sing—a ſeparate Command.

Q. Whether you know of any pecuniary Aſſiſtance afforded by Bulwant Sing to Sujah ul Dowlah at the Time of the Treaty of Illahabad in Auguſt 1765?
A. I left the Army in the Beginning of the Year 1765, and conſequently could know nothing of what paſſed afterwards.

Q. The Witneſs has ſpoken of having been preſent when the Inhabitants of the Villages came out to meet Bulwant Sing; I wiſh the Witneſs to he aſked, Whether the ſame Circumſtances would not have taken place, if an Aumil or Collector of the Province, and particularly an Aumil, or any other Perſon of great Authority, had come in the ſame Manner.
A. I thought their coming out proceeded from their Affection to him; it had that Appearance to me at that Time.

Q. But what the Manner of the Country would have been to any other great Perſon, you do not undertake to know?
A. They generally come out to any great Man; but I thought their coming out and ſpeaking to him as they did, was from Affection.

Q. Beſides the Ceremony to other great People, there was a Manner of Affection in the Behaviour of the People to him?
A. I thought ſo at the Time.

Q. Whether Bulwant Sing did or did not command a Part of the Army of Sujah ul Dowlah at the Battle of Buxar?
A. I believe he commanded his own Troops; a Part of them had croſſed over the River to invade the Provinces to the Eaſtward of the Ganges, and Bulwant Sing was to have gone with a Detachment beyond the Ganges to invade thoſe Provinces; but the Battle of Buxar put an End to that Scheme.

Q. Then, except the Troops which had croſſed over the River, his Troops in general made a Part of the Army of Sujah ul Dowlah at the Battle of Buxar?
A. I believe ſo.—What Part they made I cannot ſay, but they made a Part of the Troops.

Q. Do you know whether the Cavalry you mention to have been in the Service of Bulwant Sing at the Period you have been ſpeaking of, and making Part of the Army of Sujah ul Dowlah, were all raiſed in the Province of Benares?
A. I really do not know where they were raiſed.

Q. Do you conſider yourſelf as having had an Opportunity of being well acquainted with the Province of Benares during the Time you mentioned before, from your Reſidence there, and your March?

A. I ſpoke a little of the Language at the Time, and the Hircarrahs or Guides were under my Direction.

Q. Which Language did you ſpeak?

A. Hindoſtan.

Q. What were the Hircarrahs?

A. Guides.

Q. But who did they belong to?

A. They belonged to the Army, and were generally under my Direction.

Q. Were they Hindoos, or of what Caſt?

A. They were of all Caſts.

Q. The Queſtion put to you was, Whether you conſider yourſelf as well acquainted with the Province of Benares, from the Circumſtance of your Reſidence and your March?

A. I have mentioned the Time I was there, and the Obſervations I made during that Time.

Q. Whether, from your Knowledge of the Cuſtoms of India, a Vaſſal is not always obliged in Time of War to be attendant upon his Sovereign?

A. I ſhould ſuppoſe that he ought to attend him.

Q. What Part of India is it that your Knowledge leads you to ſpeak of?

A. Bengal.

Q. You ſay you ſuppoſe a Tributary attends his ſuperiour Lord; why do you ſuppoſe ſo? for what Reaſon?—Upon what Foundation do you go, in ſaying a Zemindar is obliged to be attendant upon his Sovereign?

A. I believe the Superior always gives him Orders to attend, and many do attend.

Q. Have you any Knowledge upon the Subject at all but what ariſes from general Reputation?

A. None.

Q. Whether you looked upon Bulwant Sing as a Vaſſal to Sujah ul Dowlah, and did he ſtand in that Relation to him at that Time?

A. I never conſidered him as a Vaſſal.

Q. In what Relation did you conſider Bulwant Sing to ſtand to Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. He was originally, I believe, a Zemindar under Sujah ul Dowlah; but he had, by every Means almoſt, endeavoured to render himſelf independent.

Q. But did he conſider himſelf as independent?

A. No; but he endeavoured to render himſelf independent.

Q. What do you mean by his holding of Sujah ul Dowlah under the Mogul?

A. He was tributary, and paid a Tribute to Sujah ul Dowlah, under whom he held; but what Tribute he paid, or on what Terms he held the Zemindary, I am not acquainted with.

Q. The Witneſs has ſaid, he thinks a Zemindar is bound to attend his Superior in Time of War; does he think the Conſequence of a Zemindar refuſing to attend him would be a Forfeiture of his Tenure?

A. I am unacquainted what would have been the Conſequence.

Q. Do you know any thing of the Laws or Rules of that Country but from Converſation or Rumour?

A. No, I am not acquainted with that.

Q. What do you underſtand to be the Situation of a Zemindar?

A. A Poſſeſſor of a Diſtrict under a Sunnud.

Q. What Alteration was made in that Situation afterwards, when you ſay the Rajah began to grow independent? What were his Endeavours to make himſelf independent?

A. He raiſed a large Body of Troops, and treated to join us while Sujah ul Dowlah was making Preparations to invade the Provinces. I conſidered that as a Mark of his endeavouring to obtain Independence.

Q. What do you underſtand the Meaning of the Word Sunnud to be, as near as you can explain it, in Engliſh?

A. A Grant.

Q. And as applied to a Zemindary, a Grant of a Diſtrict of Land?

A. Yes.

Q. At what Period was Bulwant Sing invited or ordered into the Preſence of Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. I believe it might have been early in the Year 1764, or the latter End of the Year 1763, when our Army retired from Buxar.

Q. Whether he at that Period was in the Service of Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. He was Zemindar of the Diſtrict of Benares.

Q. You have deſcribed Bulwant Sing as having the Command of a Body of Troops attached to the Army of Sujah Dowlah: Was it at the Time when he was ſo commanding, and attached to the Army of Sujah ul Dowlah, or before that Time, that he was ordered into the Preſence of Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. It was before.

Q. You ſaid he refuſed to go?

A. There was a Story univerſally believed, that Sujah ul Dowlah was obliged to ſend his own Son to him before he would come into his Preſence.

Q. The Whole of this you ſpeak from the Relation that was current in the Camp at the Time?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know or believe that Sujah ul Dowlah had any Right to puniſh Bulwant Sing for refuſing to come into his Preſence?

A. I do not know.

Q. You were ſpeaking of the Duty of a Vaſſal to be attendant on his Superior—Whether you know any Inſtance of ſuch Vaſſal ſo bound commuting his Service for a Tribute or a Sum of Money?

A. I do not.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then HENRY FOX CALCRAFT Eſquire was called in, and being ſworn, was examined as follows:

Q. Whether you ſerved in the Army under the Command of Major Popham at Bidjeygur?

A. Yes.

Q. In what Rank did you ſerve?

A. As Colonel Popham's Aid de Camp.

Q. Was you preſent at the Surrender of the Fort?

A. Yes, I was preſent.

Q. Whether the Treaſure found in the Fort was divided amongſt the Detachment of the Army?

A. It was.

Q. By what Authority was it ſo divided?

A. Under the immediate Order of Colonel Popham, as I underſtood.

Q. What Opportunity had you of knowing by whoſe Orders they were divided?

A. After the Capture of the Fort, the Officers were deſired to ſend for their Shares.

Q. Who ſent them that Order?

A. The Order was circulated in the uſual Military Form.

Q. You were Aid de Camp at that Time to Major Popham? Did you circulate that Order?

A. I believe it was written by the Brigade Major; I do not know whether it went through me, but I ſaw it.

Q. What is the uſual Military Form of circulating Orders?

A. The Order originates in the Brigade Major's Office; it is copied from thence by the ſeveral Serjeants, and circulated through the Camp to the Gentlemen of the Detachment.

Q. Whether you know under what Authority Colonel Popham iſſued any Orders upon that Head?

A. On the Day of the Surrender, Colonel Popham ſhewed me a Letter from Mr. Haſtings, which he deemed an Order, or I believe he would not have permitted it to be done.

Objected by the Counſel, that the Witneſs ought not to give Evidence of a Paper in the Poſſeſſion of Major Popham; if the Paper exiſts, the Managers for the Commons ought to have given Major Popham Notice to attend, and produce it.

The Managers for the Commons anſwered, that the Queſtion did not go to the Contents of the Paper:

Q. The Queſtion is, whether the Diviſion was by the Order of Major Popham?
A. The Diviſion was under the Order of Major Popham.

The Counſel objected, that the Letter ſaid to have paſſed between Mr. Haſtings and Major Popham ought to be produced and ſhewn to the Witneſs.

Notice was taken by the Houſe, that the Witneſs had ſtated that the Governor General wrote a certain Letter to Major Popham, and that an Order for the Diviſion of the Prize Money was given by Major Popham; and the Managers for the Commons were aſked, whether they could carry that Point further?

The Managers for the Commons anſwered, "They could not."

Q. Whether you were ſent by Colonel Popham with the News of the Surrender of the Fort of Bidjeygur to Mr. Haſtings, the Governor General?
A. Yes.

Q. Whether you acquainted Mr. Haſtings with the Diviſion of the Plunder?
A. I did.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings expreſs at that Time any Diſſatisfaction at that Diviſion?
A. Very great Diſſatisfaction.

Q. Perhaps it may be better to aſk, at what Time it was after the Plunder had been divided that the Witneſs acquainted Mr. Haſtings with it?
A. I think I went the ſame Day the Money was divided, and arrived the next Morning at Chunar.

Q. How long was it between the Diviſion of the Money and the Capture of the Fort?
A. To the beſt of my Remembrance the Money was divided the ſucceeding Day after the Fort was taken.

Q. Do you recollect the Day of the Month upon which the Fort was taken?
A. I think it was either the 9th or 10th of November. I don't ſpeak poſitively as to that.

Q. Upon the Day after the Capture of the Fort, the Money was divided; and upon that Day or the next you went and acquainted Mr. Haſtings with it, and at which Information you ſay he expreſſed great Diſſatisfaction?
A. Yes.

Q. What Converſation paſſed between you and Mr. Haſtings at the Time you acquainted him with this Tranſaction, and at which he expreſſed his Diſſatisfaction?
A. A little while after I was introduced to Mr. Haſtings, I begged his Acceptance of a Sword, in the Name of the Gentlemen of the Detachment, as a Teſtimony of their Reſpect and Eſteem for him. Mr. Haſtings ſaid, "As ſuch I accept it." He then aſked me whether it was true that the Money had been divided; as a Rumour of that Sort had preceded my Arrival? I anſwered, It was true: At which Mr. Haſtings expreſſed the moſt vehement Diſapprobation. After ſome Converſation reſpecting it, which, from the Diſtance of Time, I cannot detail ſo circumſtantially as I could wiſh, I retired. About a Quarter of an Hour afterwards Mr. Haſtings ſent for me, and aſked what could have impelled Major Popham, when he was at ſo ſhort a Diſtance, to ſuffer this Diviſion of the Money, at a Time when the Company ſtood ſo much in Want of it. I anſwered, that I had ſeen a Letter which, according to my Conception and Conſtruction of it, did authorize the Participation of the Plunder. Mr. Haſtings ſaid, that he had been referred to in every conſequential Operation of the War, and it was very odd that a Buſineſs of this Magnitude ſhould have been concluded without his Concurrence; and that the Letter I alluded to was no Authority: He then ſaid the Officers muſt refund. I believe I ſhould have ſtated, that, with the Sword, I gave a Letter from the Gentlemen of the Detachment, profeſſing what I mentioned before. He ſaid they muſt refund. I ſaid I believed it would be impoſſible, for the Money was already too generally diffuſed. Mr. Haſtings ſaid, if the Gentlemen would refund, he would uſe his Influence with Mr. Wheler and Mr. M'Pherſon to give their Sanction for a Diviſion afterwards; but the Company wanted it now, and they muſt have it.—I mean to ſay, that at this Diſtance of Time it is impoſſible I ſhould recollect very circumſtantially; it is near Eight or Nine Years ago. What I now ſay are the Heads of the Converſation, as it recurs to my Memory.

Q. Was that all the Converſation?
A. No.

The Witneſs ſaid he was endeavouring to recollect further Heads, and then proceeded as follows:

A. I then told Mr. Haſtings, that one Motive for the Precipitancy was the Recollection that the Rohilla Gratuity, or Prize Money, was not yet paid. That Money, Mr. Haſtings ſaid, the Troops had no Right to; and finally ſent me back with a Letter, the Contents of which I am not

acquainted

acquainted with; but it occaſioned an Order from Major Popham to the Gentlemen to refund; which, however, none of them did.

Q. Whether any Preſent was ſent from the Detachment to any Perſon; and what it was?

A. I ſhould have mentioned, there were a few Articles of ornamental Plate which they deſired Mrs. Haſtings's Acceptance of. I mentioned this Circumſtance to Mr. Haſtings; but I do not believe ſhe ever ſaw them; they were left there. I do not exactly recollect what Mr. Haſtings ſaid, but think it was, He would ſettle that. There is one Circumſtance more I ſhould have mentioned, which is, that Mr. Haſtings, before I went away, ſaid, his Acceptance of the Sword was conditional upon the Gentlemen refunding; and if they would not refund, then he would not accept it, or the other Preſents. When I went away with the Letter, the Sword and the other Things were left in the Cuſtody of Mr. Markham; what became of them afterwards I do not know.

Q. You ſaid Mrs. Haſtings never ſaw them.

A. No.

Q. What Converſation had you with the Governor General upon the Subject of the Letter authorizing the Plunder?

A. Mr. Haſtings denied it was any Authority; and, as I recollect, made ſome Diſtinction between a private and a public Letter; he ſaid it was a private Letter; and I ſaid it could not be a private Letter, becauſe it contained public Matter.

Q. What Converſation paſſed upon that?

A. The Converſation is not ſufficiently impreſſed upon my Mind to recollect any more of it.

Q. *(Croſs-examined)* The Witneſs having ſaid, that the Acceptance of the Sword was conditional, I wiſh to aſk, did Mr. Haſtings retain the Sword?

A. Certainly not.

Q. Do you know whether Mrs. Haſtings ever was in Poſſeſſion of the Plate?

A. I am ſure ſhe was not.

Q. Having ſtated that you were preſent at the Surrender of the Fort of Bidjeygur—do you know whether any Plunder was committed upon the Perſon of the Rannee herſelf?

A. None to my Knowledge. I do not ſay that none was, but I do not know of any.

Q. Do you know at what Time of Night the Fort was evacuated?

A. It was at the Cloſe of the Day; I do not exactly recollect.

Q. What Hour?

A. I cannot name the Hour; ſome Time in the Evening.

Q. Whether the Plunder that was committed upon the Perſons who attended the Rannee was committed by the Soldiers of the Army, or the Followers?

A. Every Attempt was made to diſcover who it was done by, but it never could be diſcovered: I never heard any Perſon was puniſhed for it; though Major Popham did his utmoſt to diſcover it.

Q. Whether any Officers were called upon to refund, or did afterwards refund the Money?

A. They were called upon, and did not refund.

Q. Whether at the Time the Rannee left the Fort every poſſible Mark of Reſpect and Attention was not ſhewn to her?

A. I do not recollect any particular Circumſtance of Reſpect or Attention; but they had Palanquins and Cooleys, and every Thing of that Kind for their Accommodation.

Q. *(By a Lord)* The Witneſs ſaid, the Rannee herſelf was not plundered; I wiſh him to be aſked, whether any Eſcort was given to the Ladies when they left the Fort?

A. I ſhould ſuppoſe there was, but I do not know whether there was or not, but I think there muſt have been.

Q. Whether before the Surrender of the Fort it was not generally underſtood by the Officers of the Army that the Plunder of the Fort was to be divided amongſt them?

A. I can only ſay what I thought of it myſelf; I thought if there was a large Sum of Money Mr. Haſtings would take it for the Company, if a ſmall one it would be divided.

Q. Do you know the Amount of the whole Sum that was divided amongſt the Army?

A. The Rannee had Fifteen per Cent. upon it, and I believe Twenty-four or Twenty-five Lacks were divided.

Q. You have ſaid, that if it were a great Sum of Money you thought the Company would have it, if a ſmall one you thought it would be divided: Whether you do not conceive Twenty-four or Twenty-five Lacks of Rupees come within the Deſcription of a large Sum of Money?

A. Doubtleſs it is a large Sum.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know whether the Money was equally divided amongſt the Officers and Soldiers, or in what Shares?

A. It was ſettled by a Committee of Officers—a Seapoy got 100 Rupees; it was thought to be a very fair and equal Diviſion.

Q. Whether it was by Order of Major Popham that the Ladies left the Fort at ſo late an Hour; was it their own Act, or the Order of your Commander? Do you know any Thing of it?

A. I do not.

Q. Can you ſtate what was the Value of the Sword in Queſtion?

A. I have no Idea of it; it was ſet with very bad Jewels; it was of no very great Value.

Q. Whether you had any Converſation with Major Popham upon the Remarks Mr. Haſtings made on the Diviſion of the Plunder?

A. I detailed the Converſation to Major Popham very circumſtantially, but I do not recollect any particular Converſation between him and me upon it. I thought Mr. Haſtings's Rejection of the Right did not agree with the Purport of that Letter, and Major Popham and I thought we had a Right to keep it.

Q. Whether the Receipt of that Letter was generally known in the Army?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. You ſaid it was your Opinion if the Sum found in the Fort was a ſmall one, the Governor General would give it up to be divided; if it was a large one, he would ſecure it for the Advantage of the Company: At what Time did you form that Opinion?

A. I cannot ſay when I formed the Opinion, but it was exactly what I would have done myſelf, and that is the Reaſon why I entertained that Opinion.

Q. Do you recollect whether you formed that Opinion before or after your hearing of that Letter?

A. I conſidered the Letter as a palpable Admiſſion of the Right.

Q. After you had ſeen the Letter, did you then retain that Opinion?

A. I think I have anſwered the Queſtion by ſaying, I conſidered the Letter as an Admiſſion of the Right.

Q. The Queſtion put to you is, after you had ſeen that Letter which you ſuppoſe to be an Admiſſion of the Right, Did you continue to entertain an Opinion that a Difference would be made between a large and a ſmall Sum?

A. Moſt certainly not.

Q. Whether Mr. Haſtings ſaid any Thing to you about the Right that any other Officers or Soldiers beſides thoſe preſent at the taking of the Fort had to a Diviſion of the Plunder?

A. Yes; I now recollect that Mr. Haſtings ſaid the Diviſion was a Scramble rather than a Diviſion, and if there was any Diviſion Colonel Blair and Major White ought to have been included.

Q. Who were they? What Part of the Army did they command?

A. Colonel Blair commanded at Chunar, and Major White (who commanded a Regiment at Chunar), had waved his Right to Major Popham.

Q. How far is Chunar from Bidjeygur?

A. I believe about 40 or 50 Miles.

Q. *(By the Managers)* The Witneſs ſaid firſt, he did not know what the Value of the Sabre was, and afterwards that it was not conſiderable; I wiſh to know whether he has any Knowledge of the Value of the Jewels?

A. That Sabre was ornamented with a particular Sort of Jewels called Laſks, an inferior Sort of Diamonds.

Q. Do you know the Difference between Laſks and proper Diamonds?

A. A Laſk is a very thin cutting of a Diamond, and thoſe are of little or no Value.

Q. When you left Chunar, in whoſe Poſſeſſion did you leave the Sabre and the Plate?

A. I was aſked in whoſe Poſſeſſion I left the Sword and other Things; the Anſwer is, I left them with Mr. Markham.

Q. Did you ever ſee them afterwards, or hear any Thing of them?

A. No.

Q. Then how can you take upon yourſelf to ſay poſitively that they never came into the Poſſeſſion of Mr. or Mrs. Haſtings?

A. Becauſe they were carried out of the Room by me, and I gave them into Mr. Markham's Hands; I ſpeak only to my Belief of the Subject, that Mrs. Haſtings never ſaw the Plate.

Q. Who was Mr. Markham?

A. Reſident at Benares.

Q. At that Time?
A. Yes.

Q. Did Major Popham expreſs any Surprize at Mr. Haſtings's Diſapprobation of the Diviſion of the Plunder?
A. I do not recollect what paſſed between Major Popham and me upon it.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then JOHN BENN Eſq; was called in, and being ſworn, was examined as follows:

Q. In what Situation was you at Benares?
A. In the Year 1782 and 1783, I was Aſſiſtant to the Reſident at Benares.

Q. When was you appointed Aſſiſtant to the Reſident at Benares?
A. In January 1781.

Q. Did you go to reſide there then?
A. No; not till ſome Time after.

Q. When did you go to reſide at Benares?
A. In the Month of April 1782: In March or April.

Q. I ſhould wiſh the Witneſs to be aſked, Whether he had any Opportunity of examining into, or knowing what Rent or Revenue the Country of Benares was able to pay?
A. I reſided there for ſome Time, and made ſuch Enquiries as I thought would aſcertain it.

Q. Did thoſe Enquiries, or did they not, furniſh you with an Opportunity of knowing that Fact?
A. Not as a Certainty, but as a Matter of Opinion.

Q. What was the Reſult of your Opinion from the Enquiry you made?
A. I thought that the Country would not continue to yield Forty Lacks of Rupees.

Q. Whether he has any Means of knowing what the Country did yield in the Time of Bulwant Sing?
A. No certain Documents.

Here the Queſtion and Anſwer were, by Deſire of the Managers for the Commons, read over to the Witneſs by the Clerk.

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Have you any other Means of knowing beſides certain Documents?
A. I have enquired of ſome of the Servants of the Rajah, employed in his Offices.

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, That this was not Evidence to aſcertain the preciſe Sum.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That there was an Account before the Houſe, by which it appeared there was an Allowance to Rajah Mehipnarrain of Six Lacks of Rupees, and deſired the Witneſs might be aſked,

Q. Whether that Allowance was annually received by Mehipnarrain?
A. I believe it was not.

Q. Do you know the Reaſon why it was not received?
A. I underſtood the Rajah claimed it from the Naib, and it appeared the Country would not yield it.

Q. What Manner of Underſtanding had you of it? How did you underſtand it?
A. From the Naib himſelf; he told me ſo.

Q. Who was the Naib?
A. Doorgbijey Sing, and Jagger Deo Sing.

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, What Jagger Deo Sing and the other Naib ſaid was no Evidence.

Q. Do you know at what Time Doorgbijey Sing was put into Confinement?
A. The latter End of October or November 1782.

Q. How long did he continue in Confinement?
A. Till April following, 1783.

Q. I would wiſh to know whether he was ever again put into Confinement after that April? Was he diſcharged in April?
A. He was.

Q. Do you know of his being put in Confinement after that?
A. He was.

Q. When was it?
A. About the March following, 1784.

Q. Do you know of the Fact of his being confined?
A. I do.

Q. How long did he continue in that Second Confinement?
A. I believe till March 1785.

Q. Was he then releaſed from his Confinement?
A. He died, I believe, in Confinement, in that Month.

Q. Do you know any Thing of his Confinement; where was he confined?
A. He was confined at Benares.

Q. Do you know of his having died in that Confinement?
A. Yes.

Q. Whether any Complaints were ever made to you, in your Situation as Aſſiſtant Reſident, that the Rajah did not receive the Stipend allotted to him of Six Lacks of Rupees?
A. None—no Complaints.

Q. Do you know of any ſuch Complaints being made to any other Perſon, and to whom?
A. No.

Q. I ſhould wiſh that he was deſired to recollect himſelf, and anſwer the Queſtion, Whether he does not know that Rajah Mehipnarrain made Complaints, that his Allowance was not paid to him, to the Officers of the Britiſh Government, and to whom?
A. I do not recollect that he made any Complaints to any of the Officers of the Britiſh Government at Benares.

Q. Do you know that the Naib Doorgbijey Sing complained he could not collect the Revenues of the Country, to any of the Officers of the Britiſh Government?
A. I do not.

The Counſel objected to this as no Evidence, unleſs the Complaints were afterwards repreſented to Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Do you know whether Doorgbijey Sing made any Complaint to any of the Officers of the Britiſh Government that he could not collect the Revenue?
A. I do not recollect he did.

The Managers for the Commons ſaid, They were extremely ſorry to put the Queſtion again to the Witneſs, to deſire he would inform the Houſe,

Q. Whether Doorgbijey Sing complained to any Officers of the Britiſh Government that he could not collect the Revenue?
A. I do not recollect he did.

Q. Did he ever complain to any of the Officers of the Britiſh Government, and to whom, that he could not collect the Sum of Six Lacks, which was allowed to the Rajah?
A. I never heard that Doorgbijey Sing did make that Complaint.

Q. Do you or do you not know whether the whole Sum of Six Lacks annually was paid to Rajah Mehipnarrain?
A. I believe it was not.

Q. Do you know any Thing of it—was it a Part of your Buſineſs to know whether it was or was not paid?
A. No, it was not.

Q. *(Croſs examined)* Whether you had any Opportunity of ſeeing Doorgbijey Sing during the Time he was in Confinement?
A. I never did ſee him during the Time he was in Confinement.

Q. Do you know where he was confined, and how he was treated?
A. He was confined in a Houſe at Benares belonging to the Rajah, ſituated in a Garden, which, I believe, might be about Six Acres of Ground; the Houſe was in the Centre, and ſurrounded by a high Wall. He had Permiſſion to walk about that Garden, and the Guard placed to ſecure him was on the Outſide of the Wall of the Garden.

Q. It having been ſuggeſted, this Confinement was the Cauſe of the Death of Doorgbijey Sing, I would wiſh the Witneſs to ſay what he knows was the Cauſe of Doorbedjy Sing's Death?
A. I believe Diſeaſe was the Cauſe of his Death.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know any Thing of his Death; or what occaſioned it?
A. He had been long ill, and died of that Illneſs.

Q. Whether the Subject of the Demand, relative to the Arrears of Rent, was not ſubmitted to Arbitration, on the Part of the Company, to Ally Ibrahim Cawn, and whether Doorgbijey Sing did not ſubmit to that Arbitration?
A. It was ſubmitted to Arbitration.

Q. By whoſe Conſent?
A. By mutual Conſent.

Q. Of whom?
A. Of Doorgbijey Sing and Jagger Deo Sing.

Q. To whom?
A. Ally Ibrahim Cawn.

Q. Whether Ally Ibrahim Cawn awarded any Thing, and what to be due to the Company?
A. I do not know the exact Sum, but think he awarded to the Company about 1,50,000 Rupees.

Q. Was the Award made in Writing?
A. It was.

Q. What was the Character of Ally Ibrahim Cawn, and in what Eſteem was he with the Natives?
A. In very high Eſtimation.

Q. Whether it was uſual to have a Mahometan in the Situation of Chief or Supreme Magiſtrate before this Time?
A. In 1781 he was Chief Judge of Criminal and Civil Matters; I believe before the Country was ceded to the Eaſt India Company, and while it was under the Vizier, Juſtice was adminiſtered by a Mahometan. When it was given up to the Britiſh Government, it was adminiſtered by a Hindoo, put in by the Rajah?

Q. Whether, in all the Time you was at Benares, you ever heard a ſingle Complaint made againſt Ally Ibrahim Cawn?
A. I never heard One.

Q. In what Situation, in point of Cultivation and Population, was Benares when you ſaw it laſt, and what Part of the Diſtrict of Benares have you ſeen?
A. I have ſeen nearly the whole Diſtrict.

Q. When did you ſee it laſt?
A. I left Benares in the Year 1786; I believe in February in that Year.

Q. What was the Condition of Benares when you ſaw it laſt, in point of Cultivation and Population?
A. It was both well cultivated and peopled, the Parts I ſaw.

Q. Did you ſee Benares in 1783, and in what Condition of Population or Cultivation was it then?
A. In 1783 I travelled from Benares to Buxar, on One Side of the River, and we travelled the ſame Diſtance upon the other Side of the River. I alſo travelled through the Diſtrict of Benares to Chaundpore, which was rather a circuitous Way over that Diſtrict, and I found it both populous and well cultivated.

Q. Do you know any Thing of it in the Years 1784 and 1785?
A. I reſided in the Province of Benares in the Years 1784 and 1785; and the Deſcription that I have given appears to be as applicable to thoſe Years as the others.

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired Permiſſion to put a few Queſtions to the Witneſs which they had omitted; and firſt,

Q. Under whoſe Direction the Mint at Benares was, during the Time of his Reſidence there?
A. Under the Direction of the Reſident.

Q. How were the Profits ariſing from the Mint applied; do you know?
A. As a Perquiſite of the Reſident's Office.

Q. Do you know whether there was any Monopoly of Salt Petre in the Province of Benares while you were there?

The Counſel for the Defendant ſubmitted, That before this Queſtion was anſwered, the Managers for the Commons ſhould point out whether it had any Reference to the Charge.

The Managers for the Commons were aſked, To what Point of the Charge the Queſtion applied?

They made Anſwer, That it was ſtated in the Charge, that Mr. Haſtings arbitrarily depoſed Rajah Cheyt Sing, and gave the Government to Rajah Mehipnarrain.

It was further ſtated, That the Mint belonged to him, and that the Queſtion was put with a View to ſhew how Mr. Haſtings ſettled the Government after he placed Mehipnarrain there.

The Counſel for the Defendant replied, That the Charge ſtates the Inſtances in which he did tyrannically ſettle the Government *: That he did of his own mere Authority raiſe the Tribute to 400,000 l. and that he wantonly and illegally impoſed certain oppreſſive Duties upon Goods and Merchandize, to the great Injury of Trade and Ruin of the Province; and did further diſpoſe of as his own the Property within the ſaid Provinces, by granting the ſame, or Parts thereof, in Penſions to ſuch Perſons as he thought fit: And therefore ſubmitted that the Managers for the Commons ought to bring the Queſtion within theſe Specifications.

The Managers for the Commons maintained, That to prove the Defendant guilty of great Miſdemeanours in having depoſed Cheyt Sing and ſetting up Rajah Mehipnarrain; it was neceſſary to ſhew how and upon what Terms he had ſo done; and therefore, amongſt other Things, they ſhould ſhew that he gave the Monopoly of Trade to Perſons belonging to himſelf.

The Managers for the Commons were aſked, Whether they preſſed that particular Queſtion? To which they anſwered, That they did not mean to give up their Right to put the Queſtion; but ſhould not at that late Hour trouble the Houſe to go to the Chamber of Parliament.

The Managers for the Commons then propoſed to put this Queſtion to the Witneſs, viz. Whether he was examined before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons?

The Counſel for the Defendant ſtated, that this was a new Queſtion, and that the Managers for the Commons had no Right to put it, unleſs it aroſe out of Matter in the Croſs-examination.

The Counſel being aſked, If they had any Objection to the Queſtion now propoſed being put? Made anſwer, That they had not, except that it was a new Examination.

Then the Queſtion was put.

Q. Have you ever been examined before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons?
A. I have.

Q. Whether you did not before that Committee anſwer the following Queſtion in the following Manner: "Who was to pay Mehipnarrain the Allowances ſtipulated for him by the Governor General? Anſwer. Doorgbijey Sing."

The Counſel were aſked, If they objected to that Queſtion being put?

The Counſel anſwered, That they muſt object to that Queſtion, it being perfectly new in Judicature for a Party to undertake to impeach his own Witneſs; and were heard in Support of the ſaid Objection.

The Managers for the Commons were heard in Anſwer to the ſame, and, in the Courſe of their Argument, acquainted the Houſe, that the Queſtion and Anſwer which they had propoſed the Witneſs to ſpeak to, were only introductory to a further Queſtion put to the Witneſs, and his Anſwer thereto, before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, which they meant to inſiſt upon, and ſtated the ſame as follows:

"Q. Did he not alledge he never received what was allowed him?
A. He ſays he had not received the Sum that was to be allowed him. He did not receive his Money Allowance, becauſe the Receipts of the Country could not afford it, they being eſtimated at a Standard of 49 Lacks, whereas they cannot produce above 44 or 45 Lacks, nor that, unleſs good Care is taken of the Country. The State of the Country depends on its being well nurſed. The Country has been made by Care, and without that Care would ſoon fall off. It never yielded in Bulwant Sing or Cheit Sing's Time above 45 Lacks."

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

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* See the printed Articles, Page 7. Paragraph 3.

Die Jovis, 10° *Aprilis* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor ſaid: Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, I am commanded by the Lords to acquaint you, that it is not competent to the Managers for the Commons to put the Queſtion laſt propoſed by them to the Witneſs, namely, "Whether he had not, before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, anſwered the following Queſtion in the following Manner;

Q. Who was to pay Mehipnarrain the Allowances ſtipulated for him by the Governor General?

A. Doorgbijey Sing."

The Managers for the Commons requeſted leave to withdraw for a while.

The Managers for the Commons being returned, ſaid, it was with the greateſt Concern they informed the Houſe, that it was impoſſible for them to acquieſce in the Deciſion of the Houſe: That they felt it ſo important not only to the preſent Queſtion, but to the Whole of the Trial, and to the Proceedings upon Impeachment in general, that they ſhould hold themſelves bound to go back to the Houſe of Commons, who ſent them thither, to take Inſtructions from them how to proceed, if they did not feel it neceſſary to proceed with Vigour and Diſpatch, which might make them for the preſent waive their Opinion upon the Subject, but under a Proteſt the moſt ſtrong, that they had a Right to put the Queſtion propoſed, and that if they ſhould think a ſimilar Queſtion neceſſary to be put in the Courſe of the future Proceedings, they would propoſe it for the more deliberate Judgment of the Houſe.

The Managers for the Commons were informed they might proceed with their Evidence.

Then John Benn Eſquire was again called in, and the following Queſtion put to him on the 29th of February laſt, and his Anſwer thereto, were read to him:

Q. Have you ever been examined before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons?
A. I have.

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. What was the Purport of the Evidence he gave before that Committee?
A. The firſt Part of the Evidence was relative to my Situation at Benares.

The Witneſs aſked, if it was meant that he ſhould go through the Whole, as far as he could recollect?

The Managers for the Commons ſaid, It was: Whereupon the Witneſs proceeded as follows.

A. I was examined alſo relative to the Impriſonment of Doorgbijey Sing; to the Appointment of Jagger Deo Sing; to the diſpoſſeſſing him, and the appointing a Third Naib; relative to the Rajah of Benares; to his receiving or not receiving the Sum of Six Lacks of Rupees, as ſet down in the general Account of the Country in Mr. Haſtings's Narrative; reſpecting what I ſuppoſe to be the Value of the annual Revenue of that Country. I do not recollect any other material Queſtion reſpecting Benares that was aſked me, except as to my Knowledge of the Rajah having not received the Six Lacks of Rupees. I was alſo queſtioned relative to the Produce of Saltpetre in that Diſtrict; and alſo to the Produce of the Opium in that Diſtrict. Thoſe were the only material Queſtions aſked me. There were many others which formed Part of thoſe general Heads; but I ſpeak rather from an imperfect Recollection, as I never ſaw the Evidence after I gave it upon thoſe Subjects: It is now ſome Time ſince; and if there be any other that I have

not mentioned, I ſhould hope it might be mentioned from the Managers, if it is of any Conſequence, that I may anſwer it.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Witneſs had given an Account of the Subjects upon which he was examined before the Committee; and that the Managers did not want to know what Queſtions were aſked him, but what Anſwers he gave with reſpect to the particular Articles mentioned.

A. I find myſelf at a Loſs—My Examinations were long; it is a conſiderable Time ſince; and I may, perhaps, omit Part that I mentioned there—There are Circumſtances of Recollection; and one Circumſtance recalls to Mind another: Perhaps I may here omit to ſtate ſome Circumſtances that were there put to me, which I do not recollect now.

Q. Do you recollect what Account you gave of the ſeveral Articles you have mentioned?
A. Of thoſe I have mentioned I think I do.

Q. Upon what Head in particular?
A. May I be allowed to look at the Evidence which I gave before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons to refreſh my Memory upon the Circumſtances that were then aſked?

Q. *(By a Lord.)* I wiſh to aſk, Whether the Evidence given by you before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons was ſubſequently read over to you after it was taken down?
A. In different Parts the Anſwer that I made was read immediately: A freſh Queſtion was then put to me; the Queſtion was read as taken down by the Clerk of the Committee, and the Anſwer that I gave was read to me as taken down by him, as far as I can recollect.

Q. Whether, if it was taken incorrectly, the Evidence was corrected as taken down?
A. I do not recollect any Inſtances of Incorrectneſs: But I made my Replies and entered into Converſations upon the particular Parts where there appeared to be any Doubt, as explanatory of what I had ſaid, or to aſk the Meaning of ſuch Queſtions as were put to me which might admit of Two Meanings. At my Firſt Examination upon the Buſineſs of Benares, I ſeemed, before the Committee, to be rather at a Loſs at firſt to anſwer immediately to their Queſtions: One of the Managers, I thought, ſeemed to imagine I was rather thinking how to evade the Queſtions, than how to anſwer them—I ſpeak of the Idea I myſelf had. I was at a former Examination upon a different Charge; and upon receiving a Second Summons to attend the Committee, I imagined that I ſhould have been examined upon that ſame Charge: When I appeared before the Committee, I found it was to a different Charge, and that it was an Examination of Recollection to Circumſtances that had paſſed Six, Seven, or perhaps Eight Years before: I did not find myſelf immediately competent to anſwer the Queſtions immediately put to me, without conſidering; becauſe I had not prepared my Mind, or refreſhed my Recollection, before I went there, upon that particular Charge, ſuppoſing that I ſhould not then be examined upon it. I mentioned this Circumſtance at that Time to the Honourable Managers, ſtating the Difficulty that I felt. The Reply was, That the Committee was not a captious Committee, that I might look over my Evidence, and if there was any Thing in it that, upon Recollection, I did not appear to have anſwered to my own Satisfaction, I might correct it. There was, as I underſtood afterwards (I did not know the Reſolution at the Time) a Reſolution not to permit a Witneſs to examine his Evidence after the Firſt Day; I do not mean to ſay that this was not ſtated to me. It was a Reſolution of the Committee of which I was uninformed; and as a Reſolution of the Committee, I could not examine my Evidence afterwards upon the Buſineſs of Benares. I do not recollect any other Circumſtance. I believe, if I have Permiſſion to look at the Examination, it would be of Service certainly to me in anſwering the Queſtions that are put to me.

Q. Whether you recollect what you ſaid reſpecting the Payment of the Allowances to Mehipnarrain?

A. I ſaid, That the Rajah did not receive the Six Lacks of Rupees which were ſet down in the general Accounts of the Country as a Sum of Money that would leave a ſuppoſed Surplus that would remain in his Treaſury after the Company had received their Tribute, and after the neceſſary Expences of the Collection were defrayed; and that is the Meaning of what I ſaid. As to the very Words, I cannot recollect them.—I was aſked by the Committee how I knew that the Rajah did not receive that Sum? My Anſwer was, I think, That the Rajah told me ſo himſelf; that I knew it both from the Naib and from the Rajah.—I think I was aſked, if the Rajah ever complained of not receiving it? I believe I anſwered upon one Meaning of the Word "complained," that he did complain; ſtating, that the Rajah's Communication with me was not an official one: To me he could not officially complain. If he had meant to have made any official Complaint he would have made it to the Reſident, the Duties of whoſe Office it was to hear the Rajah's Complaints, and to communicate them to the Government if they required Redreſs.—The Queſtion aſked at your Lordſhips Bar, I believe, was, if the Rajah ever complained to the Officers of Government? To that Queſtion, at the Bar of your Lordſhips, I anſwered, No: Becauſe the Rajah ſtating to me that he did not receive that Sum, I did not conceive it to be of the Nature of a Complaint to an Officer of Government, becauſe as ſuch the Rajah could not complain to me.

I had

I had no official Power to hear his Complaint, or to redreſs his Complaint, or to communicate his Complaint.

Q. In what Character was you at Benares?
A. As Aſſiſtant to the Reſident at Benares.

Q. Was it of Courſe, or did the Reſident, or his Aſſiſtant Reſident, tranſmit any Petitions, Remonſtrances, or Complaints; or was there Communication of any Sort through them, or either of them, from any of the Inhabitants of that Country to the Governor?
A. It was the Buſineſs of the Reſident to tranſmit all the Papers intended for the Government to the Government.

Q. What was the Buſineſs of the Aſſiſtant Reſident?
A. The Aſſiſtant Reſident was immediately under the Reſident, to follow his Inſtructions; he had no Power independent of the Reſident, and the Reſident was the Channel of Communication with the Government.

Q. Do you mean the Aſſiſtant Reſident never did communicate actually with the Government?
A. Only in the Abſence of the Reſident, or in Caſes of his Indiſpoſition, when he could not communicate the Papers; in ſuch Caſes the Aſſiſtant Reſident was Locum tenens.

Q. But when the Reſident was actually there, did the Aſſiſtant Reſident communicate with the Reſident himſelf?—Was it the Buſineſs of the Aſſiſtant Reſident to communicate with the Reſident when they were both upon the Spot?
A. I did in general.

Q. Did you communicate that Repreſentation, whether Complaint or other, that was made by the Rajah?
A. I really cannot ſay whether I did or not; it was a Circumſtance ſo well known that it did not require any Communication; the Reſident knew it as perfectly well as I myſelf.

Q. By whom was you appointed to the Office of Aſſiſtant Reſident?
A. By the Government of Bengal; by Mr. Haſtings, the Governor General, and Mr. Wheler.

Q. To fix it more particularly, At what Time was the Appointment?
A. I believe about the Middle of January 1781.

Q. The Witneſs in his Croſs Examination, upon being aſked, Whether he had any Opportunity of ſeeing Doorgbijey Sing during the Time he was in Confinement, anſwered, that he never did ſee him at the Time of his Confinement. He was then aſked, Where he was confined, and how he was treated: His Anſwer was, he was confined in a Houſe ſituated in a Garden, at Benares, where the Houſe was in the Centre, and ſurrounded by a high Wall; that he had Permiſſion to walk about that Garden; and that the Guard placed to ſecure him was on the Outſide of the Wall of the Garden; I wiſh to know, whether he meant to allude to the Firſt or Second Confinement; or if there was any Difference in the Place or Manner of his Confinement at different Periods?
A. I believe there was at firſt a Guard placed for his Security on the Outſide of the Garden Wall, and it was afterwards placed in the Inſide; there was alſo, I think, a Guard placed at the Door of the Houſe in the Inſide of the Garden.

Q. Was it upon the Firſt or Second Time of his Confinement that the Guard was placed within and at the Door of the Houſe?
A. I believe, the Second Time. I believe at one Time, for a few Days, he was deprived of his Hooka, or the Privilege of Smoking; that was the only Circumſtance of Severity as I recollect that was ſhewn to him.

Q. You ſaid "he was confined in a Houſe at Benares belonging to the Rajah, ſituated in a Garden, which I believe might be about Six Acres of Ground, the Houſe was in the Centre, and ſurrounded by a high Wall; he had Permiſſion to walk about that Garden, and the Guard placed to ſecure him was on the Outſide of the Wall of the Garden"; and I want to know, whether the Anſwer you ſo gave was meant to deſcribe the Firſt Period of his Confinement, and not the Second?
A. To the beſt of my Recollection, the Firſt: It was an immaterial Circumſtance, as I thought it then; but I believe it was the Firſt Time.

Q. Was there any other Difference in the Second Time of Confinement, except thoſe you have mentioned?
A. None.

Q. Your Anſwer then went to deſcribe the milder Confinement?
A. I do not recollect that; I think before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons I mentioned all the Circumſtances that I have now mentioned.

Q. In

Q. In the Anſwer you gave to this Houſe, did you mean to ſpeak of the Firſt Confinement, and not of the Second?

A. Of the Firſt only, with that Variation of the Guard being placed within Side of the Garden inſtead of the outer Wall, and that of the Guard being placed at the Door of the Houſe; but he was not deprived of the Uſe of the Garden, and the Privilege of walking in it.

Q. The Queſtion now put to you is, What you meant, as far as you can recollect, by the general Anſwer you gave, when laſt before the Houſe, "that he was confined, and Guards placed without the Wall"; did you mean to confine yourſelf to the firſt Confinement, or to give that Anſwer throughout to both Times of his Confinement?

A. I did not make that Diſcrimination in my own Mind. The placing the Guards within Side the Wall, and at the Door of the Houſe, or upon the Outſide, was a Circumſtance that did not particularly ſtrike me; and unleſs my Memory had been refreſhed by the Queſtion aſked by the Honourable Manager, I believe I ſhould not have recollected it now.

Q. If you thought the Circumſtance immaterial, whether the Guard was placed upon the Outſide or the Inſide of the Wall, how came you to mention that Circumſtance at all?

A. I really cannot ſay why I mentioned the one in Preference to the other. I know of nothing further. There was no particular Hardſhip, as I thought, in the Guard being upon the Inſide or on the Outſide. I did not mean to conceal any Circumſtance; I meant to mention all I knew.

Q. By whoſe Order was Doorbidjey Sing put into Confinement the Firſt Time?
A. By Order of the Governor.

Q. Was the Governor there?
A. No—He was at Calcutta.

Q. Then it was an Order tranſmitted from the Government of Calcutta to the Reſident of Benares?

A. Yes.

Q. By what Authority was the Second Confinement?
A. I am not clear in my Recollection, whether the Second Confinement was from the Government at large, or from the Governor General in conſequence of Powers given to the Governor General from the Government at large: I don't immediately recollect it; but I am ſure it was one of them.

Q. Were his Papers ſeized?
A. They were.

Q. By whoſe Orders?
A. I believe it formed a Part of the Regulation. When Doorbijey Sing was ſeized and diſmiſſed from his Office, it formed a Part of the Regulation to ſeize his Papers, as the Documents of his Office.

Q. What do you mean by the Regulation?
A. I mean the Mode that the Reſident at Benares thought the moſt efficacious to proceed in to ſecure the Company's Revenue. I do not recollect whether he had any poſitive Inſtructions from the Government for this or not particularly; whether the Inſtructions were particular or general: But I ſhould imagine it may eaſily be known by Reference to the Proceedings, which are in England.

Q. You don't know whether it was by particular Directions, or whether it was the Manner in which the Reſident executed a general Order?
A. I don't immediately recollect; but I think it was by Directions from the Government: My Recollection is not clear about that.

Q. The Proceedings, you ſay, are here in England?
A. The Proceedings are here in England, I believe: They will ſhew the Manner of the Reſident's Proceedings; and it will appear from them, whether it was his own Regulations upon general Inſtructions, or upon particular Inſtructions.

Q. Was the viſible Property of Doorbijey Sing, or any Part of it, ſequeſtered?
A. It was intended, I believe, to ſequeſter any Property of his that might be found; but upon Examination none could be found, except ſome very trifling Things of no Conſequence.

Q. Was his Jaghire ſequeſtered?
A. It was.

Q. When his Papers were ſeized, was an Account made out againſt him from thoſe Papers, by which it appeared that he had received more than he accounted for?
A. I believe thoſe Papers were examined by the Rajah's Agent; but I am not very clear in my Recollection of thoſe Papers.

Q. Do you know any Thing of the Fact of ſeizing thoſe Papers?
A. Yes; the Treaſury was ſeized, and the Accounts in it.

Q. Was the Treaſury a Public Office?
A. Yes, the Public Office of the Zemindary, the Place of general Receipts and Diſburſements.

Q. Are the Papers you are ſpeaking of the Papers that were ſeized in that Treaſury?
A. Yes, the Account of Collections and Expences of the Zemindary.

Q. Do you or do you not recollect whether any Account was actually made out, or could be made out, from theſe Papers, by which it appeared he had received more than he had accounted for?
A. I recollect it appeared, from examining thoſe Papers, and the Receipts that were produced by ſome Farmers in the Country, that he had not entered all the Money he had received. I recollect the Circumſtance of a Farmer producing an Acquittance that he had paid all his Rents for that Year; but I believe it did not appear, from thoſe Accounts, that Doorbijey Sing had given him Credit for all that it appeared by the Receipt of Acquittal that he had paid. I do not recollect; I never ſaw any Account made out; but I generally underſtood that he had collected a good deal more than he had paid upon the Part of Government.

Q. My Queſtion was not about what he underſtood in general to be the Fact, but whether he knew from thoſe Papers that any Evidence of that Fact was collected?

The Clerk was directed to read the laſt Anſwer given by the Witneſs.
The ſame was accordingly read.

Q. When the Witneſs ſays it did not appear from theſe Papers that there was entered an Account according to the Receipts, does he ſpeak to Matter of Belief from his own Recollection of the Fact, or what he has heard from other Perſons? or did he ſee it and conclude it himſelf from thoſe Papers that were ſeized in the Treaſury?
A. The Inſtance that I recollect of a Farmer's producing an Acquittal, was of a Farmer whoſe Name was Kullbelly Beg.

Q. Do you know from your Obſervation of the Books, that the Sum mentioned in that Acquittal was not brought to Account; or did you take that from the Report of others?
A. I took it from the Report of a Perſon who did examine it.

Q. Did you yourſelf examine thoſe Papers?
A. No, I did not.

Q. At any Time?
A. No.

Q. If you did not at any Time examine thoſe Papers, by what Means do you know thoſe Papers did not correſpond with the former Receipts?
A. I believe I have anſwered to that—that I was told ſo by a Perſon that did examine them, who told me of this particular Circumſtance reſpecting Kullbelly Beg.

Q. Was not a Letter or Petition tranſmitted to you, or to your Office, by Mr. Haſtings, he then being at Benares, making a Complaint of ſeveral Grievances upon the Part of the Rajah Mehipnarain and his Family?

The Houſe inquired of the Managers for the Commons, Whether they meant tranſmitted to the Reſident, or to the Witneſs perſonally?
The Managers for the Commons anſwered, that they meant, to his Office; and added, it might be neceſſary to inform the Houſe, that Mr. Benn was Aſſiſtant Reſident to Two different Reſidents, viz. Mr. Markham and Mr. Fowke.

Then the following Letter, dated 14th March 1784, was produced by the Managers for the Commons, and ſhewed to the Witneſs.

" To Francis Fowke Eſq.

" Sir,

" I herewith ſend you a Petition which I have received from Rajah Mehipnarain, with a Paper containing an Explanation of it. I requeſt that you will inform me if the Facts are juſtly ſtated, or in what Particulars they differ from his Repreſentation of them. I alſo underſtand that the Rajah's Name is totally diſuſed in all Sunnuds, Aumilnamas, and other Officers Deeds and Papers of the Naib's Office, and the Naib's uſed in his ſtead. Be pleaſed to inform me, ſince what Time this Practice has prevailed, and whether by any Authority expreſsly given to the Naib. On the

preceding Points if you can furniſh me with any Lights which may enable me to form a proper Judgment of them, I requeſt to be informed thereof.

" I am, &c.

" Benares, 14th March 1784. (Signed) W. Haſtings."

" Petition of Rajah Mehipnarain.

" When lifting me from the Duſt of Obſcurity, your Excellency exalted me to the Raaje of Benares, agreeable to the Uſage of my Grandfather, Rajah Bulwand Sing, you confirmed to me the Jaghire and Altumgah Mahls, Half Buddock, and the Pergunnahs of Maauge and Mungrone; alſo Six Lacs and Thirty thouſand Rupees odd, for my own Expences and Subundy.

" Baboo Durhbidjey Sing, my Naib, from his own Neglects, failing in the Revenues of the Sirkar, the Jaghire, &c. above mentioned, were ſequeſtered till the Payment of the Balances, and a Perwannah ſent me to make them good. Out of regard to the Orders of the Preſence, and hoping the Releaſe of the Mahals, I paid the Demands of the Sirkar through Gopaul Doſs; notwithſtanding which, my Jaghire is ſtill in Sequeſtration, and from the Day of my Exaltation to the Raja, I have not received a ſingle Dâam of the eſtabliſhed Allowance for Support and Sebundy.

" Baboo Jaggudis Sing, contrary to good Policy and the Welfare of the People, makes Exactions from the whole Country, and does not pay even the fixed Revenue. There is neither Advantage to the Sirkar, nor Eaſe to the People.

" From my good Fortune, your Excellency has advanced to this Country. If a ſure Settlement is not now made to my Advantage, I ſhall deſpair of its being done ever. From your compaſſionating Benevolence, I hope, that my Jaghire and Altumgah will be releaſed to me, and Orders be given to the Chief of Benares to pay regularly to me the allotted Sum of Six Lacs and Thirty odd thouſand Rupees for my own Expences and the Sebundy.

" Rajah Mehipnarain repreſents, that, ſince his Exaltation to the Raje, he has not enjoyed the ſmalleſt Part of that Conſequence or Reſpect due to his Rank. Even the Town of Ramnagore allotted for his Reſidence, has been put under a Cutwal from another Authority.

" Half the Pergunnah of Buddock, producing a Revenue of One hundred and fifty-eight thouſand three hundred and forty-one Rupees, was allotted him in Jaghire; the remaining Part he held from the Sirkar, at the Jemma of Seventy thouſand five hundred Rupees.

" Mungrore, producing a Revenue of Fifty thouſand Rupees, was granted in Altumagh to the Rannee Golaab Koor.

" Maitch, producing a Revenue of Sixty thouſand Rupees, was granted in Jaghire to the Rajah's Father and Naib Baboo Durbedjey Sing.

" Baboo Durbedjey Sing, failing in his Payments to the Sirkar, the Whole of the abovementioned Grants were ſequeſtered, and an Order ſent from the Council to the Rajah to make good the Balances; but Mr. Markham, on the Rajah's Repreſentation of his Caſe, releaſed Half the Pergunnah of Buddock, and promiſed, when the Balances of the Sirkar ſhould be paid, to releaſe the others. The Rajah, ſeeing that his Father made no Efforts to pay the Demands of the Sirkar, ſatisfied them himſelf by the Aſſiſtance of the Banker Gopaul Doſs. Mr. Markham aſſured him that his Promiſe ſhould be kept, but he was recalled, and the Altumgah and Jaghire of Mungrore have not yet been reſtored. The Half of the Pergunnah of Buddock the Rajah at preſent poſſeſſes in Jaghire, and he now holds the Remainder of the Sirkar, with the Addition of Seventeen thouſand Rupees to the former Jemma as before mentioned. He hopes that this Addition will be excuſed, and a Leaſe granted him at a fixed Jemma for the future; that the Altumgah of Mungrore will be releaſed to the Rannee, and Maitch, the Jaghire of his Father, be allowed remain under him, till ſuch Times as the Sums advanced on his Account for the Payments of the Sirkar ſhall be made good.

" Of the Six Lacs five hundred Rupees, allowed for the Muddud Kertch, the Rajah has not received One Daam ſince his being placed on the Raaje. He hopes that an Allowance will be made him on this Account from the Date of the Removal of his Father from the Neabut, and that he ſhall receive the Whole in future.

" The Rajah is in all Things obedient to the Sirkar, but he humbly hopes that the uſual Ruſſaam and Adaâb of the Dignity of Rajah, may be allowed him, viz. that the Naib may receive a Khelaât from him, and the Aumils, on their Appointment, be ordered to pay him the cuſtomary Compliment of taking leave, and receiving from him the Beetle, &c."

A. I recollect ſeeing the Letter at Benares; but I do not know what was done in Conſequence of it.

Q. Do you recollect having received it from Mr. Haſtings?

A. I apprehend it would be ſent to the Reſident from Mr. Haſtings; but I only recollect ſeeing it in the Office, and reading it there: It was not ſent to me, but it was ſent to the Reſident.

Q. Whether you was not ſent upon any, and what Commiſſion, in conſequence of Complaints made to Mr. Haſtings of Oppreſſion upon the Country of Benares by the Garriſon ſtationed in the Country, or near it?

A. When

A. When Mr. Haſtings was at Lucknow, I think he wrote a Letter to the Reſident at Benares, ſtating ſome Complaints which had come to his Knowledge of the Mode in which One of the Garriſons was ſupplied with Proviſions and Grain; I was ſent by the Reſident to enquire into this. From my own Inquiry it appeared to me that the Perſons employed had not been quite ſo attentive as they ought to have been in taking the Grain; that it had been cuſtomary to ſend a Perſon who was employed generally to provide Proviſions for the Garriſon, and his Conduct appeared to me exceptionable. The Perſon who was ſent was a Native; a Perſon whoſe Buſineſs it was to furniſh the Bazars or Markets. I think, when I was at Gauzepore, I made an Application to the Officer to know what Quantity of Grain he would require for his Detachment, and I think I formed a Regulation with the principal Farmers there, that they ſhould deliver this Grain in the Proportion, and at the Times the Commanding Officer ſaid he would want it; that they would be under no Neceſſity of ſending any Perſon or Perſons into the Country to take the Grain themſelves, but that it would be brought to them, and they would receive it, paying the Market-price for it.

Q. Whether any Perſon was puniſhed for abuſive Practices which you diſcovered?

A. Some of the Zemindars complained to me,—(it is a great Diſtance of Time, and I muſt rather recollect myſelf);—they complained that the Market-price was not paid for the Grain. At that Time the Grain was very high priced, and the Perſon who furniſhed Grain for the Markets wanted to have it at the Price of a former Time, when it was not ſo high; he wanted to have it at an under Rate.

Q. Do you mean to ſay they only wanted it, or that they actually took it?

A. In One or Two Places, I do not recollect the Number quite, they produced an Account which the Inhabitants ſaid was the Sum they had received for a certain Quantity of Grain; upon comparing this Sum with what the Price of Grain at that Time was, it certainly was leſs than they ought to have paid; it was more than in a plentiful Seaſon would have been paid for it; but it was leſs than the Price at the Time.

Q. Part of the Complaint was, that they were obliged to accept of that inferior Price?

A. Yes.

Q. Whether any Inveſtigation was made of that Complaint?

A. I was ſent to inveſtigate it. I found it in Part true, as I have ſtated to your Lordſhips. I believe there is a Letter of mine addreſſed from Gauzepore, a particular Part of the Diſtrict of Benares where the Inquiry was made, to my immediate Superior, the Reſident at Benares. In that Letter I think I ſtated the whole Circumſtances, and the Manner in which I had engaged with the different Farmers that Grain ſhould be furniſhed to the Garriſon. If I could ſee that Letter, I ſhould be then better able to anſwer the Queſtions that were put to me upon it, as that was written at the Time.

Q. The Queſtion put upon it was, Whether any further Proceedings were had againſt the Party complained of?

The Clerk was directed to read the Queſtion put to the Witneſs, and his Anſwer.

The ſame were read by the Clerk, as follows:

Q. Do you mean to ſay they only wanted, or that they actually took it?

A. In One or Two Places, I don't recollect the Number quite, they produced an Account which the Inhabitants ſaid was the Sum they had received for a certain Quantity of Grain; upon comparing this Sum with what the Price of Grain at that Time was, it certainly was leſs than they ought to have paid; it was more than in a plentiful Seaſon would have been paid for it; but it was leſs than the Price at the Time.

Q. I deſire to know of the Witneſs diſtinctly, whether the Grain was taken by Force or Menaces at that arbitrary Price, or not?

A. Thoſe that produced the Account that I have mentioned, ſaid the Grain was taken at the Price that they gave me.

Q. The Queſtion, as put to you before, was, Whether the Grain was taken againſt their Will at that Price?

A. They complained of it; when I went afterwards to examine into the Truth of it, they complained, and told me that it was.

Q. By what Menaces or by what Force did they ſtate the Grain was taken from them?

A. I do not clearly recollect.

Q. Whether you are of Opinion, from your Knowledge of the Country, and from the beſt Information you have received, that it is capable of producing and yielding to Government £400,000 a Year, without Detriment to the Country?

A. I thought £400,000 a Year to Government was certainly a large Revenue; I believe I have ſaid ſo in my former Examination, and anſwered that Queſtion; I am not quite clear, but I think ſo

Q. Whethe

Q. Whether that Sum of £400,000 could be annually raiſed upon that Country for the Government, without Detriment to the Country?

A. Not if any conſiderable Sum is allowed to the Rajah for his Support.

Q. The preſent Queſtion that is put to you is, not what could be raiſed beyond the £400,000 for the Subſiſtence of the Rajah; but whether the £400,000 could be yielded without Detriment to the Country?

A. The Country, I think, would always yield Forty-five Lacks of Rupees, beſides the Rajah's Jaghire.

Q. What is the Amount of the Rajah's Jaghire?

A. One Lack 58,000 Rupees, with Six Lacks for his Allowance.

Q. Whether you can recollect what your Obſervation was upon that Subject to the Committee of Managers?

A. I think my Obſervation muſt have been, that it would not continue to yield it, becauſe I thought the Revenue was too great for Government to take, unleſs more Money was expended in the Country, which was altering the Situation of it.

Q. According to your beſt Information, what was the annual Caſh Balance of Trade in Favour of the Country of Benares when you knew it?

A. That is rather a difficult Queſtion to anſwer reſpecting a Country, particularly upon Oath.

Q. I wiſh the Witneſs to underſtand when he is aſked to Matter of Information, for to many ſuch he has anſwered from Opinion collected, his Anſwer is to be underſtood undoubtedly with proper and reaſonable Limitations, whether upon Oath or not: What does he, upon his Oath, ſay, to the Beſt of his Judgment, he recollects that Balance to have been?

A. I certainly inquired at Benares, and I thought there was a Balance in Favour of Benares, from Seven to Eight or Nine Lacks of Rupees a Year.

Q. How many did you ſtate it to be to the Committee?

A. I do not recollect.

Here the Managers for the Commons ſhewed the Witneſs a Paper.—Then the Witneſs ſaid:

A. Before the Honourable Committee, I ſaid, I thought it was Six Lacks of Rupees. I have now ſaid, Perhaps Seven or Eight. It is a Fact that cannot be anſwered with a Degree of Certainty; it might vary.

Q. But you are ſure it did not much exceed that laſt Sum?

A. I ſpeak from my own Opinion of Courſe.

Q. What is your Idea of the Means and Manner of managing that Country? Whether the Country, in an ordinary Way, is ſufficient to take Care of itſelf, or whether it does not require ſome particular Indulgence to manage it?

A. I certainly think it requires Attention.

Q. By Attention, you mean it would ſuffer very much by extracting a very large Revenue from it? Is it your Opinion the Country would ſuffer much by extracting a large Revenue from it?

A. I think it would. It is not a Country that has in itſelf a Number of natural Advantages; there are no great Exports. When I ſaw it I thought it a very flouriſhing Country; and I concluded, as it had not the Advantage of many Exports, as a Country it had been much attended to; and of courſe I concluded, the ſame Attention being continued to it, it would continue to be the ſame Country as it was.

Q. Whether Opium is not an Article of Export from that Country?

A. It is from the Provinces.

Q. Is there a Free Trade in that Article?

A. When I was at Benares it was pretty much in the Hands of the Reſident, and I believe it was conſidered as an Advantage that he enjoyed there.

Q. Was it not monopoliſed by the Reſident?

A. I believe nearly the whole Trade of Exportation was in the Reſident's Hands.

Q. Do you mean it was in the Reſident's Hands in the Courſe of Trade, or by a public Inſtitution put into his Hands as a Monopoly?

A. Not by any public Inſtitution; it was done before I was at Benares, I believe in the Time of the Firſt Reſident.

Q. What was the Sort of Monopoly—Did he compel the Producers of Opium to ſell all to him?

A. No; I believe not; I never knew of any Circumſtance of Compulſion; I never heard of any.

Q. What do you mean by Monopoly?
A. The ingroſſing any particular Article; having the ſole ſelling or diſpoſing of any particular Article.

Q. Was that the Situation in which the Reſident was in that Place? could any Body elſe buy, ſell, or export Opium, or deal in it by an open Courſe of Trade, except the Reſident?
A. There was no Prohibition, but it was chiefly in the Hands of the Reſident.

Q. If there was no Prohibition, the Conſequence would be, all Manner of Merchants would deal in it, would not they?
A. So I ſuppoſe.

Q. What Means had the Reſident to get that Privilege into his Hands, which other Merchants had not?
A. It was done long before I went to Benares.—When I was there it was in a regular Channel: Whether it was forced into that Channel or not I cannot ſay.

Q. Do you know the Manner in which the Reſident did exerciſe that Trade?
A. His Agent bought the Opium, and he contracted for it at a certain Price.

Q. Contracted, with whom?
A. With a Native of India.

Q. That is, contracted to buy it at a certain Price?
A. Yes, from a Native of India. This Native, I believe, had nearly the ſole Produce of the Diſtrict of Benares.

Q. Who was that Native? What was his Name?
A. Sunker Pundit.

Q. Suppoſe he had ſold any Part of his Opium to any other Perſon beſides the Reſident, was he at Liberty to do ſo?
A. No, I believe not; by his Engagement he was not at Liberty.

Q. Might he have contracted with any other Perſon, if he pleaſed, before he entered into that Agreement?
A. I think not.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* The Evidence has told your Lordſhips, that the Export for Opium was chiefly in the Hands of the Reſident; I wiſh to aſk him, if he knows of any Inſtance of any being exported that was not in the Hands of the Reſident?
A. No: I do not.

Q. Then what do you mean by the Word "chiefly?"
A. I did not know but others might. I did not poſitively know that they did or did not.

Q. Did you, or did you not, know, that it was an underſtood Monopoly?
A. It was an underſtood Monopoly.

Q. Whether the Trade of Saltpetre is not an Article of Exportation from that Province?
A. It is.

Q. Was that Trade open?
A. There is ſomething rather particular in the Article of Saltpetre, which perhaps will not quite clearly appear by a direct Anſwer. If your Lordſhips will give me leave, I will explain how it is. The Article of Saltpetre in India, I believe, is always conſidered ſomething in the ſame Manner as a Royalty is in England; it is ſeparate from the Soil: One Man cultivates the Soil, and another Man has the Produce of the Saltpetre; they are ſeparate Property: They are generally in the Hands of the Rajah of a great Zemindary, in the ſame Manner as a Royalty may be in the Hands of a Lord in England: This, I believe, the Rajah of Benares gave to the Reſident: It is in Value about 7,000 Rupees a Year, or £700: He had the Produce of the Saltpetre in that way: There is more produced than is conſumed in Benares, of courſe it is exported.
Q. Was it a Monopoly or an open Trade?
A. The whole Produce, in the Manner in which I have ſtated it, was in the Hands of the Reſident. It was given by the Rajah to the Reſident.

Q. When?
A. I believe at the ſame Time that the Opium was, but I do not clearly recollect; it was before I was there.

Q. What Time was you there firſt?
A. In 1782.

Q. Was it generally known that the Reſident had theſe Profits?
A. I do not know that it was.

Q. Were any great Pains taken to conceal it?
A. No, no Pains were taken to conceal it; it was a Matter of Indifference to the Reſident, I imagine, whether it was known or not.

Q. Whether it is not generally known to Perſons concerned in the Trade at Calcutta, that it was monopolized for the Benefit of the Reſident?
A. I believe it was underſtood amongſt the Dealers in Opium that there was a Quantity of Opium ſent from Benares, and that it was for the Benefit of the Reſident.

Q. Was it generally known the Opium produced in the Province of Benares was to be exported through the Channel of the Reſident, or monopolized by the Reſident?
A. By the Dealers in that Article I believe it was; but I believe it was not generally known.

Q. Did they know the Sale of Opium at Benares was upon account of the Reſident?
A. It was in general ſent to the Agent at Calcutta, and ſold there.—What I meant by "gene-"rally known" was, that thoſe who dealt in that Article would of courſe know it; but I believe it was not generally known by the Servants of the Eaſt India Company, by the Governor, or others in India, not to my Knowledge; I believe it was not.

Q. Have you mentioned the Extent of the Value of the Opium Contract, or do you know how much it produced annually to him?
A. I believe from 40,000 to 50,000 Rupees a Year.

Q. How many Cheſts of Opium were annually exported?
A. Upon an Average about 450, I believe: I recollect ſeeing One Account of 425, another of 475, the Produce of Two different Years—I think, to the beſt of my Recollection, nearly that.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* He has ſaid this Grant was made to the Reſident by the Rajah; does he know whether any Conſideration was paid by the Reſident for ſuch Grant?
A. I do not know.

Q. Whether you underſtood, or believe, there was any ſuch Conſideration?
A. No; I do not believe there was any Conſideration paid for it.

Q. Whether this was a particular Grant to this particular Reſident; or whether it had always been attached to the Office of Reſident?
A. I believe it had always been attached to the Office; I was under Two Reſidents there, and both had it: I underſtood the former Reſident had it by virtue of his Office.

The Houſe inquired of the Counſel if they had any Queſtion to aſk the Witneſs upon this Examination?

Q. *(by Counſel.)*—I wiſh the Witneſs to be aſked, Whether, when he ſays it had always been underſtood as attached to the Office of Reſident, he means from the Firſt Inſtitution of the Office of Reſident at Benares?
A. I mean after the regular Appointment of a Reſident. Mr. Fowke, I believe, was the Firſt Perſon that was ſent to Benares, but not as Reſident. I mean after his Firſt Recall.

Q. What are the particular Sources of Opulence of Benares?
A. One of the great Sources of its Opulence is its Situation in point of Religion, the Number of Pilgrims that viſit it from different Parts of India as a Place of particular Sanctity; great Crouds generally come there every Year, and they make rather a Point of expending at the different Temples great Sums of Money; that is one Source: It alſo ſhares pretty much in the Trade of Diamonds paſſing through Benares to Calcutta: It exports ſome Cloth and Opium, and Saltpetre.

Q. Whether the Circumſtances you have enumerated, of the Change of the Place of the Guard, and the Prohibition of the Uſe of the Hooka for Two or Three Days, were the only Reſtraints of Doorbijey Sing, which you recollect, during his Confinement?
A. They were the only Reſtraints I recollect, and I believe they were the only Reſtraints he ever was put under.

Q. Whether the Guard placed at the Door of the Houſe in any Manner prevented Doorbijey Sing from the free Uſe of the Garden whenever he had Occaſion to uſe it?
A. No. I have given that in Evidence before.

Q. Whether the Paper that has been inquired about reſpecting the Accounts of Doorbijey Sing's Office was not laid before Ally Ibraim Cawn, the Arbitrator appointed between him and the Company?
A. I believe the Accounts were laid before him to enable him to determine Part of his Arbitration, a Circumſtance I did not recollect at the Time; but they were neceſſary for his Examination to ſee what Sums of Money were paid.

Q. The Witneſs has already told us that Ally Ibrahim Cawn made an Award in Favour of the Company of One Lack 50,000 Rupees, upon his former Examination?

A. I do not mean to be quite particular as to the Amount of Rupees, the exact Sum I do not recollect. I gave what I thought the Amount from Recollection.

Q. Do you know whether that Sum was ever received in full by the Company?

A. That Sum never was received in full by them, unleſs it has been received ſince I left Benares.

Q. I am aſking as to the Amount of the Money received upon that Arbitration? Do you know whether the Sum of One Lack 50,000 Rupees which was awarded, was received by the Company at any Time before the Death of Doorbidgjey Sing, or not?

A. No. Before the Death of Doorbidgjey Sing the Money certainly was not paid; I cannot anſwer ſince. I have been in England ſome Time. It may have been paid ſince I left Benares, but it was not paid before.

Q. Do you know whether 400,000 Rupees, or Forty Lacks a Year, as ſettled by Mr. Haſtings, have been conſtantly received or required by the ſucceeding Government of that Country?

A. Till I left India it was.—Sir John Macpherſon at that Time was Governor, and the ſame Regulation reſpecting Benares continued after Mr. Haſtings left it.

Q. You do not know whether it was in Fact received?

A. No, I do not: The Revenue was liquidated for One Year, and for Part of another; I cannot tell how much, as I left Benares before the Concluſion of the Year, and whether the Whole was received for that Year I cannot tell.

Q. Was the Whole received for a Year before you left Calcutta?

A. In the Year of Jagger Deo Sing it was received; There was a diſputed Account, I believe, of a Sum claimed by him, and I cannot tell whether it was allowed or not.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Whether the Property of Doorbidgjey Sing was ſequeſtered when he was impriſoned?

A. An Attempt was made to ſequeſter any Property that might be found; but I believe his Property in Money he had removed.

Q. Do you know whether there was any Grant in Writing from the Rajah to the Reſident, of Salt Petre?

A. No, there was not. I believe there was not; I never heard there was.

Q. Whether there was, or was not, any great or extraordinary Failures in the Crops of the Country at the Time Doorbidgjey Sing was Naib?

A. Not at the Time Doorbidgjey Sing was Naib.—I do not recollect it.

Q. Was there any at any ſhort Period before?

A. Not before Doorbidgjey Sing.

Q. The Witneſs has ſaid in his former Examination, that the Arrears of Rent due from Doorbidgjey Sing to the Company, was, by mutual Conſent, ſubmitted to Arbitration, to Ally Ibrahim Cawn; I wiſh him to explain, whether he meant by the Word "due," due to the Company, as having been actually received by him?

A. If you will give me leave, I will ſtate the Nature of his Office; he was the Naib and a Manager for his Principal, the Rajah; he was ſuppoſed to be the Receiver and Manager for him: The Engagement for the Eaſt India Company was with the Rajah for an annual Tribute, upon which he took the Country; and whether he received more or leſs, his Engagement remained as an annual Stipend. It was for a Deficiency in the Sum that he had engaged to pay that he was put into Confinement.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* The Witneſs has ſaid, that during Part of the Time Mr. Fowke was at Benares he was not there in Quality of Reſident; I would wiſh to know in what Quality he underſtood Mr. Fowke to be then?

A. The Firſt Time Mr. Fowke was ſent to inveſt Rajah Cheit Sing with the Rajahſhip, and to ſeat him in his Zemindary, it was conſidered, I believe, as a temporary kind of Miſſion; afterwards a fixed Reſident was appointed. One of the Civil Servants of the Eaſt India Company was appointed to reſide there: That was the Diſtinction.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* The Witneſs has mentioned ſome Reſtriction laid upon Doorbidgjey Sing at the Time he was confined; amongſt others, a Prohibition from Smoking a few Days: Was there any Reaſon aſſigned for any ſuch Reſtriction, or for ſuch Prohibition?

A. I believe the Reaſon was, that if ſome little Inſtance of Severity was ſhewn towards him, it was thought if he had the Money he would pay it; but it had not the Effect, and there was no other Species of Reſtriction put upon him.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* I think the Witneſs ſaid the Jaghire of Doorgbijey Sing was ſeized upon; I wiſh to know by whom that Jaghire was originally granted to Doorgbijey Sing?

A. The

A. The Jaghire granted to Doorgbijey Sing makes a Part of the general Regulations made by Mr. Haſtings, as appears by his Narrative, and it was given to him as Naib—I underſtood it to be ſo.

Q. What was the Amount of that Jaghire?
A. Sixty thouſand Rupees a Year—Six thouſand Pounds Engliſh Money.

Q. The Witneſs ſaid that the Property, as far as it could be come at, of Doorgbijey Sing was ſeized upon; I wiſh therefore to know how Doorgbijey Sing was maintained, and how he was attended when he was in Priſon?

A. He was attended by his own Servants, and maintained by his own Property, I imagine; for there was no Allowance made to him, and it was our Opinion that he was very equal to maintaining himſelf.

Q. What might the Number of thoſe Servants be, does the Evidence recollect?
A. No, I do not; he parted with no Servants, none of his domeſtic Servants, in his Confinement; and thoſe in India are generally a great Number. I do not recollect exactly, nor do I know of any he had in general; all of any Conſequence were with him.

Q. The Witneſs has ſaid in another Part, ſpeaking of Complaints relative to the Grain, that he was ſent to enquire into them: What Enquiries did he make, and how were thoſe Enquiries ſubſtantiated?—Whether there was any Examination made by him as to the Complaints?

A. I was ſent there to make thoſe Enquiries; I went to the very Place where theſe Circumſtances were ſaid to have happened; I found them in the Manner in which I have deſcribed them in my Evidence.

Q. The Queſtion propoſed is, whether thoſe Complaints made by the Perſons aggrieved were ſubſtantiated by any other Perſons than thoſe who complained?

A. Yes, it ſeemed to be the general Opinion there; I enquired of many, and they all agreed in the ſame Story.

Q. As ſimilar Queſtions have been aſked before, whether the Evidence, from his Reſidence upon the Spot, does not think the Trade of Benares might be improved, and new Channels of Trade opened?

A. I don't know that it is more likely in Benares than any other Country.

Q. Are there any particular Modes which your Reſidence in the Country has furniſhed you with an Opportunity of obſerving?

A. One was, to improve the Cultivation of Sugar: At preſent, Calcutta and a great Part of India is ſupplied from China; and the Cultivation of Sugar might be ſo far improved, as to render that Trade from China unneceſſary.

Q. Whether you know of any Circumſtance of Cruelty attending the Confinement of Doorgbigey Sing, beſides thoſe which are already mentioned?

A. None.

Q. In what Year did you go to Benares firſt?

A. In April 1782: March or April, I am not certain which; I am not quite clear in the Month.

Q. Did you then find the Country in a flouriſhing Situation?
A. Very much ſo.

Q. When did you leave Benares, and in what Situation was it then?

A. I left it in 1786, and it was then, in Appearance, in as flouriſhing a Situation as when I went there in 1782.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Is there any Salary belonging to the Appointment of Aſſiſtant Reſident at Benares?

A. Yes, there is.

Q. The Witneſs has ſaid he was appointed in January 1781, and went to reſide at Benares in April 1782; I wiſh to know whether he received ſuch Salary from January 1781 to April 1782?

A. The Salary was 300 Rupees a Month. I was abſent by Permiſſion. I lived with Mr. Wheler as his Secretary, or pretty much in that Line; he was at that Time in Poſſeſſion of the Government; great Part of the Time Mr. Haſtings was abſent in the Country, and I ſtaid with him till Mr. Haſtings's Return. I received my Salary as Aſſiſtant Reſident at Benares from the Time of my Appointment. I had no other Salary.

Q. Was there any Body appointed to do your Duty during your Abſence, or was it done in the Office by the Reſident?

A. My Duty during the Time was done by Mr. Markham the Reſident; there was no other Perſon appointed.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether an Arreſt is not a Circumſtance in that Country conſidered as a Diſgrace upon the Perſon arreſted?

A. It is—I believe it is ſo in moſt Countries.

Q. Is it not more ſoin that Country by People of that Religion particularly; and more ſo than it would be in this Country?

A. It does not mix with their Religion at all; but it is conſidered by higher Claſſes as a Diſgrace.

Q. Is this Rajah or Naib looked upon as a Perſon of a higher Claſs?

A. Yes.

Q. I lay a Streſs upon the Words "particular Diſgrace?"

A. It is diſgraceful, but not particularly ſo; it is a Circumſtance of Diſgrace, but not a very particular Diſgrace.

Q. The Witneſs was aſked whether he had tranſmitted an Account of the Complaints to Mr. Haſtings as Aſſiſtant Reſident, or whether an Account had been ſent to Mr. Haſtings of the Complaints of the Tribute not being paid by Mehipnarain? He anſwered, there were ſome Complaints; but he did not recollect whether he himſelf had made any. I want to know from the Evidence, whether he knows, or not, that ſuch a Communication was tranſmitted to Mr. Haſtings officially, or any how elſe?

A. I do not know it was. Mr. Haſtings was at Benares afterwards, and the Rajah perhaps might ſtate it himſelf. I do not know that he did or did not. I did not communicate it to the Governor, nor do I know that the Reſident did.

Q. Have you Reaſon to believe, from any ſubſequent Circumſtance, that Mr. Haſtings was informed of it?

A. I think, when Mr. Haſtings was at Benares, that the Rajah might inform him; but I cannot tell whether he did or not.

Q. Did you know from Mr. Haſtings, or by any other Means, whether Mr. Haſtings was informed of it or not?

A. I did not. When Mr. Haſtings was at Benares, I recollect the Rajah's ſending to him a Paper containing ſome Requeſts: One of thoſe Requeſts was, that he ſhould receive the Surplus of the Collection, whatever that might be, not mentioning any ſpecific Sum, or ſtating that he had not received it before. This Paper was entered in the Reſident's Office, and there I ſaw it. The Anſwer to it was, "Certainly it is the Rajah's Right;" but no expreſs Sum was mentioned, only, generally, that the whole Surplus ſhould be his.

Q. You ſay you do not know any particular Sum in which the Naib was deficient; I wiſh to know your Idea as to what it might amount to.—What is your general Idea of what might be the Amount?

A. The whole Sum that he was deficient in, Doorbidgey Sing I mean, was, I think, 2 Lacks 90,000 Rupees: There was a diſputed Account: He claimed certain Sums which the Government did notthink were reaſonable or juſt to allow. An Arbitration was ſubmitted to Ally Ibrahim Cawn; and what he did not diſpute was One Lack 50,000 Rupees, or near it. There was an additional Sum he did diſpute, in his own Account; and this additional Sum, I believe, made the Aggregate about 2 Lacks 90,000 Rupees.

Q. I underſtand the Witneſs has ſaid, that Mehipnarrain did not receive his ſtipulated Allowance; and that he has been aſked in another Place, whether that was owing to the diſtreſſed State of the Country—I wiſh to know whether he did not anſwer, that Mehipnarrain did not receive the Money that was allowed him, becauſe the Receipt of the Country would not allow it, being eſtimated at 45 Lacks, whereas the Country would not produce above 45 Lacks, unleſs good Care is taken of the Country: That the State of the Country depends upon being well nurſed and made by Care: I wiſh to know of the Evidence whether he did not give that Anſwer?

A. Before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons?

Q. Yes.

A. I believe I did; I think I recollect I did.

Then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that before they proceeded to call another Witneſs, they ſhould produce ſome written Evidence, from the Records of the Eaſt India Company; and firſt, a Letter from Shitabroy to Mr. Haſtings, for the Purpoſe of ſhewing the whole Contents of that Letter, a Part only of which was inſerted in the Defence; but they conceived it material for the Whole to be produced.

Then Mr. Robert Hudſon was again called in, and produced Book 70, intituled, " Bengal Country Correſpondence, Received from 7 Dec. 1763 to 29 Jan. 1765."

Read, the following Extract.

" N° 284.

" Tranſlation of a Paper delivered by Raja Shitabroy the 16th Nov. 1764.

* Sic in Orig. " Raja Bulwand Sing * as written to me as follows: ' If it is the Intention of the Engliſh ' Gentlemen to take Poſſeſſion of Shuja-ul-Doula's Dominions, I will agree to hold Benaris and ' Gazypoor, &c^a. which have long been under my Juriſdiction, the Revenues of which amounted to ' about 24 Lacks of Rupees a Year, and I paid 1,70,000 Rupees Monthly, on the ſame Terms ' from the Company as I did from Shuja-ul-Doula.' He likewiſe deſires, that in caſe the Engliſh Army ſhould march forwards to conquer the Country, the Diſtricts of Auzimgurra and Coondar, &c. which are near to Benaris, and lie very convenient for him, may be added to his Juriſdiction.

† Sic in Orig. As the Raja is a Man who adhere † to his Engagements, and pays his Rents regularly, if it is your Pleaſure to take the Country, let the Management of the aforeſaid Territories be committed to his Charge; and in caſe of an Accommodation with Shuja-ul-Dowla, yet let a favourable Anſwer be written to the Raja to ſet his Mind at Eaſe; he is a Perſon of high Rank, and the Zemindar of a frontier Country."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next produce a Letter to ſhew that Fifty-one Days Grace was allowed to the Rajah Cheyt Sing for every Monthly Payment, and alſo to ſhew the Manner in which the Tribute was ſettled in 1776.

The Witneſs produced Book 40, intituled, " Bengal Letters, received from the 20th of March 1776 to 6th January 1777."

Read, the following Extract.

Bengal Letters, Secret Department.

" General Letter from the Board at Calcutta to the Directors; dated Fort William, 20th March 1776.

Par. 37. " Raja Cheit Sing has now agreed to pay the Amount of his Tribute, being Sicca Rupees 22,66,180, into the Treaſury at Calcutta, by equal Monthly Kiſts or Inſtalments, and is to receive 2 per Cent. Premium on the Amount, for the Charge of Remittance. We have allowed Fifty-one Days Grace for every Monthly Payment to be made after the Period on which it actually becomes due, in order to enable him to procure Bills, or to remit Aſſets, to anſwer the Payment within that Term. And to ſecure his being exact in the punctual Diſcharge of his Monthly Kiſts, we have agreed to impoſe a Penalty, in caſe of Failure, of $\frac{1}{4}$ per Cent. per Diem on the Amount of all deficient Payments after the Expiration of the Term of Fifty-one Days. A Sunnud for his Zemindarry ſhall be furniſhed him on theſe and the Conditions before agreed on.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings,
J. Clavering,
Geo. Monſon,
R. Barwell."

Which being read, the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next produce Evidence relative to the Payments of Doorgbijey Sing, in order to fill up the Chaſm, which ſubſiſted at preſent, in that Head of Evidence.

The Witneſs produced Book 66, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, from 25th November to 31ſt December 1783."

Read, Extracts of a Conſultation of the 27th December 1783, beginning at Page 665 of the ſaid Book.

Secret Department, Saturday.

" Fort William, the 27th December 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſq. Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon, and } Eſquires.
John Stables,

☞ [" Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

" I have the Pleaſure to inform your Honourable Board, that I have received from Babboo Durbetzey Sing the Sum of Banares Sicca Rupees Three Lack Forty-eight thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-three, Ten Annas, Seven Pie, being the Amount Balance of his Bhadun Kiſt for the Fuſillee Year 1189, unleſs your Honourable Board ſhould diſallow any Part of the Deductions which

which he demanded, an Account of which I tranſmitted to you in my Letter dated the 16th February 1783. I have taken a Mochulka from him, expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt Terms, that whatever Part of the Deductions demanded by him ſhall be judged inequitable, and conſequently diſallowed, he ſhall without Delay make good, and pay into the Banares Treaſury; and that whatever Sum of Money he ſhall be proved to have received from the Collections of the Fuſillee Year 1190, ſhall be likewiſe paid without Heſitation to the preſent Naib Baboo Jaggudeo Sing: In Conſequence of his Payment of the above Sum, and the Engagement entered into by him, I have taken off the Two Companies of Sepoys ſtationed as his Guard, until the further Pleaſure of your Honourable Board ſhall be made known.

I have the Honour to encloſe you Bills of Exchange for the Sum of Benares Sicca Rupees, Three Lack Forty-eight thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-three, Ten Annas, Seven Pies; or Calcutta Sicca Rupees Three Lack, Twenty-eight thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-five, Thirteen Annas, Three Pies."]

Read alſo, from the ſame Conſultation,

☞ ["The following Letters from the late and preſent Reſident at Benares having been for a long Time before the Board, they were conſidered by the different Members, and the following Reſolutions paſſed on them.

"To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. Supreme Council,
"Fort William.

"Honourable Sir and Sirs,

"I have the Honour to encloſe to you an Account of the Deductions demanded by Baboo Durbeetzy Sing for the Fuſſilee Year 1189.] I ſhould not have deferred ſending it ſo long, but that I was prevented by Durbeetzy Sing not being able to give an exact Account of the Demand for the Duties on the Saltpetre from the Nabob the Vizier's Dominions.

"For the Firſt Eight Articles, the Honourable Governor General, when at Banaras, agreed to allow him the medium Rate of the Five preceeding Years, viz.

"The Mint, Adaulut, and Phouſdarry Cutwallie, Nuckhaſs Delolly Perdaiſſie, Tellaſhie, Khimar Khannah, and the Duſtoor Anguſtarry.

"Your Honourable Board directed, that the Mint ſhould be put under the Direction of the Reſident; his Demand upon it is not exorbitant, though, according to the Papers I have been able to collect reſpecting it, the exact medium Rate is 13,410.

"With reſpect to the Adauleet and Phouſdarry, the Amount of Loſs by not being continued in the Rajah's Hands, cannot be definitively aſcertained, as both Offices were conducted during Chyet Sing's, and even Bulwant Sing's Time, in a Manner by no Means conformable to Juſtice. The Courts were ſometimes held at Ramnaghur, the Place of Reſidence of the Rajah; ſometimes at Banares. By the Enquiries I have made, I do not conceive that the clear Income ariſing from theſe Two Articles would be more than 10,000 or 12,000 Rupees.

"The Cutwallie was in the Hands of a Man whom I believe to have been ſince dead, as I can get no Account of him. I believe the Amount to be juſt.

"The Nuckhaſs is a Duty on all Horſes, Oxen, &c. ſold in the Bazar—the Amount ſet down is juſt; but Durbeetzy Sing collected on this Article 235 Rupees, ſo that he is only entitled to 965 Rupees.

"The Delolly Perdaiſſie was a Tax collected on all Travellers, People coming from the Decan to Banares on Religious Purpoſes, &c. &c. which the Governor General forbade to be collected, as great Impoſitions were made on the People thus coming to Benares, and is, I believe, fully juſt.

"Tellaſhie was a Duty collected on every Boat that paſſed Banares, independant of the regular Duties. I believe its Amount never exceeded more than Two thouſand Rupees.

"The Khimar Khanna was a Duty collected on all Gaming Houſes, and is, I believe, a juſt Demand.

"The Duſtoor Anguſtarry did not amount to above Ten or Twelve Rupees—was a Duty collected on ſmall Iron and Pewter Rings, which the People who waſh at the Banares Ghauts are obliged to wear.

"The Demand of Deductions for Govind Jeit, Idoll Sing, and Buckhut Sing's Malkhanna, are undoubtedly juſt.

"A Village granted by the Honourable Governor General's Perwannah to Muftee Khurreim Aulah is likewiſe juſt, as the Governor General confirmed the Sunnud given to his Family by Aurungzebee.

"Land confirmed to Jubrage Sing ſtands in the ſame Predicament, and is likewiſe juſt.

"The Land eſtabliſhed by the Governor General to the Chunar Faukhier—the Amount juſt.

"The Duty on the Stones, granted by the Governor General to the Commanding Officer at Chunar, was given for the following Reaſons:

"To prevent Diſputes, which often happened between the Rajah and the Commanding Officer, and as the Stones were cut cloſe to the Fort, and within the Limits of his Command, the Governor General judged any Perquiſite ariſing from them to appertain more properly to him than to the Rajah;

Rajah; as this Point was not ſettled before the Signature of the Pottah and Cabouleat, the Rajah demands a Deduction.

" The 4,000 Cubits, mentioned at 4347 Rupees, is the Land which the Governor General directed to be meaſured out, and given to the Commanding Officer, as being within Gun Shot of his Fort. The Honourable Governor General will be able to explain the foregoing Articles.

" Your Honourable Board directed me, in a Letter of July 1781, to paſs the Saltpetre which came from the Nabob Vizier's Country free of Duties. His Demand on this Account is about 2000 Rupees leſs than it ought to be. The Loſs which accrued on the Eſtabliſhment of the Permit through the Zemindary we have rated very high, and is the moſt exceptionable Part of his Demand.—A Loſs, a heavy Loſs, was certainly occaſioned partly from Goods being ſent a different Route by the Merchant, partly from the Deductions of the Schâir, which he was obliged to allow to his Aumils, and from the Collections of the Permit not being equal to that Deduction.

" The Paymolly he originally ſet down at 10,000 Rupees; He afterwards attempted to impoſe another 10,000 Rupees on the Account. This I refuſed to admit of.

" The unavoidable Damage which a Detachment ſo large as Colonel Cummings's muſt occaſion in marching through a Country like this, at a Time when the Grain was ripe, and his Encampment at Chouſah during Part of the Rainy Seaſon, will be ſufficient Guide for your Honourable Board's Deciſion in this Article.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Wm Markham,
Reſident."

" Banares,
" the 17th February 1783.

☞ ["Deductions demanded by Baboo Durbeetzy Sing.

" Mint	16,465	5 —
* Sic in Orig. Adaulut and * Chouſdarry	25,000	— —
Kutwallie	12,000	— —
Nuckhaſs	1,200	— —
Delolly Perdaiſſie	1,740	— —
Tellaſhy	6,000	— —
Khemah Khanna	880	— —
Duſtoor Anguſterry	108	— —
Govind Jeit's Malkannah	37,500	— —
Idol Sing, D°	8,000	— —
Boggut Sing D°	11,000	— —
A Village granted by the Honourable Governor General's Perwannah to Muftee Khurreim Oulah, confirming a Grant of Aurungzebee	1,822 13	1
Land D° to Jubraje Sing, confirming a Grant of D°	1,000	— —
Land D° to the Chunar Tuckheir, confirming a Grant of D°	500	— —
Half the Mehal Duties on Stones from Chunar	11,028 8	— not allowed
Two thouſand Cubits round the Fort of Chunar	4,347	— — not allowed
Duties for Saltpetre from the Nabob Vizier's Dominions	16,512 3	3
Loſs on the Duties	91,778 5	3 not allowed
Paymolly	10,477 8	3
Amount Sicca Rupees	2,57,359 6	3] ☞

Read alſo, from ſame Conſultation,

☞ [" Par. 684. Agreed, that the Claims made by Baboo Durbeetzy Sing, on the following Accounts, be admitted at the Rates given them reſpectively by the late Reſident.

Mint.
Adawlut or Fouzdary.
Kutwallee.
Nehariſs.
Ellauſhy.
Khimah Khannah.
Duſtoor Augufting.
Govind Jeet's Malkanna.
Idol Sing's Ditto.
Boggul Sing's Ditto.
Duties for Saltpetre from the Nabob Vizier's Dominions.

" Agreed alſo, That the late Reſident be applied to by the Secretary; and if it ſhall appear that the Claims of Deductions made on Account of a Village granted by the Governor General's Perwanna to Mufti Kurum Oola and Inbrage Sing, in Confirmation of Grants from Aurungzebe, are founded on any Acts done by the Governor General's Authority, it is agreed to admit them.

" The following are Lists of the Deductions claimed by Durbeetzy Sing.

" Account of Deductions from the Malguzaree of Benares claimed by Baboo Durbeetzy Sing, for the Fuſſilee Year 1189.

"ARTICLES.	Deduction claimed.		
Mint	16,465	0	5
Adaulut and Phouſdary	25,000	0	0
Kutwallie	12,000	0	0
Nuckhaſs	1,200	0	0
Delolly Perdaſſie	1,740	0	0
Tellaſhy	6,000	0	0
Khimah Khanna	880	0	0
Duſtoor Anguſterry	108	0	0
Govid Jeits Malkanna	37,500	0	0
Idol Sing D°	8,000	0	0
Boggut Sing D°	11,000	0	0
A Village granted by the Honourable Governor General's Perwannah to Muftee Khurrreim Owlal, confirming a Grant of Aurungzebe	1,822	13	1
Land Ditto to Jubrage Sing, confirming a Grant of Ditto	1,000	0	0
Land Ditto to the Chunar Faukheir, confirming a Grant of Ditto	500	0	0
Half the Mehal Duties on Stores from Chunar	11,028	8	0
Four thouſand Cubits round the Fort of Chunar	4,347	0	0
Duties for Saltpetre from the Nabob Vizier's Dominions	16,512	3	3
Loſs on the Duties	91,778	5	3
Paymolly	10,477	8	3
Amount Sicca Rupees	2,57,359	6	3

Fort William, 27th December 1783.

ACCOUNT."

"ARTICLES.	Amount allowed.		
Mint	13,410	0	0
Adaulut and Phouſdary	10,000	0	0
Kutwallee	12,000	0	0
Nuckhaſs, 1200. 235 being collected there remains	965	0	0
Tellaſhy	2,000	0	0
Khimah Khanna	880	0	0
Duſtoor Anguſterry	10	0	0
Govind Jeits Malkanna	37,500	0	0
Idol Sing, D°.	8,000	0	0
Boggul Sing, D°.	11,000	0	0
Duties for Saltpetre from the Nabob Viziers Dominions	16,512	3	3
	1,12,277	3	3"

" Fort William, 27th December 1783.

" The Secretary lays before the Board the following Letter from Mr. Markham.

" Sir,

" The Honourable the Governor General confirmed the Grants of Aurengzebe to Mufti Kerim Oolla and Subraad Sing, to the beſt of my Recollection, by ſigning his Name on the original Sunnuds. I have not Copies of them, but the preſent Reſident can eaſily procure them.

I am, &c.

" Dec. 26th 1783. (Signed) Wm. Markham."

" Agreed,

" Agreed, That the following Letter be written to the Resident at Benares.

" To Mr. Francis Fowke, Resident at Benares.

" Sir,

" We have lately taken into Consideration a Letter from our late Resident at Benares, dated the 17th February, enclosing an Account of the Deduction demanded by Baboo Durbeetzy Sing, for the * Tussulie Year 1189; and we have also had before us sundry other Letters from Benares bearing the following Dates; 9th April; 14th May; 5th and 9th June; 28th July; 12th and 17th August; and 24th September.

" We enclose an Account of the Deductions claimed by Durbeetzy Sing, and an Account of those which we agree to. We will not allow of any Addition to the latter, unless it be for the Village and Land given by the Governor General's Perwannah and Grant to Meestie † Khurriem Oulah, and Jubrage Sing, in confirmation of a Grant of the Emperor Aurengzebe, and amounting to the Total Sum of Sa Rs 2822 : 13 : 1. This Deduction we permit you to add to our Account, if, as the late Resident informs us is the Case, the Governor General's Name appears on the original Sunnuds, and in such Case only.

" You will observe that the Difference between the Amount of Durbeetzy's Claims, and that which we agree to, even including the Deductions for the Village and Land granted to Muftie Khurriem Oulah, and Jubrage Sing, is Sa Rs 1,42,259 : 5 : 8. We direct that you make an immediate Claim of this Sum on Durbeetzy Sing, who, according to the Muchulca which he gave to our late Resident, on being released from Confinement, is engaged to pay it into the Benares Treasury.

" We understand, that in consequence of a Request made by the Widow of Rajah Bulwant Sing, and by the present Rajah Mehipnarain, the Amount due from Rajah Durbeetzy, for the Collections of that Part of the Fussulie Year 1190, during which he held the Office of Naib, was agreed to be left to the Arbitration of Ally ‡ Ibrahim Cawn; and your Letter of the 5th of June informs us, that his Successor Baboo Jagger Deeo Sing had paid the full Amount of that Year's Kists up to the Date of it, independent of the Collections made by Baboo Durbeetzy Sing at the Beginning of the Year. We have not yet learnt whether Ally Ibrahim Cawn has delivered in his Award; but if he has, we direct that you claim and receive the Amount adjudged by him to be due from Baboo Durbeetzy Sing, and transmit a Copy of the Award to us.

(Dated, and signed at the End)

" Fort William,
Secret Department,
27th Dec. 1783.

Warren Hastings.
Ed[d] Wheler.
John Macpherson.
John Stables."

Then the Witness produced Book 73, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, from 17 February to 9 March 1784."

Read, Extract from a Consultation of 24th February 1784, beginning Page 349 of the said Book.

" Fort William, 24th February 1784.

Pub. Depart. Tuesday.

" At a Council; Present,
The Honourable Edward Wheler, and John Stables, Esquires;
The Governor General absent on a Visit to the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier.
Mr. Macpherson absent from the Presidency for the Benefit of his Health.

☞ [" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" Enclosed I have the Honour to transmit the Award of Ally Ibraham Kawn, Chief Magistrate of Benares, agreeably to your Orders of the 27th of last December.

" I have the Honour to be, with the greatest Respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient and humble Servant,

Benares, 12th February, 1784. (Signed) F. Fowke, Resident."] ☜

" An Account of the Wassilauts of the Districts of the Sircar Benares, Chunar, Gauzipore, and Jonipore; collected by Baboo Durkbidzy Sing, the Naib, for the Fussully Year 1190, from the Beginning of the Month Assin, or Four Shawal, to various Dates of the above Year, agreeably to the Request of Baboo Jagger Deo Sing, and the Ekrauznama of Baboo Durkbidzy Sing, to abide firmly by the Decision of Ally Ibraham Cawn Bahadur, Chief Magistrate of this City of Benares, for the Amount of the above Wassilauts on Account of the abovementioned Fussily Year 1190, and conformably to the Direction of Mr. William Markham, and Mr. Francis Fowke, and Mr. John Benn; and in the Adjustments of the above Accounts, the late Zemindar's Canongoes Aumils, and those now employed, and the Officers of the present Naib Baboo Jagger Deo Sing, and the Officers of the late Naib Raja Myipnarain Baboo Durkbidzy Sing, have been confronted

* Sic in Orig. † Sic in Orig. ‡ Sic in Orig.

before

before Ally Ibraham Cawn Bahadar, Chief Juſtice of Benares, in his Adaulut; ſettled and decided the Fourth of November 1783, or Eighth Zehidge 1198; with the Exception of the Farm of Daiſunny Sing, who is fled, the Account of which is given ſeparately. The Seal has been affixed to this Account, with the Conſent of Summut Sing, and Aunow Sing, the Mutſuddies of Baboo Durkbidzy Sing, and Khaob Chund, the Mutſuddy of Baboo Jagger Deo Sing.

Taſſil by Rajah Myipnarain, by his Agent Gurwoboose, of Purgunnah Beallſey					4,401	5	6
D° Dollipſing of D° Kholaſbah					5,767	2	—
D° Diaram of D° Khaunpore					1,297	4	—
D° Huſbauſling of D° Mungrah					16,223	13	9
D° Dollipſing of Taahuk Koondey					233	4	—
						27,922	13 3
Taſſil by Surmpzet Sing.							
Of Purgunnah Coppachit Sircar Gauzipore				S[a] R[s]	3,138	10	6
D° Kharrzid of D° Jompore			—		4,940	12	9
D° Sukunderper of D° Gauzipore					2,223	6	—
D° Bullick D° D°					2,090	13	3
D° Luckuiſſur D° D°					19	12	—
D° Talook of Pergunnah Pehihooter D°					250	11	9
						12,664	2 3
Taſſil by Bullundoſs.							
Of Pergunnah Tohoorabaud and Sircar Gauzipore				S[a]	4,994	5	3
Of Havilly Gauzipore				S[a] R[s]	600		
				S[a] R[s]	2,840	8	3
					3,440	8	3
						8,434	13 6
Taſſil by Tackooroy Rhanoo Sing.							
Of Tooluck Sirhome Havilley Gauzipore						691	7 3
Taſſil by Nimma Sing.							
Of Taalock Mooſapore Purgunnah Biſley				S[a]	125	—	—
Of D° Tuckuy D° Khauſwar					3,645	15	6
						3,770	15 6
Taſſil by Rhanny Gollaub Koonwar of Mouray Jomillah.							
Of Havilley Jompore				S[a]	196	—	—
Of Sayer Ramnagore					3,236	11	9
						3,432	11 9

Obſerved (that 196 R[s] of Mouray Jomilla) by Sumnut Sing and Omrau Sing, that it is not included in the Nizamut as the ſame was purchaſed by Cheit Sing of Azdulla Cawn.

D° of R[s] 3236 : 11 : 9 of Sayer Ramnagore, which is alſo not included in the Nizamut, the ſame having been inhabited by Cheit Sing.

Taſſil by Purwoonarain.							
Of Purgunnah Mahaatch Sircar Chunar				S[a]	4,324	11	3
Obſerved by Summut Sing and Omrau Sing, that the above is the Jagheer of Baboo Durkbidzy Sing.							
Taſſil Nondum Sing.							
Of Purgunnah Mungrhaur of Sircar Chunar				S[a]	873	2	—
Obſerved by Summut Sing and Omraw Sing, that the above is not included in the Nizamut, being Alltugmah of Raja Bulwant Sing.							
Taſſil by Simboorutton.							
Of Taaluck Lotha				S[a]	101	—	—
Taſſil by Baunſey Tackoorain.							
Of Purgunnah Bugwant of Sircar Chunar				S[a]	1,220	11	9
Taſſil by Agarmindy				S[a] R[s]	10,040	11	6
Of Sayer Gauzipore				S[a] R[s]	621	15	—
						10,662	10 6
Taſſil by Latta Champaut Roy.							
Of Sayer Benares				S[a]	9,592	10	6
Of Mohaul Amanaut					2,200	—	—
						11,792	10 6
Taſſil by Durbur Sing.							
Of Sayer Mirzapore				S[a]	12,359	12	6
Taſſil by Meer Rirmolly.							
Of Mouſay Mirhaupore					38	—	—

Taſſil

Taſſil by Byzoonaut.					
Of Mouſay Bauwar of Purgunnah Cuthur	—	—	—	20	— —
Taſſil Sujna Choudny.					
Of Purgunnah Khaloopore of Sircar Chunar	—	—	—	1,505	4 6
Taſſil by Omraw Sing.					
Of Purgunnah Cauntilt of Sircar Tarhaur	—	—	—	Sa 11,309	— —
Taſſil by Gomaun Sing.					
Of Purgunnah Ghurwannah of Sircar Jompore	—	—	—	8,748	— —
Taſſil by Cuttob Ally Beg.					
Of Sayer Jompore	—	—	—	466	9 9
Taſſil by Omraw Sing.					
Of Taaluck Mahjowah of Purgunnah Kuſſwar	—	—	—	3,249	3 3
Taſſil by Ramdial Sing and Huniar Sing.					
Of Taaluck Cheleypore Havilley Sircar Benares	—	—	Sa	998	3 3
Taſſil by Bahadur Sing.					
Of Taaluck Jalloopore Purgunnah Havelly Sheopore	—	—		1,308	5 6
Taſſil by Dunſing and Jaundah.					
Tackoor of Purgunnah Murhay ahoo Sircar Jompore	—	—		19,956	3 9
Taſſil by Joyit Sing.					
Of Taaluck Muzwhowah of Pergunnah Kuſwar	—	—	—	1,109	15 9
Taſſil by Bahadur Sing.					
Of Purgunnah Mahwuhe and Mohowany of Sircar Chunar	—	—		2,058	3 6
Taſſil by Dyaram.					
Of Purgunnah Sattiſſghur	—	—	—	475	13 6
Taſſil Mimhur Sing.					
Of Purgunnah Kinder Sircar Gauzipore	—	—	—	1,138	12 —
Taſſil of Mungul Sing.					
Of Taaluck Bohinlah Durahim	—	—	—	541	12 —
Taſſil by Tomaun Sing.					
Of Taaluck Nodiah of Purgunnah Murhay ahoo Sircar Jompore			—	6,165	12 3
Taſſil by Jackooroy Hamuo Sing.					
Of Purgunnah Ghurhay and Dimmay of Sircar Gauzipore		—	— St	238	— —
Taſſil by Jackooroy Omraw Sing.					
Of Purgunnah Nurwan Sircar Gauzipore	—	—	—	2,310	14 —
Taſſil by Pulwan Sing.					
Of Purgunnah Muzwar Sircar Chunar	—	—	—	842	8 9
Taſſil by Mungul Sing.					
Of Mouſay Mouray and Purgunnah Kaunrakut		—	—	179	2 —
Taſſil by Shake Mahomud Ekran.					
Of Purgunnah Shadiabud Sircar Jompore	—	—	— St	3,558	10 3
Taſſil by Permamend.					
Of Mouſay Khimrondey Sircar Booley	—	—	— Sa	160	6 —
Taſſil by Zhit and Mirwan.					
Of Mohaul Chunaburuy	—	—	— St	1,873	— —
Taſſil by Shrobowſe Sing.					
Of Mouſay Bhurkey and Purgunnah Khimakut Sircar Jompore			— Sa	635	14 9
Taſſil by Neſſarolly Cawn.					
Of Amudpore Purgunnah Havilley Jompore	—	—	—	180	— —
Taſſil by Futtay Walla Beg.					
Of Rannoypore Purgunnah Havilly Chunar	—	—	—	40	— —
Taſſil by Kuſunt Sing and Reſaul Sing.					
Of Mouſay Belli and Purgunnah Cutayhur	—	—	— St	75	1 3
Taſſil by Rammanoraut.					
Of Dayaut Purgunnah Kuſwar	—	—	—	225	5 6
Taſſil by Doolut Sing.					
Of Mouſay Sultaunpore Purgunnah Havilley Jompore		—	—	182	4 9
			Rupees —	1,67,842	— 3

Particulars of the above:

Sicca Rupees	—	1,41,051 7 3
Turſully and Hurſunnah	—	26,790 9 —
		1,67,842 — 3

Taſſil

Taffil of Maul.			
Sicca Rupees — —	1,03,154	15	3
Turfulley and Hurfunnah	26,168	10	—
			1,29,323 9 3
Taffil of Sayer.			
Sicca Rupees — —	37,896	8	—
Turfulley —	621	15	—
			38,518 7 —
			1,67,842 — 3

" Summut Sing and Omraw Sing, Mutfuddies of Baboo Durkbidzy Sing, and Kulchund, Mutfuddie of Baboo Jagger Deo Sing, objected to put their Signature on the following Particulars:

Taaluck Gopallapore, Taffil by Bunwaul Laul, Aumil of Baboo Durkbidzy Sing, as per Waffilaut, ftated by Budjiobaffey Laul, an Aumum, by Mr. Markham — — — —			S[a] Rupees 4,314 11 —
Taffil by Durnau Sing, Aumil of Baboo Durkbidzy Sing, claimed by Durnau Sing as an Aflignment in Payment of his Wages; the Mutfuddies of Durkbidzy Sing call upon Durnau Sing to produce the Sunnuds figned by Baboo Durkbidzy Sing, which he has not yet done, viz.			
Deyhaut of Purgunnah Murhayaboo — —	344	5	9
Mouflay Barhoyn of Purgunnah Cuttayher —	359	6	6
			S[a] Rupees 5,018 7 3
Total of the above Two Sums muft be accounted for by Baboo Durkbidzy Sing, as follows: — Rupees	1,67,842	—	3
Ditto	5,018	7	3
Rupees	1,72,860	7	6

" Particulars of Waffilaut of Sairupnoo Piffarah, &c. which were formerly fent to Mr. Francis Fowke, in Three different Papers; (viz.)

Sairupnoo Peffarah — —	4,818	12	9
Pergunnah Bhogwat — —	1,220	11	9
Ditto Aurora — —	4,052	8	9
Ditto Tattrah — —	1,463	—	—
Taaluck Gopaulpore — —	955	1	6
			12,510 2 9
Deduct Waffilaut.			
Of Purgunnah Bhogwat, as per Waffilaut, brought to Account in Durkbidzy Sing's Waffilaut, amounting to —	1,220	11	9
Of Purgunnah Tolliah Taffil, by Auhun Sing, Aumil of Baboo Jagger Deo Sing, which Jagger Deo Sing is to account for	1,463	—	—
			2,683 11 9
			9,826 7 —
Paid into the Hands of Sauker Pundit, as per Account tranfmitted by him, in which this Amount is ftated as paid by Daiffunny Sing, and carried to Account of the Honourable Company, as follows:			
Of Purgunnah Sanypoo Peffarah — —			3,000 — —
Of Ditto Aurora — —			1,999 8 —
Of Taaluck Gopaulpore — —			500 — —
			5,499 8 —
Balance			4,326 15 —

" Particulars of the above Balance.

Of Purgunnah Sainymoo Peffarah — — — —	1,818	12	9
Of Ditto Aurora — — —	2,053	—	9
Of Taaluck Gopaulpore — — — —	455	1	6
	4,326	15	—

" The Mutſuddies of Baboo Durkbidzy Sing obſerve, that Daiſunny Sing was employed by Jagger Deo Sing, as his own Agent, after the Diſmiſſion of Baboo Durkbidzy Sing; and that he ſent Daiſſunny Sing to collect the Purgunnah of Sainymoo Peſſarah; and that after this, Daiſſunny Sing, being the Servant of Baboo Jagger Deo Sing, abſconded: It alſo appears from the Accounts of Sunker Pundit, that Daiſſunny Sing paid the Collections of the above Purgunnah down to the 24th of Mohunum 1190 Fuſſully, and Baboo Durkbidzy Sing continued in Office no longer than 6 Zehidge of the ſame Year. The Mutſuddies of Baboo Durkbidzy Sing further ſay, that if Baboo Jagger Deo Sing will produce Daiſſunny Sing, and deliver him to them, they will agree to pay whatever Waſſilaut may be proved againſt him. In this Caſe it depends upon Baboo Jagger Deo Sing to produce Daiſſunny Sing, and deliver him to the Officers of Baboo Durkbidzy Sing, and it is incumbent on the Officers of Baboo Durkbitzy Sing to pay to Baboo Jagger Deo Sing whatever Amount of Waſſilaut is proved to have been collected by Daiſſunny Sing.

" Particulars of the Waſſilaut of Baboo Durkbidzy Sing, of the Year 1190 Fuſſilly, being

			Rupees	1,72,860 7 6
" Deduct paid by Baboo Durkbidzy Sing, in the Hands of Sunker Pundit, which was known by his Mutſuddies	—	—	—	50,324 — —
			Balance Rs	1,22,536 7 "6"

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that the next Piece of Evidence would be produced to prove, that Mr. Haſtings had provided for the Expences of Major Camac's Detachment.

The Witneſs delivered in Book 26, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, from 29th February to 24th July 1780."

Read, Extract of a Conſultation held on the 26th June 1780, beginning at Page 560 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, 26th June 1780.

" At a Council; Preſent,

Secret Dep^t. Monday.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Philip Francis,
Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on a Viſit to the different Stations of the Army.

" The Governor General lays before the Board the following Minute:

Extracts of Governor General's Minute.

" I now revert to my Propoſition, and requeſt the Board to reconſider their Objections to the Inſtructions which I have propoſed to be given to Major Camac. I have not the Preſumption to expect that they will be influenced by any Reaſonings which I have uſed; having had too much Experience of the Inſufficiency of Official Argument to overcome a decided, and much leſs a confederate Oppoſition. But as the Expence which will attend the Meaſure which I have recommended, is the only formal Objection made to it, I hope I may be allowed to remove it, by offering to exonerate the Company from it, and to take it upon myſelf. That this Propoſition may not be miſunderſtood, and that I may not bind myſelf by Engagements which may exceed my Power to fulfil them, I will explain myſelf.

☞ [" The regular Pay and Batta of the Troops which are to form Major Camac's Detachment conſtitute no Part of the Expence of it, ſince there would be the ſame in their Amount, although the Battalions remained in their original Quarters. Neither ought the Suſpenſion of the Subſidy to be charged to the Expedition, ſince it is probable, and I regard it as certain, that the Ranah having no further Call for our Aid within his Country, for the ſole Defence of it, will be glad to be relieved from the Expence attending it, and becauſe it is propoſed in the laſt of the Minutes of Meſſ. Francis and Wheler to withdraw it: The Contingencies of the Detachment are therefore the only Expence that can be reaſonably charged to the Expedition. Theſe I rate far below Two Lacks of Rupees. That Sum I offer to contribute to this Diſburſement; I have already depoſited it, within a ſmall Amount, in the Hands of the Sub-treaſurer, and I beg that the Board will permit it to be accepted for that Service.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.] ☜

" Ordered that the foregoing Minute lie for Conſideration.

Warren Haſtings,
P. Francis,
Edw. Wheler."

The Managers for the Commons then acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next read the Petition from the Rajah Mehipnarrain to which Mr. Benn had been examined, with Mr. Benn's Report upon the Subject of the ſame to Mr. Haſtings.

The

The Witneſs produced Book 74, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, from 15th May to 30th Auguſt 1785."

Read, Extract of a Conſultation held on 24th Auguſt 1785, beginning at Page 491 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, 24th Auguſt 1785.

" At a Conſultation; Preſent,
The Honourable John Macpherſon Eſquire, Preſident;
Lieutenant General Robert Sloper, Commander in Chief;
John Stables Eſquire, and
The Honourable Charles Stuart.

" The Secretary lays before the Board the following Letter from the Reſident at Benares:

" To Mr. Secretary Hay.

" Sir,

Reſident at Benares 10th July.

" I have received your Letter of the 26th laſt May.

" In Obedience to the Orders of the Board, I have the Honour of laying before them the Whole Correſpondence between the late Governor General and myſelf, during his Continuance without the Provinces in 1784.

" I am, Sir,

" Benares, 10th July 1785. Your very obedient Servant,

" F. Fowke, Reſident."

" Ordered, That the Correſpondence tranſmitted with the foregoing Letter be entered after the Conſultation.

☞ [" To Francis Fowke Eſquire.

" Sir,

" I herewith ſend you a Petition which I have received from Rajah Mehipnarain, with a Paper containing an Explanation of it: I requeſt that you will inform me if the Facts are juſtly ſtated, or in what Particulars they differ from his Repreſentation of them. I alſo underſtand that the Rajah's Name is totally diſuſed in all Sunnuds, Aumilnamas, and other Officers' Deeds and Papers of the Naib's Office, and the Naib's uſed in his Stead. Be pleaſed to inform me ſince what Time this Practice has prevailed, and whether by any Authority expreſsly given to the Naib. On the preceding Points, if you can furniſh me with any Lights which may enable me to form a proper Judgment of them, I requeſt to be informed thereof.

" I am, &c.

" Benares, 14th March 1784. (Signed) W. Haſtings."]

" Petition of Rajah Mahipnarain.

" When lifting me from the Duſt of Obſcurity, your Excellency exalted me to the Raaje of Benares, agreeable to the Uſage of my Grandfather, Rajah Bulwand Sing, you confirmed to me the Jaghire and Altumgah Mahls, Half Buddock, and the Pergunnahs of Maauge and Mungrore, alſo Six Lacs and Thirty thouſand Rupees odd, for my own Expences and Subundy.

" Baboo Duſhbedjey Sing, my Naib, from his own Neglects, failing in the Revenues of the Sirkar, the Jaghire, &c. above mentioned were ſequeſtered till the Payment of the Balances, and a Perwannah ſent me to make them good: Out of Regard to the Orders of the Preſence, and hoping the Releaſe of the Mahals, I paid the Demands of the Sarker through Gopaul Doſs; notwithſtanding which my Jaghire is ſtill in Sequeſtration, and from the Day of my Exaltation to the Raaje, I have not received a ſingle Dâam of the eſtabliſhed Allowance for Support and Sebundy.

" Baboo Jaggudis Sing, contrary to good Policy and the Welfare of the People, makes Exactions from the whole Country, and does not pay even the fixed Revenue. There is neither Advantage to the Sirkar, nor Eaſe to the People.

" From my good Fortune your Excellency has advanced to this Country. If a ſure Settlement is not now made to my Advantage, I ſhall deſpair of its being done ever. From your compaſſionating Benevolence I hope that my Jaghire and Altumgah will be releaſed to me, and Orders be given to the Chief of Benares to pay regularly to me the allotted Sum of Six Lacs and Thirty odd thouſand Rupees, for my own Expences and the Sebundy.

" Rajah Mahipnarain repreſents, that ſince his Exaltation to the Raaje he has not enjoyed the ſmalleſt Part of that Conſequence or Reſpect due to his Rank. Even the Town of Ramnagore, allotted for his Reſidence, has been put under a Cutwal from another Authority.

" Half the Pergunnah of Buddock, producing a Revenue of One hundred and fifty-eight thouſand three hundred and forty-one Rupees, was allotted him in Jaghire. The remaining Part he held from the Sirkar, at the Jemma of Seventy thouſand five hundred Rupees.

" Mungrore, producing a Revenue of Fifty thouſand Rupees, was granted in Altumgah to the Rannee Golaab Koer.

" Meitch,

"Meitch, producing a Revenue of Sixty thouſand Rupees, was granted in Jaghire to the Rajah's Father and Naib Baboo Duſhbedjey Sing.

"Baboo Duſhbedjey Sing failing in his Payments to the Sirkar, the Whole of the above-menſioned Grants were ſequeſtered, and an Order ſent from the Council to the Raja to make good the Balances; but Mr. Markham, on the Rajah's Repreſentation of his Caſe releaſed Half the Pergunnah of Buddock, and promiſed, when the Balances of the Sirkar ſhould be paid, to releaſe the others. The Rajah, ſeeing that his Father made no Efforts to pay the Demands of the Sirkar, ſatisfied them himſelf, by the Aſſiſtance of the Banker Gopaul Doſs. Mr. Markham aſſured him that his Promiſe ſhould be kept; but he was recalled, and the Altumgah and Jaghire of Mungrore have not yet been reſtored. The Half of the Pergunnah of Buddock the Raja at preſent poſſeſſes in Jaghire; and he now holds the Remainder of the Sirkar, with the Addition of Seventeen thouſand Rupees to the former Jemma, as before mentioned. He hopes that this Addition will be excuſed, and a Leaſe granted him at a fixed Jemma for the future; that the Altumgah of Mungrore will be releaſed to the Rannee; and Maitch, the Jaghire of his Father, be allowed to remain under him, till ſuch Times as the Sums advanced on his Account for the Payments of the Sirkar ſhall be made good.

"Of the Six Lacs five hundred Rupees allowed for the Muddud Pheretch, the Raja had not received one Dâam ſince his being placed on the Raaje. He hopes that an Allowance will be made him on this Account from the Date of the Removal of his Father from the Neabut, and that he ſhall receive the Whole in future.

"The Raja is in all Things obedient to the Sirkar; but he humbly hopes that the uſual Ruſſaam and Adaab of the Dignity of Rajah may be allowed him, viz. that the Naib may receive a Khelaal from him, and the Aumils on their Appointment be ordered to pay him the cuſtomary Compliment of taking Leave, and receiving from him the Beitle, &c."]

"To Francis Fowke Eſquire, Reſident at Benares.

"Sir,

"Having received numberleſs Complaints of the Violences committed by Sepoys detached for various Purpoſes, but principally for that of collecting Grain, and other Proviſions, for the Subſiſtence of the Garriſons and other Military Stations in, and bordering in, this Province; I have therefore written to the Commanding Officers of Chunar and Buxar, deſiring them to abſtain from this Practice hereafter; and to apply to you, and to order the Officers under their Command to do the ſame for whatever they may want of Grain, or other Articles of neceſſary Subſiſtence: And I deſire that you will require the Naib, on Pain of Diſmiſſion from his Office, to comply inſtantly and effectually with ſuch ſpecial Requiſitions as you ſhall judge it neceſſary to make to him for theſe Purpoſes; and at all Times to keep the Bazars of the Garriſons and Military Stations conſtantly ſupplied with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries of Life, that no Pretext may be afforded for the Continuance of the Grievance complained of.

"I muſt further require of you, and I do moſt ſtrictly enjoin you, to keep a Book of all the Applications which you receive from the Military Officers for the Aid of your Influence or Authority, for whatever Purpoſes, and of your Letters written officially to them, together with Copies of all Complaints made by them, or againſt them, or againſt the People under their Command, whether Sepoys or others; and that if any Officer ſhall act contrary to theſe Orders, or ſuffer them to be infringed, you do immediately tranſmit to me an Account thereof, with all the Particulars which ſhall have come to your Knowledge, while I am on this Side of the Caramnaſſa, and to the Board after my Return to the Preſidency; and I think it proper to declare, that if it ſhall ever come to my Knowledge that any Oppreſſions are committed by the Sepoys, or any ſhall have been detached contrary to theſe Orders, and you ſhall have neglected to give me Notice thereof, I ſhall conſider it a very criminal Breach of your Duty. I do not believe that it is likely to happen, and have the firmeſt Reliance on your Vigilance to prevent it. I mean by this Declaration rather to ſtrengthen and enforce your Authority, than to reflect even the moſt diſtant Charge or Suggeſtion of Diſtruſt to your Diſadvantage.

"I muſt alſo deſire that you will give ſtrict Injunctions to the Manager to compel his Aumils to remain in their Stations, and to place proper Perſons in all the Villages which lie on or near the Road, whenever any Military Forces paſs through their Diſtricts, to protect the Reiats, and make their Applications for Redreſs to the Commanding Officers, if any Oppreſſions are committed, or for Guards, when they may be wanted; and above all Things to keep them ſupplied with the Neceſſaries of their Bazars; I have been myſelf a Witneſs of the ruinous Effects which have been produced by his Neglect of theſe Precautions, although enjoined in the ſtrongeſt Terms by myſelf in Perſon, and by yourſelf before my Arrival at the Boundary of his Juriſdiction.

"Benares,
"16th March 1784.

I am, &c.
(Signed) Warren Haſtings."

" To Lieutenant Colonel Ahmuty, commanding at Chunar.

" Sir,

" Many Complaints have been made to me of Violences committed by the Sepoys under your Command, both thoſe belonging to the Station of Ghazepore, and eſpecially thoſe of your immediate Garriſon. The Inſtances that have been reported to me are of various Kinds; but thoſe which made the greateſt Impreſſion on my Memory, from their Influence on the publick Revenue, and Peace of the Country, were theſe; that it was a conſtant Practice for Parties of Sepoys to take, by Force, the Grain of the Country at an inferior Rate, and carry it to the Bazars of Ghazipore Station, and of Buxar, where it was ſold at a very advanced Price; and Inſtances were quoted to me of the Grain upon the Ground, and even of Seed Grain attached for the ſame Purpoſes, and either taken or releaſed on a pecuniary Accommodation. I ſo well know the Benevolence and Probity of your private Character, that I am certain you are incapable of departing from the Sight of theſe Virtues in your public Conduct: But you cannot command the Forbearances, nor be anſwerable for the Behaviour of that Claſs of Men to whom theſe Complaints relate, when you arm them with your Authority, and let them looſe, for whatever Purpoſe or however neceſſary, on the diſtant and defenceleſs Raiats.

" I muſt, for this Reaſon, requeſt, and I am certain that you will allow my Requeſt the Weight of a Command, that you will inſtantly withdraw every Party, and every Sepoy whom you may have detached into any of the Diſtricts of the Zemidarry of Benares, and that you will give the like Orders to the Officer commanding at Ghazipore; that you will abſtain hereafter from ſending any Parties, even a ſingle Sepoy, beyond the Caramnaſſa; and forbid the Officer on Command at Ghazipore to ſend any Sepoys, or a ſingle Sepoy, with Authority, or for any Purpoſe whatſoever, into a Village of the Diſtrict, except on Services required by the Aumil, in Writing, and ſpecially preſcribed by the Aumil, or Perſon appointed to attend them. I have given ſtrict Injunctions to Mr. Fowke to take immediate and effectual Meaſures for ſupplying the Station at Ghazipore with Grain, and the Neceſſaries for their Subſiſtence; and it muſt be his ſole Province to direct and provide for ſuch Supplies. If you require the like Proviſion for your Garriſon from the Diſtrict of this Zemidarry, I muſt deſire that you will apply to him, and he has my poſitive Orders to afford you his effectual Aſſiſtance for that End.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

" Benares, 16th March 1784. Signed Warren Haſtings."

" The ſame to Major Eaton, commanding at Buxar."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that it was material to attend to the Date of the Paper they were next about to produce, viz. of the 20th April 1784.—That Mr. Haſtings did not leave Calcutta till the Year 1785, conſequently it was in his Poſſeſſion at the Time he left Calcutta: and that it appeared by the Date, as well as from the Names of the Members preſent at the Conſultation now before the Houſe, that Mr. Haſtings had neglected to tranſmit it, as it was his Duty to have done.

" Read, the following Extract from the Appendix to the ſame Conſultation.

☞ [" To Francis Fowke Eſquire, Reſident at Benares.

" Sir,

" In Obedience to your Commands I proceeded to Gauzipore, to enquire into the various Cauſes of Complaint preferred againſt the Sepoys belonging to the Stations of Buxar and Gauzipore. The following Narrative contains a true Statement of Circumſtances as far as I have been able to inveſtigate them.

" In the Months of Aſſin Cautic, and Aghun Pooſe, and Maug, when all Kinds of Grain bore an exorbitant Price, occaſioned by the Failure of the Periodical Rains, and the conſequent Apprehenſion of a Famine, the commanding Officers of Buxar and Gauzipore ſeem to have found their Buzars inſufficient * ſupplied with Grain. To remedy this Inconvenience, it appears, that Parties of Sepoys were ſent into the Mofuſſill, from both Stations, to procure Grain. It does not appear by any Evidence that I have ſeen or heard, that any conciliating Mode or regular Plan was adopted for the Supply of the Military Buzars, or that the Naib Baboo Jagger Deo Sing (though he muſt have known of theſe Complaints) ever interpoſed his Authority to remedy the Evils complained of, by endeavouring to remove the apparent Cauſe of them.

* Sic in Orig.

" The Alarm occaſioned in the Country by the Appearance of Sepoys in the different Villages upon this Errand, made the Inhabitants fearful of expoſing their Grain, or of acknowledging that they were poſſeſſed of any. As this encreaſed the Difficulty, the Sepoys ſeem to have had recourſe to more indirect Means of obtaining it. They very ſoon appear to have oppoſed Secreſy with Violence.——Many of the Ryotts have complained to me, that they were threatened with corporal Puniſhment by the Sepoys if they did not produce Grain in many Places, that the Sepoys entered the Houſes of the Ryotts to ſearch for it, and, in ſome, that corporal Puniſhment was inflicted.

" At this Seaſon of the Year there is very little Grain in the Villages, except what is depoſited for Seed, or for the Conſumption of the Rayott and his Family.

* Sic in Orig.

" There is another Cauſe of Complaint * which with the Zemindars and Rayotts have invariably made to me, that either the Weight or Price of the Military Buzars, and ſometimes both, differed from the Weights and Prices of the Pergunnahs from whence the Grain was taken. To explain this Subject, I have annexed Two Accounts of Grain, one taken by the Sepoys of each Station, and atteſted by the Zemindar and Potwarry of the Village from whence the Grain was taken. To have collected and tranſlated all the Accounts of this Nature, I muſt have tranſlated an Account from almoſt every Village in this Sircar, from ſome Two. The Accounts are as they were delivered to me; I have ſent you the Originals, together with the Tranſlations, that any Error of mine may be corrected.

" Upon the Receipt of the Price paid at the Military Stations for each Quantity of Grain, it appears that Razynamahs were taken from the Owners of the Grain; which Razynamahs, the Inhabitants aſſert, were made a Condition of Payment. It does not appear that any of the Officers of

† Sic in Orig.

the Military Stations received theſe Razynamahs. The whole Tranſlation † of taking the Razynamahs, and paying for the Grain, ſeems to have reſted betwixt the Cutwal of the Buzars, the Black Officers who commanded the Party ſent to ſearch for Grain, and the Owners of it. The Cutwal of the Buzars appear ſometimes to have attended theſe Parties into the Mofuſſill, but their Preſence does not ſeem in any Inſtance to have afforded Relief to the Rayotts. The Sepoys do not always appear to have been ſent expreſsly to any particular Town or Village, but generally to a Pergunnah to procure Grain; for there are many Inſtances where the Village has been ſpared, on the Inhabitants giving a ſmall pecuniary Conſideration to the Sepoys.

" The Pergunnahs in Sircar Gauzipore ſeem to have been divided betwixt the Two Stations in the following Manner.

Buxar	Mohamudabad, Gurrah, Demah, Belliah, Copah, Luckneſſar, Khoreed, Secunderpore, Chounrah, Zamaniah.
Gauzipore	Havilley Gauzipore, Zehourabad, Pachouter, Curudah, Zheddiabad, Beerabad.

" Many of the Aumils of Gauzipore have complained to me that their Rayotts prefer Complaints againſt them to the Officers of the Military Stations on Matters of Revenue, and theſe Complaints are often followed by Perwannahs ordering the Aumil upon the Subject, the Contents of which Perwannahs are made known to the Rayotts. In the Zemindary of Benares no Perſon can direct an Aumil in the Mofuſſill Buſineſs of the Country, who is not himſelf well informed of the particular Uſage of each Pergunnah. The Queſtions betwixt Aumil and Rayott are often of a complex Nature, involved in old Cuſtoms and technical Terms, and never can be underſtood by the Repreſentations of One Party only.

" But this is not the ſole Detriment. This Country has long been ſubjected to one Authority. The Natives do not underſtand Subdiviſions of Power; nor can the Buſineſs of the Revenue ever be conducted well, if the Country is ſubjected to different Juriſdictions. That Claſs of the Inhabitants of this Country on which the public Revenue depends, the Rayotts, cannot judge how far poſitive Authority is connected with official Station; they generally conſider the Marks of Authority, when they appear as proceeding from a Power regularly authoriſed to enforce Obedience to its own Acts.

" I am, Sir,

" Gauzipore,
20th April 1784.

" Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
Signed John Benn, Aſſiſtant."

" P. S. The Price paid at the Military Stations would, in a plentiful Year, be a high Price. This Year all Kinds of Grain ſell at more than double the uſual Price."

Pergunnah

Pergunnah Mohamudabad.

Village Biraum.

		Mds	Qrs								
Rice	—	2	32	—	at 14 Surs per Rupee		—	7	15	9
Barley	—	50	3	—	16	D°	D°	—	125	3	—
Dann	—	6	—	—	20	D°	D°	—	12	—	—
Caughun	—	8	—	—	20	D°	D°	—	16	—	—
Marh	—	1	—	—	18	D°	D°	—	2	3	6
Maunds		67	35	—					163	6	3
Paid to Rerpadoſs		—	—	—	—	—	—		2	—	—
Price agreeable to the Pergunnah Rate									165	6	3
Paid to the Owner of the Grain at the Station of Buxar							—		64	11	—
Difference betwixt the Price current of the Pergunnah and Price paid for the Grain at the Buxar Station				—	—	—			100	—	—

Pergunnah Bierabad.

Village Bierabad.

Rice	—	5	32	—	at 16 Surs per Rupee		—	14	8	—
Wheat	—	7	16	—	20	D°	D°	—	14	12	9
Grain	—	7	36	—	22	D°	D°	—	14	5	9
Marh	—	19	36	—	24	D°	D°	—	33	2	6
Dall	—	8	8	—	20	D°	D°	—	13	1	9
Barley	—	39	4	—	24	D°	D°	—	65	2	6
									155	1	3
For the Sepoys delivered to Moonſeram Havildar, including Tobacco, Ghee, Grain, &c.				—	—	—	—	—	5	5	6
									160	6	9
Price offered by the Cutwal at the Gauzipore Station, Name Dutram								—	95	—	—
Difference betwixt the Price of the Purgunnah and that offered by the Cutwal									65	6	9

The Owner of this Grain refuſed either to receive the Price offered, or to ſign a Razynamah.

Purgunnah Havilley Gauzipore.

Village Lawah Khas Rus.

Wheat	—	12	20	—	at 15 Surs per Rupee		—	33	5	3
Rice, fine	—	2	20	—	13	D°	D°	—	7	11	—
D°. coarſe	—	1	16	4	15	D°	D°	—	3	12	—
Tow or Barley Grain Marh Dall	—	68	23	12	18	D°	D°	—	152	6	9
Price agreeable to the Purgunnah								—	197	3	—

Paid to Puraud Sing Havildar Salam.

Duſtore	—	—	—	—	—	3	4	—
Talbanah	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
For the Sepoys Victuals	—	—	—	—	—	3	11	—
						9	15	—

Weight and Price agreeable to the Military Bazar at Gauzipore.

Wheat	—	10	—	—	at 25 Surs per Rupee		—	16	—	—
Rice, fine and coarſe	—	3	5	—	20	D°	D°	—	6	4	—
Barley Grain Marh Dall	—	55	35	—	30	D°	D°	—	73	3	—
Price agreeable to the Gauzipore Bazar								—	95	7	—
Difference betwixt the Price Current of the Pergunnah, and the Price paid at the Gauzipore Bazar				—	—	—	—		101	14	—]

Then

Then Lieutenant Colonel THOMAS GARDNER was called in; and, being ſworn, was examined as follows:

Q. How long, and in what Capacity, have you reſided in the Eaſt Indies?
A. Seventeen Years and an Half, as an Officer in the Army.

Q. When did you leave it?
A. In January 1784.

Q. In what Part of India did you reſide during the latter Part of the Time you were in that Country?
A. I reſided ſeveral Years at Chunargur.

Q. You do not recollect exactly how many?
A. I do not; I was for ſome Time down at Calcutta; but I believe altogether Five or Six Years.

Q. How far is Chunargur from the City of Benares?
A. About Fifteen Miles.

Q. Had you any Reaſon to think, from your own Obſervations during the Time of your Reſidence there, that Property was well or ill protected in the Province of Benares?
A. I had no Reaſon to think otherwiſe than that it was well protected.

Q. Did the People ſeem attached to their Native Government?
A. They did.

Q. Whether you have made frequent Excurſions into the Province, and have been often at the City of Benares?
A. I have.

Q. Have other Engliſh Officers been in the ſame Circumſtances?
A. Many.

Q. Have you, or, to your Knowledge, have they been inſulted, or ſuffered any Violence, in any of your Excurſions into the Country?
A. Not to my Knowledge; I never heard but of One Inſtance.

Q. State that Inſtance?
A. There was an Officer, or Cadet, I don't know which; but he ſent his Servants on Shore to get ſome Milk, and ſome Diſturbance aroſe; he went out to aſſiſt his Servants, and received ſome Hurt upon his Head.

Q. In your Excurſions did you experience Civilities?
A. Yes.

Q. Did you obſerve that Benares was infeſted by Robbers and Murderers more than any other Parts of India that you have ſeen?
A. I believe not.

Q. Was you perſonally acquainted with Cheit Sing?
A. I was.

Q. Had you any Opportunity of remarking whether he was of a violent and enterpriſing Diſpoſition?
A. I have been frequently in his Company, have played at Cheſs with him, and been in his Houſe, and never ſaw any Marks of a violent Diſpoſition.

Q. What was his Diſpoſition, as far as you had an Opportunity to know it?
A. He was gentle in his Manners, and polite.

Q. Had you obſerved, previous to Auguſt 1781, any Thing in the Conduct of Cheit Sing which indicated a Diſpoſition to ſubvert the Authority of the Eaſt India Company, and to erect his own Independence on their Ruin?
A. I had not.

Q. Was you ever informed that he was collecting or preparing any Proviſion for an open Revolt?
A. Never.

Q. Did you ever hear any of the other Officers at Chunar expreſs any Apprehenſion of that Kind?
A. Never.

Q. Was you at Benares when Mr. Haſtings arrived there?
A. I was.

Q. At what Time did he arrive?
A. On the 14th of Auguſt 1781.

Q. Was there any Thing in Appearances that indicated a Deſign to attack Mr. Haſtings in his Road to that Place?
A. Not that came to my Knowledge.

Q. Was you with him on the Road?
A. No, I was at Benares.

Q. At Benares you ſaw no Diſpoſitions that were menacing?
A. I went to ſee him upon his Arrival.

Q. Did you hear any Expreſſions amongſt thoſe who attended Mr. Haſtings, that they apprehended any Deſign was entertained of attacking him?
A. I did not.

Q. You was at Benares the Day on which Cheyt Sing was ordered to be arreſted?
A. I was.

Q. Where was the Rajah when he was arreſted?
A. I underſtood he was at Shewallah Gaut.

Q. Whether it is your Opinion, from the beſt Accounts you could collect, and the Obſervations you could make, that the Tumult was the Effect of a ſudden Affray, or premeditated Deſign to commence Hoſtilities?
A. I believe it was a ſudden Affray.

Q. What was your Opportunity of obſerving it?
A. I had no other Opportunity than being upon the Spot; it is only Matter of Opinion; I was in the Town.

Q. How far from Shewalla Gaut?
A. About a Mile and an Half.

Q. When did you firſt hear of the Riot?
A. The ſame Day, perhaps a Couple of Hours after he was put under Arreſt. I was not there at the firſt Firing of the Sepoys. We heard they were collecting.

Q. How ſoon did you come to the Place where the Riot had been, after it had begun?
A. I was in a Houſe, not under the ſame Roof that Mr. Haſtings was, but in a Houſe connected with it, and dined with Mr. Haſtings the ſame Day the Intelligence was brought of the Troops being cut off, and the Commanding Officers killed?

Q. Is it that Time you ſpeak of then?
A. Yes; it is Matter of Opinion.

Q. If the Rajah had entertained a premeditated Deſign to cut off Mr. Haſtings, and the People who were with him, would it not have been in his Power after that Event?
A. I think it would.

Q. Was you with Mr. Haſtings at the Time?
A. Yes.

Q. Had Mr. Haſtings expreſſed any Apprehenſions of a Deſign upon him before the Event of the Riot?
A. Not that I know of.

Q. Were any Diſpoſitions of the Military made to provide againſt the Execution of that Deſign before that Event?
A. I know of none, except the Battalion of Sepoys ordered down to Benares to wait Mr Haſtings's Arrival there.

Q. To what Place did Mr. Haſtings retire after the Tumult, on the ſame Day or afterwards?
A. We did not quit the Houſe.

Q. How long did he continue in it before he quitted it?
A. Four or Five Days.

Q. To what Place did he retire after he left the Houſe?
A. To Chunargur.

Q. Were they moleſted or attacked after the Tumult, and before they retired to Chunagur?
A. We were not.

Q. Whether you ſerved in the Army that was employed againſt the Rajah Cheyt Sing's People?
A. I did; I was Field Engineer.

Q. Was there any Thing in the Force they had to encounter that indicated a long premeditated Deſign to make War on the Eaſt India Company?

A. It is hard for me to anſwer that Queſtion. I do not know there was; but I cannot be poſitive there was not.

Q. Whether the Force was ſo prepared and ſo trained as to be beyond the ordinary Eſtabliſhment of the Rajah?

A. They were under Cover of a Breaſt-work and the Fort, and we could not ſee them: We could only ſee them at a Diſtance.

Q. It did not afford you the Opportunity required?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever make any Attack upon any of the Rajah's Forces?

A. I erected the Forts againſt Peteeta and Bidjeygur.

Q. Do you know whether the Fort of Bidjeygur was defended by any regular military Governor, or proper military Eſtabliſhment?

A. I believe the Rajah's Mother commanded in the Fort, and gave her Directions to the Buxey.

Q. Was there any Military Force to protect the Rajah's Mother?

A. They fired on us frequently.

Q. Was there a formed Military Eſtabliſhment before?

A. They always kept a Garriſon in Bidjeygur.

Q. Of what Numbers did the Garriſon conſiſt, and of what Species of Troops, Engineers, or Artillery?

A. I believe there were about 700 Men who acted as Artillery, becauſe their Guns fired upon us frequently, and killed ſeveral of our Men.

Q. Had you any Opportunity of making any Obſervation upon the Cannon and other Stores taken in the Fort?

A. Not till many Months after we got Poſſeſſion of the Fort.

Q. At length you had?

A. I got a ſevere Illneſs at the Batteries during the Siege of Bidgegur, which I did not recover of ſufficiently for many Months, I ſuppoſe Seven or Eight Months; at the End of that Time I went to take a Plan of the Garriſon myſelf.

Q. Were there any Remains of the ſame Guns or Stores which had been there during the Time of the Siege?

A. The Guns, I believe, were all there, or moſt of them.

Q. What Number of Guns?

A. I do not recollect the Number of Guns.

Q. What Obſervations you made upon the Quality of the Guns, and the Nature of the Stores?

A. The Guns were old, and ill mounted.

Q. The Stores were hardly remaining, I ſuppoſe?

A. No; I believe the Stores were removed.

Q. Do you know whether there were or were not any Cannon removed from Bidjegur before you ſaw it?

A. I do not know that there was, for a Certainty; I have ſome Notion that the Cannon they took from us at Ramnagur was there, and had been removed; I believe it was, but I am not certain.

Q. In what Light was Cheit Sing conſidered by his Subjects in the Country in general, whether as a Renter, or as an Independent Prince?

A. I believe his Subjects looked upon him as perfectly Independent: They knew he was dependent upon our Government, but he had the Power of Life and Death over them.

Q. Whether he was a Prince beloved and eſteemed by his Subjects?

A. I believe he was liked very well.

Q. Whether you know of any Application from Cheit Sing to Mr. Haſtings at any Time before Mr. Haſtings retired from Benares?

A. I underſtand there were Applications made.

Q. But you know nothing of them yourſelf?

A. I know nothing of them myſelf.

Q. Do you know of any Application made by Cheit Sing to any other Perſon?
A. Not by Cheit Sing himſelf—he was upon the oppoſite Side of the River.

Q. Or by any Perſon commiſſioned by him?
A. There was a Man, named Govind Ram, applied to me to requeſt I would intercede with Mr. Markham in favour of Cheit Sing.

Q. Was Govind Ram in the Service of Cheit Sing before?
A. He was a Gentleman that reſided at Benares.

Q. When was that Application made?
A. I believe it was the Second Day after the Affair of Shewallah Gaut.

Q. And before Mr. Haſtings retired?
A. Yes.

Q. Whether you had any Reaſon to doubt that that Application was made under the Authority of Cheit Sing?
A. I imagine he was written to by ſome Perſon about Cheit Sing to make the Application.

Q. The Application was made to you perſonally?
A. To me perſonally.

Q. Was the Application repreſented as an Application by ſome Perſon from Cheit Sing, or as an Application warranted by Cheit Sing?
A. He did not expreſs it particularly—he requeſted I would intercede for Cheit Sing, and ſaid he was ready to ſubmit to any Terms Mr. Haſtings would pleaſe to impoſe.

Q. Did you communicate this Application to Mr. Markham?
A. I did.

Q. What Anſwer did Mr. Markham make to it?
A. Mr. Markham aſked me how I could think of interceding as a Friend for the Murderer of my Friend Stalker, meaning Lieutenant Stalker, who was killed at Shewallah Ghaut.

Q. Did he refuſe to communicate it to Mr. Haſtings?
A. He did.

Q. Did he aſſign any Reaſon for not doing it?
A. He did.

Q. Beſides that you have mentioned?
A. He did; he ſaid that Mr. Haſtings could not pardon Cheit Sing, his Crime was ſo great.

Q. I wiſh the Witneſs may be deſired to ſtate, as particularly as he can, what Anſwer Mr. Markham gave, and what his Reaſons were; and what particular Crime Cheit Sing was guilty of that was ſo enormous he could not expect a Pardon? Do you know any other Particulars of Mr. Markham's Anſwer.
A. He did not ſtate any other Particulars.

Q. Did you inform Govind Ram of this Refuſal?
A. I did.

Q. Did he make any other Applications?
A. He frequently in Converſation wiſhed that ſomething might be done for the Rajah.

Q. Did you, in Conſequence of that, make any Application to Mr. Haſtings or Mr. Markham?
A. No.

Q. Did you ever communicate with Mr. Haſtings at all?
A. I did not.

Q. Did any other Perſon ever apply to you beſides Govind Ram?
A. Not that I recollect.

Q. Are you of Opinion, that in caſe this Offer had been accepted, Mr. Haſtings might, without Bloodſhed, have obtained a Sum of Money?
A. I believe he might.

Q. To any conſiderable Amount?
A. The Rajah, I believe, ſtood very much in awe of Mr. Haſtings; and his Preſence, I believe, would have compelled him to any moderate Terms he might have propoſed.

Q. What do you mean by moderate Terms?
A. I ſuppoſe if Mr. Haſtings had aſked Ten Lacks, he would have given it to have been reconciled.

Q. This

Q. This you ſpeak to as Matter of Opinion?
A. It is all Matter of Opinion.

Q. Whether you think the Preſence of Mr. Haſtings alone, without any Violence or Severity, would have induced Cheit Sing to ſubmit to thoſe Terms you alluded to?
A. I do think he would readily have given Ten Lacks to have made his Peace with Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Are you of Opinion, if theſe Terms had been accepted that Bloodſhed would have been prevented?
A. I believe it would.

Q. Was there any Thing that appeared to you, at the Time Mr. Haſtings arrived at Benares, to indicate a ſtrong perſonal Animoſity in Mr. Haſtings againſt Cheyt Sing?
A. There did not.

Q. What Impreſſion did the Conduct of Mr. Haſtings towards Cheyt Sing make upon your Mind?
A. I ſuppoſe Mr. Haſtings's ordering the Rajah under Arreſt, was in conſequence of his having received ſome ſecret Information that Cheyt Sing was carrying on a ſecret Correſpondence with our Enemies; it ſtruck me in that Light.

Q. Are you inclined to ſuppoſe that, from the Severity of the Meaſures that Mr. Haſtings uſed towards Cheyt Sing, or from any other Circumſtance?
A. From his ordering him under Arreſt after his Arrival, without receiving the complimentary Viſit from Cheyt Sing.

Q. Was he not by the Arreſt diſgraced and diſhonoured in the Eyes of the Country?
A. Yes, I think he was.

Q. Do you think, that after the Arreſt he would have been able, ſuppoſing him to have been left in his Government, to have adminiſtered his Government, and collected the Revenue as well as before?
A. I ſhould not think he would have been reſpected as much as he was before; but he could have collected the Revenues, becauſe he could have uſed Force; but he could not have done it by any other Means.

Q. He could have collected the Revenues, becauſe he could have uſed Force; but he would not have been ſo much reſpected as before?
A. Yes.

Q. Suppoſing the obtaining a Sum of Money to have been Mr. Haſtings's Object, and not a Deſign of puniſhing Cheyt Sing for a Correſpondence inimical to the Engliſh Government, do you think the Arreſt was neceſſary to force the Payment?
A. I do think it might have been done without the Arreſt; but Cheyt Sing would certainly have made Difficulties if the Sum had been large.

Q. Did you ever hear what the Amount of the Fine was that Mr. Haſtings propoſed to levy?
A. Never, till I read it in Mr. Haſtings's Narrative.

Q. Do you think that Cheyt Sing would have reſiſted the Payment of that Fine, and that it could not have been levied by any other than forcible Means?
A. I think Cheyt Sing would have objected to it, and ſtarted many Difficulties, if it amounted to ſo great a Sum as Fifty Lacks of Rupees.

Q. Would he have oppoſed it by Force?
A. I do not think he would.

Q. (*from a Lord*) If you know what the State of Cheyt Sing's Force was at that Time, namely upon the 14th of Auguſt?
A. I do not.

The Counſel were aſked if they wiſhed to put any Queſtions to the Witneſs.

Q. (*from the Counſel.*) Whether your Reſidence, though you might be ſometimes in the Country, was not principally confined to Chunargur?
A. It was principally confined to Chunargur.

Q. Principally?
A. It was.

Q. But you made Excurſions in other Parts of the Country?
A. I did upon Hunting Parties and Shooting Parties.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether there might not have been frequent Attempts by Cheyt Sing towards acquiring an Independency, and frequent Diſorders in the Country, and yet they might have eſcaped your Knowledge?

A. No Doubt there might in a Tract of Country ſo very large.

Q. Whether ſome of the Forts under Cheyt Sing had not been recently enlarged, and whether ſome Alterations had not been made in his Forts?

A. I know of his adding a Baſtion to Ramnagur, or ſome Works to Ramnagur.

Q. When was that added?

A. It had been doing for ſome Years.

Q. How many Years?

A. Two or Three, I believe; I don't immediately recollect.

Q. Whether ſome Alterations had not been made about Pateeta?

A. Juſt at the Time of the Inſurrection there was.

Q. Before the 14th of Auguſt?

A. No, I believe not; I never heard that it was then.

Q. At what Time did you underſtand they were made?

A. Immediately after the Inſurrection.

Q. That was the 14th of Auguſt?

A. Immediately after.

Q. What was the Nature of the Alterations?

A. They threw up a Breaſt-work.

Q. Had not the Works been conſiderably enlarged at Pateeta; was there any Enlargement at Pateeta antecedent to the 14th of Auguſt?

A. I believe not—not that I know of.

Q. Whether the Witneſs has not heard Complaints of Cheit Sing's Diſaffection from the Reſident at Benares, prior to the 14th of Auguſt?

A. I have heard Mr. Graham ſay, that he was very much diſſatisfied upon the additional Demand of Tribute, upon Account of the Five Lacks in Addition that were laid on, I believe, in the Year 1778, or the Beginning of 1779.

Q. Were thoſe all the Complaints you heard, of any Thing like Diſaffection?

A. Yes, they were.

Q. Whether he had any Opportunity of obſerving the Stores found in the Fort of Cheit Sing, after the Inſurrection?

A. Not for many Months after. I anſwered that Queſtion before.

Q. When did you ſee them?

A. I ſaw none, except what I mentioned before.—I ſaw no Stores; there were large Grainaries there which had been filled with Grain; ſome was damaged very much, and ſome had been removed.

Q. Whether you ſaw the Supply of Stores ſent by Colonel Blair?

A. I did not. I was confined to my Bed for ſeveral Months after the Surrender of Bidgegur.

Q. The Witneſs has been aſked after the Temper and Diſpoſition of Cheit Sing; I wiſh to aſk the ſame Queſtion with reſpect to Soojaun Sing the Brother?

A. Soojaun Sing was of a violent Temper, I believe.

Q. Were not the Affairs of Cheit Sing very much intruſted to that Brother, eſpecially after the Inſurrection?

A. I don't know that they were entruſted by Cheit Sing to him; but I believe he took upon him the Direction of many Matters.

Q. Do you mean before or after the Inſurrection?

A. At all Times, before and after; all Matters.

Q. What Sort of Matters?

A. Reſpecting the Government of the Country. I believe he was of a violent Temper, and interfered in many Affairs, whether by Cheit Sing's Approbation or not, I don't know.

Q. Do you mean the Military or Civil Government?

A. I believe in all Matters whatſoever in the Affairs of Government.

Q. Had he not the general Direction of all Matters belonging to Cheit Sing?—Was he not the principal Director, Counſel, and Adviſer of the Whole; and did he do it with the Will of Cheyt Sing?

A. I don't know that he was.

Q. At the Time of the Application the Witneſs has ſpoken to, which he communicated to Mr. Markham, was not Cheit Sing engaged in open Rebellion, and oppoſing our Troops in the Field? Do you know the Time when Govind Ram did make his Application?

A. I believe it was the Second Day after the Inſurrection.

Q. Where was Cheit Sing at that Time? Was he at the Head of the Army in Rebellion?

A. He was at Ramnegur, on the oppoſite Side of the Ganges.

Q. Had he any Forces under him?

A. He was collecting Forces; he had collected a great Number.

Q. You don't know how many he had with him at the Time?

A. No, I cannot tell.

Q. Do you know any Thing of the Murder of an European of the Name of Hooper?

A. Mr. Haſtings ſent to me in the Morning of the Day before we left Benares, to know my Opinion reſpecting the Bombardment of Ramnegur: I gave it as my Opinion, the oppoſite Bank would be the propereſt Situation to erect Mortar Batteries. I repreſented it was better there than any where elſe: I repreſented it ſo to Mr. Haſtings; and Mr. Haſtings ſaid, he thought the Diſtance was too great. I told him, I could not be exact in the Diſtance, but I thought it ſufficiently near to erect a Mortar Battery oppoſite Ramnegur; but I would go up in the Afternoon, and examine it more particularly. In the Afternoon I went to the Spot: Shortly after my Arrival there, I ſaw a Budgerow and a large Boat coming down with the Current very quick; it was in the Height of the Rains, and they were coming down very quick. As ſoon as the Boats were ſeen from the Fort of Ramnegur, I obſerved the People at the Ghaut, the Place where the Boats were in the Harbour, a Kind of Gut at Ramnagur, in Motion, and getting aboard the Boats with great Expedition. In ſhort, they afterwards put Boats off with armed Men, and boarded the Budgerow and Boat; many of them were with drawn Sabres in their Hands: Several of the People in the Boat jumped overboard into the Ganges. There were ſome Boats belonging to myſelf at a little Village hard by; Pleaſure Boats, Two Boats; I run down, and ordered them to put off immediately, and take up as many of the Men as they could. They brought aſhore Eleven of them, to the beſt of my Recollection; they were moſt of them wounded Sepoys that had been wounded in the Morning of that Day, in the Action at Ramnegur, where Captain Mayaffre commanded, and informed me of Captain Mayaffre and Captain Doxey being killed, and the Detachment being defeated. They were Men who were in the Action, and were wounded, and put on Board the Boats. The Budgerow belonged to an European Merchant who had been up the Country with a Brigade on the Country Station, and was returning to Calcutta, and Cheit Sing's People had cut them off: They had killed all that they found on Board, amongſt the Reſt was this Merchant, Mr. Hooper.

Q. As the Witneſs has been aſked reſpecting the Character of different Perſons, I would wiſh to put the ſame Queſtion to him reſpecting the Character of Mr. Haſtings, as to Temper and Diſpoſition?

A. I believe there is not a more amiable private Character in any Country than Mr. Haſtings.

Q. You have ſaid the Country of Benares was of ſuch Extent, it might have been poſſible for Cheit Sing to have made Preparations for Rebellion, and made Excurſions into the Country, without your knowing it. I wiſh to know whether any Preparations of this Sort had been carried on in the City of Benares or at Ramnagur, without your Knowledge?

A. I believe, if any conſiderable Preparations were made, they would have come to my Knowledge.

Q. Either at Ramnagur or Benares?

A. Yes.

Q. The Witneſs ſtated that the Boat in which Mr. Hooper was, who was murdered, contained ſome Sepoys that were wounded, belonging to the Detachment of Captain Mayaffre; I wiſh to know whether Captain Mayaffre had not attacked Ramnagur that Morning?

A. The Sepoys I picked up informed me, he had that Morning attacked Ramnagur, and was killed.

Q. You mean the Sepoys that were wounded in the Action with Captain Mayaffre?

A. Yes.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* The Witneſs has ſaid, Cheyt Sing had made ſome Addition to the Fortification, and raiſed a Breaſt-work; I wiſh to know whether theſe Additions or that Breaſt-work had occaſioned any Alarm in the Engliſh Government?

A. I never heard the Addition to Ramnagur made any Alarm—thoſe at Pateeta were made after the Inſurrection.

Q. Then no Additions previous to the Inſurrection had given any Alarm to the Britiſh Government?

A. I believe not.

Q. If

Q. If any Alarm or any Jealouſy had been conceived from any ſuch Works, ſhould you, as an Engineer who was ſo near as Fifteen Miles or leſs to Ramnagur, been applied to on the Subject?

A. I believe if it had given any Alarm to the Government it would have been made known to me as Engineer in that Part of the Country.

Q. You was Chief Engineer there?

A. I was.

Q. Did you yourſelf, as a Soldier, conceive any Alarm from what you heard of at Ramnagur or Pateeta?

A. I did not.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Whether you conſidered the Affray that happened at Shewallah as the Conſequence of the Arreſt of Cheyt Sing?

A. I did.

Q. (*by a Lord.*) If Attempts appeared to you to have been made by Cheyt Sing to eſtabliſh his Independence, would it have been prudent for Mr. Haſtings to have proceeded to Benares in the Manner he did, without a Force ſufficient to repel ſuch Attempts?

A. I think a large Force ſhould have been collected upon the Occaſion, if they apprehended he wanted to make himſelf independent.

The Managers for the Commons informed the Houſe, they ſhould call no more Witneſſes upon this Article.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Veneris, 11° *Aprilis* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons they might proceed.

Then Mr. Anſtruther was heard, to ſum up the Evidence upon the firſt Article.—And having finiſhed,

The Houſe directed Mr. BENN to be called in again: and being called in accordingly, he was examined as follows.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* The Witneſs was aſked Yeſterday, whether, from the peculiar Manners of the People of Hindoſtan, an Arreſt was not conſidered as more diſgraceful there upon the Perſon arreſted than it is in any other Country; and his Anſwer, as I recollect, was, that he looked upon it as diſgraceful in any Country. Am I right in ſaying that was your Anſwer?

A. I believe it was.

Q. I will now put the Queſtion in a different Manner.—Are you not of Opinion that Mr. Haſtings's arreſting Cheit Sing muſt have appeared to the Subjects of Cheit Sing and the People of Hindoſtan as a Stigma of great Diſgrace?

A. No; I did not conſider the Arreſt of him as a Stigma of great Diſgrace. If I may be permitted, I will ſtate what I think of Arreſts in general.—In India there are two Sets of Men to whom Arreſts would be diſgraceful: the Firſt is a Military Man; the other, a Merchant.—In Caſes of Revenue, Arreſts are very common.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* As a Bramin or High Prieſt, looking upon him in that ſacred Light, whether an Arreſt of him, in that Situation, would not be looked upon by the Hindoos as a peculiar Diſgrace?

A. I think upon a Bramin it would.

Q. Was not Cheit Sing a Bramin?

A. If you will give me Leave I will explain what Cheit Sing was.—He was the Son of a Muſſul Woman, he was not a Bramin; by that Circumſtance, he was not a Man of what the Hindoos call the High Caſt among them: All I meant to ſay was, the Rule which applied to the Bramins or People of a High Caſt in India did not apply to Rajah Cheit Sing.

Q. Whether, ſuppoſing him a Sovereign Prince, the Arreſt upon a Perſon of ſuch a Deſcription would not be regarded by the Manners of that Country as a particular Diſgrace?

A. It would be regarded as a Circumſtance leſſening the Authority of a Sovereign Prince.

Q. Whether the Mode of Puniſhment that was inflicted upon Doorgbidjey Sing of depriving him of his Hooka would be conſidered, according to the Manners of the People of that Country, as a perſonal Diſgrace?

A. No, it would not.

Q. State your Reaſon.

A. I am aſked, whether, agreeable to my Senſe of the Manners of that Country, it would be conſidered as a Diſgrace.—From my Senſe of the Manners of that Country, I think it would not be conſidered as a particular Diſgrace.

Q. What were the Offences that Doorgbidjey Sing had committed, for which he was impriſoned and treated in the Manner you have repreſented?

A. A large Balance was due to the Eaſt India Company; his firſt Impriſonment was for that Sum of Money due to the Eaſt India Company.

Q. Was there any other Occaſion for his ſecond Confinement?

A. That Sum not being liquidated:—There is an Account here I believe that perhaps would ſtate the Matter more clearly than I can from Recollection, or at leaſt I could ſtate it more clearly if I ſaw that Account.

Q. The general Queſtion put to you is, Whether, upon your Recollection of the Cauſes of the firſt and ſecond Impriſonment, that was a Puniſhment too ſevere in proportion to thoſe Cauſes, according to the Rules and Cuſtoms of that Country?

A. No; I do not think it was.

Q. Do you think he deſerved Death for thoſe Offences?
A. No; certainly not.

Q. What do you underſtand by the Word Zemindar? Do you underſtand a Zemindar to be a Perſon poſſeſſed of Land generally, or poſſeſſed of Land ſubject to a ſmall Rent to the Great Mogul?
A. I underſtand it to be generally a Poſſeſſor of Land.

Q. Is there any Difference in the Opinion of the Natives between a great and powerful Zemindar or a ſmaller Zemindar?
A. The ſame Difference as in every other Country.

Q. The Queſtion meant to be put is, Whether in the Nature of the Tenure there is a Difference between a great Zemindar and a ſmall one?
A. No, I believe not; there is none that I know of.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Whether when Rents or Revenues fall in Arrear, perſonal Arreſts are not the ordinary Proceſs for compelling Payment?
A. It is.

Q. Whether the Deprivation of the Hooka is not commonly the firſt Mode uſed to enforce Payment?
A. I don't believe it is at all a general one; it is a little Hardſhip, perhaps ſimilar to depriving a Gentleman of his Snuffbox in England.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Houſe directed Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Gardner to be again called; and being called accordingly, he was aſked,

Q. Whether Govind Ram was eſteemed a Man of Conſequence at Benares?
A. He was a Man of genteel Family and Connections.

Q. Was he a Man of Character?
A. I never heard any Thing againſt his Character; I believe he was.

Q. If Mr. Haſtings had Reaſon to believe Reſiſtance from Cheyt Sing was intended, do you not think Care ought to have been taken that the Sepoys ſhould have been ſupplied with Ammunition?
A. Moſt undoubtedly; but that was the Duty of the military Office, and not mine, to take care of.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then Mr. Burke was heard to obſerve upon the Evidence laſt given; and having finiſhed,

The Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Martis, 15° *Aprilis* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, Mr. Adam was heard to open the Second Article of the Charge in Part.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Mercurij, 16° *Aprilis* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, Mr. Pelham was heard to open the Remainder of the Second Article, and to obſerve upon the Defendant's Anſwer thereto.

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they ſhould proceed to call their Evidence in Support of the ſaid Second Article: Previous to which they begged leave to obſerve, that it was not their Intention upon this Article to confine the Evidence to the preciſe Order of the Allegations in the Charge.

They further ſtated, that in reſpect to the oral Evidence to be adduced upon the ſaid Article, it was not their Intention always to examine a Witneſs who was called, to the Whole of the ſaid Article of the Charge, but to ſuch Parts only to which they ſhould have already produced written Evidence, in Corroboration of the ſame, without Prejudice to the Counſel for the Defendant examining ſuch Witneſs to the Whole of the Charge, if they ſhould think proper; except as to One Witneſs, whoſe Situation made it requiſite for him to be examined as early as poſſible, he being about to proceed to India by the next Ships.——They would therefore only firſt prove a Paper circulated, printed, and publiſhed, by the Order of Mr. Haſtings, in the Lobby of the Houſe of Commons, purporting to be a Second Defence relative to the Article now under Conſideration; and then they would proceed to call the Witneſs before mentioned.

The Counſel for the Defendant deſired the Managers for the Commons to favour them with the ſaid Paper, and that if it was publiſhed by the Defendant it ſhould be acknowledged by him.——The Paper was accordingly delivered by the Managers of the Commons to the Counſel for the Defendant, and by them ſhewn to the Defendant.

Then the Counſel were aſked by the Houſe, Whether they admitted that the Paper produced was a Paper proceeding from Mr. Haſtings?

The Counſel for the Defendant admitted that the ſaid Paper did proceed from the Defendant, but not with the Explanation given by the Managers, that it was printed, publiſhed, and circulated by him, or by his Order, in the Lobby of the Houſe of Commons, and delivered to the Members as ſuch.

The Managers for the Commons replied, that the Houſe would be ſatisfied that the Explanation was correct, by the Evidence of a Witneſs that they would proceed to call.

Accordingly they deſired that MAJOR JOHN SCOTT might be called; who appearing at the Bar, was ſworn.

Then the following Paper was ſhewn him.

" The Real State of the Facts contained in the Fourth Article of Mr. Burke's Charge, diveſted of all the extraneous Matter in which they are enveloped, may be comprized in the following plain Recital.

" The Nabob of Oude, by the Privation of a conſiderable Part of his Patrimonial Eſtate, and the Enlargement of his Subſidy, was reduced to great and very early Diſtreſs. This I repeatedly predicted at the Time that the Majority which conſtituted the efficient Government of Bengal in 1775 forced from the Nabob thoſe Conditions of the Treaty concluded with him. From the ſame Cauſes his Army, which was enormous, became diſaffected, refractory, and mutinous, ſo as at Times to endanger his Perſon; becauſe he had not the Means of paying their growing Arrears, nor of ſtopping the Evil by diſbanding them. This threw him of courſe on the Engliſh Power for his Protection; and ſo far only was he dependent on it. Beſides theſe Preſſures, the Nabob Sujah Dowlah left him encumbered with a Debt ariſing from recent Engagements with the Company; and his Treaſury, which might have ſufficed to anſwer the actual Demands upon the Son, excluded from his Reach by the previous Charge of it, having been committed to Bhow Begum, the Wife of the deceaſed Nabob, who tenaciouſly retained them as her Property; nor in the Wane of his Authority, the relaxed Obedience of all Orders of his Subjects, and the Novelty of Diminion, operating upon a Mind naturally weak, and unfertile of Reſources, durſt he reclaim them when he might. By this Forbearance the Begum acquired the Conſtruction of an allowed Right, of which ſhe was of a Temper to avail herſelf in its fulleſt Extent. As ſhe lived at a Diſtance from her Son, in the City which was her late Huſband's Capital, and over which ſhe had obtained an habitual Influence, this leſſened the Means of Conciliation with her Son, and gave Confidence to her Uſurpations. Her Stepmother, the Mother of the Nabob Sujah Dowlah, who is beſt known by the Appellation of the Old Begum, a Woman of a high and uncontrolable Spirit, lived in the ſame Neighbourhood, and always made common Cauſe with the Younger Begum of every Diſpute in which the latter was engaged with her Son. Nor were theſe, though weak Women, unformidable Adverſaries; for they had the City at their Devotion; their perſonal Wealth, and the Income of their Jaghires, enabled them to keep up numerous Bands of armed Attendants; and an obdurate Perſeverance, ſuſtained by the Habit of long Indulgence, and the Conſciouſneſs of the Security which they derived from the Delicacy of Oriental Manners, more than ſerved them in the Stead of manly Courage.

" Such was the relative State of the Nabob Aſſulph ul Dowlah and the Begums at the Time of his Acceſſion to the Subahſhip in February 1775.

" Though the Nabob dared not openly to reclaim his Treaſures, he had at various Times obtained ſmall Sums from the Begum upon Loan, amounting altogether to Twenty-ſix Lacks of Rupees: But being preſſed for Payment of the Company's Debt, without other Reſources, he applied to her for a more effectual Aid, and was refuſed. In this Emergency he had Recourſe to the Engliſh Reſident, Mr. Briſtow, whom he prevailed upon, as the Reſident affirmed, to be his Advocate with the Begum; and Mr. Briſtow, leſs ſcrupulous than his Employer, bluntly demanded what the other had only ſolicited, on the Plea that the whole Wealth which ſhe poſſeſſed was the Property of the State. After a Variety of Negociation he at length obtained from her an Agreement to pay Thirty Lacks in Specie and Effects, on the Condition of the Nabob's granting to her an Engagement in Writing, with the Company's Guarantee, that no more Demands of any Kind ſhould ever be made upon her; and that ſhe ſhould enjoy during Life her Jaghires, and all her other Eſtates and Poſſeſſions unmoleſted. An Engagement was accordingly granted to this Effect by the Nabob, expreſſing in it the Company's Guarantee, and a ſeparate Engagement by Mr. Briſtow confirming it.

" This Tranſaction, which muſt have employed a conſiderable Length of Time, ſince it gave Occaſion to Mr. Briſtow for Two Journies to Fyzabad, a Diſtance of Ninety Miles, was not officially communicated to the Board; and Mr. Barwell and myſelf were altogether unapprized of it, till about the 11th of November, on which Day Two Letters were read in Council from Mr. Briſtow, dated the 8th and 16th of October; and detailing the Origin and Proceſs of it to its Concluſion. In the Firſt of theſe were the following remarkable Words, evidently inſerted to juſtify his Perſeverance in preſſing the Begum to an Accommodation: " It is generally believed that the Begum has Four Crores" (Forty Millions of Rupees) " in her Poſſeſſion; but I fancy I may venture to ſay ſhe has One Crore and ſeventy Lacks;" i. e. Seventeen Millions of Rupees, or near Two Millions Sterling.

" The Board approved of Mr. Briſtow's Conduct, and confirmed the Guarantee. I certainly diſapproved of both; but as I had declaredly made it a Rule to avoid interrupting the Acts of the Majority of the Council, which was the Government, by continual Diſſents and Objections to every ſubſidiary Meaſure, after the primary Deſigns were debated and paſſed, I ſuppoſe it was upon this Principle that I allowed the Majority to paſs their own Judgement on the Proceedings of their own Agent, without offering an ineffectual Oppoſition to it, except what paſſed in verbal Debate. Mr. Briſtow had no Inſtructions from the Board to interfere in ſo delicate an Affair, much leſs had he Authority to pledge the Company's Faith to a formal Treaty. I was not therefore likely to approve ſo irregular an Aſſumption of a Power which did not appertain to his Office, and which ſhould never be exerciſed even by the Sovereignty itſelf without a ſtrong Neceſſity impelling,

pelling, or an Object of great Benefit inducing it. I believed that Mr. Briſtow had acted under ſecret Orders, of which it was thought ſufficient to put the Reſult upon Record, and that not till it was finally completed. As little ſhould I have approved of any Interference, however authorized, between the Nabob and his Mother, for the Purpoſe of effecting, by the Terror of the Engliſh Influence, what the Nabob had not the Courage or Inclination to attempt in his own Right. Had the Nabob himſelf made the Attempt, and failed, or met with ſuch Reſiſtance, as portended a doubtful Iſſue of it, he might have claimed the Aſſiſtance of our Power, by the Virtue of our new Engagements with him, and we might honourably have appeared as Parties in the Competition, whether we had Recourſe to Mediation or Arms. But the Act, uncalled for by ſuch an Obligation, or by any Provocation in which our Government had an Intereſt, could only tend to render the Engliſh Character odious in the Eyes of the World for a wanton Intruſion on domeſtic Decorum, and contemptible for the pitiful Termination of it.

" That ſuch were my probable Sentiments, and the Motives ſuch as I have aſcribed for my Suppreſſion of them, will appear evident from the Minute which I afterwards delivered on the 3d of January 1776, in conſequence of an Appeal made by the Begum to our Government; in which, upon a ſubſequent Provocation, ſhe recited all the Grievances which ſhe had ſuſtained from this Exaction *. In that Minute I expreſſed my Regret at being compelled, by a formal Call of the Board, to give an Opinion upon a Queſtion which I had wiſhed to leave wholly to their Determination, as it regarded the Conduct of their own Syſtem, in which I had no Part, and upon which I knew that my Opinion would be of no Avail: and the Opinion which I proceeded to give upon the Queſtion then before the Board will be found, on a Peruſal of it, to allude to my declared Senſe, though not recorded, of the original Tranſaction, and to contain my Diſapprobation in Terms of the former Interference.

" Mr. Briſtow was right in his Aſſertion, that the Treaſures of which the Begum was in Poſſeſſion were the Property of the State. The Nabob had a Double Right to reclaim them, both as his lawful Inheritance, and as a Truſt officially committed to her Cuſtody, for which ſhe was eſpecially accountable to him as her Sovereign, and the Preſentative of her former Sovereign, from whom ſhe had received them. As Mr. Briſtow choſe to intereſt himſelf in reclaiming the Nabob's Rights, he ought to have aſſerted them effectually: And had he done ſo, the Magnitude of the Service which he would have rendered by it to the Nabob, his immediate Employer, and to the Company, who would have been eventually benefited by it, would have largely overbalanced the Irregularity of the Mode, and entitled him to Applauſe inſtead of Cenſure. But his Agency was as unfaithful as it was unwarranted. Acting from a Conviction that the Begum had actual Poſſeſſion of One Crore and Seventy Lacks of Rupees, and declaring that every Rupee of this Sum was the Nabob's rightful Property, he demanded Fifty Lacks, took Thirty, gave her an Acquittal of all the Reſt, with the Right of retaining in Perpetuity the Lands which ſhe before held at the Nabob's Pleaſure, and bound the Nabob by a written Obligation, under the Sanction of an Oath, and the Guarantee of the Company, to abide by it.

" Whether the Juſtice of the Honourable Houſe of Commons ſhall decree that the Government of Bengal was guilty of a Violation of the Rights of the Begum in taking from her Thirty Lacks of Rupees, which were her Property; or of a Violation of the Rights of the Nabob in depriving him of One hundred and forty Lacks, which were his Property, by guaranteeing the Poſſeſſion of them to the Begum; the Members who conſtituted that Government are alone reſponſible for either Act. I had no Concern in either: For it is demonſtrated by Volumes of Evidence, in the Poſſeſſion of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, that from the 19th of October 1774, when the new Government of Fort William firſt aſſembled, to the Death of Colonel Monſon on the 28th of September 1776, the real and efficient Government of Bengal conſiſted of General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis, who formed a permanent and unvaried Majority; and that the Company's Intereſts in the Province of Oude, and their Connection with the Nabob Aſſulph ul Dowlah, were conducted in an eſpecial Manner by that Majority alone, Mr. Barwell, the other Member of the Council, and myſelf, being wholly and abſolutely excluded from all Participation therein.

" In virtue of the Engagement concluded with Bhow Begum in the Manner which has been above related, ſhe continued in the quiet and undiſturbed Poſſeſſion of her Jaghires and Treaſures till the Years 1781 and 1782, when I gave my Aſſent to the Reſumption of both on the following Ground and Occaſion †.

" It is well known, that by the Example, and at the Inſtigation of Raja Cheit Sing, the Zemindar of Benares, the Inhabitants of that Diſtrict revolted from our Government, and continued in a State of Rebellion from the 22d of Auguſt to the 22d of September 1781. During this ſhort but important Period, I was confined to the Fortreſs and Plain of Chunar, and in a Situation which, in the Apprehenſion of many, portended certain Deſtruction to myſelf and my ſmall Party.

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* See all the Proceedings relative to this Tranſaction in the " Minutes of Evidence," taken laſt Year; or in the Appendix to the Tenth Report of the Select Committee.

† I inſiſted upon a faithful Obſervance of the Engagement, however I diſapproved of it originally.—The Nabob was prevented from violating the Engagement in February 1778, by my Remonſtrances.—See the Tenth Report of the Select Committee, Page 4.

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" The Begums of Fyzabad, prompted by their common Hatred to our Nation, and not much more affected to their own Sovereign, though he was their Son and Grandſon, united their Authority and Influence to extend and aggravate our Difficulties. Circular Letters were written to the Zemindars of Oude, inciting them to Rebellion : Rewards were proclaimed for the Heads of Engliſh Officers, Soldiers, and Sepoys : A general Revolt enſued, of which their Agents were the principal Leaders, in the Diſtricts of Goorucpoor and Bareech : The Two chief Eunuchs and confidential Servants of the younger Begum openly levied Troops in the great Square of the City for the avowed Service of Cheit Sing againſt the Engliſh ; and theſe were ſent under the Name of Nejeebs to Cheit Sing, and actually employed in his Battles againſt us.

" Theſe Facts have been proved by the Depoſitions of Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hannay, Major John M'Donald, Captain John Gordon, and many other Witneſſes, taken before Sir Elijah Impey, at Lucknow and Chunar, within Three Months of the Time in which the Events had paſſed : And in One of the latter, namely, that of Sheikh Mahomed Aumeen Mheir, a Commandant, and the Second Officer in Command, of the Service of Cheit Sing, a Liſt of the Troops which compoſed Cheit Sing's Force during his Rebellion, was delivered by him upon Oath, in which were inſerted 1000 Nejeebs, or Swordmen, newly entertained from Lucnow ; which exactly corroborates the Teſtimony of Colonel Hannay and the other Engliſh Officers, who mention the Recruits enliſted by the Begum's Authority at Fyzabad, by the ſame Name of Nejeebs, the Deponent ſuppoſing them to have been ſent from Lucnow inſtead of Fyzabad, through an evident Miſtake of one Capital for the other. It is worth remarking, that theſe Depoſitions were all taken to eſtabliſh a Series of Facts combined with the Rebellion of Cheit Sing ; and what they have affirmed concerning the Begums was an acceſſory Subject, not required for the original Purpoſe, though probably the moſt powerful in the Feelings and Recollection of the Deponents, and therefore more particularly noted in the Evidence delivered by them. This is certainly an additional Argument of their Authenticity.

" Mr. Burke, aware of the Weight of theſe Teſtimonies, has taken much Pains to diſcredit them, by blackening them, in his peculiar Manner, with hard and opprobrious Epithets, ſuch as " paſſionate, careleſs, irrelevant, and irregular—conſiſting of Matter not fit to be depoſed on " Oath," &c. and by cenſuring Sir Elijah Impey, the Magiſtrate before whom they were taken, for having therein " acted extrajudicially, and not within the Limits of his Juriſdiction ;" with other Reflections upon Sir Elijah Impey, of ſuch a Nature, as no Man without certain Grounds ought to caſt upon the Character of another. But as he has offered no Proof of theſe daring Allegations, and as his Depreciation of the Evidences is certainly no Argument of their Want of Truth or Authenticity, I preſume that they will be admitted to eſtabliſh the Facts to which they have a mutual Relation, on as ample a Conviction as if they had been delivered in every legal Form before a Britiſh Court of Judicature.—I muſt extend this Sentiment, by obſerving that I did upon this Occaſion what the Law of England would have preſcribed in a ſimilar Proceſs of its own Juriſdiction : I took the beſt poſſible Evidence that could be obtained ; and I gave it the beſt poſſible Sanction, by cauſing it to be taken before the Firſt Britiſh Magiſtrate in India.—I was not to enquire whether his Conduct in this Inſtance was irregular ; nor was the Sanctity of an Oath leſs awful to the Minds of the Deponents, many of whom were Men of high Honour and unblemiſhed Character, or leſs operative of the Truth, at Lucnow or Chunar, than it would have been if adminiſtered in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Calcutta, or even in Weſtminſter Hall.—What a Field for Triumph and Deriſion ſhould I have afforded to my Accuſer, had I applied to the Magiſtrates of the Country for the Authentication of the Evidences ! and what a Diſplay of rhetorical Wit might have been ſucceſsfully exhibited on Names of unknown Witneſſes, atteſted by Cauzees of uncertain Exiſtence !

" The Evidence of Mr. Middleton and Captain David Williams, taken before the Honourable Houſe of Commons, confirms all the material Points of the Evidence taken before Sir Elijah Impey ; and who will be ſo hardy as to diſpute its Veracity, or the Authority of the High Court before which it was delivered ?

" At the Cloſe of the Diſturbances which had ariſen in Benares, and while thoſe excited by the Begums yet ſubſiſted in their Neighbourhood, the Nabob Aſſulph ul Dowlah, who had generouſly, and againſt my repeated Inſtances, flown to my Aſſiſtance on the firſt News of my Difficulties, ſolicited me to give my Conſent to a Meaſure which he ſtated as neceſſary to enable him to provide for the Neceſſities of his own Government, and the Payment of his Debt to the Company, but which he could not carry into Execution without my Sanction, becauſe it involved the Eſtates of Bhow Begum, who held them under a written Engagement, ſanctified by the Company's Guarantee. The Meaſure to which I allude was, the Reſumption of all the Jaghires held within his Dominions. I inſtantly, and without a Thought of Heſitation, agreed to it ; only requiring (as I now recollect) that the Reſumption ſhould be univerſal, and that it ſhould be ſtedfaſtly and effectually accompliſhed. The Treaty, as it is called, was no Obſtacle ; for its Obligation had already ceaſed with the Breach of that which appertained to the Part of the Begum. Every Engagement of a Sovereign with his Subjects muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe the Condition of Allegiance as an Obligation on the latter, though not expreſſed. To expreſs it would be to admit the Right of withholding it. The Begum had forfeited her Allegiance : She had openly excited the Subjects of her Sovereign to Rebellion ; and had engaged in Deſigns for the Deſtruction of the Engliſh Government and of its Subjects.

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Was I, the Repreſentative of the Company, to exact from the Nabob, their Ally, the rigid Obſervance of an Engagement with a Perſon who had abuſed the Benefits conferred by it, and employed them in diſturbing the Peace of his Country, and endangering the Safety of his Perſon and Government? Or was I, a Servant of the Company, and an Engliſhman, to be the Advocate for an outrageous Woman, who had ſought the Ruin of my Employers, and had offered Money for the Purchaſe of the Heads of my Fellow Servants, and the Dependents of my Protection? No.—I thank God, mine was not a Government that held the Rod of Perſecution over thoſe who faithfully ſerved it, for the ſake of patronizing its Enemies, and the Traitors againſt its Authority; nor is there an Individual in either of theſe Characters exiſting, who can boaſt that he has inſulted the Government over which I preſided, or violated its Rights, or ſhed the Blood of my Countrymen or Dependents with Impunity. I have underſtood it to be a Maxim of the Law of Nations, that all Treaties and mutual Compacts between States loſe their Exiſtence with a State of War. With a much ſtronger Neceſſity muſt this Rule apply to a ſtate of Hoſtility between a Sovereign and his Subjects. In a Word, I regarded the Nabob's Engagement with the Begum, and the Company's Guarantee, if I regarded them at all, as become Two inſignificant Shreds of waſte Paper. But very different was my Opinion of their Subject, conſidered independently of their paſt Obligation. There could ſcarce exiſt a more incongruous or a more dangerous Combination of Rights under the ſame Syſtem of Government than a Territorial Property, and unproductive Wealth, ſubſiſting in the Centre of a great Dominion, and though protected by it, independent of it. Such were the Jaghire and Treaſures of Bhow Begum; and ſuch, in an inferior and in different Degrees, were the Jaghires of the Old Begum and others. The Letters of Mr. Briſtow, in a Period much earlier than this, are filled with Complaints and Inſtances of the Obſtructions which the public Revenue and the Authority of Government ſuſtained from theſe arbitrary Tenures; and Mr. Briſtow will not be ſuſpected of miſtating Facts for the Purpoſe of ſupplying me with a remote and eventual Argument. But if ſuch Objections exiſted in Speculation to the Privileges enjoyed by the Begums, with much more Conviction muſt they be ſuppoſed to have operated on my Mind after the Experience which I had ſo recently received of their Effects. I was therefore glad of the Opportunity of abſolving the Nabob from the Shackles in which Mr. Briſtow's Engagement had bound him, and yet better pleaſed that the Propoſition for caſting them off came from himſelf. I allowed myſelf upon this Occaſion the Gratification of a Sentiment, which rarely enters, or ought perhaps to enter into, or mix itſelf with, the Compoſure of a political Meaſure. I yielded my Conſent as much to the Gratitude which I owed and felt for the late Proof which the Nabob had given me of his Attachment, as to my Senſe of public Duty.

" But when I had proceeded ſo far, there I ſtopped. The Rigour of the Act had derived no Part of its Conſtruction from Reſentment, at leaſt not from mine: Enough had been done for the Reſtoration of the Nabob's Authority, and for the Security of the Peace of his Country; enough had been done for an Exhibition of Example; and if I could have regarded Perſonal Puniſhment as an Object, enough of that End had alſo been accompliſhed in the Anguiſh which might have been inferred from the Diſappointment of Female Vengeance and Malignity. Their Sex, and the Relation which theſe high Offenders bore to the Nabob, exacted from me a Reſpect for their Neceſſities, while I joined in diſarming them of the Power of wronging their Benefactor. Whether the Propoſition came immediately from the Nabob, or (as I believe) from myſelf, I cannot preciſely determine; but a Proviſion was made for replacing their Income at the exact Rate at which it had ſtood on their own Eſtimate, while they held the Jaghires; by making it the Condition of the Reſumption, that they ſhould receive a Penſion equal to the Amount of their Jaghires, in equal Monthly Payments; and theſe, for the fuller Security, were made payable from the Produce of the Company's Aſſignments.

" At this Time no Notice was taken of the Treaſures which were ſtill retained by Bhow Begum *. As the Nabob's Requiſition went no further than her Jaghire, I did not think of urging him beyond that ſingle Point. But when the Reſumption of the Treaſures was ſuggeſted, not as a new and acceſſory Meaſure, but as an Exchange for that which had been already determined, I acquieſced in it in the Firſt Senſe, and encouraged the Proſecution of it, but would not allow of it as an Exchange; for after the licentious Spirit which the Begums had lately ſhewn, and with the Diſorders which ſtill prevailed in conſequence of it, I deemed the Reſumption of the Jaghires a Meaſure abſolutely neceſſary to the Safety of the Nabob's Government, and eventually to the Quiet of our own.

" As to the ſubſequent Proceedings, the Nabob's Change of Mind, the Reluctance and Indeciſion of the Miniſter, the Negociations which enſued againſt my moſt peremptory Inſtances and Proteſtations, and the Concluſion forced by my own Adherence to the original Plan, I chuſe to avoid a tedious and unneceſſary Detail, by the following brief Explanation of my own Conduct reſpecting them.

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* I can offer a Proof of the Truth of this Aſſertion, which is incontrovertible—namely, a Letter from the Nabob to me, dated Fyzabad, the 13th of January 1782, and inſerted in the Tenth Repart of the Select Committee. He had then claimed the Treaſures, and he ſays, " I have, to increaſe and confirm our Friendſhip, even done that, which was not thought of or reſolved on."

" It was ever my Rule, in all public Tranſactions, however I might allow myſelf to heſitate in forming Plans of Action, to proſecute them, when they were formed, with a fixed and undeviating Reſolution to their Accompliſhment. The Reſumption of the Jaghires, and yet more eſpecially the Confiſcation of the Treaſures poſſeſſed by Bhow Begum, were Acts of ſuch Eclat, and of ſo obnoxious a Colour, as they would appear in the Eyes of the uninformed Part of the World, which could not enter into the Grounds of their Juſtification, but ſaw only the Violence without its Motive and Reparation, that I ſubmitted, and knowingly, to a Diminution of my Perſonal Reputation in aſſenting to them. But when I had made ſuch a Sacrifice, I was reſolved that it ſhould not be made without the Compenſation which I looked for in the Accompliſhment of the Object for which I had made it. Neither would I ſuffer my Authority to be uſed as a corrupted Inſtrument of Intimidation, for the Purpoſe of extorting ſecret and mercenary Terms for an Accommodation of Forbearance. That ſuch were my Motives at the Time, and not now made up for the Occaſion, will appear from the Letter which I wrote to Mr. Middleton on the 26th of December 1781, when I firſt ſuſpected that Grounds exiſted for a Declaration of them, and which has been already publiſhed with other Minutes of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.

" Upon a Re-peruſal of that Part of my Defence to this Charge, which relates to the Begum's Jaghire, and the Seizure of her Treaſures, and comparing it with Papers before the Houſe of Commons, which I had not then read, I find an Inaccuracy which I now wiſh to correct.—I have obſerved, that I was indebted to Mr. Middleton for the principal Part of my Reply to the Fourth Charge; and therefore what was written in it was upon the Credit of his Recollection, not my own.

" The Fact undoubtedly is, that not only in conſenting to the Seizure of the Treaſures on the Nabob's Firſt Requiſition to me, on the 2d of December 1781, but in ſtrenuouſly encouraging and ſupporting the Meaſure, ſo far as to deſire Sir Elijah Impey, on his leaving Chunar in November 1781, to mention the Subject, as from me to Mr. Middleton, for the expreſs Purpoſe of deſiring him to converſe upon it with the Nabob, and even to encourage the Nabob to make the Propoſition to me, I was influenced by the Conviction which I felt in my own Mind, of the Begum's having been very deeply concerned in the Inſurrection of Cheit Sing.—I had then Information before me, of the Authenticity of which I believe no Gentleman who has ſerved in Bengal ever doubted, that they had encouraged the Levies of Troops for his Service; and Colonel Hannay, in his Letter to Mr. Middleton of the 8th of September, ſays, " *they had almoſt re-*" *cruited themſelves for Cheit Sing.*"—I as firmly believed, and no ſubſequent Information has induced me to alter my Opinion, that they excited Inſurrections againſt their Son the Nabob Vizier, for the expreſs Purpoſe of deſtroying our Influence and our Exiſtence in Oude, and of overturning the Government of the Nabob.

" Though the Propoſition was made to me on the 2d of December 1781, and I inſtantly aſſented to it on the Grounds above ſtated, yet it was not carried into Effect until the 12th of January following. In the intermediate Time (in the Courſe of the Month of December) the Orders of the Nabob were iſſued for reſuming their Jaghires; and the open Reſiſtance of their Eunuchs, Jewar and Behar Ally Cawn, on that Occaſion, and their Attempts to excite an univerſal Revolt in the Nabob's Dominions, might have operated as an additional Motive with him for accelerating the Seizure of their Treaſures *; but as far as regards myſelf, from the Moment I gave my Conſent to the Meaſure, or rather from an earlier Period, from the Moment I had undoubted Proofs of the hoſtile Acts of the Begums at the Inſurrection of Benares, I was determined ſtrenuouſly to encourage and ſupport the Nabob in a Meaſure ſtrictly reconcileable to Honour, Policy, Juſtice, and Good Faith, ſo far as it reſpected him; but in reſpect to my own Government, at the Moment that we were ſtruggling for our Exiſtence as a Nation in India, as an Act of indiſpenſable Duty. The Propoſition for the Seizure of the Treaſures unqueſtionably came from the Nabob. It was a Point which he then was, and had formerly been, eager to accompliſh. I encouraged and ſtrenuouſly ſupported him in it: But let it be remembered, that at a former Period, in the Year 1778, I as earneſtly interfered to preſerve the Begum in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Rights, which, however impolitic it might have been to grant them originally, I deemed the Faith of our Government pledged to preſerve to her, until by her own hoſtile Acts ſhe juſtly forfeited our Protection.

" Unleſs the Propoſition had come from the Nabob, the Meaſure could not have been carried into Effect; but I do not wiſh to ſcreen myſelf from Reſponſibility, by diſavowing any Part that I took in the Tranſaction, or to inſinuate that I was merely paſſive in the Buſineſs. I meant by my Meſſage to Mr. Middleton, that the Nabob ſhould be informed that the Propoſition from him would receive my Concurrence; and on the 27th of January 1782 I wrote to the Members of the Council my Report of the Tranſaction in the following Words: " This Reſolution (to re-

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* The Inaccuracy is in fact cleared up by Mr. Middleton's Evidence laſt Year, who ſtated that it was previous to the Reſumption of the Jaghires, that it was determined to ſeize the Treaſures. He alſo ſtates, that the Determination to ſeize the Treaſures, was in conſequence of Information tranſmitted to me, of the Conduct of the Begums, before the Affidavits were taken; and my Letter of the 27th of January 1782, above inſerted, ſuperſedes all other Proof of it.

" claim the Treaſures) I have ſtrenuouſly encouraged and ſupported, not ſo much for the Reaſons " aſſigned by the Nabob, as becauſe I think it equally unjuſt and impolitic that they ſhould be " allowed to retain the Means of which they have already made ſo pernicious a Uſe, by exciting " Diſturbances in the Country, and a Revolt againſt the Nabob their Sovereign."

" It has occurred to me as a Queſtion which might naturally ariſe out of the Subject, Why the Begums ſhould have entertained ſo vehement a Hatred as that by which I have deſcribed them to have been actuated againſt the Engliſh Government and Nation? The Anſwer is obvious to thoſe who know the Hiſtory of our Connection with the Nabob of Oude. The Begums regarded us as the Oppreſſors of their Houſe, and the Uſurpers of its Inheritance; nor was their Reſentment confined to the Engliſh. The Nabob himſelf had his Share in it, for the Sacrifice which he had made of the Province of Benares againſt the united Oppoſition of his Family; and the Nabob Salar Jung, the Brother of Bhow Begum, avowed to me himſelf, that he had from that Time withheld himſelf from all Concern in the Nabob's Councils; and aſſigned that as the Reaſon for it. I am ſorry that I muſt in Truth add, that a Part of the Reſentment of the Begums was, as I had too much Reaſon to ſuſpect, directed to myſelf perſonally. The Incidents which gave riſe to it are too Light to be mixed with the profeſſed Subject and Occaſion of this Detail; and, as they want the Authenticity of recorded Evidence, I could lay no Claim to Credit in my Relation of them. At ſome Period I may be induced to offer them to the World, my ultimate and unerring Judges both of that and of every other Trait in my political Character.

" To excite the Feelings of Humanity againſt me, the latter Part of the Charge is ſwelled with a long Account of the Diſtreſſes and Miſeries to which the *Ladies*, as they are termed, of the Khôrd-Mahl were reduced for Want of even Food and Raiment. If I had not been too much accuſtomed to ſimilar Artifices in the Courſe of this Buſineſs, I ſhould have been totally at a Loſs to underſtand for what Purpoſe the Framer of the Charge ſhould introduce ſuch a Tale of Woe, when I had evidently no Concern either with the Sufferers, or the Cauſes of their Sufferings. But the Charge eſſentially relates to Begums in whoſe Complaints I certainly had a Concern. *Begums* are the Ladies of an Eaſtern Prince. But theſe Women are alſo ſtyled the *Ladies* of the late Vizier: their Sufferings are painted in ſtrong Colours; and the unſuſpecting Reader is led to mix the Subjects together, and to ſuppoſe that theſe too were *Princeſſes of Oude*, ſince the Title prefixed to this Article of the Charge propoſes that, and no other Subject: and that all their Sufferings proceeded from ſome Act of mine, or had the Sanction of my Authority or Permiſſion. The Fact is, that the Perſons of the Khôrd-Mahl (or Little Seraglio) were young Creatures picked up, wherever Youth and Beauty could be found, and moſtly purchaſed from the moſt neceſſitous and meaneſt Ranks of the People for the Nabob's Pleaſures. Few perhaps of theſe had the Honour of ſeeing his Perſon more than once; and they remained ever after the Priſoners of his Seraglio, barely ſubſiſted and clothed. The Sum allotted by the preſent Nabob for their Maintenance was Forty thouſand Rupees, payable by a ſeparate Aſſignment on the Revenue of the Diſtrict of Sultanpoor. It appears that, at the Time when theſe Complaints are ſtated to have exiſted, the Payments having been irregularly made, the Women were reduced to Diſtreſs: But, from the Correſpondence which paſſed on the Occaſion, and which is recorded on the Minutes of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, it will appear that the Governor-General and Council were not informed of this Diſtreſs until the Reſident had obtained its Removal by a Supply of Money advanced for the Purpoſe. In Truth, I knew nothing of the Matter; nor, if I had known it, could I, with any Shadow of Right, or even without a groſs Violation of common Decency, have made any Application to the Nabob on a Subject which was merely a Family Concern, and had no Relation to our Political Connection; though a Sentiment of Compaſſion would have induced me to write *privately*—certainly not *officially*—to the Reſident, and recommended to him to make Uſe of his perſonal Influence for the Relief of the Sufferers.

WARREN HASTINGS."

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Have you ſeen that Paper before?
A. I have.

Q. Who printed that Paper?
A. I do not recollect the Name of the Printer; he is a Perſon that lives in Fleet Street. It was printed by Directions from me to him.

Q. From whom did you receive the Directions that you tranſmitted to the Printer?
A. From Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Did you yourſelf circulate that Paper; or deliver it to any Member in the Lobby of the Houſe of Commons, or in the Houſe of Commons, upon the Day on which the Article of the Charge was opened reſpecting the Princeſſes of Oude; and, if you did, by whoſe Directions?
A. I think there were Fifty Copies of it printed, and of thoſe Fifty Copies, Six or Seven were given to the Members of the Houſe of Commons; I am not clear as to the Day; I rather think it was the Day before, not on the Day, as the Honourable Manager mentioned, of the Charge being opened. I think this was the Paper, and that I offered One of them to the Ho-

nourable Manager himſelf, upon my Converſation with him: But there were Two other Papers printed as well as this, to One of which my own Name was ſigned.

Q. You recollect that Six or Seven Copies of that Paper were delivered in the Lobby of the Houſe?

A. I did not deliver them in the Lobby, but they were delivered by me to ſome Gentlemen in the Houſe.

Q. Do you know of any other Copies of that Paper having been diſtributed in the Lobby of the Houſe of Commons, beſides theſe Six or Seven, which you yourſelf delivered to the Members?

A. Certainly not, for I believe the Remainder I now have in my own Poſſeſſion: I believe I have at this Moment the others.

Q. I think you ſaid One Copy of that Paper, if you recollected right, was offered to the Honourable Manager?

A. I ſtate, that I am not perfectly clear, becauſe there were Two other Papers printed, One of which is ſigned by myſelf; and I am not clear as to that Part, whether it was this or that I offered.

Q. Was it with the Conſent or by the Direction of Mr. Haſtings that theſe Six or Seven Copies, or any of them, were delivered to any Member of the Houſe of Commons?

A. It was Mr. Haſtings's Idea to have delivered, through me, thoſe Papers to ſuch Members of the Houſe of Commons as he thought wiſhed for Information upon the Second Charge; that is, the preſent Article; but there were not more than Six or Seven delivered, and I really do not recollect whether Mr. Haſtings himſelf expreſſed a Deſire or not to have them delivered to particular Members; I rather think he did not, and that Mr. Haſtings never ſaid any Thing more about them; that he did not limit me at all as to the Number, but left it to my Diſcretion.

Q. The Queſtion put to you was, Whether thoſe that were delivered, were delivered by his Direction, or his Conſent? You ſaid you underſtood it to be Mr. Haſtings's Idea they were ſo delivered; is that the Whole that you can recollect upon the Subject, or can you recollect whether it was by his expreſs Direction, or his expreſs Conſent, that they were delivered to ſuch Members of the Houſe of Commons?

A. I think it was his expreſs Deſire they ſhould be delivered to the Members of the Houſe of Commons, without expreſſing which of them.

Q. *(Croſs examined.)* The Paper that has now been produced has been opened as a Contradiction to that Paper which was delivered in by Mr. Haſtings at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons as his Defence. I would addreſs a Queſtion or Two to the Witneſs reſpecting the Circumſtances under which that Defence was formed; and I wiſh to aſk, within what Time that Defence, delivered at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Haſtings himſelf, was compoſed?

A. It will be ſeen exactly from the Journals; I think Six Days, I am not clear whether Five or Six Days; I mean, from the Time that I preſented the Petition to the Houſe of Commons upon the Behalf of Mr. Haſtings praying to be heard, to the Time that the Defence was read at the Bar of the Houſe; and until the Commons gave their Conſent to Mr. Haſtings's being heard, not a Line of that Defence, I am clear, was written.

Q. Whether you mean, in the Account you have been giving, to ſpeak of the Whole of the Defence, that is, the Paper intituled, The Defence, or of that Part only of the Defence, which is confined to this Article only?

A. I mean the Whole of the Defence, except the Anſwer to the Article intituled Fyzoola Khan: The Whole, except that; and that Article was not preſented to the Houſe at the Time this laſt Defence was put in; nor till after Mr. Haſting. had had Permiſſion to come to the Bar, or had been at the Bar, I am not clear which.

Q. By whom was that Paper compoſed?

The Managers for the Commons objected to this Queſtion, as tending to diſcredit a Defence delivered in by the Defendant himſelf to the ſaid Article upon the Charge before the Houſe of Commons, and were heard in Support of the ſaid Objection.

The Counſel for the Defendant were heard in Anſwer to the ſame.

After which, the Managers for the Commons, proteſting that the Counſel for the Defendant had no Right to put the ſaid Queſtion, ſaid, they waved their Objection.

Then the Queſtion was read by the Clerk as follows;

Q. By whom was that Paper compoſed?

A. The ſecond Article, intituled, Benares, was written by Mr. Halhed. The Introduction to the general Defence, and the Anſwer to the Article intituled, The Rohilla War, and to the Article intituled,

intituled, The King's Tribute, were written intirely by Mr. Haſtings: And the Reaſons which Mr. Haſtings aſſigned to me, for taking intirely upon himſelf to anſwer that Article, intituled, The Rohilla War, was, that he underſtood from me, that in the preceding Debates in the Houſe of Commons upon the Subject of the Article of the Rohilla War, it had invariably been ſtated as the moſt important of the Whole; another Reaſon that Mr. Haſtings aſſigned for taking upon himſelf the Anſwer to that Article was, that he believed it was a Subject very little underſtood in England. As to the other Articles, if the Queſtion goes to them, I believe I can ſtate, that the Anſwer to the Article intituled, Revenue, was principally written by Mr. Shore. The Anſwer to the Article intituled, Contracts, was written by myſelf; and the Anſwers to the other Articles were written by different Gentlemen with whom Mr. Haſtings was connected.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* I wiſh, for the Sake of the Regularity of the whole Proceedings, to know whether the Witneſs is ſpeaking from his own Knowledge, when he ſpeaks of Parts being compoſed by other Perſons?

A. I certainly do: I ſpeak from my own certain Knowledge: The Article, intituled, Benares, which was written by Mr. Halhed, was delivered by that Gentleman to me, and carried to Mr. Haſtings, I think the Day preceding Mr. Haſtings's Appearance before the Houſe of Commons. I read it to Mr. Haſtings haſtily in the Preſence of another Gentleman. I do not recollect that Mr. Haſtings made any Alterations. I carried it back again to Mr. Halhed, who employed a Perſon to copy it; he ſat up the whole Night in order to finiſh it in Time: Several Alterations were made in Mr. Halhed's Hand Writing, which Mr. Haſtings never ſaw. Thoſe Alterations will appear in the Original Minutes, which, I believe, are now before your Lordſhips: I mean, the Original Minutes that were delivered in to the Houſe of Commons. They were in a different Hand Writing; they were in the Hand Writing of Mr. Halhed; and I can ſpeak with Certainty, that Mr. Haſtings did not ſee them, or hear them read, until the Defence was read at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons.

Q. Whether you can ſpecify the particular Alterations from Memory, that were made in that Copy, after it was read by you to Mr. Haſtings?

Here the Defence delivered in *Die Lunæ, 25° Februarij* *, was ſhewn to the Witneſs, who proceeded as follows: * Vide ſupra, Page 17.

A. The Firſt Paſſage is in the Thirteenth (*a*) Page of the Manuſcript Copy:

" † But why did the Vizier exact 200,000 *l.* on the Death of Bulwant Sing? Aſſuredly becauſe, as Sovereign of the whole Country, he poſſeſſed and exerciſed the Right of levying Fines, and that to an arbitrary Amount, as appears by the Second Report of the Select Committee. I know not how we can deny the Exiſtence of many deſpotic Principles in the Mogul Syſtem of Government; but wherever thoſe exiſt, the Powers of the Prince will be every Thing, and the Rights of the Subject nothing. Shujah ud Dowlah fined Cheyt Sing 200,000 *l.* and 30,000 *l.* per Annum, which, at only Ten Years Purchaſe, is 300,000 *l.*—in all 500,000 *l.* for the mere Inveſtiture of what in the Charge is ſtated to be his Right of Inheritance. I, who was veſted by my Station with exactly the ſame Powers as were exerciſed by Shujah ud Dowlah, never thought of a greater Fine as a Puniſhment for the moſt flagrant Offences (*b*)." † See Original MS. P. 169.

This, is in the Hand Writing of Mr. Halhed, and was certainly inſerted after Mr. Haſtings ſaw it.

Q. Was it inſerted by Mr. Halhed?
A. By Mr. Halhed.

Q. Do you mean, Mr. Haſtings never ſaw it before it was preſented to the Houſe of Commons?
A. He never ſaw it before it was preſented to the Houſe of Commons.

There is a Second Addition in Page 22 of the MS.: ‖ " No Sunnuds ever were ſent to the Court of Directors, nor any Papers in the original Language (*c*)." It will appear by the Difference of the Hand Writing. ‖ MS. P. 178.

The next, is in Page 24 of the Manuſcript: The Words are, ‡ " And for that Purpoſe he might have had, and had, at all Times, free Acceſs to my Houſe and Apartment (*d*);" ſpeaking, of the Vackeel of Cheit Sing. ‡ MS. P. 180.

(*a*) N. B. The Numbers at the Top of the MS. Copy, referred to by the Witneſs, are not regularly carried on, being ſometimes the Number of the Sheet, ſometimes of the Page, intended only for the Anſwer to the Third Article of Charge preſented to the Houſe of Commons, intituled, Benares, and in ſome Places there is no Number at all. But a running Page is preſerved at the Bottom through the whole Defence, to which it has been thought proper that References ſhould be added here for greater Convenience in examining the Original. Theſe References are made from the *Beginning* of each Citation, and at the *End* is inſerted a Direction where the Paſſage may be found, above, in the Defence to this Charge already printed in the Minutes of Evidence taken *Die Lunæ*, 25° *Februarii* 1788.

(*b*) Vide ſupra, P. 23, Line 29. (*d*) Vide ſupra, P. 25, Line 11.

(*c*) Vide ſupra, Page 24, Line 9 from the Bottom.

‡ MS. P. 186. In the next Paſſage there is no Mark for the Page at the Top; but the Words are, ‡ "He who had demanded 25 Lacs for the meer Fine of Succeſſion, and received 20 in Hand, and an increaſed Rent tantamount to conſiderably above 30 Lacs more (*c*)."

‖ MS. Ibid. There is another Addition in the ſame Page: The Words are, ‖ "And as I was juſtified in by the Intentions of my Predeceſſors (*d*)."

¶ MS. P. 189. The next Addition is marked at the Top "Page 9," and there the Words ¶ "Plan itſelf of the Fine (*e*)," were inſerted.

** MS. P. 193. The next Paſſage is in Page 10. ** "Shujah ud Dowlah levied a Fine on the Death of the Father for inveſting the Son. Here then we have a Second Right made over, with the other Appendages of Sovereignty, to the Company. Had not our powerful Interpoſition prevented the Conſequences of Bulwant Sing's Treachery to his Maſter in 1764, Shujah ud Dowlah would probably have exerted with ſignal Rigour, a Third Right of fining, and have furniſhed me with a Precedent full in Point to my Treatment of Cheyt Sing. The Inference therefore is, that the Right of fining was general; perhaps arbitrary: but for that I am not reſponſible. It is a Defect woven in the Texture of the Mogul Syſtem. It will, no doubt, be moſt happy for the Inhabitants of Aſia, when the deſpotic Inſtitutes of Jengheez Khaun or Tamerlane, ſhall give Place to the liberal Spirit of a Britiſh Legiſlature; and I ſhall be amply ſatisfied in my preſent Proſecution, if it ſhall tend to haſten the Approach of an Event ſo beneficial to the great Intereſts of Mankind (*f*)."

†† MS. P. 195. The next Inſertion, is only of the Four following Words, "†† Barbarous Maſſacre of my." (*g*)

‡‡ MS. P. 198. The next Addition is as follows, "‡‡ To have me rather than the Company for its Object, at leaſt (*h*)."

§§ MS. P. 201. In Page 12 there is a further Addition, of the following Paſſage: "§§ I much fear that the boaſted Sovereignty of Benares, which was held up as an Acquiſition almoſt obtruded upon the Company againſt my Conſent and Opinion (for I acknowledge that even then I foreſaw many Difficulties and Inconveniencies in its future Exerciſe:) I fear, I ſay, that this Sovereignty will be found a Burthen inſtead of a Benefit; a heavy Clog rather than a precious Gem to its preſent Poſſeſſors. I mean, unleſs the Whole of our Territory in that Quarter ſhall be rounded and made an uniform compact Body, by One grand and ſyſtematic Arrangement, ſuch an Arrangement as ſhall do away all the Miſchiefs, Doubts, and Inconveniencies (both to the Governors and the Governed) ariſing from the Variety of Tenures, Rights, and Claims in all Caſes of Landed Property and Feudal Juriſdiction in India, from the Informality, Invalidity, and Inſtability of all Engagements in ſo divided and unſettled a State of Society; and from the unavoidable Anarchy and Confuſion of different Laws, Religions, and Prejudices, moral, civil, and political, all jumbled together in One unnatural and diſcordant Maſs. Every Part of Hindoſtan has been conſtantly expoſed to theſe and ſimilar Diſadvantages ever ſince the Mahommedan Conqueſts.

"The Hindoos, who never incorporated with their Conquerors, were kept in order only by the ſtrong Hand of Power. The conſtant Neceſſity of ſimilar Exertions would increaſe at once their Energy and Extent, ſo that Rebellion itſelf is the Parent and Promoter of Deſpotiſm.

"Sovereignty in India implies nothing elſe: For I know not how we can form an Eſtimate of its Powers but from its viſible Effects—and thoſe are every where the ſame from Cabool to Aſſam. The whole Hiſtory of Aſia is nothing more than Precedents to prove the invariable Exerciſe of arbitrary Power. To all this I ſtrongly alluded in the Minutes I delivered in Council, when the Treaty with the New Vizier was on foot in 1775; and I wiſhed to make Cheyt Sing Independant, becauſe in India Dependance included a Thouſand Evils; many of which I enumerated at that Time, and they are entered in the Ninth Clauſe of the Firſt Section of this Charge. I knew the Powers with which an Indian Sovereignty is armed, and the Dangers to which Tributaries are expoſed. I knew that from the Hiſtory of Aſia, and from the very Nature of Mankind, the Subjects of a deſpotic Empire are always vigilant for the Moment to rebel, and the Sovereign is ever jealous of rebellious Intentions. A Zemindar is an Indian Subject, and, as ſuch, expoſed to the common Lot of his Fellows: "The mean and depraved State of a mere Zemindar," is therefore this very Dependance above mentioned on a deſpotic Government—this very Proneneſs to ſhake off his Allegiance, and this very Expoſure to continual Danger from his Sovereign's Jealouſy, which are conſequent on the political State of Hindoſtanic Governments. Bulwant Sing, if he had been, and Cheyt Sing, as long as he was, a Zemindar, ſtood exactly in this "mean and depraved State," by the Conſtitution of his Country. I did not make it for him, but would have ſecured him from it. Thoſe who made him a Zemindar entailed upon him the Conſequences of ſo mean and depraved a Tenure. Ally Verdy Khaun and Coſſim Ally fined all their Zemindars, on the Neceſſities of War, and on every Pretence either of Court Neceſſity or Court Extravagance (*i*)."

† MS. P. 207. There is no Page marked at the Top of the next Paſſage; but the Words added are, "† nominated and appointed by the Company (*k*)."

(*c*) Vide ſupra, P. 26, Line 4.
(*d*) Vide ſupra, P. 26, Line 13.
(*e*) Vide ſupra, P. 26, Line 15 of PART IIId.
(*f*) Vide ſupra, P. 27, Line 9.
(*g*) Vide ſupra, P. 27, Line 23 from the Bottom.
(*h*) Vide ſupra, P. 28, Line 2.
(*i*) Vide ſupra, P. 28, L. 37.
(*k*) Vide ſupra, P. 29, L. 19, of PART IVth and Vth.

Q. We wiſh it to be diſtinctly underſtood, when the Witneſs is reading theſe Alterations, which of the Alterations made upon Mr. Haſtings's Copy are thoſe that he ſaw and approved of, and which are the Alterations ſtated by the Witneſs as never having been ſeen at all by Mr. Haſtings?

A. I will ſtate it preciſely as it ſtands: The Anſwer to the Benares Charge was written by Mr. Halhed. Mr. Haſtings wrote the Anſwer to the Rohilla Charge; and gave for his Reaſon, That not being very well underſtood in England, it was of the moſt Importance, and therefore he took upon himſelf to give a full Anſwer to that Article. Of courſe, as there were but Five or Six Days to prepare his Anſwer to the Whole, and I think there were Twenty-one or Twenty-two Charges in all, it muſt have been done by different Gentlemen of his Acquaintance. I had drawn up a very ſhort Anſwer to the Article entitled, "Benares": I ſhewed this (not by any Direction of Mr. Haſtings), but I ſhewed this myſelf to Mr. Halhed, whoſe Abilities and Knowledge of the Country were ſuperior to my own: He told me he would anſwer to that Article; and when he had finiſhed it, he gave it to me, and I carried it to Mr. Haſtings, as it ſtands, without the Alterations that I have read to your Lordſhips. I ſhall continue to ſtate, till I come to the End of them, the ſeveral Alterations. I ſtated Mr. Haſtings never having ſeen, nor ever having heard them read, till he came to deliver them to the Houſe of Commons.

Q. How do you know Mr. Haſtings never ſaw them, nor heard them read, before he delivered them to the Houſe?

A. Becauſe when I carried the firſt Draught from Mr. Halhed to Mr. Haſtings, the Day preceding that upon which the Anſwers were read at the Bar of the Houſe, after reading it to Mr. Haſtings, I myſelf carried it back to Mr. Halhed; Mr. Halhed employed a Perſon to ſit up the greater Part of the Night, if not the whole Night, to copy it; and Mr. Halhed himſelf told me, that he had made many conſiderable Additions to it, as it was originally read to Mr. Haſtings. The Additions are thoſe which I have read to your Lordſhips, and appear in Mr. Halhed's own Hand Writing.

Q. What became of the Paper after that Time; was it never carried to Mr. Haſtings again?

A. It was finiſhed ſo late, he had hardly Time to get to the Houſe of Commons with it; there were near Twenty-one or Twenty-two Articles.

Q. Who delivered the Paper to the Houſe of Commons?
A. Mr. Haſtings himſelf.

Q. How long after it was returned to him?
A. I believe not more than an Hour, and I can ſpeak poſitively to Mr. Haſtings not having ſeen it.

Q. (*from the Counſel.*) Was Mr. Haſtings with you during that Hour?
A. I was with him the Whole of that Hour.

Q. Muſt you have ſeen Mr. Haſtings peruſe it, if he had peruſed it?
A. I certainly muſt.

Q. Was Mr. Haſtings limited in point of Time for delivering that Anſwer?
A. I really cannot exactly ſpeak: I believe the Journals will ſhew that. Whether Mr. Haſtings's Petition ſtated a particular Day, or whether the Houſe appointed a particular Day, or aſked how many Days he would want, I don't recollect: I rather think I was aſked how many Days Mr. Haſtings would require.

Q. (*from the Managers.*) Whether you mean to ſay poſitively, that Mr. Haſtings read, as Part of his Defence at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, ſomething which he had not previouſly read himſelf?

A. In ſo far as theſe Inſertions are made in this Manuſcript, he certainly did.

Q. This was read at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Haſtings?
A. It was read by a Gentleman on the Part of Mr. Haſtings.

Q. (*from a Manager.*) Am I to underſtand the Witneſs to ſay, that Mr. Haſtings read in his Defence at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, Facts, concerning the Truth of which, and Arguments, concerning the Juſtice of which, he knew nothing at all?

A. I think the Honourable Manager aſks me to a Fact that, in another Place, I believe I ſtated preciſely ſo.

Q. Are there any other Paſſages than thoſe you have now mentioned, that were added?

The Managers obſerved, that the Witneſs had not anſwered the Queſtion.

A. I think I have gone through the Paper completely: I don't ſee any other Additions.

Q. You ſhould anſwer the Queſtion now put; that is to ſay, Whether upon the Matter you have now delivered, Mr. Haſtings did or did not read, as a Part of his Defence in the Houſe of Commons, Facts of which he knew nothing, and Arguments, the Juſtice of which he had not conſidered?

A. I

A. I would wiſh to ſtate to your Lordſhips, that in ſo far as there are any Paſſages here which I have read, he certainly did; and if I may be permitted to ſtate my Information, as far as I myſelf am concerned, I beg your Lordſhips' Indulgence to do it:—In the Courſe of the Debates preceding the preſent Impeachment, ſome Streſs was laid by the Honourable Manager on a certain Paſſage of one of theſe Anſwers. I did in my Place myſelf ſtate, that I might perhaps prove Mr. Haſtings guilty of ſome Diſreſpect, when I ſtated to the Houſe of Commons a Fact, which would certainly exonerate him from every Purpoſe of Miſrepreſentation; namely, that the Paſſage which was ſo animadverted upon in the Houſe of Commons was not written by Mr. Haſtings, but written by me.

Q. The preſent Queſtion is, whether the Alterations you have read do not contain both Facts and Arguments which were inſerted after Mr. Haſtings ſaw the Paper?

A. I think they certainly do, both Facts and Arguments.

Q. Whether when Mr. Haſtings ſaw thoſe Paſſages afterwards, he expreſſed any particular Diſapprobation of them?

A. I can ſay poſitively that Mr. Haſtings did.

Q. Was there any Petition from Mr. Haſtings to the Houſe of Commons, or otherwiſe, to give him more Time for his Defence—Any Application from Mr. Haſtings for a later Day?

A. Mr. Haſtings did not make any Application; but I believe I can ſtate to your Lordſhips the Reaſon why no Application was made for a longer Time. A very few Days after the Original Charges, which were brought againſt Mr. Haſtings, were delivered to the Houſe of Commons, they were reprinted, and publickly ſold, I believe, throughout the Kingdom: As Mr. Haſtings conceived that thoſe Charges contained many Aſſertions which were likely to injure him in the publick Opinion, he certainly was very eager to produce a Reply to them; and upon the Opinion of his Friends that the Rohilla War was the moſt important, Mr. Haſtings certainly, to my Knowledge, was not ſo anxious as to the Mode adopted in anſwering the others; it being ſuppoſed the main Streſs of the Queſtion would turn upon the Rohilla War.

Q. The Queſtion propoſed to you was, Whether Mr. Haſtings, by Petition or otherwiſe, applied to the Houſe of Commons for a longer Time to put in his Defence?

A. He did not. I meant to give that as a Reaſon why I thought he did not.

Q. I wiſh the Witneſs to be aſked, whether, when Mr. Haſtings expreſſed his Diſapprobation at the Interpolation of the Paſſages alluded to, he did not know that theſe Paſſages ſtood upon the Journals of the Houſe of Commons as Part of his Defence?

A. I think he certainly did—moſt undoubtedly.

Q. Did he take any Meaſure to have thoſe Parts he objected to, retracted?

A. No.

Q. All the Paſſages which the Witneſs alludes to, I am to underſtand, were either read by Mr. Haſtings, or in his Preſence, at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons?

A. They were.

Q. Did not Mr. Haſtings, ſubſequent to the reading them himſelf, or having heard them read, deſire them to be entered upon the Journals, as his Defence?

A. Not that I recollect. Mr. Haſtings ſaid this, I believe: I deſire to have them read, and I wiſh to have them made as public as poſſible, undoubtedly.

Q. The Queſtion is, whether Mr. Haſtings deſired to have them put upon the Journals of the Houſe of Commons?

A. Not that I recollect in thoſe Terms: I think it is very probable. I moved to have them printed.

Q. It is in Evidence that he did, and that he did it, not upon the Day upon which he heard it read, but upon the Day after?

A. It took two Days to read the various Anſwers; they were not all done in one Day.

The Managers for the Commons were aſked, Whether the Defence would not have been put upon the Journals of courſe, if the Defendant had not deſired it?

The Managers for the Commons anſwered, That was a Queſtion they would rather decline anſwering.

Q. *(by a Lord.)* I underſtand the Witneſs to ſay, when this Paper was carried to Mr. Haſtings, he had it for One Hour; and I underſtood the Witneſs to ſay, he carried it to him. Now I wiſh to aſk the Witneſs, when he carried this Paper the ſecond Time after thoſe Alterations were made by Mr. Halhed, whether the Witneſs did or did not inform Mr. Haſtings that any ſuch Alterations had been made, or that any Alterations had been made?

A. I certainly did not; and I would wiſh to repeat to your Lordſhips, that he did lay the whole Streſs of the Buſineſs upon the Rohilla War at the Time.

Q. You did not write any Part of that?

A. I did not. I certainly did not; and that was the Reaſon why I was careleſs about it.

Q. Was you, or not, with Mr. Halhed when he ſat up all Night?
A. I believe I ſtated, or meant to ſtate, when Mr. Halhed came to me the Morning of the Day when thoſe Anſwers were read at the Bar of the Houſe, Mr. Halhed told me he had ſat up all Night, or the greateſt Part of the Night, with a Writer, a Stationer, to copy the Paper now produced before your Lordſhips, and that he had added in his own Hand the Paſſages I have mentioned.

Q. The material Queſtion is—What Inſtructions had Mr. Halhed, and from whom, to make thoſe Alterations?
A. No Inſtructions of any Kind.

Q. How do you know he had no Inſtructions, as you were not preſent?
A. To that Fact I can certainly ſpeak no farther than from my own Knowledge—I neither know nor believe he had any Inſtructions.

Q. That is, you do not know of his having any Inſtructions?
A. I do not know of any—I know that Mr. Haſtings was himſelf very buſily employed at the Time, and did confide in Mr. Halhed to anſwer the Benares Charge.

Q. Whether Mr. Haſtings, to your Knowledge, ever ſaw that Defence after its being read in the Houſe of Commons, and prior to its being printed?
A. I believe he did; I think Mr. Haſtings and I went together to Mr. Benſon's Room, where we ſaw the Papers; there were either Twenty-one or Twenty-two Charges, and they muſt have been ſeen with the others; but we were not there Time enough to make any Alterations, nor ſhould I ſuppoſe it was in Mr. Haſtings's Power to make any Alterations in any Papers that had been given in.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings, at the Time when the Witneſs ſays he went with him to Mr. Benſon's, expreſs any Wiſh to alter any Part of the Defence, if it had been in his Power?
A. I recollect perfectly well, Mr. Haſtings's ſtating that there were Parts which he did not like, and mentioning Parts of the Benares Article which he did not like; and a particular Expreſſion in another Article which he ſaid he did not like. The particular Expreſſion in that other Article, which he ſaid had hurt him very much, was "an unfortunate Miniſter."

Q. Do you recollect any other Objection Mr. Haſtings made at that Time?
A. No: Mr. Haſtings ſaid generally, there were other Parts he did not like, without ſpecifying what thoſe other Parts were.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings expreſs any Wiſh that any Application ſhould be made to the Houſe to have any Part altered?
A. None that I know of.

Q. Whether you had heard the Alterations made by Mr. Halhed antecedent to your delivering it back to Mr. Haſtings, and its being read in the Houſe of Commons?
A. I did not; but I am not poſitive: I am not clear whether Mr. Halhed himſelf did not read One of thoſe long Notes to me; I rather think he did; and I had taken upon myſelf to anſwer, I think, Three or Four of the Articles, and mine were not ready till juſt before I went down to Mr. Haſtings.

Q. *(from a Lord)*. Whether, when that particular Alteration was read in the Houſe of Commons, in which Alteration there is a very particular and pointed Reference to what Mr. Haſtings himſelf had done upon a former Occaſion, (I cannot recollect the Words), where he ſays, it was to thoſe Principles that I alluded in the Minute that I gave in; whether Mr. Haſtings did at that Time, or at any ſubſequent Time, expreſs a Diſapprobation of that, as having imputed to him Alluſions and Principles, that is, Alluſions which he did not make, and Principles which he did not avow; do you remember that Alteration which the Paſſage refers to? Do you remember the Paſſage?
A. I do.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings obſerve upon that Paſſage, that he was diſſatisfied with having been underſtood to make Alluſions which he did not make, and to aſſert Principles which he did not avow?
A. No. I think his Expreſſion was, "There were Parts of the Benares Anſwer which I do not like;" I think that was the only Obſervation; I think ſo, I am not clear. Mr. Haſtings has ſince mentioned one particular Part very lately.

Q. *(from a Lord)*. The Witneſs has told your Lordſhips that the different Anſwers to the different Charges were prepared by ſeveral of Mr. Haſtings's Friends; the Queſtion I wiſh to aſk is, Whether ſuch Anſwers were prepared intirely from what ſuggeſted itſelf to their Imagination, or from Materials and Inſtructions furniſhed by Mr. Haſtings?
A. By no Inſtructions furniſhed by him, to my Knowledge; and, I think, I muſt have known of them, if there had been any.

Q. Whether, when you applied by Petition for Mr. Haſtings to be heard in the Houſe of Commons, you yourſelf did not name the Day upon which you wiſhed Mr. Haſtings to be heard?

 A. I

A. I think I ſtated the Day; I believe the Journals will ſhew it: I do not know that I did; but I think I did.

Q. Whether Mr. Haſtings, or, to your Knowledge, ſome Friends for him, have not ſent out to India a conſiderable Number of Copies of the printed Defence of Mr. Haſtings, put into the Houſe of Commons as his Juſtification?

A. Not to my Knowledge. I have ſent out a great Number of Papers; an Account of every Thing that has ariſen for and againſt Mr. Haſtings, but not with the View the Honourable Gentleman mentioned.

Q. But, with or without that View, have any of thoſe Copies been ſent out with the Knowledge, or by the Directions of Mr. Haſtings?

A. Not by the Directions of Mr. Haſtings.

Q. But with his Knowledge?

A. Not with his Knowledge. I deſire not to confine it to one Side of the Queſtion; I have ſent out ſeveral Copies of every Thing.

Q. But by his Directions?

A. Certainly not.

Q. Mr. Halhed and Mr. Shore, you ſaid, had a conſiderable Share in compoſing this Defence; where are thoſe Gentlemen now?

A. Mr. Shore is a Member of the Supreme Council of Bengal at Calcutta; Mr. Halhed is gone abroad in Conſequence of the Death of his Father-in-law, and Mr. Haſtings has written to him, requeſting him to be here in the Courſe of this Trial, as he ſhall want him as a Witneſs, which he has promiſed to be.

Q. What other Perſon to your Knowledge had ſeen the Paper, called, The Defence, before its being read in the Houſe of Commons.

A. I really cannot ſtate any Gentleman, to my Knowledge, who has ſeen the Whole; but I can ſtate thoſe who have written Parts of it.

Q. Who are they?

A. Mr. David Anderſon.

Q. What Part did he write?

A. Mr. Anderſon wrote the Anſwer to the Charge, intituled, The Ranna of Gohud, which, I believe, is not before the Houſe.

Q. Any other Perſon?

A. Mr. Baber.

Q. Any other Perſon?

A. Mr. Markham.

Q. Any other Perſon?

A. Mr. Middleton. I do not immediately recollect any other Perſon; but there certainly muſt have been others.

Q. Do you recollect any Member of the Houſe of Commons?

A. No. I do not: And I think I can take upon myſelf to ſay, no Member of the Houſe of Commons, or any other Gentleman, except myſelf, ſaw the Anſwer to the Article of Benares.

Q. I mean any Part of the Defence at all?

A. No, I do not know.

Q. Do you know whether any Member of the other Houſe of Parliament ſaw any Part of his Defence?

A. I believe not.

Q. You do not know that any Member of the other Houſe of Parliament ſaw any Part of his Defence?

A. I do not take upon myſelf to ſpeak poſitively: I am not certain by any Means.

Q. I wiſh the Witneſs to ſpeak poſitively, whether he does not know ſome Members of the Houſe of Lords ſaw that Defence?

A. I do not, nor do I believe they did: I think it exceedingly probable ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, being very well acquainted with Mr. Haſtings, might have ſeen it.

Q. Whether the Paper delivered in, called "The Second Defence of Mr. Haſtings," was compoſed by Mr. Haſtings in the Whole, or in Part, or by any other Perſon, and by whom?

A. I believe there was One Paragraph that I wrote, but I really cannot be poſitive which it was.

Q. I wiſh the Witneſs to point out that Paragraph, if he can, by looking at the Paper. I would wiſh to know the Diſtance of Time between preferring the Charge and the Defence, properly called, the Defence in the Houſe of Commons, and the Time of circulating the Second Paper?

A. I

A. I fancy Nine or Ten Months; it was in the following Seſſion. The Original Charges were delivered in One Seſſion, and this Paper was given in by him ſome Day, in the Month of February, in the following Seſſion, which muſt have been Nine or Ten Months after.

Q. Whether the Witneſs conſiders that Defence alſo to have been written in a Hurry, without due Preparation and Deliberation?

A. It was certainly written in a great Hurry, becauſe, I believe, Mr. Haſtings had no Idea of writing till Ten or Eleven o'Clock in the Morning, and it was finiſhed by Four or Five o'Clock in the Evening of the following Day, and carried by me to the Printer.

Q. Whether the Witneſs means to diſtinguiſh any Paſſages in this Defence, which, upon the Ground of Hurry, they mean to object to as Evidence?

A. It is impoſſible for me to diſtinguiſh what they mean to object to as Evidence.

Q. Are there any particular Paſſages in this Defence which were wrote in a Hurry, which you think leſs worthy the Attention of the Houſe?

A. It would be Preſumption in me to anſwer that Queſtion.

Q. *(from a Manager.)* Are there any particular Paſſages more remarkable than the reſt, which you think the Effect of Hurry?

A. I have not read that Paper for a Year and a Half, and I don't think I could recollect a Word of it now; there is one Paragraph written by myſelf, and I proteſt I don't think I could find it out.

Q. How came you to be able, ſo accurately, to diſtinguiſh a Part written by yourſelf in the Firſt Defence, and to have no Recollection of that which was written by yourſelf in the Second?

A. I think I have ſtated, that in the Firſt Defence I took upon myſelf One intire Article, and anſwered it; and it was natural that ſome Impreſſions might have been upon my Memory of it: But with reſpect to the others, I do not know where to find them; ſubſequent to that Period I paid no Attention to them. The Moment I ſaw Mr. Haſtings's Name at the Bottom, I perfectly recollected it was a Paper I had written.

Q. *(from a Manager.)* Whether you have any Recollection that the Paſſage I ſhall now read was written by Mr. Haſtings, or by any other Perſon; viz.

"Preface to the Fourth Charge.

"Before I proceed to reply to the Charges reſpecting my Conduct to the Begums, and on the Affairs of Oude, I muſt obſerve, that they contain Particulars of which I was ignorant until I read them in the Charges; I am therefore very much indebted to the Aſſiſtance of Mr. Middleton, and to the Information of Gentlemen who were in Oude when the Tranſaction alluded to happened. By their Aids I have been enabled to reply fully to theſe Charges; and every Aſſertion in my Reply is capable of Proof either by Documents now before this Honourable Houſe, or by Evidence ready to be produced at its Bar."

A. I will not ſpeak poſitively—I cannot pretend to ſay directly—but I believe that was written by myſelf, by Mr. Haſtings's particular Directions. If your Lordſhips will give me leave I will ſtate the Fact: When Mr. Haſtings read over the Article intitled, The Begums of Oude, he told me there were many Particulars which he had not read, and particularly that Story about the Khourd Mahal. I applied to Mr. Middleton from Mr. Haſtings, and got from him the Materials, upon which the Anſwer to that Article was drawn up: and I believe Two or Three Writers in my Houſe copied that with the Corrections I had put to it as it came from Mr. Middleton, and I carried it to Mr. Haſtings afterwards.

Q. Then Mr. Haſtings, as we underſtand, ſaw the general Defence of that Article of Oude before it was read to the Houſe. When did Mr. Haſtings firſt of all ſee that Anſwer ſo formed by you?

A. I think either One or Two Days before it was delivered in.

Q. Then, was it not after Mr. Haſtings ſaw the general Article, that he directed you to prepare this Introduction?

A. The Article of the Defence or Charge?

Q. The Article of the Defence. Was it after Mr. Haſtings had ſeen the general Article of Defence, that he directed you to prepare this Introduction?

A. I cannot ſpeak poſitively, but I think it muſt have been afterwards.

Q. Then, Mr. Haſtings ſaw the Defence after it was finiſhed by Mr. Middleton?

A. I think I read it to him myſelf.

Q. That was before this Introduction was written?

A. I think ſo.

Q. He then directed you to inſert in this Introduction, "that by theſe Aids I have been enabled to reply fully to theſe Charges; and every Aſſertion in my Reply is capable of Proof." Was that the Inſertion you were directed to make, after Mr. Haſtings had ſeen the Article ſo drawn?

A. Certainly

A. Certainly not the Paſſage as it has been read, but it was left to me to draw it up.

Q. What were the Inſtructions of Mr. Haſtings?

A. The Inſtructions of Mr. Haſtings were, that as the Articles intitled "Begums," "Bulbudder Sing," and "Farrackabad," contain many Particulars that I don't know, he ſaid, I think it right to ſay, I am indebted to others for the Account I have given.

Q. Was that the Whole of your Inſtructions, according to your Memory?

A. According to my Recollection, it was.

Q. Did you not read the Introduction to Mr. Haſtings, after you had drawn it up?

A. I think I did—I have no Doubt of it.

Q. After the Time of your having read that Introduction to Mr. Haſtings, do you recollect whether he added any Thing to the Defence?

A. There is a particular Paſſage, which I am clear muſt have been added by Mr. Haſtings. The Paſſage I was going to read to your Lordſhips was added by Mr. Haſtings: "I have conducted the Narration of the preceding Detail to its Cloſe, without chuſing to interrupt it, or to diſturb the Attention of my Honourable Hearers, by the concluding Obſervation which I now think it neceſſary to make upon it—becauſe I held the whole Series of the Acts thus connected ſtrictly reconcileable to Juſtice, Honour, and good Policy, whoever were the Parties concerned in them; but I muſt at the ſame Time affirm, that theſe Acts, whether right or wrong, are not mine, though originating from me, in my Conſent yielded to the Nabob, at his ſpecial Inſtance, that he ſhould reclaim the Treaſures kept back from him by his Mother, and the Jagheers from all the Jagheerdars; and from my ſubſequent Claim, which I avow to have been moſt peremptory, that my Conſent to a Meaſure liable to ſuch a Variety of Conſtructions, ſhould not be perverted to an Inſtrument of private Compromiſe, or the Conſiſtency of my Character forfeited by its being withdrawn, after ſuch rigorous and public Denunciations of it. My laſt Orders therefore for its Execution * is all that I am anſwerable for: The Reſt depended upon the Inſtruments which were employed in it, and ſo little on myſelf, that I was ignorant of the whole Mode of its Execution till it was done, and ſo far as I am concerned in it, the whole Board were equally concerned and unanimous." That, I can take upon myſelf to ſay, was added by Mr. Haſtings himſelf, after I had read the other Part.

* Sic in Orig.

Q. Was it added after you read the Whole of the Introduction, as well as the reſt?

A. Yes. I beg Leave to correct myſelf: I cannot ſpeak as to whether after the Introduction.

Q. After this Clauſe was added by Mr. Haſtings in this Defence, were any further Additions or Alterations made?

A. I believe not: Not that I know of.

Q. Whether you know at what Time the general Introduction to the Whole of the Defence was written?

A. The general Introduction was written by Mr. Haſtings, I think, Two Days after the Commons had permitted him to be heard; and, I think, the remaining Three Days were employed by Mr. Haſtings in anſwering the Rohilla War, and the Article intitled, The King's Tribute: Mr. Haſtings aſſigning as a Reaſon why he anſwered the Article intitled, The King's Tribute, that there was an Allegation in that Article, that the Eaſt India Company, by not paying Twenty-ſix Lacks to the King, had forfeited all their Right to the Poſſeſſion of India; which ſeemed to him a very extraordinary Allegation; and he meant to defend them.

Q. Then upon the main Queſtion you ſay, that the general Introduction was written by Mr. Haſtings Two Days after Leave had been given him to make his Defence before the Houſe of Commons; and Six Days were given him for that Purpoſe?

A. I think ſo; I think it was Two Days afterwards; I was buſily employed myſelf in the Part I had to do.

Q. As near as you can recollect?

A. Yes.

Q. Whether you recollect that in the Preface to the Defence, an Alluſion is made to the laſt Article of the Charge?

A. I rather think the Honourable Manager muſt have been miſtaken, that is, with reſpect to Fyzoola Khan: There is with reſpect to ſome Anſwers; I don't know them all: But that was given in ſubſequent to the Time Mr. Haſtings deſired to be heard. Mr. Haſtings had but a ſhort Time to anſwer the Charge reſpecting Fyzoola Khan; he had ſome Time to prepare that Article, as it contained a great Variety of Allegations.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they would now read the Paſſage, to convince the Houſe that Mr. Haſtings was perfectly aware of that Charge; that he declared himſelf equal to the Taſk, that he took the whole Defence upon himſelf, and that he diſavowed all Errors that might be found in it.

Then

Then the Managers for the Commons read the Paſſage, as follows †.

† Vide this Paſſage, Par. 3, P. 19, ſupra.

" Preſſed by the Load of Slander thus heaped upon me, I reſolved to try the only Reſource which afforded me a Chance of Redreſs; and in Oppoſition to many and weighty Diſcouragements, I threw myſelf upon the Juſtice of this Honourable Houſe, and petitioned to be allowed to make my Defence in Perſon, and I ſucceeded. Whether I owe this Indulgence to your Goodneſs or your Juſtice, I accept it with equal Gratitude.

" Of the Diſcouragements to which I allude, I ſhall mention but Two Points, and theſe it is incumbent on me to mention, becauſe they relate to Effects which the Juſtice of this Honourable Houſe may, and, I truſt, will, avert. The firſt is an Objection to my being at all perſonally committed in my Defence, ſince, in ſo wide a Field of Diſcuſſion, it would be impoſſible not to admit ſome Things of which an Advantage might be taken to turn them into Evidence againſt myſelf: Whereas another might as well uſe as I could, or better, the ſame Materials of my Defence, without involving me in the ſame Conſequences; but I am ſure that this Honourable Houſe will yield me its Protection againſt the Cavils of unwarranted Inference; and if the Truth can tend to convict me, I am content to be myſelf the Channel to convey it.

" The other Objection lay in my own Breaſt. It was not till Monday laſt that I formed the Reſolution, and I knew not then whether I might not in Conſequence be laid under the Obligation of preparing and completing in Five Days, and in effect ſo it has proved, the Refutation of Charges, which it has been the Labour of my Accuſer, armed with all the Powers of Parliament, and at one Time greater, to compile during as many Years of almoſt undiſturbed Leiſure; but I knew myſelf equal to the Undertaking, and I now only revert to my Difficulties, that the Conſideration of them may beſpeak the candid Allowance of this Honourable Houſe for any Inaccuracies, or for any Thing defective, which may appear in my Defence, but I claim no other Indulgence on this Account."

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Whether Mr. Haſtings wrote that Paragraph?

A. I believe he wrote the Whole of that Introduction; and the Whole of the Article intituled, The Rohilla War.

Q. Who drew the Anſwer intituled, Contracts and Encreaſe of Eſtabliſhments?

A. I did.

Q. Who drew the Anſwer to the Article intituled, Receipts and Preſents?

A. I believe I drew a Part of that, and I think the reſt was drawn by Mr. Baber.

Q. Who drew the Anſwer to the Article intituled, Reſignation?

A. Mr. Halhed, I believe; and there are ſome Paſſages in that, which I myſelf put in.

Q. Who drew the Anſwer to the Article intituled, Miſdemeanors in Oude?

A. I drew that, from Materials given me by Mr. Middleton.

Q. Who drew the Article intituled, " Fyzoola Cawn?"

A. Mr. Haſtings; I believe I mentioned that before.

Q. Whether thoſe Articles were ſhewn to Mr. Haſtings before he produced them at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons?

A. Every Article was ſhewn to Mr. Haſtings. I believe they were read by me, but read in a very curſory Manner, upon Account of the Shortneſs of Time; and I believe they were all in my Poſſeſſion till they were put in to the Houſe of Commons.

Q. Were there any Inſertions in any other Articles, except the Article, Benares, ſubſequent to Mr. Haſtings' View of them?

A. I recollect an Expreſſion that was put in by myſelf, which was meant to be expunged, but by Accident it was not; which Mr. Haſtings lamented.—I think it is in a Compariſon between the enormous Expences incurred by the late War in this Country, and the trifling Expences incurred in India. In that Paſſage there is this Expreſſion, " by an unfortunate Miniſter;" Mr. Haſtings objected to that, and it was left in by Miſtake.

Q. The Witneſs has ſaid, the Anſwer to the Article intituled, The Begums of Oude, which is the preſent Charge, was compoſed by Mr. Middleton and others; I wiſh to know from him, who elſe was concerned in drawing up that Anſwer?

A. I don't recollect I ſaid, others—I ſaid Mr. Middleton gave me the Materials, and from theſe Materials I drew it; and I had ſome Writers in my own Houſe that copied them—Mr. Middleton gave me the Materials for that—I drew that, and the Article intituled, Bulbudder Sing.

Q. Who drew any Paragraphs in the Article intituled, Bulbudder Sing, I mean the Rajah of Sahlone, beſides yourſelf?

A. I drew it—I beg Pardon,—I do not know whether it was Mr. Middleton or Mr. Gilpin who furniſhed the Materials; I think it was Mr. Gilpin.

Q. Whether the Articles of the Charge were not printed a long Time before Mr. Haſtings produced his Defence in the Houſe?

A. I think I have ſtated, that in conſequence of their being printed and ſold in Pamphlets, at Half a Crown each, I made an Application to the Houſe for Mr. Haſtings to make his Defence.

Q. How long were they printed before the Order of the Houſe was made for Mr. Haſtings to put in his Defence?

A. The Journals will ſhew that; whether it was a Month or Six Weeks I do not know.

Q. What hindered Mr. Haſtings from preferring his Defence before that Time to the Houſe?

A. I believe Mr. Haſtings hoped a ſpeedy Queſtion would have been earlier put; and when he found there was no Probability of that being done, he felt uneaſy: During the remaining Time, when I ſpeak to Five or Six Weeks, I ſpeak from Memory only.

Q. What Reaſon had Mr. Haſtings to know or to ſuppoſe, that a ſpeedy Queſtion would be put upon the Articles?

A. I cannot tell what Reaſon: I thought at the Time there would; and probably he got his Ideas from me, as I was in the Houſe.

Q. Whether there was any Act of the Houſe which precipitated Mr. Haſtings with regard to his Defence?

A. None; but the Seſſion was advancing, and Mr. Haſtings was apprehenſive it would be continued another Seſſion; and if Mr. Haſtings was in a Miſtake, he was in a Miſtake in common with all the World, that the Rohilla War would determine the Whole.

Q. What Steps did Mr. Haſtings take when he found the Buſineſs going on in the Houſe of Commons, to undeceive the Houſe with reſpect to the ſpurious Defence he put in?

A. I believe I have anſwered that.

Q. Do you know of any Reaſon he had for not taking any Step of that Sort?

A. I really do not know.

Q. I will aſk a Queſtion merely to aſcertain the Degree of Labour that was neceſſary to draw theſe Anſwers. I wiſh to aſk, Whether the Anſwer to ſeveral of the Articles was not copied verbatim, or nearly ſo, from the Minutes of the Council, in the Year 1774 and 1775, at Calcutta, in which his Conduct had been arraigned by a Majority of the Council?

A. I ſhould ſuppoſe the Honourable Manager means, in the Article intituled, The Rohilla War.

Q. I mean all of it?

A. There is a conſiderable Part of One of the Anſwers, * in which Mr. Haſtings inſerts a Copy of a Minute made at Calcutta, but the Anſwer is certainly very long, independant of that; a very long and full Detail.

* Vide the Article intituled, The Rohilla War, in the Defence at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* You ſay the Defence in the Houſe of Commons took up Two Days in reading; Did Mr. Haſtings, during the reading upon thoſe Two Days, make any Objection to the Paſſages altered by Mr. Halhed?

A. He made no public Objection—I was not near Mr. Haſtings at the Time—I was in my Place in the Houſe, and therefore I cannot tell.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Was not the Charge of Benares read the Firſt Day?

A. The Firſt Day—the Firſt Thing read was the General Introduction; then the Rohilla War; then the King's Tribute, and then the Article, Benares.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* The Witneſs has ſtated that, at Firſt when this Defence was made upon the Benares Article it was carried to Mr. Haſtings,—I am ſpeaking now of the Firſt Time when it was carried; I wiſh to know in whoſe Hand-writing that Draft was—by whom it was wrote?

A. The original Draft was in the Hand-writing of Mr. Halhed, who himſelf wrote it.

Q. I wiſh to know who the Clerk was that made that Copy?

A. I do not know the Name of the Perſon, but I can learn his Name, and he can be produced—he is in this Town—he was a young Man patronized by Mr. Halhed, and I can learn his Name.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* The Witneſs has ſtated, that after the Defence had been under the Conſideration of Mr. Haſtings ſubſequent to the Time of its being printed, Mr. Haſtings ſaid to the Witneſs that there were ſome Parts of the Benares Buſineſs which he diſliked; and took Notice of the Words "Unfortunate Miniſter," which he wiſhed had not been in it; I wiſh the Witneſs to be aſked, Whether Mr. Haſtings, after he had had that Conſideration of the Defence, obſerved, to the Knowledge of the Witneſs, that there was any Fact untruly ſtated in the Defence?

A. I do not recollect that he did; I rather think not.

Q. Whether (always ſpeaking to the ſame Period) Mr. Haſtings obſerved, to the Knowledge of the Witneſs, that there was any Principle laid down in that Defence which he diſclaimed?

A. Not at that Time: But I would wiſh to mention One Thing as a Reaſon that probably prevented a great deal of Diſcuſſion, That Mr. Haſtings did think, in common with all the World, that the only Queſtion was the Queſtion of the Rohilla War.

Q. The

Q. The Witneſs miſtakes the Time: The Time I ſpeak to is after the Publication of the Defence. The Witneſs has ſaid, that there was ſomething in the Benares Article, particularly theſe Two Words, "Unfortunate Miniſter," which Mr. Haſtings diſliked.—Whether he then ſaid to the Witneſs he diſclaimed them? Whether at any Time he recollects Mr. Haſtings diſclaimed any of the Principles of Argument laid down in his Defence?

A. He did not at firſt; but if your Lordſhip means, by at any Time, from what has happened lately, I have certainly heard Mr. Haſtings mention his Diſapprobation; but theſe Words, "Unfortunate Miniſter," are not in the Benares Charge, but in another.

Q. You have told the Houſe, That there were various Paſſages interpolated in his Defence, of which Mr. Haſtings had no Knowledge; ſome containing Facts, and ſome Arguments, which he diſapproved: Do you know whether he has ever diſclaimed any of thoſe Principles advanced by Way of Argument?

A. Mr. Haſtings has, ſince the Buſineſs has been before your Lordſhips, but not before, in Converſation declared, he never could, if he had read it, have allowed any Expreſſion to paſs that could have been conſtrued into an Idea of his having entertained any perſonal Animoſity againſt Cheit Sing; he ſaid poſitively, he was ſure he had not ſeen it.

Q. That is rather a Fact: I will repeat the Queſtion again. You have mentioned there were many Paſſages, ſome conſiſting of Facts alledged, ſome of Grounds of Argument; the Queſtion now put to you is, Whether Mr. Haſtings has, in any Converſation with you, diſclaimed any of thoſe Principles which are ſtated in the Defence as Grounds of Argument among thoſe Paſſages interpolated?

A. No; except that particular Expreſſion, "Cheit Sing to have me rather than the Company for its Object at leaſt," that ſeemed as if it was perſonal to him;—he diſclaimed that.

Q. Then, in point of Fact, you do not remember his making any Objection to any other Parts of it?

A. No, except that general Expreſſion, that there were many Parts he diſliked.

Q. To put the Queſtion more correctly, Whether Mr. Haſtings has at any Time diſavowed any of the Motives of his Conduct ſtated in his Defence?

A. Not as I recollect in Terms, except generally, that there were Parts which he diſliked.

Then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Jovis, 17° *Aprilis* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, that they might proceed with their Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Points which the Firſt Witneſs they meant to call would ſpeak to, were, Firſt, to what they conceived to be the real Cauſe of the Diſturbances in Oude, and particularly in the Provinces of Baraitch and Goruckpore; Secondly, To the Subjection of the Nabob; and Thirdly, To prove it perfectly impoſſible but that Mr. Haſtings muſt have been appriſed of all the Tranſactions going on at Lucknow in the Years 1781 and 1782.

The Counſel for the Defendant requeſted the Managers for the Commons would have the Goodneſs to ſtate to what Charges, beſides the Charge now before the Houſe, this Evidence was meant to be adduced, the Diſturbances in Baraitch and Goruckpore making a diſtinct Article of Charge.

The Houſe informed the Counſel for the Defendant, that the Managers for the Commons had explained the Points to which they meant to examine the Witneſs about to be called. The only Queſtion therefore was, Whether he ſhould be called at all? Conſequently this was not the Time to make an Objection; but if any ſhould ariſe in the Courſe of the Examination, that would be the proper Time to make it.

Then ROBERT HOLT Eſquire, was called; and being ſworn, was examined as follows:

Q. At what Time, and in what Situation was you in the Company's Service in India?
A. I was appointed in the Year 1778 in the Company's Service, and in the Year 1779 Aſſiſtant to the Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Q. When was you appointed Aſſiſtant to the Reſident?
A. I am not certain whether it was in the Year 1779 or in 1780.

Q. In the latter End of the Year 1779 or in 1780; Is that the Account you mean to give of your Appointment to be Aſſiſtant to the Reſident at the Vizier's Court?
A. Yes; ſomewhere thereabouts, I am not perfectly certain.

Q. Under what Reſident was you employed; whether under one, or more than one?
A. I was employed firſt, under the Reſidentſhip of Mr. Purling; then, under Mr. Briſtow; then, under Mr. Middleton; and then, under Mr. Briſtow again.

Q. I wiſh the Witneſs to ſpeak to the State of Oude during that Period as fully as he can?
A. Before I anſwer that Queſtion, I could wiſh to communicate ſomething to your Lordſhips; I hope I ſhall not be deemed guilty of any Impropriety or Diſreſpect to your Lordſhips, if I take the Liberty of ſtating, that I believe I ſhall be more able to anſwer that Queſtion to the Satisfaction of every Body, if particular Queſtions are put to me inſtead of general Queſtions: My Abilities in Language, I apprehend, will not be ſufficient to a Taſk ſo arduous as ſpeaking of the general State of a Country.

Q. Then, inſtead of having ſo general a Queſtion put to you, as that relative to the State of Oude, you wiſh that particular Queſtions may be put to you upon that Subject?
A. Yes.

Q. Whether you had any Opportunity of knowing, that during the Time of your Reſidency in that Office, the Revenues of the Country were conſiderably, or in what Degree, diminiſhed?
A. I have ever underſtood they were conſiderably diminiſhed.

Q. Had you any Opportunity of knowing it?
A. Merely from Report.

Q. Whether the Witneſs knows they were aſſeſſed at a much lower Jumma, or Rate, than formerly?
A. I have only heard ſo.

Q. Had

Q. Had you any, and what Reaſon to believe that that Report was ill founded?
A. None.

Q. From your Obſervation of the Face of the Country, had you any Reaſon to think that that Report was ill founded?
A. None.

Q. Whether you had any Reaſon, from any Thing that happened in your official Experience, to believe that Report was ill founded?
A. None.

Q. Have you any Reaſon, from your Knowledge of the Country, or from what came to your Knowledge in the particular Department of the Revenue, or from what came through your own Office as Reſident, to believe it was well founded, and if you have, ſtate that Reaſon?
A. I have no other Reaſon, but only what I have heard. I ſpeak only from what I heard.

Q. Speak to what you know yourſelf relative to the Adminiſtration of Colonel Hannay in Baraitch and Goruckpore?
A. I was in that Country near Seven Months.

Q. Whether or not the People appeared to be much diſtreſſed?

The Houſe obſerved, that the Witneſs had not anſwered the former Queſtion.

Q. Was you there in a Situation that gave you the Means of obſerving the Adminiſtration of Colonel Hannay there?
A. I was, in ſome Degree; I went with him through ſome Parts of it.

Q. In what Condition were the People of thoſe Diſtricts?
A. Rather in a bad Condition.

Q. In what Reſpect did you obſerve them to be in a bad Condition?
A. There were fewer of them; they were not ſo populous as moſt other Parts of the Country.

Q. Had you any Opportunity of knowing it before, ſo as to compare it?
A. I have no Knowledge of it; I have heard ſo.

Q. You have heard it, but have no Knowledge?
A. No.

Q. But your Obſervation was, it was leſs populous than any other Diſtrict you have been in?
A. Yes.

Q. Under whoſe Adminiſtration were the Collection of the Revenue and Management of the Finance of thoſe Diſtricts, at the Time you went there?
A. Under the Direction and Management of Colonel Hannay.

Q. Had you any Opportunity of obſerving any, and what, Inſtance of Rigour, in the Adminiſtration of thoſe Revenues under Colonel Hannay?
A. Do you mean juſtifiable or unjuſtifiable Rigour?

Q. The Queſtion put to you is, whether you ſaw any Inſtances of Rigour?
A. I have ſeen People puniſhed, and People impriſoned, but whether properly or improperly I cannot ſay.

Q. What was the Mode of Puniſhment that you obſerved?
A. Some were confined within Mud Forts, others were confined within Bamboo Paliſadoes.

Q. Were there any Inſtances of Puniſhments that you obſerved beſides the Two you have mentioned?
A. I have ſeen the Exerciſe of Corporal Puniſhment.

Q. What Species of Corporal Puniſhment?
A. The Uſe of an Inſtrument called a Korah, a long Leathern Thong.

Q. Whipping you mean?
A. Yes.

Q. Whether the Perſons ſo confined, were in Irons or not?
A. I do not know whether thoſe that were confined in Bamboo Paliſadoes were or were not in Irons; I have ſeen thoſe who were confined within the Mud Forts led out in Irons.

Q. Deſcribe the Nature of the Bamboo Paliſadoes.—What is the Manner of that Confinement?
A. They were Walls made of Bamboo, a large Square.

Q. Had they any Covering?
A. None that I recollect; I believe they were adjacent to a Grove, and whether any Part of that Grove was within the Paliſadoes or not, I cannot ſay, I am not certain.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether they were confined Night and Day in the open Paliſadoes?
A. To the beſt of my Recollection they were.

Q. What Space does the Witneſs conceive might have been contained within thoſe Paliſadoes, the Extent of Ground?
A. About the Extent of that Place in which your Lordſhips ſit.

Q. Do you mean the whole Hall?
A. No; that where your Lordſhips ſit.

Q. Do you mean all round this inner Court?
A. Yes, that lined with red.

Q. What Number of Perſons have you ſeen confined in any One of thoſe Priſons of that Size?
A. I cannot preciſely ſay, I ſhould imagine about 60 or 70.

Q. Deſcribe what Sort of Perſons they were who were thus impriſoned, and upon whom thoſe Puniſhments were inflicted, what Deſcription of Perſons?
A. I heard that they were refractory Zemindars, or Hoſtages for the Payment of the Revenue.

Q. Whether they were impriſoned by virtue of any legal Proceſs, or by the Orders of any Court, or by any Magiſtrate of the Country?
A. None that I know of.

Q. By whoſe Order were they impriſoned, and under whoſe Guard were they confined?
A. I cannot ſay under whoſe Order; they were under a Guard from a Corps of Sepoys.

Q. That was commanded by Colonel Hannay?
A. Yes.

Q. By whom, and upon what Deſcription of Men, were the Stripes inflicted by the Inſtrument called the Korah?
A. Upon the Farmers of the Revenue who I fancy had not paid; it is the uſual Mode of Puniſhment, when they do not.

Q. Do you know who aſſeſſed the Rate, by virtue of which, thoſe Perſons, you ſaw thus impriſoned or whipped, were charged?
A. The Collectors who were under Colonel Hannay, and the Sub-collectors.

Q. The Collectors and Sub-collectors were under Colonel Hannay?
A. Yes.

Q. But the Queſtion is, Who made the Rate, Who authorized the Rate at which they were charged?
A. I really do not know.

Q. Did you ever hear, or know, that Colonel Hannay himſelf aſſeſſed the Rate?
A. I underſtood that he did.

Q. How did you underſtand it?
A. It is merely upon hearſay.

Q. What do you mean by Hearſay, credible Information or looſe Rumour?
A. Only Hearſay.

Q. Did you ever converſe with Colonel Hannay about it?
A. No, I never did.

Q. I want to know whether you have heard it from credible Information or looſe Rumour?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, that the Witneſs having ſpoken from hearſay only, he could not be aſked, Whether it was hearſay which he credited.

Q. Have you any and what Reaſon to believe that what you heard was true?
A. I have no Reaſon to diſbelieve it.

Q. Do you believe it to be true?
A. I did not hear it contradicted.

Q. Was it not notorious?
A. I have heard many People ſpeak of it.

Q. Was it not equally notorious, that theſe rigorous Methods were enforced generally throughout the Provinces?
A. I do not know, having only had a partial Obſervation of them.

Q. By what Names did you hear theſe Bamboo Paliſadoe Priſons called generally in the Country?
A. I do not know. I know what Name they gave to the Mud Forts.

Q. What

Q. What was the Name they gave to the Mud Fort?
A. A Killa.

Q. Whether in that Climate, Perſons are not likely to ſuffer, who are confined in open Cages by Day and by Night?
A. Not in the Seaſon during which I ſaw them, it was about the Month of April.

Q. Whether in any other Seaſon they are likely to ſuffer in their Health?
A. I ſuppoſe they are in the cold Seaſon from Cold, and in the rainy Seaſon from Wet.

Q. Are they not likely to ſuffer from the Sun in the dry Seaſon?
A. I do not know that they will ſuffer materially—It would be unpleaſant in any Seaſon of courſe; the Natives of India ſtay in the Sun all Day frequently.

Q. Do you know whether any Proviſion was made for the proper Feeding and Cloathing the People ſo confined?
A. No, I do not know whether there was or not.

Q. Was there any Gaol Allowance?
A. I know nothing of the Matter.

Q. You were aſked the Name of the Mud Forts and Bamboo Palliſadoes, and you gave the Name of the Mud Forts, which I ſuppoſe to be the Indian Name. I wiſh to know whether they went by any other Name, any Bye-name, among the Inhabitants?
A. None that I have heard of.

Q. Or among the Engliſh?
A. None that I know of.

Q. Do you know any Thing of the State of that Country during the Time of Sujah ul Dowlah?
A. I have heard it was in a very flouriſhing State at that Time.

Q. When you ſaw it, was it in that State?
A. I did not think it was, according to my Obſervations.

Here the Queſtion and Anſwer were read by the Clerk.

Q. Was the Province much declined from the State it was in, in Sujah ul Dowlah's Time?
A. I really cannot ſpeak poſitively.

Q. Was it much declined from a State of Proſperity at that Time?
A. I thought there were fewer Inhabitants.

Q. It was not ſo populous?
A. No.

Q. Did you ever ſay, you conſidered it to be in a miſerable State; that the People of the Country were in a miſerable State?

The Counſel for the Defendant ſtated, that the Houſe having already given Judgement upon a Queſtion of a ſimilar Import with this, they requeſted the Houſe to ſuſtain their Judgement, by prohibiting the putting of Queſtions of this Sort.

Q. Recollect the State of the Country, and ſpeak as fully as your Memory can go to it, whether you did or did not obſerve the State of the Country to be miſerable or happy?
A. I thought it rather in a miſerable State.

Q. Do you know, or have you any Reaſon to believe, that the People continued quietly in the Country, or that they emigrated from it?
A. I have heard there were many Emigrations.

Q. I deſire to know whether any forcible Means were uſed to prevent ſuch Emigrations, or to reſtrain them?
A. I cannot poſitively ſay that there were; I have heard that there were at one Place Chokies, or Guards, placed upon the Banks of the Gogra; I have ſeen One or Two Guards, but I really cannot ſay whether they were for that Purpoſe or not.

Q. Did you ever converſe with Colonel Hannay about the Reaſon of thoſe Guards being ſo placed?
A. Never, that I recollect.

Q. Did

Q. Did you hear of any other Effects from the ſuppoſed miſerable State of the People?
A. I think I have.

Q. What was it?
A. I have heard that many of them were ſo diſtreſſed, that they were under the Neceſſity of ſelling their Children.

Q. Have you had any Reaſon to know that from your own Knowledge?
A. I know it to be a Practice to ſell Children in the Country.

Q. In what Country?
A. The Country I am ſpeaking of, Barraitch and Goruckpore.

Q. By that Practice, do you mean it was of any long Duration, or only while you ſuppoſe the Country was depopulated?
A. I have heard it was of long Duration. I have heard there was a Mart for Children.

Q. Was that Practice confined to Times of great Diſtreſs, or was it more general?
A. I have heard that it was practiſed in the Time of Sujah ul Dowlah.

Q. The Queſtion put to you is, Whether it was the Reſult of peculiar Diſtreſs or a common Habit and Cuſtom of the Country?
A. It might be both, for any Thing that I know.

Q. Do you, or not, know it was underſtood to be a Sign of great Diſtreſs?
A. I have heard it was a Sign of Diſtreſs, and I have alſo heard it was a common Practice in the Time of Sujah ul Dowlah.

Q. Do you know of any Meaſure taken to prevent the Selling of Children?
A. I recollect hearing Colonel Hannay threaten to inflict Puniſhment upon thoſe who ſold their Children.

Q. Do you know it from your own Knowledge?
A. I heard him do it myſelf.

Q. Was there any Thing done to your Knowledge for the Relief of the People, ſo as to prevent the Practice of ſelling their Children?
A. I do not know whether there was or was not.

Q. In what Character was Colonel Hannay in that Country?
A. I underſtood him to be the Commander of the Military Force, and to have the Collections under his Management.

Q. From whom did he derive the Authority of collecting it?
A. I heard it was from the Vizier, from the Nabob.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Did he farm the Revenue, or did he take it for the Vizier's Uſe?
A. He received it for the Vizier's Uſe as I underſtood.

Q. He received it for the Vizier's Uſe?
A. So I underſtand.

Q. You know nothing of it?
A. I know no Title for it.

Q. But you know he received it for the Vizier's Uſe?
A. I know he did receive it, for I ſaw him carry it to the Vizier's Houſe.

Q. There is a Doubt about your Anſwer to that Queſtion. The Queſtion put to you was, Whether you knew of his receiving them to the Vizier's Uſe, or of his bringing them to the Vizier's Account.
A. I did not make any Anſwer to that Queſtion. I have anſwered, that I knew he did collect the Revenues of the Country, becauſe I ſaw them paid into the Treaſury. I underſtood they were for the Uſe of his Highneſs the Vizier; but I know nothing more of it.

Q. What Species of Collection was Colonel Hannay entruſted with?
A. I heard he had what they call the Aumanney.

Q. What is the Nature of that: What does the Word mean?
A. It differs from the other Mode of Collection which is by the Kiſtbundy.

Q. In what reſpect?
A. In this; that in the latter Caſe the Country is collected at a fixt Aſſeſſment; the Nature of the other is to collect agreeable to the Diſcretion of the Collector as much as he thinks it will with Propriety yield: That is the Idea I have of it.

Q. What Means have you of knowing the Method, either of the one, or of the other Collection?
A. I have been employed in the Collections, not in that Country, but in others.

Q. And how do you know he collected in this latter Manner, at Diſcretion?
A. I heard ſo.

Q. *(From a Lord.)* From him?
A. No; not from him.

Q. From Perſons concerned in the Collection of the Revenues?
A. I heard ſo from a Perſon who was an Aumil in the Country of the Vizier.

Q. *(from a Lord)* Was he concerned in the Collection of the Revenue?
A. Not in that Country but in another.

Q. In what Diſtrict was he employed in the Collection of the Revenue?
A. In the Diſtrict of Patna.

Q. Patna is not within the Province of Oude?
A. No.

Q. Do you know whether the ſame Cuſtoms prevail in that Province as in Oude as to the Collections?
A. I believe they do; I am not certain of it.

Q. When you ſpeak of the Manner of the collecting by the Aumanney, which is at the Diſcretion of the Collector, do you mean it related to the Aſſeſſment of the whole Diſtrict or only to Individuals: was it exerciſed by making a General Aſſeſſment upon the whole Diſtrict, or was it exerciſed by only making a Rate upon Individuals?
A. I ſhould apprehend, by making a Rate upon Individuals.

Q. Whether the laſt Mode of Collection by Diſcretion, as you call it, is common in other Parts of the Diſtrict of Oude?
A. I do not know whether it is or no.

Q. Whether any of the Perſons that you ſaw puniſhed by Impriſonment were of thoſe that did not pay this Species of Aſſeſſment that was gathered at Diſcretion?
A. I do not know whether they were or were not—I have only ſtated that Colonel Hannay had the Collections in this Manner: if he had, of courſe they were ſo; if not, otherwiſe.

Q. Whether at the chief Seat of Government, an Account was taken of what Colonel Hannay actually received, and what he actually paid?
A. I ſuppoſe there was.

Q. Do you know there was?
A. No; I do not.

Q. Do you know whether the Reſident had any Tuncaw or Aſſignment upon that Diſtrict?
A. I do not know.

Q. Was Colonel Hannay's Situation ſuch as that the Vizier's Miniſter would think fit to call him to any Account, according to your Opinion of it?
A. I ſhould not ſuppoſe he had a Power to call him to an Account.

Q. You ſhould not ſuppoſe it?
A. No.

Q. Did Colonel Hannay ever demand a Remiſſion of the Revenue which he ought to have paid, or of any Part of it?
A. I have heard he did; I do not know poſitively that he did.

Q. Do you know upon what Ground he demanded that Remiſſion?
A. For the Injury which the Cavalcade of the Vizier might occaſion in travelling through any Diſtricts.

Q. Did you hear that that Remiſſion was granted?
A. I heard that it was.

Q. To what Amount?
A. To the Amount of Two Lacks of Rupees; but I heard it from mere Report.

Q. Did you ever hear it contradicted?
A. No.

Q. Was it generally reported?
A. I do not know that it was generally reported.

Q. Did you believe it to be true; had you any Reaſon and what to believe it?
A. I had no Reaſon to believe it to be true any further than what I have heard.

Q. Whether you had any Reaſon to believe it not true?
A. None.

Q. I deſire

Q. I desire to know of the Witness, whether he ever had any Reason to disbelieve it?
A. None.

Q. Whether you have heard that Colonel Hannay made any Remission to the Country in consequence of the Remission he had received?
A. I do not know.

Q. Did you ever hear that he did?
A. Never.

Q. Did the Decay of the Country you had Occasion to observe, arise from unfavourable Seasons, or Misgovernment, according to your Opinion?
A. According to my Opinion, from Misgovernment.

Q. Is that Country as liable, or more liable, to suffer by unfavourable Seasons, than other Parts of the Vizier's Dominions?
A. I have heard not.

Q. Have you made no Observation?
A. It is remarkably low, and intersected by a Number of Rivulets.

Q. That you have observed?
A. That I have observed.

Q. From thence you collected yourself that it is not so liable?
A. Yes; and I have also heard it.

Q. What Military Command had Colonel Hannay in that Country?
A. His original Command I understand to have been Three Battalions, One of which I believe was detached under Major Balfour.

Q. Was there any Cavalry besides?
A. There was a Party of Horse under the Command of a Native.

Q. Were they under Colonel Hannay's Command too?
A. Yes.

Q. How many Men might the Three Battalions have amounted to?
A. I really do not know: I never saw them collected.

Q. By what principal Sub-collectors did he make his Country Collections?
A. By the Officers under him, and also by his Servants, who had a Share in the Collection.

Q. The Question is, Who were the Sub-collectors?
A. Is it meant that I should mention their Names?

Q. I want to know of what Description the Sub-collectors were—whether mere Collectors of Revenue, or Officers of the Army?
A. Officers of the Army.

Q. What were their Names, as far as you recollect?
A. Major Lumsdain, Captains M'Donald and Pringle, a Surgeon of the Name of Blane, and Mr. Gordon.

Q. Do you recollect any other Name?
A. Major Lumsdain was succeeded by Captain Williams in his Military Command; but whether Captain Williams had any Thing to do with the Collections, I don't know; I have heard him say not.

Q. What was the general Opinion in Oude concerning the Government of the Country, during the Administration, Civil and Military, of Colonel Hannay?
A. I have heard an unfavourable Opinion.

Q. Have you heard that Opinion credibly contradicted in India?
A. No.

Q. Have you any Reason to believe it ill founded?
A. None.

Q. Were there any Magistrates in Barraitch and Goruckpore, sufficient to controul Colonel Hannay and the Power of the Military Commanders and Collectors?
A. None.

Q. Do you know any Thing of Colonel Hannay having, during that Period of Time, amassed a great Sum of Money?
A. I do not know: I have heard that he had.

Q. Have you any Reason to believe it?
A. I have no sufficient Reason.

Q. Have

Q. Have you ever heard it contradicted in India?
A. I have not.

Q. Was it not reported ſo?
A. By moſt of thoſe with whom I converſed, it was.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* How was Colonel Hannay to be paid for the Trouble he took in collecting the Revenue?

A. I don't know that he was paid at all: There are Profits in the Collectorſhip of every Revenue.

Q. What are thoſe Profits?
A. A Preſent may be made by the Renters of the Country to the Collector of the Revenues.

Q. A Preſent may be made, you ſay?
A. Yes.

Q. Is it uſual to make ſuch Preſents?
A. I believe it is.

Q. Can you tell to what Amount, or to what Proportion, according to the Rents they pay?
A. I cannot.

Q. Proceed now to mention the other Profits that may accrue to the Collector?
A. I do not know of any other, excepting by the Exchange of the Coin, in remitting it.

Q. Upon the Exchange of Coin a Species of Profit may be derived?
A. Yes.

Q. Are thoſe Preſents uſual according to the Cuſtom of the Country?
A. I believe they are.

Q. If the Preſents are not made or offered, does the Ryot, or Farmer, ſuffer in that Reſpect from the Collector?

A. I do think a Preſent might be made, and the Ryots not ſuffer from it.

Q. Whether if ſuch Preſents were not made, the Farmers would not be at the Mercy of the Collectors?

A. I ſhould ſuppoſe they would be at the Mercy of the Collectors in either Caſe, becauſe he has the principal Authority over them.

Q. Then you conſider the People under ſuch Collection, as you have deſcribed, to be entirely at the Mercy of the Collector?

A. In every Collection I ſhould ſuppoſe they are in a certain Degree.

Q. In what Country do you mean.
A. I mean in every Collection.

Q. I deſire to know whether in this particular Collection by the Aumanney, the Country is not more particularly at the Mercy of the Collector?

A. I ſhould think it is.

Q. In your Judgment, would a Complaint againſt the Collector armed with ſuch Authority as that, be likely to meet with Succeſs?

A. What Kind of Succeſs?

Q. Would it be attended to equally and fairly?
A. It would be attended to undoubtedly, I think.

Q. Do you think any Complaint well founded againſt Colonel Hannay, in the Situation in which he ſtood, would be likely to be attended with Puniſhment upon him, or with Redreſs to the Inhabitants who complained?

A. It would only produce Puniſhment, I ſhould apprehend, through the Medium of the Government at Calcutta, as I do not ſuppoſe the Vizier would undertake to puniſh any of the Engliſh Officers, or that he has a Power to do it.

Q. Whether Colonel Hannay was not an Officer in the Vizier's Service?

A. I believe he was in both Services, that of the Vizier, and that of the Company, but I am not certain.

Q. Were thoſe Troops Colonel Hannay commanded, the Troops of the Country or the Troops of the Vizier?

A. They were the Troops of the Vizier, though at the Recommendation of the Board at Calcutta; that is the Idea I had of them.

Q. With the Recommendation of the Board at Calcutta?
A. So I underſtand.

Q. You

Q. You ſaid he was alſo in the Service of the Company; in what Reſpect was he in their Service?

A. He was a Lieutenant Colonel in their Army.

Q. But in reſpect of theſe Troops he was the Officer of the Vizier?

A. I believe he was.

Q. Whether the Collection that Colonel Hannay made was not upon the Part of the Vizier?

A. I underſtood ſo.

Q. Had you any Reaſon to know what Colonel Hannay died poſſeſſed of?

A. I have heard that he died worth a great deal of Money.

Q. To what Amount?

A. I have heard that he died worth Thirty Lacks of Rupees.

Q. Have you any Reaſon to know that?

A. That was what I heard.

Q. How much is Thirty Lacks?

A. About Three hundred thouſand Pounds.

Q. Did you hear how that Sum was tranſmitted to Calcutta?

A. It is mere hearſay, the Truth of which I know nothing: Merely Converſation in Companies in which I have been.

Q. Had you any Means of knowing, or Reaſon to form a Belief, either of the Extent of his Fortune, or the Means of ſending it to Calcutta?

A. I have heard he remitted a great Part of it in Specie from Lucknow.

Q. To what Amount? And in what Specie?

A. There was a Rumour that he had remitted it.—Am I to anſwer that Queſtion?

The Counſel for the Defendant ſaid, they objected to Evidence of Rumours.

The Managers for the Commons contended that it was competent to them to give Evidence of the general Fame of the Country; that it was uncontradicted; and that from its Notoriety it muſt have come to the Knowledge of the Defendant; and deſired the Witneſs might be aſked, whether he heard the Quantity and the particular Specie in which this Money was remitted to Calcutta.

The Counſel for the Defendant replied, That they had acquieſced in many of the Queſtions put by the Managers for the Commons, not under an Idea that they were Queſtions which ought to be put in a Court of Law, but from a Delicacy in interrupting that Mode of Enquiry, unleſs it were reſiſted by the Houſe; and therefore, under the Claim of being intitled to a ſimilar Indulgence on their Parts, they ſhould not object to this Mode of Examination.

The Managers for the Commons ſaid, they diſclaimed it as an Indulgence, and conſequently that they were not bound to agree to any Indulgence to the Defendant in any Mode of Enquiry the Counſel might think fit to adopt.

The Managers for the Commons, and the Counſel for the Defendant, were informed that there could be no Contract of that Kind; but if the Queſtion was not objected to, they might proceed.

Q. What was the Rumour about the Manner of his ſending the Money to Calcutta?

A. I have heard there was a Rumour of his ſending a conſiderable Sum of Money in Gold Mohurs.

Q. To what Amount?

A. To the Amount of 80,000.

Q. How much is a Gold Mohur in Sterling Money?

A. About Two or Three and Thirty Shillings, if not more.

Q. How much do 80,000 Gold Mohurs amount to in Pounds Sterling?

A. About 130 or 140,000 l. Sterling, or thereabouts.

Q. Did you ever hear theſe Accounts contradicted by unprejudiced Perſons, or Perſons likely to be well informed?

A. No, I do not know that I ever did; I never made that a Subject of Enquiry.

Q. Did

Q. Did you ever hear it?
A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear any One Man in India contradict it?
A. I do not know I ever heard Ten Men talk of it.

Q. Did you ever hear any One Man contradict it?
A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear any Diſcourſe of that kind in Calcutta?
A. I cannot pretend to ſay where I heard it.

Q. Do you think it poſſible that the Miſdemeanors imputed to Colonel Hannay, and the Report of the Fortune he is ſuppoſed to have amaſſed, could have been a Secret to Mr. Haſtings?
A. Not if Mr. Haſtings had choſe to inform himſelf of what I heard.

Q. But, in Point of Fact, do you know, or have you any Reaſon to imagine, it was a Secret or not?
A. None, either one Way or the other.

Q. Were not theſe Matters publicly talked of, by thoſe who are leſs capable of obtaining Information than yourſelf?
A. I do not recollect who they were, or whether they were leſs or more capable of obtaining Information than myſelf.

Q. Have you not ſtated elſewhere, that thoſe were Matters publicly talked of at Calcutta?

The Counſel for the Defendant ſtated, that they muſt repeat their Objection to this Sort of Queſtion.

Q. Do you recollect, at any Time, that thoſe Matters were publicly talked of at Calcutta?
A. They were never told to me as a Secret, and therefore I ſaid they were Matters publicly talked of.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings, to the Knowledge of the Witneſs, direct any Inquiry to be made at any Time into the Conduct of Colonel Hannay?
A. None that I ever heard of.

Then the Managers for the Commons produced a Paper, which they read.
Then the ſame was ſhewn to the Witneſs; and he was aſked:

Q. Do you know whether a Tranſlation of that Letter, dated 15th September 1782, from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Haſtings, upon the Propoſition of appointing Colonel Hannay, paſſed through the Reſident's Office at Lucknow?
A. I do not: I have ſeen it frequently.

Q. Do you mean the original Letter?
A. I never ſaw the original Letter: I have ſeen it in Print, or in Manuſcript.

Q. How long was Mr. Hannay employed or concerned in the Collections in Baraitch and Goruckpore?
A. I do not know how long he was employed previous to my going into that Country; but, to the beſt of my Recollection, he was not employed in them ſubſequent to the Inſurrection.

Q. About what Time was that?
A. I think it was the latter End of 1781.

Q. What were Colonel Hannay's reputed Circumſtances, when he entered upon that Employment?
A. I do not know, except from Hearſay.

Q. As to Repute?
A. I have heard he was in involved Circumſtances.

Q. How long do you underſtand Colonel Hannay was in the Receipt of the Collections of thoſe Provinces?—Have you any Means of knowing how long he had been in that Employment before you went there?
A. I heard he firſt went to that Country in the Year 1778: I found him in the Collections in the Beginning of 1780, and I found that he had quitted them the latter End of 1781.

Q. Whether the Rigour which the Witneſs has mentioned to have been exerciſed under Colonel Hannay's Adminiſtration, did not greatly exaſperate the Natives in general?

The Counſel for the Defendant ſtated, that they had not objected to Rumour and Report; but as this was putting in the Mouth of the Witneſs an immediate Anſwer,

if he chose to give it in the Terms proposed, they must object to it as a leading Question.

Q. What Effect in the Country had the Administration of Colonel Hannay, in the Article of exasperating the Natives?

A. I saw no Marks of Exasperation while I was there: I heard they were subsequently exaspe-rated.

Q. At the Time you was there, you saw no Marks of Exasperation?

A. What I mean by Marks of Exasperation is, there was no Insurrection.

Q. Whether there were any other Marks of Exasperation besides actual Insurrections?—Were there any Complaints to the Resident, or to any Court?—Were there in general Symptoms of Discontent and Dissatisfaction?

A. Not immediately under my own Observation.

Q. But you heard it subsequent to your coming away?

A. Yes.

Q. At what Time did you come away first?

A. I came away first, I believe, in May 1780.

Q. Between that Time and the End of 1781, when Mr. Hannay was dismissed from his Employment, was the Period of the Discontents you speak of?

A. I think so.

Q. The Witness cannot mean Insurrections after Colonel Hannay left the Country?

A. No.

Q. Did you hear that Colonel Hannay was himself in particular Danger from these Insurrections?

A. I did.

Q. Did you or did you not understand that the Ill-will of the Country was particularly directed against Colonel Hannay?

The Counsel for the Defendant objected to this as a leading Question.

Q. Whom do you suppose the People were discontented with?

A. I heard there was a general Insurrection, and that Colonel Hannay and the Officers with him were in Danger.

Q. In Danger from the Insurrection, do you mean?

A. Yes.

Q. What do you suppose those Insurrections arose from at First: Did you ever hear of any Machinations or Contrivances of particular Persons, or did you ever hear what the Cause was that they objected to?

A. I have heard it was owing to the Misconduct and Misgovernment of Colonel Hannay.

Q. The Witness upon a Question put to him some Time since with Respect to the Natives of these Provinces selling their Children, stated it in Two Ways; First he said, they were so distressed as to be under the Necessity of selling their Children; and Secondly, that he heard of it as a Practice; I wish to know whether the Witness meant to say it was the Practice of the Natives to sell their Children without Motives of Distress?

A. I have already stated it as the Practice among the Princes or Governors in Oude to purchase Children in that District; that there was a Mart for them; Sujah ul Dowlah was supposed to have bought many Slaves from that Country; I have also heard that from the Distresses of the Country, they were also obliged to sell their Children.

Q. The Question is, whether it was a Mark of Distress: Whether it was a Part of the Idea you entertain of that Practice of selling their Children, that it was used not only when the Family was in great Distress, but when the Family was clear of Distress?

A. I should apprehend it was a Mark of Distress, whenever they were sold.

Q. Universally whenever they were sold?

A. Universally.

Q. Had you an Opportunity of observing the general Disposition of the Natives of those Provinces, Baraitch and Goruckpore?

A. I have heard in general, that they were refractory; that it was considered as an Asylum for fugitive Zemindars, and particularly so, from there being a great deal of Jungle in it and Wood.

Q. Did you ever hear that another Remission of Two Lacks, besides that which you stated for the Damage the Nabob might occasion by Hunting in the Province, was demanded by Colonel Hannay?

A. I

A. I have heard there was a ſubſequent Demand.

Q. To what Amount?
A. To the ſame Amount.

Q. For what was that Remiſſion?
A. For the Damage which the Cavalcade of the Vizier might occaſion.

Q. That was the Occaſion ſpecified for demanding the Firſt Remiſſion?
A. Yes.

Q. Was the like Occaſion ſpecified upon the Second Time?
A. Yes.

Q. Was it for Damage actually done?
A. Not as I heard of, but for Damage that might be done.

Q. Were they both in the ſame Year?
A. No.

Q. Now, in either of the Years did you hear the Vizier went into the Province?
A. In One Year he did.

Q. Did he in the other Year?
A. I don't know that he did.

Q. Did you hear that Remiſſion was obtained?
A. I do not know it was.

Q. Did you hear it was not?
A. No.

Q. You ſaid he did come into the Province One Year; that was the Year he aſked and obtained a Remiſſion?
A. Yes.

Q. Did he come into the Province the Second Year?
A. Yes.

Q. Was it demanded then?
A. I heard it was.

Q. Upon what Ground or Pretence?
A. For the Injury the Country might ſuſtain by the Cavalcade of the Nabob.

Q. Do you know any Thing of any Diſcontent expreſſed by the Nabob with Colonel Hannay's Adminiſtration?
A. I have heard he expreſſed much Diſcontent.

Q. You was Reſident at the ſame Time?
A. I was ſpeaking of the Time I was at Lucknow. I was Aſſiſtant to the Reſident; there are Five of them.

Q. At that Time you heard the Nabob expreſs much Diſcontent?
A. I heard he expreſſed much Diſcontent.

Q. Did you hear, or not, whether the Vizier attempted to remove him
A. I heard that he wiſhed to remove him.

Q. By whoſe Means was the Removal prevented, or was it prevented?
A. The Removal, I believe, did not take Place till afterwards.

Q. Do you know by whoſe Means it was that the Removal did not take Place?
A. I can only ſpeak from Hearſay.

Q. From your Situation in the Reſident's Office, had you, or not, an Opportunity of obſerving in whoſe Hands the actual Power of that Country was placed?
A. I think I had.

Q. In whoſe Hands, the Nabob's, or thoſe of Hyder Beg Cawn, was the Power of that Country actually placed?
A. I have ever underſtood it was in the Hands of Hyder Beg Cawn.

Q. That Power which Hyder Beg Cawn exerciſed, Was it by the voluntary Delegation of the Nabob, or from what other Cauſe did it ariſe?
A. He was appointed Deputy Miniſter, I believe, by the Nabob.

Q. Was there any other Cauſe of his Power beſides that Appointment by the Nabob?
A. From his Office he naturally held a very great Power.

Q. Was

Q. Was the Power he exerciſed incident to his Office, or was it a Power he engroſſed by any other Means beſides his Office?

A. It was a Power, I apprehend, naturally incident to his Office.

Q. Did you underſtand it to be from no other Influence, but what the ſame Sort of Office would have given to any other Man?

A. I ſhould apprehend that the Office itſelf, if ſupported by him who delegates it, is ſufficient to have the Controul over the Country.

Q. Was that Power which he exerciſed derived from the Support of the Nabob, or was it derived from any other Cauſe than that Support, always ſpeaking, according to your Obſervation in your Situation?

A. I cannot ſpeak with reſpect to my Obſervation, becauſe I had no Opportunity of knowing; I can ſpeak of what I have heard.

Q. I wiſh to know, whether the Adminiſtration of Colonel Hannay was agreeable or not, to the Nabob, at the Time when he was at Lucknow?

A. I have heard it was obnoxious to the Nabob.

Q. By what Influence was Hyder Beg maintained in a Situation that was obnoxious to the Nabob?

A. I have heard it was from the Influence of the Government.

Q. Of the Engliſh Government?

A. Of the Engliſh Government.

Q. By whoſe Influence in particular; by what Member of the Engliſh Government in particular?

A. I have heard he was ſupported in particular by the Influence of the Gentleman at your Lordſhips Bar.

Q. Had you, or not, from the Nature of your Office, an Opportunity of ſeeing the Official Correſpondence between the Reſident's Office and the Governor General?

A. Not during the Reſidence of Mr. Middleton; but ſubſequently, I ſaw the greater Part of it, if not the Whole.

Q. In whoſe Reſidentſhip?

A. In Mr. Briſtow's.

Q. From the Situation you held in the Office, had you an Opportunity of judging, whether the Nabob or Hyder Beg would have diſmiſſed a great Aumil without the Countenance of Mr. Haſtings?

A. I don't believe that he would have done any Thing, or taken any Meaſure obnoxious to the Engliſh Government.

Q. Had it been uſual with the Reſident, or any of his Aſſiſtants, or any Perſon under him, to interfere with the Nabob's Government?

A. I have heard of his Interference.

Q. Have you known of any Inſtances of ſuch Interference?

A. I do know of an Inſtance.

Q. Did Mr. Briſtow's Nomination and Arrangement of a Court of Juſtice take Effect?

A. It did not.

Q. Why did it not take Effect?

A. From the Oppoſition of Hyder Beg Cawn.

Q. Had Mr. Briſtow any Authority under his Inſtructions to inſtitute ſuch Court?

A. As nearly as I can recollect, he had the Authority to recommend the Inſtitution of thoſe Courts to the Vizier.

Q. What do you underſtand by a Recommendation of the Governor General, to the Vizier or Hyder Beg?

A. A Recommendation with which he expects to meet Concurrence.

Q. Do you think, that either the Nabob or Hyder Beg would have reſiſted any Recommendation that came from the Governor General?

A. He might ſo far, as to complain againſt it.

Q. To whom was the Nabob to complain?

A. To remonſtrate to the Engliſh Government,

Q. But ſuppoſe his Remonſtrances fruitleſs, do you think the Nabob would have continued the Oppoſition?

A. I think he would not; becauſe the Engliſh Government, as I apprehend, had the Means of enforcing any Requeſt which they choſe to make to the Vizier.

Q. To what Cauſe was it imputable, or to what Cauſe do you impute, the Succeſs of Hyder Beg's Oppoſition to the Eſtabliſhment of a Court of Juſtice?
A. In my own Opinion?

Q. According to any Reaſon you had, of knowing and obſerving?
A. My Opinion was, that it was owing to the Support of Mr. Haſtings.

Q. He had Inſtructions to appoint a Court of Juſtice?
A. That was the Idea I had of it at the Time.

Q. Had Mr. Haſtings any ſecret Agents at Lucknow during the Time of Mr. Briſtow's Reſidence?
A. He had;—Major Palmer.

Q. Do you ſuppoſe Hyder Beg could have oppoſed it with Succeſs, as you obſerved, unleſs he had been ſupported by Mr. Haſtings in Oppoſition to his Inſtructions?
A. I believe he would have been afraid of doing it.

Q. What was the Reſident's Power, according to your Obſervation?
A. If ſupported, I ſhould apprehend, he would have the principal Power.

Q. Supported by whom?
A. By the Government.

Q. By the Engliſh Government?
A. By the Engliſh Government.

Q. Did not Mr. Middleton, during his Reſidence, exerciſe that which you call a principal Power?
A. I know very little of Mr. Middleton's Adminiſtration.

Q. Had he, according to your Knowledge, the Command of the Troops?
A. I underſtood that he had; and that any Requiſition he choſe to make, to the Officers ſtationed at the ſeveral Cantonments, would be complied with, by ſending ſuch Troops as he might require.

Q. Had he not a Body of Troops under his own immediate Command, called the Reſident's Body Guard?
A. He had.

Q. I underſtood the Witneſs to have ſaid, he conſidered Mr. Middleton as having the ſubſtantial Power in the Country. Who did the Nabob and his Miniſter conſider as having that Power?
A. I never heard either the Nabob or his Miniſter ſpeak of him; therefore, I cannot ſay in what Light they conſidered him.

Q. Do you know who the Country in general looks up to for that Power?
A. To the Engliſh Government; they were conſidered as the chief Power, I apprehend.

Q. Was Mr. Middleton looked up to by the Engliſh in general, as having that Power?
A. I believe ſo.

Q. From your Situation in the Office, do you think that Power could be exerciſed by Mr. Middleton without Mr. Haſtings's Knowledge?
A. I do not think it could.

Q. You have named Major Palmer as an Agent of Mr. Haſtings; I would aſk, in what Character you conſidered Major Davy at Lucknow?
A. I underſtood he went up the Country upon ſome Buſineſs of Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Did you conſider thoſe Agents of Mr. Haſtings, Major Davy and Major Palmer, as forwarding or obſtructing the Execution of his public Orders?
A. I cannot poſitively ſwear that, but I underſtood they did.

Q. Obſtruct or forward?
A. Obſtruct.

Q. Have you any Reaſon, and what, to believe that Major Palmer and Major Davy were employed in oppoſing his public Inſtructions?
A. I underſtood that they were; I have no other Reaſons than what I heard from thoſe in the Office.

Q. You know nothing of it, but you heard it?
A. Nothing but what I heard from thoſe in my Office.

Q. Was

Q. Was not Major Palmer at Lucknow during a conſiderable Part of the Time of the Tranſaction relative to the Begums?

A. I was not there at the Time of the Tranſactions with the Begums, I was gone down to Calcutta.

Q. I don't mean at the Time of ſeizing the Treaſures, but when the Meaſures were taken to compel the Begums Officers to confeſs where the Treaſure was, to compel them to confeſs while they were in Priſon in 1782; the Queſtion is, not as to the ſeizing the Treaſures, but do you remember the Time the Begums were impriſoned to compel them to ſay where the Treaſures were?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Major Palmer at Lucknow at that Time?

A. To the beſt of my Recollection he was.

Q. Do you believe that theſe Tranſactions could have happened without Major Palmer's Knowledge, during his Reſidence there at that Time?

A. I ſhould ſuppoſe not; but I am not certain whether he was there or no.

Q. Did you ever ſee the Two Miniſters of the Begums?

A. I ſaw them brought into Lucknow.

Q. In what Situation were they, when you ſaw them brought into Lucknow?

A. They were brought in their Palanquins, attended by a Guard of Sepoys.

Q. Under whoſe Command were the Sepoys?

A. That they were brought in by?

Q. Yes.

A. I do not recollect.

Q. Were thoſe Sepoys that brought in the Priſoners, Part of the Nabob's Army, or were they any Britiſh Troops?

A. To the beſt of my Recollection, they were detached from a Regiment then ſtationed at Fyzabad.

Q. In whoſe Service was that Regiment?

A. In the Company's.

Q. Were they at large afterwards at Lucknow, or cloſely impriſoned, and how?

A. They were confined in a detached Houſe, with a Guard, and in a Garden.

Q. What other Circumſtance do you know of their having been ſcourged, or hardly treated?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to this, as a leading Queſtion.

Q. Whether you know any Thing of their being hardly treated?

A. I never ſaw them puniſhed.

Q. Do you know of any other hard Treatment?

A. Nor of any other hard Treatment.

Q. Did you add to your Anſwer, Till ſome Time after?

A. I heard ſomething about it a long while after—ſeveral Years after.

Q. Were they impriſoned in any Houſe, near that in which you reſided?

A. They were impriſoned immediately under the Window of the Houſe in which I reſided, cloſe to it.

Q. Did you, or did you not ever ſee, any Preparations made for any corporal Puniſhment?

A. I ſaw ſomething of a Scaffolding.

Q. For what Purpoſe?

A. I heard, it was for the Purpoſe of tying them up.

Q. Whoſe Priſoners did you conſider theſe Men to be?

A. I conſidered them as Priſoners of the Reſident: They were cloſe to his Houſe, and under an European Officer.

Q. For what Purpoſe were they confined, or rigorouſly treated, if they were ſo?

A. I underſtand it was for the Purpoſe of extracting from them the Balance due from the Treaſures ſeized at Fyzabad.

Q. Do you, or do you not know of any Balance being due from the Treaſures ſeized at Fyzabad?

A. I heard that there was: I do not know that there was.

Q. Have you any Knowledge of the Cauſe of their Impriſonment, but from what you heard?
A. None, but from what I heard.

Q. Did you hear from the Reſident, the Cauſe of their Impriſonment?
A. No; not that I recollect; it is not, I think, likely he ſhould have told me.

Q. What Reaſon have you for ſaying, it was unlikely the Reſident ſhould tell you?
A. I had nothing to do in the Office at that Time; conſequently, it was improbable he ſhould communicate any Thing of the Office to me.

Q. Whether, Major Palmer had frequent Acceſs to the Reſident, and to the Nabob, and to his Miniſter?
A. I do not know that he had, during Mr. Middleton's Adminiſtration; I am not ſure.

Q. Had he, during Mr. Briſtow's Reſidence?
A. Yes, to the beſt of my Knowledge.

Q. But what Knowledge have you of it?
A. I have ſeen the Attendants of the Miniſter waiting at Mr. Palmer's Door, when I have underſtood he has been with him.

Q. During the Time you were in the Reſident's Office, do you know, whether all Mr. Haſtings's Correſpondence was regularly entered?
A. I have heard there were ſome Things which were not.

Q. Do you know of any Reaſon, why it was not?
A. No.

Q. Did you hear any Orders for its not being entered?
A. No.

Q. Do you recollect ſeeing any Letters yourſelf, not regularly entered, that were tranſmitted to the Reſident's Office from the Government at Calcutta?
A. I do recollect ſeeing one.

Q. State the Purport of any Paſſage, you recollect to have been ſo omitted; do you remember what the Letter was?
A. I do not remember the Whole of it.

Q. Do you remember any Part of it?
A. I think I do.

Q. Do you know, whom it was from?
A. I cannot be certain; I think it was a Letter from the Governor.

Q. Do you know Mr. Haſtings's Hand Writing?
A. I do not; I believe I could tell his Signature, but not his Hand Writing.

The Witneſs was ſhewn a Letter dated 30th June 1783, and aſked,

Q. Had this Letter his Signature?
A. I do not know that it had or had not.

Q. Why do you call it a Letter from the Governor then?
A. Becauſe I underſtood it ſo.

Q. Why did you underſtand it ſo?
A. I was told ſo.

Q. Was you told ſo by the Reſident?
A. No.

Q. Did you ſee that Letter?
A. I am not certain whether I ſaw the original Letter, or whether it was a Copy of it.

Q. Was it an official Copy, if you ſaw the Copy?
A. It was in the Office.

Q. Was it, or not, in the Books of the Office; was it tranſcribed according to the Forms of the Office?
A. No, it was not tranſcribed in the Books.

Q. State the Paſſage you recollect?

The Counſel for the Defendant ſubmitted, that the Managers for the Commons were not at Liberty to ſuggeſt any Paſſage of a Letter to the Witneſs, particularly under

under the Circumſtances ſtated by the Witneſs, that he does not know whether it was an official Paper, or whether it was ſigned by the Defendant.

The Managers for the Commons were informed, that unleſs they could bring the Letter home to Mr. Haſtings, it was no Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons obſerved, that the very Paſſage might aſcertain who the Writer was.

The Counſel for the Defendant inſiſted, that the Writer could not be ſo aſcertained.

The Managers for the Commons ſaid, they would waive the Queſtion for the preſent.

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Whether you ſaw a Letter of Intelligence from Fyzabad containing a Relation of the Treatment of the Women in the Khôurd Mahl?
A. Yes I did, and tranſlated it.

Q. From whom did it come?
A. Hoolaſs Roy.

Q. Who was he?
A. An Agent of the Reſident at Fyzabad, employed for the Purpoſe of tranſmitting Information to the Reſident.

Q. Was that Paper tranſmitted to Mr. Haſtings?
A. To the beſt of my Recollection, it was tranſmitted to the Board after I had atteſted it.

Q. What was the general Effect upon the Country, from the Seizure of the Begums Treaſures and the Impriſonment of the Miniſters: what Senſations did it occaſion?
A. I cannot tell what Senſations it occaſioned.

Q. Do you know of any Effects actually produced by it?
A. None.

Q. In what Reſpect did it affect the Nabob's Character, and how?
A. I have heard, from one or two Perſons, that it rendered him odious.

Q. What was the general Condition of the Police at Lucknow?
A. In a very miſerable Condition; very wretched indeed.

Q. What Sort of Eſtabliſhment is that Police?
A. There is a Man who has the Management of it, who is called a Cutwall.

Q. What Officers are under him; what Patroles; what is the Nature of the Eſtabliſhment?
A. I believe he has a Body of Country Sepoys.

Q. What Number of Sepoys?
A. I do not know.

Q. In what Manner does this Cutwall exerciſe his Office?
A. In a very bad Manner.

Q. What do you mean by exerciſing it in a bad Manner?
A. Becauſe Robberies are frequently committed.

Q. Do you impute that, to the Negligence of the Cutwall, or to the Inſufficiency of the Inſtitution?
A. To both.

Q. Was there any Thing elſe in the Behaviour of the Cutwall, beſides mere Negligence?
A. I have heard, he was an Accomplice in the Robberies.

Here the Witneſs was ſhewn a Paper, and aſked by the Managers for the Commons,

Q. Do you know that Hand Writing?
A. I do not.

Q. Look at the Hand Writing in the Margin.
A. I cannot ſwear poſitively to that in the Margin.

Q. Whoſe Hand Writing do you take it to be?
A. I think it is Mr. Briſtow's.

Q. Have you ſeen him write?
A. Yes frequently; I have had many Letters from him.

Q. And you believe that to be his Hand Writing?
A. Yes.

Q. If you think that is Mr. Briſtow's Hand Writing, do you think that theſe Corrections and Obſervations were authoriſed by him?

The Houſe acquainted the Managers for the Commons, that as yet the Houſe was not informed what they were. If made Evidence, the Houſe would hear them.

Q. In what Condition were the Nabob's Troops when you were at Lucknow, I mean, diſtinguiſhed from the Company's Troops?
A. In a very bad Condition.

Q. Deſcribe what you mean by a very bad Condition: do you ſpeak of their Appearance, or Dreſs, or in what?
A. I mean, they were very badly clothed, and in general without much Diſcipline.

Q. Do you know of any Inſtances of the Nabob's Guard riſing at any Time upon the Nabob himſelf, in a mutinous Manner?
A. No, not whilſt I was there.

Q. To what do you attribute the bad Cloathing and poor State of the Nabob's Troops?
A. I apprehend to the Want of Pay and to the Want of Cloathing.

Q. To what was the Want of Cloathing owing?
A. I cannot ſay; I ſuppoſe, to the Want of being regularly ſupplied.

Q. What Circumſtances of their ill Cloathing do you recollect, to ſhew that they were ill cloathed?
A. I recollect ſeeing ſome of the Cavalry very badly cloathed indeed.

Q. Specify, as far as your Memory goes, the Deficiencies in the Cloathing which you had occaſion to obſerve?
A. Some were with one Sleeve of a Coat, others with a Bit of Cloth ſewed on to a Shirt: The Cavalry I am ſpeaking of.

Q. Was this extenſive amongſt the Cavalry; how many had he?
A. I never ſaw above Two Corps of Cavalry.

Q. What is the Number of each Corps?
A. Both together make about Four hundred.

Q. What Proportion of theſe Four hundred were ſo cloathed?
A. The greater Part; nearly all of them.

Q. Did you proceed with the Nabob from Lucknow to join Mr. Haſtings at Chunar in September 1781?
A. I did.

Q. Were theſe Cavalry attending in the March?
A. I cannot poſitively ſay;—a great many attended, but whether theſe Corps of which I am now ſpeaking attended, I cannot ſay.

Q. Was the Appearance of that Cavalry who did attend him, in the bad Way you have deſcribed?
A. They were of a different Kind; they had not European Cloaths, nor European Accoutrements.

Q. Whether a Sum of Money would not have been highly acceptable to the Nabob to pay or cloath theſe Troops at that Time?
A. I ſhould apprehend it would, whether he had Troops or not.

Q. But the Queſtion means; whether it was peculiarly neceſſary; whether the cloathing his Troops would not have made it peculiarly acceptable to him?
A. I ſuppoſe it would.

Q. Have you any Knowledge of Mr. Middleton having advanced to the Nabob a Sum of Money at that Period, previous to his joining Mr. Haſtings at Chunar?
A. I know nothing of it.

Q. From your Obſervations and Knowledge of his Circumſtances, did you conſider the Nabob as in a Condition to make a conſiderable Preſent to any Perſon?
A. I have no Knowledge upon the Subject.

Q. You

Q. You have mentioned hitherto the ill Pay of his Troops and the bad Condition of their Cloathing, did you look upon him therefore to be in a Condition to make a great Preſent?
A. I cannot ſay, whether he had a large Sum of Money in his Poſſeſſion or not.

Q. Do you believe, if he had had a large Sum or any Sum of Money in his Poſſeſſion, he would have applied it to the Cloathing and Pay of his own Troops, his own Body Guard?
A. I ſhould ſuppoſe he would for his own Credit.

Q. Whether you know any thing of the Nabob giving Mr. Haſtings any Preſent, and what, immediately upon his Arrival at Chunar?
A. I do not know of any.

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Witneſs had authenticated the Hand-writing of Mr. Briſtow in the Margin of a Paper that had been ſhewn him, and in Order to authenticate the Paper itſelf, it was neceſſary it ſhould be read to the Witneſs?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to the Paper being read, till it had been authenticated by the Witneſs, or otherwiſe.

The Managers for the Commons were aſked, if this was not the Paper of which the Witneſs had ſaid, he knew the Hand Writing in a Marginal Note of it to be the Hand Writing of Mr. Briſtow, but that he knew nothing of the Hand Writing of the Paper itſelf.

The Managers for the Commons obſerved, that the Witneſs had ſaid a Paper had been received from Hoolaſs Roy, which he tranſlated in the Reſident's Office: That they wiſhed to aſcertain whether this was not that Paper, and to do it, it was neceſſary for the Witneſs to hear or read the Paper.

The Paper was ſhewn to the Witneſs; and he was aſked,

Q. Do you know whether that was the Paper you tranſlated? Is that the Paper which came from Hoolaſs Roy?
A. To the beſt of my Recollection it is—the original Paper was given to me by the Reſident to tranſlate.

Q. Was that Paper tranſmitted to Calcutta?
A. I don't know whether or no the Original was, but I underſtand my Tranſlation was, becauſe it was ſent to me to atteſt after having tranſlated it; which Proceſs it would not have undergone, had it not been intended to be tranſmitted to Calcutta.

Then the Managers for the Commons were heard in Support of the above mentioned Point.

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Whether that Paper now ſhewn to you is, or is not, a Tranſlation of a Paper of Intelligence tranſmitted from Fyzabad to Lucknow?
A. I think it is.

Q. Do you ſay, alſo, you think it was tranſmitted to Calcutta?

The Houſe obſerved, That that could be proved by the Records of the Company.

The Managers for the Commons made Anſwer, That they ſhould prove it from the Records of the Company, but they wiſhed to ſtrengthen the Evidence by authenticating this as an official Tranſlation of the Paper.

Q. Whether you know of any Allowance made to the Britiſh Gentlemen out of the Revenue of the Nabob of Oude?
A. I do;—by the Reſident.

Q. Do you know, or have you any Reaſon to believe, or form a Judgement whether the Reſident would have made thoſe Allowances, without the Knowledge or Conſent of Mr. Haſtings?
A. I do not believe he would, without the Knowledge and Conſent of the Government at Calcutta.

Q. Do you know of any Authority for theſe Allowances by any Body, and whom, poſterior to the Treaty of Chunar?
A. What Authority?

Q. You

Q. You have ſaid there were Allowances made to Engliſh Gentlemen by the Reſident at Oude?

A. Yes?

Q. Do you know of any Authority, poſterior to the Treaty of Chunar, by which thoſe Allowances were ſo made?

A. I do not.

Q. I deſire to know who paid you your Allowance?

A. The Reſident.

Q. Was that Allowance ſettled before, or after the Treaty of Chunar?

A. From the Date of the Treaty of Chunar I received it.

Q. Have you any Reaſon to know that was in Conſequence of a Regulation; or do you know of any Regulation made upon the Subject?

A. The Reſident told me it had been ſettled. As nearly as I can recollect, "that the Vizier had ſettled that Allowance upon us."

Q. To what Amount?

A. Two thouſand Rupees a Month.

Q. From your Knowledge who did the Allowance come from; was it from the Britiſh Revenues, or the Nabob?

A. From the Reſident, out of the Nabob's Revenue.

Q. Could the Reſident make you that Allowance, without having the Authority of Mr. Haſtings? Do you know whether he did make it by the Authority of the Engliſh Government or not; or from his own Head?

A. I do not know that he made it by the Authority of the Engliſh Government poſitively, nor do I know he did not.

Q. Did the Reſident, from any Converſation he held with you, make you underſtand it was ſettled at Chunar?

A. That Impreſſion was left upon my Mind when he told me it was ſettled at Chunar.

Q. Would the Nabob, as far as you had Occaſion to obſerve or know, have made any Allowance to any Engliſh Gentleman without the Approval of the Government of Bengal, or of Mr. Haſtings?

A. I do not believe I could have obtained a Rupee without.

Q. Did you hear of any other great Allowances made, beſides thoſe paid to the Reſident's Office?

A. I have heard of other Allowances.

Q. Have you heard of any Allowance to Sir Eyre Coote?

A. I have.

Q. Have you heard of any Allowance to Dr. Thomas?

A. I have.

Q. That it was a great Allowance?

A. Yes; that it was a great Allowance.

Q. Have you heard that there was any Allowance to Dr. Murcheſon?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to the Queſtion being aſked in the Form put by the Manager for the Commons; and that it ought to be aſked what Allowances were made; not whether an Allowance was made to ſuch a One by Name.

Q. Do you recollect what Allowances you have heard were made?

A. I have heard, as I ſaid before, of an Allowance to Sir Eyre Coote, which was Fifteen thouſand Rupees a Month; of One to Dr. Thomas, the preciſe Sum I do not know; and of One to Dr. Murcheſon, the preciſe Amount of which I am alſo ignorant of.

Q. Have you heard of any other?

A. I cannot charge my Memory with any.

Q. Whether Dr. Murcheſon had any, and what Emoluments, beſides what he received by thoſe Allowances?

A. He had an Allowance from the Company.

Q. I except the Company; I am not enquiring of the Company. Had he any other Emolument beſides that from the Nabob?

A. None from the Nabob, that I know of.

Q. Had

Q. Had he from the Reſident ?
A. I have heard of his having an Emolument from a Corps to which he was Paymaſter.

Q. As a Paymaſter ?
A. As a Paymaſter.

Q. But no farther ?
A. Not that I know of.

Q. Do you recollect any Thing concerning a Memorial or Repreſentation by the Nabob of Bahadre, the Brother of Aſoph ul Dowlah, the reigning Nabob, being preſented to Mr. Briſtow ?
A. Yes, I do.

Q. What was the Subject of it ?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to the Witneſs ſpeaking to the Contents of a Memorial in Writing.

Q. What is become of that Memorial ?
A. That Memorial was given me to tranſlate in the ſame Manner as the other Paper I have mentioned; which I did: It was afterwards atteſted, and I believe it was ſent to Calcutta.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they had the Repreſentation, which would undoubtedly appear in its Time; but as the Defendant denied having ever heard of any Part of the Tranſaction, they meant to prove every Circumſtance relative to it.

The Counſel for the Defendant inſiſted, that it was not competent to the Managers for the Commons to examine the Witneſs to the Contents of a written Paper.

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Whether there was any Difference, in point of Time, between the Date of the Paper being tranſlated, and its being put into the Office ?
A. Much about the ſame Time, if not the ſame Day.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they meant to ſupport the written Paper by the verbal Teſtimony of the Witneſs at the Bar; but as it would put him to Inconvenience to detain him till the Paper could be produced, they ſhould proceed with their Examination, and waive this Queſtion for the preſent.

Q. The Witneſs has ſaid, he tranſlated the Memorial; I would aſk whether the Tranſlation was correct and proper ?
A. Yes.

Q. And it was tranſmitted to Bengal as ſuch ?
A. Yes.

Q. And it is now among the Papers of Bengal ?
A. Yes.

Q. Whether, during your Reſidency at Lucknow, the Condition of the Inhabitants of that Place was in perfect Security as to their Lives and Property ?
A. I think not; not in a State of Security.

Q. Whether you know of any, and what Inſtance, that ſerved to mark that State of Inſecurity you have imputed to Lucknow ?
A. I know of ſeveral Robberies that were committed, very daring ones; alſo of Murders.

Q. Mention ſuch as you know yourſelf.
A. I was twice robbed myſelf.

Q. What Knowledge had you of the Murders; do you know any thing of them, otherwiſe than from Report and Rumour: Did you ſee the Body, or any Thing of that Sort ?
A. I did not ſee the Body.

Q. What do you know of them ?
A. There was a Robbery committed whilſt I was at Supper in the Reſident's Garden; it was committed by a numerous Band of very atrocious Robbers: They came with Torches in their Hands, and cut down ſeveral People; and afterwards plundered the Houſe of a Banker, to the Amount of 24,000 Rupees, cloſe to the Houſe of a Gentleman at the Bottom of the Reſident's Garden.

Q. I desire to know whether Justice was done upon these Delinquents?
A. I do not know that they were discovered?

Q. Whether you know of any Diligence being used to bring them to Justice?
A. I recollect Mr. Bristow complaining of the Impossibility of bringing them to Punishment from the Want of Power.

Q. From your Observation of what passed at the Court of the Nabob, how did that affect the Police of that City?
A. I do not understand the Question.

Q. Whether the Nabob's Household behaved orderly, or how otherwise?
A. They did not behave orderly, so far as I heard.

Q. Did their Disorders require the Assistance of a Magistrate to controul them?
A. Most undoubtedly, from the Depredations they were supposed to have committed.

Q. Whether, if Magistrates had been duly appointed, according to the Constitution of the Place, they would have been sufficient to have controuled these Disorders?
A. I suppose they would.

Q. Do you know of any Attempt made under Mr. Hastings's Recommendation to establish such an Officer?
A. I understand there was.

Q. Was any Body, and who, appointed to the Office?
A. A Person of the Name of Moolevy Mowbein.

Q. Do you know any Thing of the Character and Qualification of Moolevy Mowbein?
A. I understood him to be of a very excellent Character, a very good Man, and very well qualified for that Place.

Q. Did you take him to be incorrupt, or otherwise?
A. I understood he was very much so: Very incorrupt, and a very honest Man.

Q. Do you know whether he was ostensibly admitted by Hyder Beg Cawn?
A. I understood he was ostensibly admitted by Hyder Beg Cawn.

Q. Was he properly supported in his Office, so as to enable him to do his Duty?
A. I understood not.

Q. Did Hyder Beg Cawn give him any Support?
A. I understood he gave him no Support; upon the contrary, he opposed him.

Q. Is it your Opinion that if Mr. Hastings would have supported Mr. Bristow in the Nomination recommended by himself, Hyder Beg Cawn would have dared to have opposed him?
A. I should suppose that Hyder Beg Cawn would not have dared to oppose him, if the Government had taken the Means in their Power to support the Magistrate.

Q. Whether, according to your Observation of the State of that Country, it did not particularly call for the Establishment of Magistrates according to Law?
A. I think it did.

Q. *(Cross examined.)* What Age was you when you went to Lucknow?
A. Fifteen or Sixteen.

Q. I understand the Witness to have gone up the Country in 1778 or 1779?
A. In 1779.

Q. In 1779, you were of the Age of Fifteen or Sixteen?
A. Yes.

Q. Do you recollect what Age you were, when you went to Goruckpore?
A. I cannot precisely recollect what Age I was when I went to Goruckpore.

Q. How soon was it after you went up the Country of Oude?
A. It was after Sir Eyre Coote left Oude.

Q. What Year was that, do you recollect?
A. I think it was in 1780.

Q. Then you must have been between Sixteen and Seventeen?
A. I fancy somewhere thereabouts.

Q. Did you make a longer Stay in either of the Provinces of Baraitch, or Goruckpore than Seven Months?
A. No longer.

Q. You

Q. You ſaid the Country appeared to be in a worſe State than it had been; I wiſh to underſtand whether you ſaw any particular Marks of the former Cultivation that had been diſcontinued?

A. I don't recollect to have ſaid that.

Q. It is underſtood, and if there is any Doubt about it, you will explain it, that when you went to Goruckpore and Baraitch you had obſerved it was leſs populous; that there were ſome Marks of Diſtreſs in that Country, and that it was in a worſe Condition than you underſtood it from Report to be, before you went there

A. Yes.

Q. Then the Queſtion is, what Signs of that Diſtreſs you had obſerved there?

A. I obſerved it was not ſo populous as other Parts of India I was in.

Q. Whether you ſaw any Signs that Parts of the Country, which had been cultivated and inhabited before, were uncultivated and deſerted?

A. I think I did.

Q. In what Part, and which of thoſe Provinces in particular?

A. I ſaw Two or Three very capital Towns, with the Houſes which had been inhabited by former Rajahs or Princes: Theſe, at the Time I ſaw them, were uninhabited; and the Towns had fewer Perſons in them than they appeared originally to have contained.

Q. What were the Names of thoſe Towns?

A. The Two Towns I mean, were Barampore and Ghouda.

Q. Are not the Diſtricts of Baraitch and Goruckpore the Frontier Diſtricts of the Province of Oude?

A. They are.

Q. Do you know any Thing of Inſurrections and other Cauſes of Depopulation which prevailed in thoſe Two Diſtricts?

A. I have already ſtated, that it afforded an Aſylum for fugitive Zemindars.

Q. In Anſwer to a Queſtion, what the Character of thoſe People were, you ſaid they were refractory, and imputed it to that; do you impute the Want of Cultivation and Population that you obſerved to the ſame Cauſe?

A. I impute it in ſome Meaſure to the Diſtreſs of the Country.

Q. I wiſh to know from the Witneſs, whether he does not know thoſe Diſtreſſes were owing to the Incurſions made by thoſe refractory fugitive Zemindars?

A. I do.

Q. Were there any particular Zemindars about 1780 or 1781 who diſtreſſed that Country?

A. I have forgot their Names. I recollect hearing of One or Two.

Q. Was Zalmin Sing One?

A. I do not recollect their Names.

Q. The Towns that you obſerved to be abandoned, did they appear to have been long or recently abandoned?

A. They were not in very bad Repair; and whether they were abandoned for a Length of Time or very little, I cannot pretend to ſay.

Q. Did they appear, or could you collect from your Obſervation from what you ſaw in theſe Towns, Whether they had or not been abandoned before the Year 1775.

A. I do not know. I cannot tell.

Q. Do you, or do you not know, Whether the Native Zemindars had behaved in a Manner more refractory than other Zemindars?

A. No; I do not.

Q. Do you know whether the Revenues of theſe Two Diſtricts had ever been collected without conſiderable Rigour?

A. I know nothing about the former Mode of collecting it.

Q. Do you know whether, in Caſes of Claims for Arrears of Revenue in Baraitch and Goruckpoor, there were any Courts to which they could reſort to compel Payment?

A. No.

Q. Do you know of any Court in which the Collectors of the public Revenue can, by the regular Proceſs of ſuch Court, compel Payment?

A. None.

Q. Whether, from November to July, the Inhabitants of that Part do not continue in the open Air all Night?

A. The greater Part of them ſleep in the open Air of Choice all Night.

Q. You

Q. You have ſtated Two Modes of collecting; One by the Kiſtbundy, which is according to a regular Rate; the other the Aumanney, which is diſcretionary: I wiſh you to explain what you mean by the Aumanney, and whether it is not a certain Proportion of the growing Crop?

A. Do you mean, a Demand made according to a certain Proportion of the growing Crop?

Q. Whether in the Aſſeſſment of the diſcretionary Rate by the Aumanney, any Proportion is obſerved between the Sum demanded and the growing Crop of that Year?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do you know whether the ſame Mode, or a ſimilar Mode of Collection, obtains in the Two Provinces of Bahar and Oude?

A. I believe they do.

Q. Do you know whether it obtains likewiſe in the Province of Bengal?

A. I do not know.

Q. When you ſpeak of a ſimilar Manner, do you mean that there is a double Mode of Collection—One by the Kiſtbundy, which I underſtand to be regular; and One by Diſcretion, called the Aumanney—Whether the ſame Practice prevails in Bahar and Oude?

A. Yes, to the beſt of my Memory.

Q. Do you know, whether the Inſtances of Rigour uſed in Colonel Hannay's Time, came at any Time to Mr. Haſtings's Knowledge?

A. I do not.

Q. Whether you know Major M'Donald, Captain David Williams, and Captain Gordon?

A. I do.

Q. What is the Character of thoſe Gentlemen for Veracity?

A. I never heard it impeached.

Q. Were thoſe Gentlemen ſtationed in the Province of Goruckpore in September 1781?

A. I think they were.

Q. You was ſtationed there in the Months of Auguſt, September, and October, 1781?

A. No; I was there in the Spring.

Q. Then, they who were there in the latter Months, had a better Opportunity of knowing than you?

A. I believe they had; they were employed in the Collections, and conſequently had.

Q. Do you remember at what Diſtance of Time, after the Receipt of the Intelligence reſpecting the Diſtreſſes of the Khourd Mahl, that Paper was tranſmitted to Calcutta?

A. I cannot ſay.

Q. Do you believe it was tranſmitted within Ten Months after the Time it was received?

A. I underſtood it to be a Letter received juſt before it was tranſmitted.

Q. Then you underſtand it was tranſmitted as ſoon as received?

A. Yes, in the Courſe of Three Days.

Q. Can you bring to your Mind the Time at which the Tranſlation was made?

A. To the beſt of my Recollection, it was in January 1784.

Q. Whether the Diſtreſſes that had been complained of had ceaſed for above a Twelvemonth before the Diſtreſſes of the Khourd Mahl?

A. I underſtood they were new Diſtreſſes.

Q. Then you ſtate, that that Account tranſmitted in 1784, was, as you underſtand, an Account of new Diſtreſſes?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know, whether there was not a ſpecific Aſſignment for the Maintenance of thoſe Women in the Country of Sultanpore?

A. I know that they had large Parcels of Land allotted for their Support and Maintenance.

Q. Were they ſeparate Aſſignments from the Begums Jaghire?

A. I do not know.

Q. Does the Witneſs know the Diſtance of a Place called Taundy from Fyzabad upon the Banks of the Gogra?

A. I am not certain, I think about Forty Miles.

Q. Do you know whether Tannda is within one of the Begums Jaghires?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. At what Diſtance from Barraitch and Goruckpore was you in Auguſt, September, and October, 1781, when the Inſurrection happened?
A. I was at Calcutta.

Q. Was you there from the 15th of Auguſt to the End of September?
A. I cannot ſpeak to Dates; but I went with the Vizier from Lucknow to Chunar, and from thence I proceeded to Calcutta.

Q. How far is Lucknow from Barraitch and Goruckpore?
A. About Eighty Miles.

Q. The Witneſs has ſtated, that a Letter of the 15th of September 1782, from the Vizier to the Governor General at Calcutta, complaining of Colonel Hannay, was ſent to the Government; do you know when Colonel Hannay died?
A. I think in 1784; I cannot tell.

Q. Where did he die?
A. In Calcutta.

Q. When was the Letter tranſmitted?
A. I do not know. I did not ſay I had tranſmitted it, or that I knew it was tranſmitted.

Q. Whether you have any Knowledge of the Oppoſition; or whether there was any Oppoſition to the Courts of Juſtice by any Body?
A. I underſtand that Hyder Beg Cawn oppoſed them.

Q. Have you any Knowledge of your own, of the Manner in which he oppoſed them?
A. I heard it was, becauſe he would not give them a Court to ſit in; that was one.

Q. Was there any other?
A. I do not know of any other.

Q. Whether you know of any Act of Oppoſition upon the Part of Hyder Beg?
A. I do not know of any.

Q. What Station had Moolevy Mobein been in before he was appointed to the Magiſtracy, the Darogah Adawlut?
A. I heard he was originally appointed upon a former Occaſion to the ſame Office; but I think they ſaid he refuſed to accept of it, and that, ſubſequently, for Subſiſtence, he kept a School.

Q. Was he a Schoolmaſter at the Time he was appointed?
A. I believe he was.

Q. By keeping a School, do you mean, an inferior Situation; or was it a conſiderable One in the Place?
A. Rather an inconſiderable One, I ſhould imagine.

Q. But have you any Knowledge of that?
A. I have ſeen the School in the Street.

Q. The Witneſs ſaid, he heard it was uſual for the Reſident to interfere with the Nabob's Government, and that he heard of an Inſtance. Can you ſpecify the Inſtance in which the Reſident intermeddled in the Nabob's Government?
A. In the Appointment of an Aumil.

Q. How did he interfere?
A. Againſt the Concurrence of Hyder Beg Cawn.

Q. Whether it is not uſual throughout the Dominions of the Vizier to collect the Revenueby Means of a Military Force?
A. In many Parts it is.

Q. Is there any Part of the Dominions of the Vizier in which a Military Force is not employed for that Purpoſe?
A. I do not know that there is.

Q. Whether the Force employed in the Collection of the Revenue, being a Military Force, is not commanded by Military Officers?
A. Not by Military Officers in general, but many of the Aumils, though not Military Men, have Corps employed in the Collection of the Revenue.

Q. You mean many Perſons, themſelves not Military, have Corps under their Command for the Purpoſe of collecting the Revenue?
A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever ſee a written Copy of the Aumanny?
A. None.

Q. What Knowledge then have you of it?
A. Merely Report.

Q. You ſaid the Collection was higher at One Period and lower at another; did you ſtate that, from mere Report, or from certain Documents?
A. From mere Report.

Q. Do you know whether Major Palmer was in the Country of Oude at the Time the Inſurrection in Baraitch and Goruckpore broke out?
A. I do not know preciſely the Time when the Inſurrection broke out, for I was abſent at the Time.

Q. Do you know whether Major Palmer was there in the Month of January 1782?
A. I cannot charge my Memory; I cannot preciſely tell whether he was, or was not; I was at Calcutta in the Beginning of the Year 1782.

Q. Whether Colonel Hannay was not diſmiſſed by the Vizier himſelf?
A. I have heard he was.

Q. Do you know the Period of that Diſmiſſion?
A. I do not.

Q. Can you ſtate at what Time, within a few Months?
A. I cannot, for I did not hear till ſome Time afterwards.

Q. Do you know of his being re-appointed, after being diſmiſſed by the Vizier in 1782, or whenever it was?
A. He never was re-appointed.

Q. Was he never re-appointed?
A. Not to my Knowledge: I heard he was diſmiſſed and re-appointed. I do not mean that he was diſmiſſed at the Time that he left the Country, but previous to it.

Q. So that you have heard that he had been diſmiſſed and re-appointed?
A. I have heard that he had been diſmiſſed and re-appointed.

Q. Can you bring it to your Memory, at what Time he had been diſmiſſed before he came out of the Country?
A. I cannot; it was ſome Time after that I heard it.

Q. Do you know of any Ground that would have prevented the Vizier, Hyder Beg, or any other Part of the Government of Oude, from complaining to the Government of Bengal, if there were Occaſion?
A. None; I ſhould think he might very eaſily have complained, if he choſe it.

Q. Whether Dr. Thomas was not the Surgeon and particular Favourite of Sujah ul Dowlah?
A. He was his Surgeon and particular Favourite.

Q. Do you know any Thing of his being a Favourite, or of his Allowance, except from Hearſay?
A. I have heard him ſay ſo myſelf. He had a particular Diſorder, in conſequence of which he wrote to Mr. Haſtings to ſend him up, and he was ſent up to Oude at the particular Requeſt of Sujah ul Dowlah.

Q. When did you leave India?
A. I left India the latter End of November 1786.

Q. Do you know when Mr. Haſtings left India?
A. I think he left it in the preceding Seaſon.

Q. Do you know whether Hyder Beg continued in the Service of the Vizier, as his Miniſter, down to the Time you left India?
A. I have heard he continued, and is now the Miniſter.

Q. Do you know whether Mr. Haſtings's Power was looked upon to be conſiderable in England and India, after he had left India?
A. I do not know for certain; I have heard ſo.

Q. Was not ſuch an Opinion common?
A. Whether it was common or not, I cannot pretend to ſay; I have heard ſuch a Thing.

Q. Did you ever hear to the contrary?
A. Never, that I know of: It is poſſible I might have heard, but I really cannot charge my Memory.

Q. Whether, from your Obſervation, you think the Vizier could hope to make an effectual Complaint againſt any Perſon ſupported by Mr. Haſtings?
A. My Obſervation does not juſtify an Anſwer, one Way or the other.

Q. Whether you do not know that Colonel Hannay was re-appointed by the Direction of Mr. Haſtings, after he was diſmiſſed by the Nabob?
A. I may have heard ſo; I very likely did hear ſo.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether you have not heard that Major Oſborne was appointed by Mr. Haſtings?
A. I underſtood that Major Oſborne had a Command of a Corps belonging to the Vizier.

Q. Whether that Appointment was by the Recommendation of Mr. Haſtings?
A. I have heard Mr. Haſtings was a Friend of his; but I do not know whether he was appointed by the Recommendation of Mr. Haſtings, or not.

Q. Was Major Oſborne concerned in the Collection of the Revenue?
A. Not to my Knowledge.

Q. Did you never hear of it?
A. I have heard of it.

Q. Did you hear Complaints were made?
A. I heard there were. An Aumil of Illiabad made a Complaint againſt him.

Q. Did you hear of any Enquiry made into that Complaint?
A. Never that I know of. It is poſſible I may have heard of it; but I cannot charge my Memory.

Q. Then you do not know that any Enquiry was made into it?
A. No.

Q. Whether when the Vizier ſwore by the Prophet he would fly from his Dominions in caſe Colonel Hannay was ſent back, you conſider that Phraſe of the Vizier as a Complaint?
A. I do.

Q. Whether the Appointment of Moolevy Mobein was conſidered by the Natives as a Degradation of the Office?
A. I ſhould apprehend not.

Q. What was the Eſtimation Moolevy Mobein ſtood in amongſt the Natives?
A. Very reſpectable, by thoſe I heard ſpeak of him.

Q. It has been ſaid he was a Schoolmaſter: I would aſk, whether the Men of the Law were not obliged to reſort to other Employments to get their Bread in that Country, while there were no legal Courts?
A. Yes, I ſhould ſuppoſe they might.

Q. Whether Moolevy Mobein had not been appointed, in Mr. Middleton's Time, to the ſame Office by Mr. Middleton?
A. I have heard that he was.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they wiſhed to eſtabliſh the Fact of a Paper, upon the Records of the Company, having paſſed through the Reſident's Office, purporting to be a Narrative of a Converſation between Mr. Briſtow and Hyder Beg Cawn, on the Firſt of May 1783; and read a Paſſage therefrom.

Then the Paper was ſhewn to the Witneſs; and he was aſked,

Q. Do you remember ſuch a Paper as this?
A. No, I do not remember any ſuch Paper.

Q. (*by Counſel.*) I would wiſh the Witneſs to be aſked, whether Colonel Hannay was ſent back to the Country of Oude, after the Letter of Complaint was written?
Q. What is the Date?
A. The 15th of September 1782.

Q. Had he left the Country on the 15th of September 1782?
A. I believe he had.

Q. Did he ever go back?
A. Not to my Knowledge.

Q. Do you know any thing of the Circulation of the Copies of the Articles of Impeachment in India?
A. Yes; they were in general Circulation.

Q. Do you know when Colonel Hannay died?
A. I cannot bring that to my Recollection at all.

Q. Are the Revenues that are collected upon the Kiſtbundy, collected without a Military Force?
A. Many of them are, if the Country happens not to be in a turbulent State.

Q. Whether the Puniſhments which you ſpeak of, ſo inflicted by Colonel Hannay, by Impriſonment in the Way you mentioned, were ſevere beyond the uſual Puniſhments inflicted in other Places, and by other Collectors?

 A. I

A. I do not think they were, if the Demand were juſtifiable. They are Puniſhments which are uſed in many Parts of India: I mean, Impriſonment and Corporal Puniſhment.

Q. Were there any Inſtances of particular Severity under Colonel Hannay's Adminiſtration?
A. None, that I know of.

Q. Had Colonel Hannay any Office, Authority, or Employment under the Vizier's Government, except that of collecting the Revenues in the Two Diſtricts of Baraitch and Goruckpore?
A. I believe he had every Authority in the Country.

Q. Had he any other Office?
A. I don't know that he had any other Office.

Q. What Kind of Authority do you allude to, when you ſay, Every other Authority?
A. Every other Authority.

Q. Was that beyond the Two Diſtricts of Baraitch and Goruckpore?
A. No.

Q. But in Baraitch and Goruckpore?
A. Yes.

Q. I underſtood the Witneſs to ſay, he had an official Authority for the Collection of the Revenues: I underſtand him now to ſay, he had Influence. I want to know, whether he had any other official Authority than that of Collector?
A. None, that I know of, except to command the Troops.

Q. I underſtood the Witneſs to have ſaid, that Colonel Hannay told him he had ſet Guards to prevent Emigrations, and threatened Puniſhments to them that ſold their Children: I underſtood him to have ſaid ſo; if not, I ſhould be glad the Witneſs would ſet me right?
A. I do not recollect ſaying any ſuch Thing: I recollect having ſaid, upon a Complaint made to Colonel Hannay, that many People made a Practice of ſelling their Children;—that he had threatened to puniſh them if they would not forbear that Practice?

Q. *(from a Lord.)* I underſtood the Witneſs, (he will ſet me right if I am wrong), that he ſaw ſome Guard at the Bank of the Gogra, and that he heard Guards were placed to prevent Emigrations?
A. I recollect hearing that.

Q. Whether Colonel Hannay took upon him to place Chokies upon the Banks of the Gogra, or any other Places, to prevent Emigration, by virtue of his Authority as Collector; or how did he aſſume it?
A. I ſhould ſuppoſe he had done it by virtue of his Authority as Collector; but I have not ſaid I knew poſitively that he did, only that I heard ſo.

Q. The Interference that you ſuppoſe Colonel Hannay to have made Uſe of, either with reſpect to the ſelling of Children, or reſtraining Emigration, did you underſtand to ariſe from his Office of Collector, or any other ſort of Authority?
A. From his Office of Collector.

Q. Whether thoſe Mud Forts, for the Impriſonment of Perſons in the Manner you deſcribe, were according to the ordinary Cuſtom of the Country, or made up in a particular Manner for that Purpoſe?
A. They were not agreeable to the common Order of the Country.—In Bahar, thoſe who do not pay the Revenue are generally ſhut up in a Gaol.—There was no Gaol in the Country of Goruckpore and Baraitch that I ever heard of, and conſequently they muſt have ſome Place of Confinement. The Bamboo Palliſadoe Priſons, I underſtood, were merely temporary, till there ſhould be ſuch a Number of Mud Forts built as would be ſufficient to contain the Priſoners.

Q. I underſtood you to ſay, it was the Cuſtom of the Country to lay out of Doors, and that theſe Priſons were uncovered; Whether the Perſons confined, the Farmers, or whoever they were, for not paying Rent, whether they were not confined in thoſe open Forts without any Cover, for a Twelvemonth together?
A. Not to my Knowledge; I only ſaw them for a few Days.

Q. (*by the Managers for the Commons.*) As thoſe Cages or Gaols differ from the ordinary Gaols in Bahar and the other Places, I would aſk, Whether, in Bahar, there are not Courts of Juſtice to which it is neceſſary to apply, in order to impriſon Perſons charged with defrauding the Revenue?
A. I do not believe it is neceſſary for a judicial Proceſs to impriſon thoſe who do not pay their Duties to Government.

Q. You do not believe a judicial Proceſs requiſite for thoſe that do not pay the Revenue to Government?
A. I do not.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Martis, 22° *Aprilis* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated to the Houſe, that finding Mr. Holt was not gone ſo ſoon as he propoſed, they wiſhed to call him again, for the Purpoſe of aſking him a few Queſtions, as to the Monopoly of the Reſources of the Country of Oude.

Then ROBERT HOLT Eſquire, was called in; and aſked,

Q. Whether the Trade of Saltpetre is a conſiderable Branch of Trade in the Country of Oude?
A. It is.

Q. I deſire to know, if that Trade is free in the Province of Oude?
A. I underſtand and believe, it is not free.

Q. Is it under a Monopoly?
A. I have underſtood it is.

Q. For whoſe Benefit?
A. I believe for the Benefit of the Reſident.

Q. I deſire to know, whether there is a conſiderable Manufacture of Cloths in the Country of Oude?
A. There is.

Q. Is that Trade conſiderable?
A. Very conſiderable.

Q. To what may the Export of it amount?
A. I cannot preciſely ſay; but I have heard, to the Amount of ſeveral Lacks of Rupees.

Q. Have you heard it was One or Two or £300,000?
A. I have heard it was £200,000.

Q. The Export?
A. The Export.

Q. I deſire to know, whether that Trade is free?
A. I underſtand it is not free; I know it is not.

Q. Is it a ſtrict Monopoly?
A. It is.

Q. Have the Weavers a Power of working for whom they pleaſe?
A. I believe they have not. I know the Merchants are not allowed to buy or ſell that Commodity.

Q. Does the Prohibition upon the Merchants to buy and ſell, extend to the Home Trade, the Internal Trade, as well as to the Export Trade, of that particular Article of Cloths?
A. I am not certain; I believe it does.

Q. For whoſe Benefit is that Monopoly? for whoſe nominal Benefit?
A. For the Benefit of Mr. Scott: I believe, in ſome Meaſure, under the Orders of the Government of Calcutta.

Q. What is Mr. Scott's Situation?
A. Mr. Scott has the ſole Privilege of dealing in Cloths.

Q. From whom does he derive that Privilege?
A. From the Vizier.

Q. What is his Intereſt with the Vizier, that he ſhould give him a Monopoly of the principal Manufacture in his Dominions?

A. I underſtood it was at the Recommendation of the Government of Calcutta.

Q. Where are Mr. Scott's principal Warehouſes and the Seat of his Buſineſs?

A. There is One at a Place called Tannda; another ſomewhere near Illihabad, where Mr. Scott reſides, between Illihabad and Benares.

Q. Whether Tannda is not in, or immediately bordering upon, the Country under the Juriſdiction of the Begums near the Jaghires.

A. I really cannot poſitively ſay: It was within about Forty Miles from where the Begums reſided.

Q. Do you mean Forty Miles from Fyzabad?

A. Forty Miles from Fyzabad.

Q. Did you hear it was the Phouzdarry or other Juriſdiction of Shujah Cawn?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do you know, or have you any Reaſon to believe, that, during the Troubles, any Attempt was made to pillage or deſtroy Mr. Scott's Manufacture at Tannda?

A. I was abſent during the Time of the Troubles, and I never heard any Thing of it.

Q. I deſire to know, in Explanation of an Anſwer given by the Witneſs Yeſterday, Whether or no, when he ſaid he had not heard the Report of the Fortune of which Colonel Hannay died poſſeſſed, ſpoken of by above Eight or Ten People, he meant to expreſs that that was the Opinion of thoſe Ten People only, or a general Report?

The Houſe obſerved, that the Witneſs had ſpoken of a Report which he had heard from Ten People, and that to aſk him to the Rumour of a Report was going a great Way.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That the Witneſs had ſaid, he had not heard it from above Ten People; the Queſtion therefore that they wiſhed to aſk was, Whether the Witneſs underſtood, that that was the Opinion of thoſe Ten People only, or that the Opinion was general?

The Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Whether he underſtood, from the Converſation of thoſe Ten People, that they were reporting general Rumour, or their own Opinion?

A. They were reporting a general Rumour, and the Belief which they themſelves expreſſed of it.

Q. (*Croſs examined.*) I underſtand you to ſay, that you heard theſe Ten Perſons report, at Second-hand, the Report of others: Was it Hearſay at Second-hand?

A. Yes.

Q. Whether you know or heard that Saltpetre was a Free Trade in Oude?

A. I do not know that it was.

Q. Do you know, whether Mr. Haſtings was, or was not acquainted, with the Fact of this being a Monopoly, and that the Reſident had the Benefit of this Monopoly?

A. I do not.

Q. The Witneſs has ſpoken to a Monopoly of the Manufacture of Cloths in the Hands of Mr. Scott; I wiſh to aſk, Whether Mr. Scott provided them for the Benefit of the Company, or for his own private Benefit and Emolument?

A. For the Benefit of the Company.

Q. Do you know, whether he had, or had not, a regular Contract with the Company for a regular Supply of that Article?

A. I think I have heard of it.

Q. But do you know any Thing of it yourſelf?

A. No, I do not, any further than that he had the ſole Privilege of buying and ſelling the Cloths.

Q. Was you ever at Illihabad or Tannda, where the Warehouſes were?

A. No—never.

Q. Have you any Knowledge at all of it, but from Report?

A. I have heard a Merchant complain of his not being able to purchaſe Cloth; that is all the Knowledge I have.

Q. Do you know, whether the Cloth had always been a Monopoly under the Nabob's own Government?

A. I do not.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know, whether Mr. Scott paid any Duty to the Nabob's Government for his Cloths?
A. I do not.

Q. Do you know, whether the Cloths, the Manufacture of Oude, did or not conſtitute a valuable Part of the Company's Inveſtments?
A. I have heard a very conſiderable Share.

Q. Do you know, whether the Manufacture was much improved and extended by Mr. Scott?
A. I have heard the Exports were conſiderably increaſed, and were conſiderably increaſing when I left the Country.

Q. Do you know, whether Mr. Scott obtained his Situation, with reſpect to the Monopoly, by the Recommendation of Mr. Haſtings?
A. No, not particularly from Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Do you know any Thing of the Manner of his obtaining his Situation there?
A. I have already ſaid, I underſtood it was by the Recommendation of the Government at Calcutta.

Q. In what Manner do you know it?
A. I have heard it.

Q. You ſaid, you only knew the Fortune of Colonel Hannay from Rumour: I wiſh to aſk, whether you had ever heard this Rumour reſpecting Colonel Hannay's Fortune, before Colonel Hannay had left the Country of Oude?
A. I have heard he had amaſſed a large Fortune; but I never heard it particularly ſpecified till ſubſequent to his Death, when I heard he died poſſeſſed of the Money I have already mentioned.

Q. When did you hear he had amaſſed a large Fortune?
A. Some Time before his Death.

Q. *(by a Lord.)* Was that Complaint of the Merchant you ſpeak of, made to you as an Officer of Government?
A. No.

Q. Did it ever come to the Reſident's Knowledge?
A. I do not know that it did: I am not certain. Upon Recollection, I believe there was a Complaint made to the Reſident by this very ſame Perſon.

Q. Who was this Perſon?
A. A Mr. Graham, an European Merchant.

Q. He made this Complaint, did he?
A. Yes.

Q. Do you know any Thing of what became of that Complaint?
A. No; he only complained of it as a Hardſhip.

Q. In Converſation?
A. In Converſation.

Q. Not formally?
A. No.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* Whether you did not conſider the Exiſtence of this Monopoly of Cloth, as a Matter of public Notoriety?
A. Very public.

Q. Whether, from your Knowledge of the Country, and of the Agents kept by Mr. Haſtings, you believe this Monopoly to be a Secret to him?
A. I think it highly probable he ſhould have heard of it.

Q. Had he not in Oude a Variety of Agents for Intelligence, from almoſt all the European Merchants?

No Anſwer.

Q. Do you know whether Mr. Scott was removed when the reſt of the Engliſh were removed, after the Treaty of Chunar?
A. I do not believe he ever quitted the Country, from the Time of my going there to the preſent Hour: He never was out of the Province of Oude.

Q. You do not know that he ever quitted the Country to the preſent Hour?
A. No, except he went to Benares.

Q. *(by Counſel.)* Whether Mr. Scott was in the Company's Service?
A. He was not.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* You have ſaid, Mr. Scott was not in the Company's Service. I wiſh to know, whether I underſtood you right when you ſaid he had a Monopoly for the Service of the Company: How do you explain that? You firſt ſaid, that Mr. Scott had a Contract from the Company; you have now ſaid he is not in the Company's Service. What do you mean by the Service of the Company?

A. I mean that he is not a covenanted Servant, the ſame as myſelf.

Q. Did you underſtand he had a Monopoly, ſo as to be reſponſible to the Company for all the Profits of that Monopoly, or that he contracted with the Company ſo as to make a Profit of it for his own Uſe?

A. I did not ſo underſtand it.

Q. How did you underſtand it?

A. That he was accountable to Government for every Thing he received in Conſequence of the Monopoly.

Q. Do you know whether he had a Contract with the Company; or do you know in what Manner he was accountable for the Produce of the Monopoly to the Company?

A. The Way I underſtood it was this: Mr. Scott was recommended to the Vizier as a Perſon to have the entire Charge of the Cloth Manufactory: That he was to be allowed the ſole and excluſive Trade in it; and that it was conſidered as an Advantage to the Company, by his being able to ſupply the Cloths for the Inveſtments of the Company. That is preciſely my Idea of it.

Q. Do you know any Thing of the Matter?

A. I know nothing more than what I have ſtated.

Q. But as you underſtand it, he ſeems to have a Contract with the Company, to deal with him for what they wanted. Was he paid as an Agent for them? What Profit was there to be got by it, but the excluſive Privilege of ſelling to the Company?

A. I ſhould ſuppoſe there was a great deal of Profit that he might derive from the excluſive Privilege of ſelling to the Company.

Q. Then he was not paid as Agent to the Company?

A. I know nothing of the Matter.

Q. *(by a Lord.)* Whether the Treaſure belonging to Colonel Hannay, was not found in his Cheſt by his Executors after his Death?

A. I do not know that it was.

Q. Was it Part of the Report that it was ſo found?

A. It was.

Q. Was it not a general Report?

A. I have heard ſo.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* The Witneſs has ſtated, that Mr. Palmer came up, during Mr. Briſtow's Reſidency, to Lucknow; and that he conſidered him as a ſecret Agent to Mr. Haſtings; I wiſh the Witneſs to explain, what he meant by a Secret Agent of Mr. Haſtings?

A. I only mean, that he had not the Authority of the Government.

Q. That he was not employed by the Government?

A. That he was not employed by the Government.

Q. Do you know any Thing of his being an Agent at all for Mr. Haſtings?

A. I know nothing, but from thoſe in the Office.

Q. Was he an Agent for Public or Private Affairs?

A. Not for Public Affairs, only Private.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* You have ſtated that Mr. Scott was accountable to the Company for the whole Produce of the Monopoly; and you have alſo ſtated, that you ſuppoſe he muſt have had a conſiderable Profit, as being the ſole Dealer in Cloth; now, I wiſh to underſtand how this Profit aroſe to Mr. Scott, whether by a fixed Salary, or by Agency, or how?

A. It was merely an Opinion I formed—I do not ſpeak of it as a Matter of Fact.

Q. What was it you ſpoke of then, as to his Profits?

A. I was aſked, Whether I ſuppoſed there was any Emolument annexed to that Privilege of dealing in Cloth? To which I anſwered, Undoubtedly there were Profits, becauſe there might be more Cloths than were neceſſary for the Uſe of the Company's Inveſtments; the reſt he would make Uſe of for his own Profit.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that the particular Circumſtances of the Witneſs juſt examined having induced them to call him ſo early, had in ſome Meaſure deranged the Plan of Evidence they had laid down; but that they ſhould now begin upon the Method they had originally intended, and which, for the future, they meant to purſue; for this Purpoſe they deſired a Paper already delivered in to the Houſe, namely, the Defence of Mr. Haſtings delivered in at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, might be read.

Read, beginning at Page 210 of the ſame, as follows (*a*).

" *Preface to the Fourth Charge.*

" Before I proceed to reply to the Charges reſpecting my Conduct to the Begums, and on the Affairs of Oude, I muſt obſerve that they contain Particulars of which I was totally ignorant until I read them in the Charges. I am therefore very much indebted to the Aſſiſtance of Mr. Middleton, and to the Information of Gentlemen who were in Oude when the Tranſactions alluded to happened. By theſe Aids, I have been enabled to reply fully to theſe Charges; and every Aſſertion in my Reply is capable of Proof, either by Documents now before this Honourable Houſe, or by Evidence ready to be produced at its Bar. For the Conveniency of this Honourable Houſe, I ſhall reply to theſe Charges, not as they are numbered, but as the Subjects are connected. Firſt, " The Princeſſes of Oude;" Second, " Miſdemeanors in Oude;" Third, " Deſtruction of the " Rajah of Sahlone;" and Fourth, " Furruckabad."

" *Charge the Fourth.*

" PRINCESSES of OUDE.

" It is certainly not true, that the Nabob of Oude was ever under the Controul of the Bengal Government, in the Extent ſtated in this Charge. That the Reſident, who repreſented the Council General, had an Influence at his Court, cannot be diſputed; but it is notorious that the Acts of the Nabob's Government were, on various Occaſions, remonſtrated againſt, and ineffectually oppoſed by the Reſident, as may be ſeen by the publick Correſpondence of Meſſrs. Middleton and Briſtow. It cannot, therefore, be admitted, that " the Engliſh Name and Character were con- " cerned in every Act of his Government, or in any not authorized by them."

" Allowing it to be true, that the Country of Oude was in a flouriſhing State before our Interference, ſurely I cannot be chargeable with the Evils reſulting from the Syſtem we eſtabliſhed, ſince I gave all the Oppoſition I could to the firſt Introduction of it. The Syſtem was undoubtedly very defective, and generally prejudicial to the Nabob's Affairs, inaſmuch as it neceſſarily eſtabliſhed a Degree of Interference in his Government, undefined by any preciſe Rule; which, however diſcreetly uſed, would not fail to weaken his Authority, and in many Caſes to be productive of all the Evils conſequent on a divided Government. The Reſident, for Inſtance, though officially competent to no poſitive Act of his own, found himſelf, on ſome Occaſions, driven to the Neceſſity even of oppoſing the Execution of the Nabob's Orders to the Officers of his own Government, as the only Means of defending the Securities made over to him for the public Claims of the Company; for however willing his Excellency may have been to grant Aſſignments for the Liquidation of his Debt, he was never very ſcrupulous of infringing them, when preſſed by other importunate Creditors, but has frequently granted Tuncaws upon Aumils, whoſe Revenue, to its utmoſt Amount, he well knew had been previouſly aſſigned over to the Company. In ſuch Caſes the Reſident, though inveſted with no oſtenſible Authority, would have failed in his Duty, had he not reſiſted, and exerted every Means in his Power to maintain his Priority of Claim, however conſcious he might be that in ſo doing he weakened the Authority of the Nabob in the Eyes of his Aumils and Subjects in general. This Conduct of the Nabob forced the Reſident into a Competition with his Authority, and exhauſted the Revenues of the aſſigned Lands, by giving new Drafts, with new Powers, on what was already pledged to its utmoſt Extent, which may have been One Source of the Decline of the Nabob's Country, ſince our Connection with it; but more obvious ones may certainly be traced, in the great and conſtant Drain of Specie from the Nabob's into the Company's Provinces; in the Supineneſs and Inactivity of his Excellency's Adminiſtration; and, laſtly, in the Calamity of Three ſucceſſive Years Drought, which, if we may judge from the fatal Experience of a ſingle Year's Failure of the natural Rains in our own Provinces, would have left them an entire Waſte, without Cultivation or Inhabitants. The Eſtimate of the Revenues of Oude at the preſent Nabob's Acceſſion to the Government, as given in this Charge, is fallacious; for, from the Year 1777, when I re-appointed my own Agent to the Nabob's Court, the Revenue never amounted to any Thing like the Sum ſtated, even if the Revenues of Benares were included. Two millions Sterling would have been much nearer the Reality. The Revenue never was equal to the enormous Burthen of the Two Engliſh Brigades, with the progreſſive Liquidation of the accumulated heavy Balance, and the ineffectual Endeavour to realize ſuch Claim, from the common Reſources of the Country, was ever a Source of the greateſt Embarraſſment and Diſtreſs to

(*a*) N. B. The above Number refers to the Page at the Bottom of the Original MS.

the Nabob's Affairs. The Balance on the annual Tuncaws or Aſſignments was always conſiderable, but never greater than it was at the Time of Mr. Briſtow's firſt Removal, and Mr. Middleton's Appointment to the Court of Oude, the Beginning of 1777, nor the Confuſion in the Country more ſerious or alarming, as may be proved by the public Correſpondence of that Period. But neither ſhall I, nor the Reſident of my Choice, be chargeable with any of the Evils antecedent to that Time, as the whole Powers of Government were lodged in other Hands.

" The moſt rigorous Means were adopted, and even Threats of Military Execution reſorted to in the Time of the late Reſident, Mr. Briſtow, in the Year 1776, to exact the Payment then made by the Begum; nor would any ſofter Methods have availed, as ſhe declared " ſhe would ſooner throw " her Treaſures and Jewels into the River, than advance the Nabob a ſingle Rupee." Her Jewels, Cloaths, and Houſehold Utenſils, were permitted to be taken in Default of Ready Money Payments, and converted to the Company's Uſe by public Auction in Calcutta, without any Diſapprobation having been ſignified by the Council General, either of the Principle on which the Claim had been made on the Begum, or the Mode of enforcing it. All Delicacy was neceſſarily laid aſide; and it became " now a Queſtion, whether the Nabob", as Mr. Briſtow ſtated, " ſhould " ſeize his Right, or ſuffer a Lack of Souls to periſh, and the Sovereignty of theſe Provinces to " be transferred to another Family." The Board, ſo far from diſapproving this Doctrine of Mr. Briſtow, that Two of the Members, Colonel Monſon and Mr. Francis, recorded their Opinion, " That the Begum who ſucceeded to the Treaſures, ſhould pay " all the Sums due to the Company," and Mr. Francis expreſſed his Aſtoniſhment, that the Begum, " in a Country where Women are not " allowed a free Agency in the moſt trifling domeſtic Concerns," ſhould, as the Condition of yielding up thoſe Treaſures, claim an Interference in the Nabob's Government, and " preſume to talk of " appointing Miniſters, and governing Kingdoms." The concluding Words of Mr. Francis are very ſtrong. " With reſpect to receiving her into the Provinces, I ſhall have no Objection, provided ſhe can obtain the Nabob's Conſent; without that, ſhe can have no Right to remove the im- " menſe Wealth ſhe poſſeſſes, or even her own Perſon, out of his Dominions." Theſe were the Opinions of Two leading Members of the Council at that Time, on the Claim ſet up by the Nabob, and the independant Rights of the Begum; and yet there was then no Accuſation againſt her of notorious Diſaffection and Conſpiracy. " The Treaſures ſhe poſſeſſed," Mr. Briſtow ſaid, " were the " Treaſures of the State, as ſhe had not ſucceeded to them by any legal Title;" the Nabob was, therefore, ſtrictly juſtified in demanding them; and if there was any Thing in the whole Proceeding which did not accord with the Sentiments of People in general, it was the Part we officiouſly took to prevent the Nabob's recovering the Whole of his Patrimonial Eſtate from thoſe who fraudulently with-held it from him. He was charged with the Whole of his Father's Debts; his Life was repeatedly endangered by the Inſurrections of his Troops, who had been left many Months in Arrears; and he was moreover diveſted by us of a valuable Part of his Dominions; and yet we prevented him from availing himſelf, as he had undoubted Right to do, of the Means which were left him of ſatisfying thoſe Debts; the Whole of which had been incurred in the Accumulation of the very Wealth he was now contending for.

" It is not true that the Begums were left in Charge of the late Nabob's Treaſures, or other valuable Effects, for the Purpoſes ſet forth in the Charge of maintaining his Offspring and Dependants; the old Begum, the Mother of Shujah ul Dowlah, is entirely out of the Queſtion, having had no Preſents entruſted to her Care, but ſhe became poſſeſſed of them in her Capacity of Truſtee and Treaſurer of the Deceaſed, who, for ſome Time before his Death, " depoſited the " Surplus of his Revenues with the Bow Begum, to provide againſt an Emergency." Hence the Whole of his Property, of what Sort ſoever, was in her Cuſtody at the Time of his Death, but ſtill as a Depoſit, though from the Hands of his Mother; for they were the Rights of the State which ſhe had in Charge.—But I muſt repeat, that I diſapprove, and ſtill condemn the Interference of our Reſident; becauſe we had no Concern in it, and our Credit ſuffered in the Opinions of Mankind, from the natural Diſguſt which would be excited by a Contention between a Son and his Mother, and by our Appearance as Incendiaries, inſtead of Conciliators in it: But no Man could ever aſſert or believe that it was therefore her own. It was undoubtedly a conſtituent Part of the hereditary Eſtate, which devolved to the Nabob Aſſoph ul Dowlah on his Father's Demiſe, and as ſuch ought to have been wholly delivered up to him; but the Begum refuſed to give up any Thing, until coercive Meaſures were threatened, and then ſhe conſented only to the Payment of Thirty, out of One hundred and ſeventy Lacks, which Mr. Briſtow declared, that, on the moſt moderate Computation, ſhe poſſeſſed; and making a Merit even of this Condeſcenſion, ſhe was ſuffered to demand, and actually to exact, from the Nabob, an Encreaſe of Jagheers to Ten Times the Amount of the Income which had been ſettled upon the old Begum by her deceaſed Son, Shujah ul Dowlah, for the Maintenance of herſelf, and the numerous Family and Dependants of her late Huſband, Sufdur Jung. The Agreement thus entered into between the Nabob and his Mother was ratified by Mr. Briſtow, without any Authority; but " as the Urgency of the " Caſe rendered it neceſſary, the Board approved the Ratification." The Board, I have ſaid, approved of it, and I was a Member of the Board, but I was an inefficient Member of it; the Whole of this Tranſaction having paſſed under the Order and Guidance of the Majority of the Board, which excluded me from any Share in their Acts, equally in ſuch as I approved, and in ſuch as I diſapproved. It will appear, from the preceding Reaſoning, that I approved of the Nabob's Aſſertion of his own Right to re-claim the Treaſures of his Inheritance.

Board's Letter to the Court of Directors.

" It

" It is not true that the Women and Children of the late Nabob were left, or intended to be left, dependant on the Bow Begum. They were ſeparately provided for; and though, from the Failure of the Funds aſſigned for their Maintenance, they were too often ſubjected to great Inconvenience, they never experienced any Acts of Benevolence from the Begum, beyond an occaſional Donation of a few Rupees to the Children, when ſhe condeſcended, which was indeed very ſeldom, to permit them to wait upon her. Neither is it true, that the Jagheers were left the Begum by the late Nabob. At the Time of his Death, the Diſtricts which afterwards conſtituted the Jagheer, were held by the Begum on the Footing of a Farm, under the Name and Management of Jowar Ally Cawn, with whom the Accounts of the ſame were annually adjuſted at the Khalſa. To the preſent Nabob, therefore, ſhe was indebted for the principal Part of her Jagheers.

" The Treaty and Guarantee, though ratified, it would appear, by the Council only becauſe 'the Urgency of the Caſe rendered it neceſſary;' and, though the Begum, before Six Months had elapſed, had, by Mr. Briſtow's Acknowledgement, " forfeited her Claim to the Protection of " the Company, by infringing the Conditions of the Treaty to which they were Guarantees," were moſt ſacredly adhered to by me, until the Miſconduct of the Begums and their Dependants, on the Occaſion of the Inſurrection at Benares, would have made it an Act of the greateſt Injuſtice in the Company to themſelves to continue their Protection: The Guarantee was then withdrawn, and the Nabob was permitted to renew and proſecute his Claim to his Inheritance. Previous to that Period the Reſident, by my Orders, on all Occaſions employed the utmoſt Influence of his Station, to guard the Begums aſſumed Privileges from Invaſion; and in various Inſtances, as will appear from his publick Correſpondence, did oppoſe, almoſt by Violence, the Deſigns of the Nabob, where they were hoſtile or offenſive to the Begum. He repeatedly went to Fayzabad, purpoſely to mediate between the Nabob and his Mother, and reconcile mutual Animoſities; which, on one Side, were perpetually excited by the Jealouſy and intereſted Views of the Two principal Eunuchs, Jowar and Bahar Ally Cawn; and in every other Inſtance whatſoever, he invariably ſhewed that Attention and Reſpect to the Begum, which was due to her from the near Relation ſhe bore to our Ally. This the Bow Begum herſelf admitted, obſerving, in her Letter to Mr. Briſtow, " That the Nabob, " her Son, had once before threatened to ſeize her Jagheer, but Mr. Middleton interfered, and " prevented it;" and there is not the Shadow of Doubt, that but for this Interpoſition, his Excellency would long before not only have ſeized her Jagheers, but have wreſted from her the Treaſures ſhe unjuſtly with-held from him.

" The Nabob was permitted to reſume the Jagheers, becauſe they were found highly prejudicial to the Revenue of the State, and he granted, to ſuch as were entitled to that Indulgence, Stipends in Money equivalent to the net Produce of their Lands. The Begums were expreſsly provided for, and the Payments were to be made them, not at the Diſcretion of the Nabob, but from the Company's Treaſury under Charge of the Reſident. Where then was the pretended Injury, ſince the Begums were regularly to receive, according to their own Statement, to the utmoſt Amount of what they ever realized from their Jagheers? This Propoſal was repeatedly made to them in Writing, and fully explained to their Agents, by the Nabob, his Miniſters, and the Reſident, but was anſwered with the groſſeſt Indecency and Abuſe, and the moſt violent Denunciation of Vengeance on the whole Country, in caſe their Jagheers were touched." With reſpect to the other Jagheerdars, excepting only the Nabob Salar Jung, and a very few others, they were generally the meaneſt and moſt contemptible of the Nabob's Subjects, and in no Shape deſerving of his Bounty. They were, in ſhort, his Orderlies, and other Perſons of that Stamp, the Companions of his looſer Hours. The perſonal Influence of theſe Men, which was very powerful, was naturally exerted to defeat a Deſign which ſo materially affected their Intereſts, and not without conſiderable Efficacy, as appeared by the Nabob's ſubſequent Conduct when the Meaſure of Reſumption came to be carried into Execution. It was on their Account only that any Difficulties were ſtarted, and could theſe Men have been exempted, his Excellency would moſt certainly have made no Heſitation about the Reſt; but it would indeed have been a Diſgrace to the Influence which we were ſuppoſed to have acquired in his Government, to have ſuffered a partial Diſtinction in favour of ſuch unworthy Objects.

" No Injury was intended, or could poſſibly ariſe, to the Begums, from the Reſumption of the Jagheers; they were found deſtructive of the Nabob's Revenue, and dangerous to the very Exiſtence of his Government; they had been made the Sources to feed a Rebellion. It was neceſſary therefore to reſume them; and the only Change which the Begums Situation could undergo from it, was the Subſtitution of the Nabob's Agency, with the pledged Security of the Company's Reſident, in lieu of that of their Eunuchs Jowar and Bahar Ally Cawn. No Stipulation was made in Favour of any other Jagheerdars, becauſe the Faith of the Company was not concerned in it.

" The Two diſtinct Acts, of reſuming the Jagheers, and ſeizing the Treaſures, are confounded, and improperly made to originate from one and the ſame Cauſe, viz. the Defection of the Begums in the Inſurrection at Benares. At the Time that the Reſumption of the Jagheers was reſolved on, the Conduct of the Begums, though ſtrongly ſuſpected, was not ſufficiently aſcertained to juſtify the depriving them of Jagheers held under the Pledge of the Company, without an Equivalent; and accordingly a full Compenſation was ſtipulated. Their Conduct, in openly and moſt violently oppoſing, by armed Force, the Nabob's Orders for the Reſumption of the Jagheers, though they were

were not to be Lofers by it; their exciting their Agents and other Jagheerdars to unite in forcible Reſiſtance; and, laſtly, the ſubſequent Information which was obtained of their Zeal and Activity in ſupporting the Rebellion of Rajah Cheit Sing, and ſpreading its Conſequences through the Nabob's Dominions, for the declared Purpoſe of our Extirpation, were the Grounds of withdrawing the Company's Guarantee, and of the conſequent Confiſcation of their Treaſures. Admitting the Facts alledged in the Reſident's Correſpondence, and confirmed by the ſolemn Teſtimony of ſo many Witneſſes, both Native and European, and of the latter many, (fortunately for my Honour), are in England, who could be no Ways intereſted in the Iſſue, no Man ſurely can diſpute the Propriety of this Meaſure, whether its Juſtice or Policy be made the Criterion of judging it; moſt aſſuredly, no unprejudiced Man in the Country, whether Native or European, ever entertained a Doubt of the Begums having been extremely active in promoting the Inſurrection at Benares, and in the Nabob's Country: It remains, therefore, for Juſtice to decide, whether in ſo doing they did or did not forfeit their Claim to the Protection of the Company, by which alone they had hitherto maintained whatever they poſſeſſed.

" When the Nabob ſo earneſtly deſired my Sanction for the Reſumption of the Jagheers, he certainly had in View only the Begums and a few others of Magnitude, which he conſidered protected, either by the Guarantee or Favour of the Company. He could not be ſuppoſed to aſk my Sanction to the Reſumption of Grants, in which the Company's Faith was no Ways concerned; but, being aware that his Excellency intended a partial Reſumption, reſerving the Jagheers of his particular Favourites, who from their Characters and Conduct ought to be the firſt proſcribed, I determined to defeat the Deſign, by adviſing him to make the Reſumption general; and he engaged to follow my Advice. The Conſequence of this his Excellency did not at the Time advert to; but when he diſcovered that, by the Spirit of the Agreement, and my determined Adherence to it, he was precluded from ſhewing any Partiality, and moreover that the Produce of the Jagheers, when reſumed, inſtead of coming immediately into his Poſſeſſion, was to be appropriated to the Liquidation of his Debt to the Company, for which I expreſsly ſtipulated, he became indifferent, and even apparently averſe to the Reſumption. He was alſo, as I have already remarked, greatly influenced by the inflammatory Suggeſtions of Incendiaries and Perſonal Favourites about him, who counteracted my Deſigns in all my Proceedings with his Excellency, by diſſuading him from a Meaſure by which their Intereſts would be ſo much affected. To thoſe who are perſonally acquainted with the Nabob, it will not appear extraordinary that all theſe Cauſes, combining and operating upon his Mind, ſhould have drawn him into Inconſiſtencies of Conduct, which to others may ſeem irreconcileable.

" It is not true that Sir Elijah Impey was at Lucknow when I communicated my Sentiments through him to the Reſident, reſpecting the Begum's Treaſures. Sir Elijah was with me at Chunar, and the Reſident did avail himſelf on this and other Occaſions of that Gentleman's Preſence and confidential Intercourſe with me, to aſcertain my Wiſhes on certain Points, which the Multiplicity and Importance of the Buſineſs which I was then engaged in prevented my communicating ſo fully by Letter.

" The Engliſh Troops were not employed at Fayzabad until the Nabob formally demanded their Aid, in conſequence of hoſtile Preparations to reſiſt his Claim upon the Begum for his deceaſed Father's Treaſures, which he deemed his own Force unable to repel. The Eunuchs were ſeized, not for the Purpoſe of extorting Money, as aſſumed in the Charge, but as the Agents and principal Inſtruments of exciting the Inſurrections before alluded to, and for actual Rebellion.—The Nabob had declared his firm Intention, by Letters to myſelf and the Reſident, long before he went to Fayzabad, of ſeizing and ſeverely puniſhing the Two Eunuchs of his Mother, not only for their ſhameful and inſidious Conduct during the Troubles at Benares, but for their long and unremitted Treachery, particularly to himſelf, in ſeeking every Occaſion of embroiling him with both his Parents, and openly inſulting his Authority; a Conduct they had invariably purſued from the Death of the late Nabob his Father. " They have preſerved (ſays Mr. Briſtow, in his " Letter of the 25th January 1776) a total Independence of the Nabob's Authority, beat the " Officers of his Government, and refuſed Obedience to his Perwannahs." Their Perſons were accordingly ſeized on the Nabob's Arrival at Fayzabad, and ſecured under a ſtrict Guard of the Company's Troops, the Nabob not thinking it prudent or ſafe to truſt them in the Cuſtody of his own Sepoys, whilſt ſurrounded with ſuch large Parties of their armed Men aſſembled in the Neighbourhood, who had declared themſelves equal to any Conteſt with his Excellency's Force, and determined on a deſperate Reſiſtance, had the Attack upon them at Fayzabad been made by his Strength alone. So confident indeed was the Begum in her own Strength, under her Two Commanders, Jowar and Bahar Ally Cawn, that ſhe did on all Occaſions profeſs to hold the Troops of the State in the utmoſt Contempt, and oppoſed them without Ceremony. " Do " not you," ſays ſhe to Mr. Briſtow, " take any Part in the Affair, and then let Aſoph ul Dow-
• Sic in Orig. " lah and Murteza Cawn (the Nabob and his Miniſter) in whatever Manner they are able, * to take " Sums of Money from me—they will then ſee the Conſequences."

" Upon a Review and due Conſideration of the Situation of Affairs at Fayzabad, it appearing that theſe Two Eunuchs were capable of affording the Nabob the moſt effectual Aſſiſtance in the Recovery of his Claims on the Begum, and that in Fact there was very little Probability of ſucceeding without their Aid, it was deemed good Policy to tempt them with Aſſurances of a Mitigation of their Puniſhment,

Puniſhment, in Proportion as they might exert themſelves in the Buſineſs. They, in conſequence, promiſed every Aſſiſtance in their Power, and charged themſelves with the whole Claim, which, after a tedious Negociation, was compromiſed at Sixty Lacks. On the Strength of this Engagement the Eunuchs were permitted, in Cuſtody however of a ſufficient Guard, to return to their Habitations in the Town, for the declared Purpoſe of acquitting themſelves of their Obligation, which they owned they could accompliſh in Three Days; they, however, broke this Engagement, and were guilty of ſuch Equivocation, Falſehood, and Evaſion, produced probably by their Intercourſe with the Begums, as rendered it neceſſary, in the Judgment of the Nabob and his Miniſters, to recur to rigorous Treatment as the only Means of bringing them to an immediate Adjuſtment, which it was well known, from their Situation with the Begums, was within their Reach. The conditional Obligation of their Compromiſe with the Vizier was, that they ſhould procure the immediate Payment of his Claim upon the Begums, and in Return they were promiſed Lenity: They wilfully broke the Terms of the Agreement, and it was therefore juſtifiable to replace them in the Situation in which they would have ſtood, had no ſuch Compromiſe taken Place; and they had added to their other Offences the recent Violation of a ſolemn written Obligation; but upon their again giving the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of ſatisfying the Nabob's Claim, a new Agreement, under the Sanction of the Begum, was entered into, in which they were allowed One Month, conſiderably more than they had even aſked, to pay up the Balance, and they were in Conſequence freed from their Reſtraints, the Nabob returning to his Capital, leaving an Agent of his own with a proper Guard to conclude the Buſineſs. It very ſoon, however, appeared, that this Agreement was meant only to amuſe and carry the Nabob from Fayzabad; for at the Expiration of the limited Time very little had been paid, and only idle, fallacious, and inſulting Pretexts, with renewed Promiſes, offered in Excuſe for the Failure. Could then the Nabob, who knew that theſe Men had the Means of ſatisfying his Demand in One Hour, be blamed for again directing Recourſe to Severities, as the laſt and only Reſort? There could be no Doubt of the Ability of the Parties to comply with the Demand; for, notwithſtanding the Pretences which were uſed after the Delivery of the Sum obviouſly depoſited with Bahar Ally Cawn for the Purpoſe of concealing the ſecret Hoard in the Begum's own Charge, and the poor Expedient of delivering Jewels and Effects to impreſs a Belief of her having yielded up all, there is every Reaſon to ſuppoſe, from the beſt Informations that could be obtained from the Miniſters, and others converſant in the late Nabob's Affairs, confirmed by the Teſtimony of Mr. Briſtow, who ſays, "it is generally believed the Begum "has Four Crores in her Poſſeſſion; but I fancy I may venture to ſay ſhe has One Crore and Seventy Lacks," that the Claim now made upon her did not amount to One-third of the actual Wealth in her Poſſeſſion. The Circumſtance of her yielding up Jewels, Plate, &c. declaring herſelf poſſeſſed of no other Means of ſatisfying the Demands, will not appear deſerving of Attention, when it is remembered that the ſame pitiful Expedients, and the ſame Stories of Poverty and Wretchedneſs, were practiſed on a former and ſimilar Occaſion. The Nabob's Right was uncontrovertible, and the Exigency of his Affairs, with his own and the Company's Troops, who were dependant on his Reſources, almoſt in a State of general Mutiny for their Pay (our Troops Six Months in Arrear) ſtrongly compelling him to aſſert it (ſetting aſide the Treachery of the Begums and their Agents, and the Political Danger of leaving them with ſuch powerful Means of extending their pernicious Influence) it muſt reſt with this Honourable Houſe to decide the Queſtion, whether it was allowable, "when the Nabob was reduced to ſuch Diſtreſs, that his Mother ſhould uſeleſsly keep "up immenſe Treaſures," declared to be the Treaſures of the State; or how far he was warranted in directing the Courſe he did, no other being practicable to obtain his lawful Demands.

"In reſpect to the Eunuchs, it may ſuffice further to ſay, that to thoſe who were acquainted with their Conduct during the Rebellion of Benares, and ſubſequently on the Occaſion of reſuming the Jagheers, when they marched their Troops in every Direction, for the avowed Purpoſe of reſiſting the Nabob's Orders, and in the moſt unreſerved Manner encouraged others to follow their Example, the Treatment they met with cannot appear harſh or undeſervedly ſevere; on the contrary, it was the general Opinion that they merited even Death, and Death probably would have been the immediate Portion, at leaſt of Bahar Ally Cawn, had the Nabob been left uninfluenced to the Gratification of his own well-grounded Reſentment.

"I have conducted the Narration of the preceding Detail to its Cloſe, without chuſing to interrupt it, or diſturb the Attention of my Honourable Hearers by the concluding Obſervation, which I now think it neceſſary to make upon it; becauſe I hold the whole Series of the Acts thus connected ſtrictly reconcileable to Juſtice, Honour, and good Policy, whoever were the Parties concerned in them: But I muſt at the ſame Time affirm, that theſe Acts, whether right or wrong, are not mine, though originating from me, in my Conſent yielded to the Nabob at his ſpecial Inſtance, that he ſhould reclaim the Treaſures kept back from him by his Mother, and the Jagheers from all the Jagheerdars, and from my ſubſequent Claim, which I avow to have been moſt peremptory, that my Conſent to a Meaſure liable to ſuch a Variety of Conſtructions ſhould not be perverted to an Inſtrument of private Compromiſe, or the Conſiſtency of my Character forfeited by its being withdrawn after ſuch rigorous and public Denunciations of it. My laſt Orders therefore, for its Execution, is all that I am anſwerable for. The reſt depended upon the Inſtruments which were employed in it, and ſo little on myſelf, that I was ignorant of the whole Mode of its Execution, till it was done; and ſo far as I am concerned in it, the whole Board were equally concerned and unanimous.

" Upon the Letters of Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon, quoted by the Bow Begum in Proof of her Innocence of the Conduct imputed to her and her Servants, it is only neceſſary to obſerve that they were written at a Time, and under the Impreſſion of the Begums having it very much in their Power to contribute to the Safety, or poſſibly to the Deſtruction of Colonel Hannay's Detachment, then in a very precarious Situation in the Neighbourhood of Fayzabad; and at a Time too when our Affairs at Benares were ſuppoſed by thoſe Officers to wear an unfavourable Aſpect. The Colonel's Firſt Object was to procure Safety for the Perſon of Captain Gordon, who was at the Mercy of the Begums and their Eunuchs; and for this Purpoſe he thought no Means ſo likely to ſucceed, as declaring an implicit Reliance on their Friendſhip and Good Faith, and affecting to conſider himſelf under Obligations to them. Captain Gordon, however, moſt probably owed his Salvation to another Influence: Soon after he fell into their Hands, by the treacherous Conduct of Bahar Ally Cawn's Naib and adopted Son, at Tanda, the News of ſome ſucceſsful Operations of our Troops at Benares reached the Begums, and as Affairs began to promiſe a ſpeedy and deciſive Iſſue in our Favour, it is not ſurprizing that the Begums and their Agents ſhould endeavour by Acts of Kindneſs to efface the Impreſſion which they muſt have been ſenſible their Conduct had made to their Diſcredit. This was the Explanation given by Colonel Hannay to Mr. Middleton of the Motives of his Conduct to the Begums at that Period; and the Letters alluded to cannot poſſibly bear any other Conſtruction, without an Imputation on the Veracity and moral Character of the late Colonel Hannay, which his Reputation and general Conduct in Life will not warrant.

" The Teſtimony of Colonel Hannay cannot now be had, but his Explanation to Mr. Middleton of the Motives of his Conduct to the Begums and their Agents at that critical Conjuncture of his own and the National Affairs, that Gentleman will be ready at any Time to certify on Oath; and the Evidence of Captain Gordon may poſſibly throw further Light upon the Subject."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they thought it very material the ſeveral Defences of Mr. Haſtings to this Article of the Charge, ſhould appear at Length upon the Minutes; and requeſted the Houſe to obſerve, that no Attempt was made, upon the Croſs Examination of Major Scott on Wedneſday laſt, to prove that any Parts of the Defence juſt read, were written by other Perſons, ſo as to be diſavowed by Mr. Haſtings: On the contrary, they ſhould prove it was admitted by him; that it was reviſed and corrected by him; and that he avowed the Whole of it to be his Defence.

They would next proceed, therefore, to read the Paper which they called, The Second Defence, delivered in to the Houſe on Wedneſday laſt.

The ſame was read (*a*).

Then the Managers for the Commons informed the Houſe, there was not a ſingle true Statement, in any of the Anſwers to this Article, which went to the Juſtification of the Defendant; and this they ſhould prove preſently, from the Evidence of the Defendant himſelf.

1ſt Head of Evidence.

They then ſtated, That, for the Sake of Elucidation, they ſhould give a ſhort Title or Deſcription of the different Heads of Evidence, as they propoſed to call them; and, Firſt, they ſhould ſubmit to the Houſe, what they conceived to be Proof of the high Rank and Title of the Begums, and of the Circumſtances which conſtituted their Claim of Right to the Treaſures; and alſo general Evidence of the high Veneration in which Women in India are held; which they conſidered as very material in ſupport of the Article now under Conſideration.

Whereupon they deſired Mr. Brietzke to be called in, to prove a Letter from Sir Elijah Impey to the Secretary of State.

Accordingly Mr. BRIETZKE was called; and being ſworn, was aſked,

Q. Have you got a Letter from Sir Elijah Impey to Lord Rochford, dated 26th March, 1779, from Fort William?

A. Yes.

The Counſel for the Defendant ſtated, That, for the Sake of Regularity, they muſt object to the Production of this Letter in this Stage of the Proceeding, it being neceſſary, in order to entitle the Managers for the Commons to read the Contents of it, that it ſhould firſt be made Evidence. That as to the Facts in it, Sir Elijah Impey was in England, and could ſpeak to them, if the Managers thought fit to call him.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 362.

The

The Managers for the Commons obſerved, That they certainly might examine Sir Elijah Impey upon the Contents of the Letter if they thought fit; but they conceived this to be the beſt poſſible Evidence that could be produced; and if the Counſel for the Defendant choſe to call Sir Elijah Impey afterwards, they might croſs examine him to it.

The Counſel for the Defendant ſaid, They relied upon their Objection.

The Managers for the Commons replied, That when an official Letter was written on a different Occaſion, containing Matter of Opinion, not immediately relating to the Trial, but upon a collateral Point, they conceived that Letter to be better Evidence of ſuch Matter than the Teſtimony of the Party, *vivâ voce*;—that they wiſhed to read the Letter in queſtion, not with a View to the Guilt or Innocence of the Party accuſed, but to prove a Cuſtom in India; the Application of which Cuſtom they ſhould afterwards endeavour to make good.

The Counſel for the Defendant perſiſted in their Objection.

The Managers for the Commons were aſked, if they preſſed the Point of this Letter being read?

The Managers for the Commons made Anſwer, that it was a great Object with them to be tenacious of a Principle of this Kind; but in order to ſave Time, they would waive it for the preſent, reſerving to themſelves their Right to read the ſaid Letter in future, if they ſhould think fit; and that they would now call Sir Elijah Impey to prove the Contents of it.

The Counſel for the Defendant ſtill objected.

The Managers for the Commons were informed, that the Objection taken was this; That whatever the Contents of the Letter were, whether matter of Cuſtom or an individual Fact, the proper Evidence of them was the Writer of the Letter, and not the Letter itſelf: A Letter without Oath being no better Evidence than a Converſation on the ſame Subject.

The Managers for the Commons obſerved, That their Object in calling Sir Elijah Impey was to authenticate the Letter: That the Letter was not upon the Eaſt India Company's Records, but amongſt the Records of the Secretary of State's Office, and kept there *in rei memoriam*; therefore, they ſhould firſt call Sir Elijah Impey to prove that he wrote the Letter, and then deliver the Subſtance of the Letter in Evidence.

The Counſel for the Defendant ſubmitted, that when the Managers for the Commons had called Sir Elijah Impey to authenticate the Letter, they would be as far from reading it as they now unqueſtionably were; for they could only aſk him to the Facts, independant of the Letter.

The Managers for the Commons were informed, That when they had proved by Sir Elijah Impey, that he wrote the Letter, the Objection would ſtill remain.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then Mr. ROBERT HUDSON was again called in, and produced Book 6, intituled, "Bengal Letters received, from 16th May 1775, to 20th of January 1776."

Read, the following Extract of a Letter dated 18th May 1775, from the Governor General, addreſſed to the Court of Directors, No. 19. (Received per Northumberland, 4th April 1776.)

"You will expect, that in the Proceedings againſt the Begum, the ſtricteſt regard will have been paid to her Honour, and every ſcrupulous Attention obſerved which the Delicacy of the Oriental Manners preſcribes with reſpect to her Sex, and her Rank and Character particularly demand (*a*).

[Signed at the End of the Letter]

Warren Haſtings."

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° I. It is thought proper to obſerve in this Place, that, it being ordered by the Houſe, that when a Part only of any Conſultation, Paper, or Document is actually read, the Whole of ſuch Conſultation, Paper, or Document, as far as the ſame relates to the Matter of the Evidence ſo actually read, ſhould be printed in an Appendix to the Evidence upon the reſpective Charge on which ſuch Extract is read; the References to the ſame will be by Numbers, in the Order in which ſuch ADDENDA occur.

Read, from the ſame Book, the following Extract of an Addreſs from the Governor General to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 31ſt July 1775. No. 20. (Received per Northumberland, 4th April 1776.)

" Mr. Goring was deputed by the Board to diveſt the Begum of her Authority, to place it in the Hands of the Son of Nund Comar *, to receive from the Begum the Accounts of the Nabob's Expences, and to deliver them to the Gentlemen who were at the ſame Time appointed to examine and report them to the Board. What private Inſtructions he received I know not; but one of his firſt Acts of Authority, after having taken care to impreſs the Begum with a proper Idea of the Extent of his Power over her own Perſon, by apprizing her of the Order of the Board for her Removal from the Palace to a remote Houſe in the City, and that the Execution of this Order depended ſolely on his Option, was to impriſon Etwar Ally Cawn, her chief Eunuch, and confidential Servant, on the Complaint of One of the Servants of the Houſhold, reſpecting a private Grievance, totally foreign from the declared Purpoſes of Mr. Goring's Commiſſion.—By this Species of Torture inflicted on the Mind of a weak Woman, who had hitherto been accuſtomed to the gentleſt Treatment and moſt reſpectful Addreſs from all Perſons, of what Rank ſoever, who approached her, ſhe was compelled to deliver a Paper to Mr. Goring, containing an Account of Two Sums charged to have been paid to Mr. Middleton and myſelf, each amounting to 150,000 Rupees †.

* Sic in Orig.

[Signed, at the End of the Letter]
Warren Haſtings."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 25, intituled, " Bengal Letters, received from 1ſt February 1779 to 3d March 1780."

Read, the following Extract of a Letter, indorſed " 1780. Revenue Department, Fort William, 29th February. Triplicate ſeparate General Letter, dated the 25th January, and Poſtſcript, dated the 29th January. No. 5. Received per Swallow, 28th July 1780," from Page 245 of the ſame Book.

" Letter from the Board at Calcutta to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 25th January 1780.

" Par. 29. To thoſe who are acquainted with this Country and the Character of its Natives, it is well known that among the ſtubborn and immutable Uſages of a People, who by an unheard of Policy are thus attempted to be dragged within the Pale of our Laws, there are not any that are ſo intimately blended with their Natures, ſo interwoven with their very Exiſtence, and a Force upon which were therefore ſo likely to drive them to Deſperation, as thoſe which regard their Women; a Reaſon for which we preſume you will think with us, that Policy and Humanity ſhould in all Situations reſpect them.

" 30. And yet with equal Wonder and Alarm we have recently ſeen the Mandatory Proceſs of the Court directed to a Woman of the higheſt Caſt and Rank (the Rannee of Rajeſhahee) who poſſeſſes in her own Right the firſt great Zemindarry in theſe Provinces.—You will permit us to draw your Attention for a Moment to the certain Conſequences of this Proceeding, if that Management had not been employed to avoid them which we cannot hope will always ſucceed.

" 31. Secluded as Women of her ſuperior Rank are, and equally ignorant of the Language and Purpoſe of the Proceſs, it were to a Certainty diſobeyed. The Court adhering to its Rules a Capias follows; the Execution of which is probably committed (as in the Caſe that occaſions this Repreſentation) to a Band of armed Ruffians, her Houſe is pillaged, her Temples polluted, the moſt ſecret Receſſes of her Family violated, and that Sanctity of Character trampled upon, which throughout the Eaſt, even in Times of fierceſt Hoſtility, the moſt barbarous Nations revere in Woman.

" 32. Happily in this Caſe theſe Things have not all occurred; but as the indelible Diſhonour of a public Expoſure, and that inexpiable Pollution from the inſufferable Senſe of which, according to their Mode of thinking, there is no Refuge but in Death, would have followed, if the Plaintiff had not been perſuaded to withdraw his Action, we ſtate this as another of thoſe Caſes, to which we are confident that a feeling and enlightened Nation could never have intended to ſtretch the Authority of its Laws.

Signed (at the End)
Warren Haſtings,
P. Francis,
Edw. Wheler."

† Vide Appendix, N° II.

Then

Then the Witneſs produced Book 92, intituled, "Bengal Council of Revenue Proceeding, from 20th January to 8th March 1776."

Read, the following Extract:

"Fort William, 1ſt March 1776.

"At a Council; Preſent,

"The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident
Lieutenant General Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

"EXTRACT of a Letter from C. Goring, W. Marriott, and P. Moore, to Governor Haſtings; dated 26th January 1776—Fort William.

"The Arzees ſpeak ſo clearly for themſelves, they need little Comment thereon; but we muſt beg Leave to obſerve, that we think the Peons ſent by the Supreme Court to the Zemindars of Seven Annas Turnlock, have acted in a moſt unjuſtifiable Manner, not only in prohibiting his Women from Fire and Water, but particularly in entering their Apartments, which have hitherto by all Governments been held ſacred. We hope, Gentlemen, ſuch unwarrantable Behaviour will be taken Notice of by you in the Manner it deſerves, as ſuch Acts of Violence and Violation of the Hindoo Laws muſt tend not only to diſgrace us as a National Body with the Natives, but likewiſe to breed a Diſguſt in their Minds, that may tend to the moſt ſerious Conſequences (a)."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 93, intituled, "Bengal Revenue, from 20th April to 30th July 1779."

Read, the following Extract:

"Fort William, the 27th July 1779.

"At a Council; Preſent,

"The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident;
Richard Barwell,
Philip Francis,
and
Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

Sir Eyre Coote, abſent.

"TRANSLATION of the Petition of Joy Durgah, Chowdrannee of Pergunnah Bamindungah.

"The Pergunnah Bamindungah is my Zemindarry. It is now near Two Months that Two Peons have ſeated themſelves at my Door, and ſay they are from the Supreme Court, with a Warrant at the Suit of Mr. Feake. I am a Widow, and have concerned myſelf with nothing but the Buſineſs of my Malguzary: I have neither been a Servant of the Company, or of any Individual European, and am entirely ignorant of the Cuſtoms of the Court of Calcutta. This I am willing, if called on, to take Oath of. Beſides which, I am a Woman of ſome Character, whoſe public Attendance on a Court of Juſtice would entail on her a Diſgrace ſhe could never ſurmount. Enclosure.

"A true Tranſlation.
(Signed) R. Goodlad."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, They ſhould next produce a Letter from the Bhow Begum to Mr. Haſtings, received the 20th December 1775, in which ſhe ſtates the Situation ſhe was left in by Shujah ul Dowlah.

The Witneſs produced Book 78, intituled, "Bengal Secret Conſultations, from 29th Nov. 1775, to 8th Jan. 1776."

Read, the following Extract, beginning at Page 423 of the ſaid Book.

"Fort William, the 21ſt of December 1775.

"At a Council; Preſent,

"The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell } Eſquires.
Philip Francis }

"The Governor General lays before the Board the following Letter from Bow Begham, Mother of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, received by her Servant Coja Shagoon Ally Cawn.

(a) Vide Appendix, N° III.

"I went

" I went to the Nabob when the Hour of his Death approached, and aſked him, to whoſe Charge he left me? He replied, 'Apply to Mr. Haſtings whenever you have Occaſion for Aſſiſtance; 'he will befriend you, when I am no more, and will comply with whatever you may deſire of 'him (*a*)."

Read, alſo, from Page 440.

" Do you act in ſuch a Manner as to ſecure the Proſperity of this Family; by which your Name will be tranſmitted with Honour to the lateſt Poſterity, for having preſerved your Friendſhip to the late Nabob beyond the Grave (*b*)."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 90, intituled, " Bengal Publick Perſian Correſpondence, ſent 1778; received per Ganges 24th February 1781."

Read, the following Extract of a Letter from Mr. Haſtings to the Vizier, written 3d April 1778.

Extract from a Letter to the Vizier, written 3d April 1778.

" The Duty of Children towards Parents is enjoined by all Laws, and the Breach of it condemned by all Nations: This is a general Obligation, which is binding on all Mankind; but the Bhow Bhegum, excluſive of her maternal Right, has a particular Claim to your Excellency's Affection and Kindneſs, as you owe to her Interceſſions with the late Nabob, not only your Elevation to your preſent Greatneſs, but a ſtill more valuable Bleſſing.

" I need not point out to your Excellency the Example of your Father, whoſe whole Conduct to the Bhegums was not only marked with Kindneſs and Reſpect, but with Bounty, in the Eſtabliſhment of a handſome Proviſion for them. It is incumbent on your Excellency to imitate him, and, by the Obſervation of ſuch a Conduct as your Duty requires, to remove every unfavourable Imputation, to conciliate the good Opinion of the World, and, in ſhort, to conſtitute yourſelf a Pattern to others.

" The Bhow Bhegum has a publick Title to my Interpoſition for the due Maintenance of all the Rights which ſhe poſſeſſes, in virtue of the Treaty executed between your Excellency and her, as Mr. Briſtow, at your Requeſt, pledged the Honour of the Company for the Performance of
* Sic in Orig. it: I am therefore compelled not only to ſolicit, but to require, by Right of the Guaranty *, that you do not, either directly or indirectly, deviate from the Treaty, but fulfil it in every Inſtance (*c*)."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 84, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, from 4th September to 21ſt October 1783."

Read, the following Extract of a Letter from Major James Brown, of the 9th of Auguſt 1783, incloſed in a Letter from Mr. Briſtow to the Board, dated the 23d of Auguſt 1783.

" Fort William, the 29th September 1783.

Secret Dep. Monday.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
John Macpherſon, and John Stables, } Eſquires.

Edward Wheler Eſquire, abſent up the Country.

" Sir,

Enclоſed in Mr. Briſtow's Letter, 23d Aug.

" I have juſt received your Letter of the 5th inſtant, with its Incloſures.

" The Evening of the 7th, at a Conference I had with Mirza Shuffee Cawn, he introduced a Subject reſpecting the Nabob Vizier, which however diſagreeable it may be to you to know, and conſequently to me to communicate, I am under the Neceſſity of laying before you.

" He told me that he had received Information from Lucknow, that by the Advice of Hyder Beg Cawn, the Vizier had determined to bring his Grandmother the Widow of Sufdat Jung, from Fyzabad to Lucknow, with a View of getting a further Sum of Money from her, by ſeizing on her Eunuchs, digging up the Apartments of her Houſe at Fyzabad, and putting her own Perſon under Reſtraint. This he ſaid he knew was not an Act of our Government, but the meer Advice of Hyder Beg Cawn, to which the Vizier has been induced to attend. He added, that the old Begum had reſolved rather to put herſelf to Death, than ſubmit to the Diſgrace intended to be inflicted on her: That if ſuch a Circumſtance ſhould happen, there is not a Man in Hindoſtan who will attribute the Act to the Vizier, but every one will fix the Odium on the Engliſh; who might eaſily, by the Influence they ſo largely exerciſe in their own Concerns there, have prevented ſuch unnatural Conduct in the Vizier.—He therefore called on me as the Engliſh Repreſentative in

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(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° IV. (*b*) Vide Appendix, N° IV. (*c*) Vide Appendix, N° V.

this

this Quarter, to inform you of this, that you may prevent a Step which will deſtroy all Confidence in the Engliſh Nation throughout Hindoſtan, and excite the bittereſt Reſentment in all thoſe who by Blood are connected with the Houſe of Sufdae Jung. He concluded by ſaying, that if the Vizier ſo little ‘ regarded his Family and perſonal Honour, or his natural Duty, as to wiſh to diſ‘ grace his Father's Mother for a Sum of Money, let him plunder her of all ſhe has; but let ‘ them ſend her ſafe up to Delhi or Agra; and, poor as I am, I will furniſh a Subſiſtence for her, ‘ which ſhe ſhall poſſeſs with Safety and Honour, though it cannot be adequate to her Rank.’

“ This, Sir, is a moſt exact Detail of the Converſation, as far as related to that Affair, on the Part of Mirza Shuffee Cawn. On my Part I could only ſay, that I imagined the Affair was miſrepreſented; and that I ſhould write as he requeſted. Let me therefore requeſt, that you will enable me to anſwer, in a more effectual Manner, any further Queſtions on this Subject.

“ As Mirza Shuffee's Grandfather was Brother to Sufdar Jung, there can be no Doubt of what his Declaration means; and if this Meaſure of diſtreſſing the old Begum ſhould be perſiſted in, I ſhould not, from the State of Affairs, and the Character of the Amir ul Omrah, be ſurprized at ſome immediate and violent Reſolution being adopted by him.

“ Deig, 9th Auguſt, 1783.

I am, &c.
(Signed) James Browne.”

“ A true Copy.
(Signed) J. Hill,
Aſſiſt[t] to the Reſ[t].”

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, They had ſtronger Evidence to prove, in what Eſtimation the Women in India are held, according to the Manners and Cuſtoms of that Country; namely, that thoſe who had attempted to make Laws for the Regulation of the Courts of Juſtice for the Engliſh Government in India, had found the Laws and Rules of Evidence, and the Mode of Proceſs ſo different, that notwithſtanding their extreme Attachments to our Modes, they had been obliged to bend to the Cuſtoms of India; for which Purpoſe they ſhould produce a Body of Laws, by Sir Elijah Impey, for the Regulation of the Courts of Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, and from thence ſhew it was his Opinion, that with reſpect to the ſummoning of Perſons to appear as Witneſſes, an Exception ſhould be made in the Caſe of Women; and though the Paragraph about to be produced was of inconſiderable Length, it was ſufficiently ſtrong to prove the Cuſtom and Manners of that Country.

The Witneſs produced a Book, intituled, “ Regulations for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the Courts of Dewannee Adaulut, paſſed in Council, the 5th July 1783. With a Bengal Tranſlation, by Jonathan Duncan.”

The Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Whether that Book was tranſmitted from Bengal to the Court of Directors?
A. Yes.

Read, the following Extract, from Page 75 of the ſame Book.

Manner of ſummoning Witneſſes, and taking their Evidence.

“ If ſuch Parties have any Witneſs to produce, and for that Purpoſe the Courts of Mofuſſil Dewannee Adaulut may, on the Requiſition of any Plaintiff or Defendant, or their Vakeel, iſſue a Summons to ſuch Witneſs, as the Parties ſhall name, (not being a Hindoo or Muſſulman Woman of a Rank or Quality which, according to the Prejudices of the Country, would make it improper to compel her to appear in an open Court of Juſtice), ſpecifying at whoſe Requeſt the Summons ſhall have iſſued, and requiring them to appear in the Mofuſſil Dewannee Adaulut, on a Day named in the Summons.”

Read alſo, from Page 81.

Manner of taking the Depoſition of Hindoo or Muſſulman Woman, who cannot appear in open Court.

“ And in caſe of any Witneſs being a Hindoo or Muſſulman Woman, of a Rank or Quality which, according to the Prejudices of the Country, would make it improper to compel her to appear in an open Court of Juſtice, the Courts of Mofuſſil Dewannee Adaulut are hereby authorized to depute or commiſſion Three credible Perſons, being Women, who ſhall be called *Dyes* (ſuch Women being firſt ſworn to execute the ſaid Commiſſion faithfully and truly), to adminiſter, either an Oath, or ſuch Declaration as is before required from Perſons of high Rank, according to the Diſcretion of the Judge and the Religion of the Witneſs; and to examine ſuch Witneſs, on written Interrogatories delivered to the Perſons ſo deputed by both Parties or their Vakeels, if both Parties ſhall deſire to examine ſuch Witneſſes.”

The Managers for the Commons obſerved, that they propoſed to ſhew, by the above Extracts, that the whole Courſe of Examination of Witneſſes and Juſtice was entirely

entirely changed, to conform to the Cuſtoms of India, where Women were concerned.——That they would next call Sir Elijah Impey; but they thought it right to appriſe the Houſe, they were not going to examine him to the many material Points to which, in the Proceedings upon this Article, it might be neceſſary to call him. The Drift of their preſent Examination would be, to eſtabliſh ſtill more explicitly the Certainty of the Cuſtoms and Prejudices relative to Women in India—a Point, in their Opinion, very material to the right underſtanding of this Article of the Charge.

Whereupon, Sir ELIJAH IMPEY was called in; and, being ſworn, was aſked,

Q. Whether he recollected to have written a Letter to the Secretary of State on the 26th of March 1779?

A. I have had the Honour of writing ſeveral Letters to the Secretary of State: I do not recollect the particular Dates: If the Letter was ſhewn me, I ſhould recollect the Subſtance.

Then a printed Paper was ſhewn to the Witneſs, who ſaid,

A. I recollect this Letter.

Q. Whether you recollect this Paſſage in that Letter?

Before the Paſſage was read, the Counſel for the Defendant deſired to know, whether the Letter was recorded upon the Conſultations; if not, they ſhould object to the Queſtion.

The Managers for the Commons were informed, that the Houſe underſtood the Letter to be a Letter to the Secretary of State, and not recorded upon the Conſultations; and they ſuppoſed the Honourable Managers meant to interrogate the Witneſs upon the Subject Matter of that Letter.

The Managers for the Commons anſwered, Certainly, they did mean to examine him to the Subject Matter of that Letter.

The Counſel for the Defendant relied on their Objection, ſtating, that the regular Mode was, to examine the Witneſs to his Memory of what he knew, excluſive of the Letter, which contained only his Opinion at the Time, and that not upon Oath.

The Houſe obſerved, that the Opinion of the Witneſs, as to any Thing he ſaid upon a former Occaſion, not upon Oath, was not in its own Nature Evidence; but that it was very eaſy to interrogate him to his own Memory of the Subject Matter of the Letter in Queſtion.

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Whether a Woman, Hindoo or Moor, if not of the Outcaſt of the People, can by any Treatment be provoked to apply to a Court of Juſtice, if ſhe muſt make her perſonal Appearance?—Do you take the Drift of the Queſtion?

A. I do. I have never known an Attempt made; but, from what I have underſtood of the Cuſtoms of the Country, I believe ſhe could not be induced to do it.

Q. Whether an Accuſation againſt her, if ſhe were obliged to appear in a Court to make anſwer, would or would not be equivalent to a Capital Sentence againſt her?

A. As far as a Capital Sentence would affect her Life, I believe the Propoſition to be true, that ſhe would rather ſuffer Death—that ſhe would put herſelf to Death, rather than be put into ſuch a Situation. But when I ſay this, it is not from abſolute Knowledge; it is from Reports I have had of the Cuſtoms of the Country.

Q. Whether upon thoſe Reports, and the Ideas you conceived of the Cuſtoms of the Country from them, you have not grounded judicial Opinions and judicial Regulations?

A. Very early after my Arrival in Bengal, I wrote a Letter to the Secretary of State, in which I repreſented the Situation of the Women of Rank in that Country, in hopes that Regulations might have been ſent from England to give them Relief. When I was afterwards appointed Judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut in Bengal, I was deſired to make Regulations for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in that Court, and in the Courts which appealed to that Court: I then made Regulations, conformable to thoſe Ideas which I had communicated to the Secretary of State.

Q. And thoſe were alſo conformable to the Ideas you have now repreſented of the Cuſtoms of the Country, with reſpect to Women?

A. They

A. They were ruled by thoſe Ideas. I was going on with a further Explanation: I was going to mention, that, in my judicial Capacity of Chief Juſtice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, when a Woman of Rank was indicted for a Felony, I ſtrove all I could to prevent her from being brought perſonally before a Court of Juſtice; conceiving that, if ſhe had been put into a Situation to be brought publickly into a Court of Juſtice, it would have been nearly equivalent to having a Sentence paſſed upon her.

Q. Whether any Officers of a Court of Juſtice could enter the Walls of the Zenana, to recover Property claimed by any Perſon, or for any other Purpoſe, either in the Engliſh Court of Juſtice, or in the Courts of the Country?

A. I cannot account for what Force might do; but it would be a great Breach of Decorum, and of the Cuſtoms of the Country, to permit it; and the Supreme Court would, I have no doubt, if Complaints of that Sort had been made of their Officers, have ſeverely puniſhed them for the Intruſion, except they had firſt applied to the Court; but, during the Time that I was Chief Juſtice, there never was any Complaint made to the Court of any Thing of that Nature.

The Counſel for the Defendant being aſked, if they had any Queſtions to put to the Witneſs, informed the Houſe, That as they underſtood the Witneſs would be called again, they ſhould poſtpone any Examination of him till that Time.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) The Witneſs has ſtated, the Reluctance the Women in that Country have to appear in a Court of Juſtice; and has ſaid, they would rather ſuffer Death than ſo appear; I wiſh to underſtand, Whether the Witneſs means, ſo appearing in a Court of Juſtice, or ſo appearing in Publick?

A. I mean, appearing in Publick; Courts of Juſtice being publick.

Q. How then do they proceed againſt thoſe Perſons, in a criminal or civil Way; what is the Proceſs againſt them?

A. I do not know whether the Queſtion relates to the Supreme Courts, or to the Country Courts.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) In one, or the other, or both?

A. With reſpect to the Supreme Courts, I know but of One Inſtance of a criminal Caſe, which I have mentioned; there was no Diſtinction whatſoever as to the Proceſs, nor were we enabled to make it: With regard to civil Suits, they were proceeded againſt, as all other Perſons are; but it is not neceſſary, in civil Suits, for them to make their perſonal Appearance.

Q. Do you know any Thing of their Manner of Proceeding by the Laws of the Country?

A. Of that I know nothing; that is, nothing that I could ſpeak to with Certainty.

Q. By what Means is Property, improperly detained in the Zenana, to be recovered; by what Proceſs of Law?

A. The Proceſs of Law in the Supreme Courts, muſt have been the ordinary Proceſs; there was no other Proceſs; and upon an Application to the Court, though they might have thought it wrong, and might have puniſhed an Officer for entering the Zenana originally, without an Application to the Court; yet, if an Application had been made, ſtating to the Court, that Property was ſecreted in the Zenana, and was refuſed to be delivered up, I doubt not but the Court would have given the Officer an Authority to break it; becauſe it would then have been the Fault of the Perſon herſelf, to elude Juſtice.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Then I underſtand, after Sentence, the Zenana may be entered by the Officers of Juſtice?

A. I never had Occaſion—There being no Complaint, it was never in my Knowledge that the Zenana was forced in any Inſtance.

Q. Whether in the Deſcription you have given of the Proceſs in Execution, you do not mean the Proceſs of the Supreme Engliſh Court at Calcutta, and not the Proceſs of the Country Courts?

A. I mean, the Proceſs of the Supreme Court.

Q. Proceeding by Engliſh Laws?

A. Proceeding by the Engliſh Laws.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next proceed to produce ſome Hiſtorical Evidence to this Point, to ſhew not only the Cuſtoms with reſpect to the Privacy obſerved by Women of Rank in that Country, but alſo the high Authority they hold in the State, their great Power and ample Revenues, and the profound Reſpect and Submiſſion of their Children, even in the Perſon of the reigning Prince himſelf, towards his Mother.

This Hiſtorical Evidence they propoſed to read from, The Hiſtory of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire, by Prince Demetrius Cantemir.

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, that it would be firſt neceſſary to lay ſome Ground for the Production of this Evidence; at leaſt, it ſhould be ſhewn, that the Laws and Cuſtoms of Conſtantinople were the ſame as thoſe of Hindoſtan; and even then it might admit of conſiderable Doubt, whether ſuch a Hiſtory could be admitted in Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons made Anſwer, that the Ground they laid for the Production of this Evidence was, that wherever the Muſſulman Faith prevailed, the Manners, Cuſtoms, Orders, and Conſtitutions, of the ſeveral Countries were, nearly, if not altogether, the ſame; in particular, that the Muſſulman Faith enjoined the greateſt poſſible Submiſſion and Reverence from Children to their Parents, and more eſpecially to their Mothers, as would appear alſo from the Khoran.

The Houſe informed the Counſel for the Defendant, That the Ground on which it was contended this Evidence ſhould be produced was, that a general Hiſtory, though not Evidence of a particular Fact, was Evidence of the Cuſtoms and Manners of the Place which are the Subject Matter of ſuch Hiſtory: That it had been alleged, the Mahommedan Religion was the prevailing Religion of Indoſtan, and it was propoſed to prove from this Hiſtory, which had been ſtated to the Houſe as the Hiſtory of a Mahommedan Country, that the Cuſtom inſiſted on was a Cuſtom of the Mahommedan Religion.

The Counſel for the Defendant were aſked, in what Manner they ſtated their Objection?

The Counſel for the Defendant replied, That, to make the Hiſtory in Queſtion applicable to the Eaſt Indies, it was neceſſary for the Managers to ſhew, that the Religion of Mahommed was uniform in every Country in which it prevailed. That they were ready to admit the Khoran was obligatory upon all; but if a Comment only on the Khoran were produced, they could not be bound by it. For the ſame Reaſon, a Hiſtory of the Cuſtoms of Conſtantinople was no Evidence of the Cuſtoms and Manners of Indoſtan, unleſs it were firſt ſhewn, that the ſame identical Cuſtom, there ſtated, prevailed alſo in India.

The Houſe agreed with the Counſel for the Defendant, that a general Hiſtory is no Evidence to prove a particular Fact, nor to prove a Cuſtom in any other Country, than that to which the Hiſtory particularly relates. But it was very difficult, without ſeeing the Paſſage propoſed to be read, to know whether it applied. If the Paſſage was produced to prove a Cuſtom, hiſtorically, of the Mahommedan Religion, as applied cloſely in that Manner, it was Evidence. But the next Queſtion would be, Whether, if it were not proved that the Mahommedan Religion prevailed exactly in the ſame Manner in Indoſtan, it would be applicable in reſpect of that Country; however, that was rather a Queſtion upon the Effect, than upon the Competency, of the Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that, after what had fallen from the Houſe, they would only cite, in ſupport of the Doctrine they contended for, The Law of Niſi Prius, Page 248. "Camden's Britannia would not be Evidence to prove a particular Cuſtom; but a general Hiſtory may be given in Evidence to prove a Matter relating to the Kingdom in general."

The Counſel for the Defendant ſaid, Their Objection was, that Camden's Britannia was no Evidence to prove a Cuſtom in France.

The Houſe informed them, That if the Paſſage propoſed to be produced went to prove an univerſal Cuſtom of the Mahommedan Religion, the Managers for the Commons might read it.

Then the Managers for the Commons delivered in a Book, intituled, "The Hiſtory of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire, written originally in Latin, by Demetrius Cantemir, late Prince of Moldavia: Tranſlated into Engliſh from the Author's

Author's own Manuſcript, by N. Tindal, M. A. Vicar of Great Waltham in Eſſex."

Read, Extract from P. 297, of the ſame Book.

" Annotations (36.) Sultana Mother.]

" Valide Sultana. This Name is appropriated to the Mother of the reigning Sultan, and ſhe cannot be ſo called before her Son is arrived to the imperial Dignity, or after his Depoſition, becauſe none but Mahomet Fatih and Selim yauvue have happened to mount the Throne in their Father's Lifetime. The Sultans have always treated their Mothers with great Reſpect, in Compliance with the divine Precepts and thoſe of the Koran. They can not only introduce and change many things at Pleaſure in the Seraglio, but alſo the Sultan is forbid by the Laws to lie with any of the Women kept there without his Mother's Conſent. Every Day, during the Feaſt of Bairam, the Sultana-mother preſents a beautiful Virgin, well educated, richly dreſſed, and adorned with precious Stones, for her Son's Uſe; and though the Vizir and the Reſt of the Baſhaws ſend, among other Things, young Virgins for Preſents to the Emperor, yet he touches none of them but what is brought him by his Mother. If the Sultan has a Mind to chuſe a Concubine unknown to his Mother, he may indeed do it without Oppoſition; but he is reckoned to have acted contrary to the Rules of the Seraglio and againſt his Mother's Honour. Very often the Sultan communicates to his Mother the Affairs of State, as Sultan Mahomet is known to have done; and ſometimes ſhe has Conferences with the Vizir and Mufti, under a Veil, that ſhe may not be ſeen, and recommends to them Faithfulneſs to her Son. Whenever ſhe is ſick, the Hekim-effendi, or chief Phyſician, is brought into her Bedchamber, but he ſpeaks to her through a Veil hung round her Bed; and, if he muſt feel her Pulſe, it is through a Piece of fine Linen caſt over her Arm; for it is reckoned as unlawful for any Man to ſee the Sultana ſick, as in Health. Her Revenues conſiſted of above a thouſand Purſes, raiſed out of the Provinces of the Empire, and for the collecting of them there is an Officer appointed, named Kiethudai Valide Sultan, which is a Place of great Honour. She does what ſhe pleaſes with her Money; ſometimes, in a caſe of Neceſſity, ſhe lends Money to the Treaſury, and at other times raiſes Soldiers for the publick Service, as the Mother of the preſent Ahmed III. is reported to have done during the War with the Muſcovites."

Read, alſo, from Page 293 of the ſame Book.

" And though the Turks generally chuſe to be called only, after the Names of the Prophets, yet they do not reject the Names of the Two fierceſt Creatures, Arſlan, Lion; and Caplan, Tyger; nay, the Sultana Mother calls her Son, notwithſtanding he is Emperor, no otherwiſe than Arſlanum, My Lion. For it is an Affront from any one, but the Sultan's Father, to call him by his proper Name. On the other Hand, the Name of Padiſhah, which is given him by all others, ſeeming to derogate from a Mother's Authority over her Son, a middle Way has been found out, and allowed only to his Mother, namely, to call him, Lion."

Then MAJOR BROWN was called in; and, being ſworn, was examined as follows:

Q. Where, and in what Capacity was you, in Auguſt 1783?

A. I was the Engliſh Reſident at the Court of the King Shah Allum, and at that Time we were encamped at Delhi.

Q. Was you in a Situation to have an Opportunity of judging, of the Opinion of the Court of Delhi, reſpecting the Conduct of the Engliſh Government?

A. Certainly, I was in a Situation to form an Opinion, of what they thought of our Government; but, at the ſame Time, it was not likely they ſhould communicate that Opinion to me, conſidering me as the Repreſentative of that Quarter; except in Inſtances where it might be favourable to us.

Q. What was the Opinion at Delhi reſpecting the Rank, Quality, and Character of the Princeſſes of Oude, or of either of them?

A. The elder Begum was looked upon as a Woman of high Rank. She was, I believe, the Daughter of Saadit Alli Cawn, who was a Perſon of high Rank in the Time of Mahommed Shah.

Q. Do you know, whether any Woman in all Indoſtan was conſidered of ſuperior Rank or Birth?

A. I believe not, except thoſe of the Royal Family.

Q. Did you write a Letter to Mr. Briſtow, the Reſident at Oude, relative to the Report concerning the Begums, in Auguſt 1783?

A. I think I did: I think it was on the 9th of Auguſt, I wrote a Letter, containing the Subſtance of a Converſation I had had with Mirza Shuffee Cawn, upon the Subject of the Begums.

Q. Who was Mirza Shuffee Cawn?

A. He was the Second Perſon of the Empire, and commanded the King's Army.

Q. What

Q. What particularly induced you to write that Letter to Mr. Briſtow?
A. I did it at Mirza Shuffee's Requeſt: He deſired me, as the Engliſh Agent in that Quarter, to write that Letter.

Q. Do you know, upon what Ground, the Reports of the intended ill Uſage of the elder Begum gained ſuch Credit with Mirza Shuffee?
A. The Intelligence he had was from his own News-writers, a Set of People employed to gain Intelligence; and the Reaſon why he believed it, I ſuppoſe, was in conſequence of ſome coercive Meaſures being uſed towards her by the Vizier; he received Intelligence reſpecting ſome Meaſures that had been uſed.

Q. What Senſation did it occaſion at the Court of Delhi?
A. I really don't know: I was not at the Court of Delhi at the Time theſe Tranſactions took place; they had taken place a Year before.

Q. What Senſations did you obſerve in the Court of Mirza Shuffee, and in the Camp, at the Time you were there?
A. I do not recollect any, except the one detailed in that Letter; I do not remember ever hearing it mentioned but upon that Occaſion; the Letter expreſſes in Terms ſome Reſentment; and I believe he was related in Blood to the Begum.

Q. Was you at Delhi after you wrote that Letter?
A. I was.

Q. How long did you continue there?
A. I was there from December 1783, to May 1784.

Q. Did you never, in that Period, hear of the Tranſactions relative to the Begums in 1781 and 1782, mentioned at Delhi?
A. I do not recollect that I did.

Q. Have you no where ſtated, that that Intelligence relative to the Begums, made a bad Impreſſion at the Court of Delhi?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to this Queſtion being put.

Q. Do you recollect, whether it did, or not, make a bad Impreſſion at the Court of Delhi, or your ever having entertained an Opinion to that Effect?
A. None but from the Converſation detailed in that Letter, I do not recollect any other Occaſion; but, from what is mentioned in that Letter, it had made a bad Impreſſion upon the Minds of thoſe People to whom it was related.

Q. Have you had an Opportunity of obſerving the Cuſtoms of that Country, with regard to the particular Veneration and Reſpect paid to the Women of high Rank?
A. I have.

Q. What is your Opinion upon that Subject; what Obſervations have you made upon the peculiar Reſpect paid to Women of high Rank in that Country?
A. It is exceedingly high, and exceeding any Thing we can compare it with in our Cuſtoms.

Q. Have you had the like Opportunity of making Obſervations, with reſpect to the Affection and Duty of Children towards their Parents?
A. Yes; in the Courſe of the many Years I was in the Country, I had Opportunities of obſerving it.

Q. What was the Reſult of thoſe Obſervations?
A. That the Reſpect for Parents is very high in that Country, and that it extends to all Deſcriptions of People.

Q. Are there any Peculiarities in the Manner of ſhewing that Reſpect, which you have had an Opportunity of obſerving, as the Cuſtom of the Country?
A. Such as are manifeſted in all Parts of the World, only in a more extenſive Degree; for you may meet with People of a very bad Character, in other Reſpects, that are attentive as Children in their Duty towards their Parents.

Q. From your Obſervations on the Manners and Cuſtoms of that Country, what Effect do you think a Threat to remove a Woman of high Rank from the Zenana would have upon her Mind?
A. I ſhould ſuppoſe it would make an Impreſſion equal to the higheſt Diſgrace almoſt that could be inflicted upon her.

Q. Do you mean being removed in any forcible Manner, or how?
A. Being removed in a forcible and diſgraceful Manner; not being removed by her own Conſent, or in a Manner becoming her Rank.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether that Impreſſion would be aggravated, if the Son was the Inſtrument either of the Force or Diſgrace, or whatever the Cauſe of that Impreſſion was?

A. No doubt it would.

Q. Had you any Reaſon to believe, that the Begums were engaged in any Deſign to extirpate the Engliſh?

A. I know no more of it than as from Report; I was not upon the Spot at the Time it happened.

Q. At Delhi, while reſiding there, had you any Reaſon to believe, that the Begums had entered into an Aſſociation for the Purpoſe of extirpating the Engliſh?

A. I never heard any Thing upon the Subject at the Court of Delhi; it was not the kind of Subject they would be likely to converſe with me about.

Q. Was it, or was it not, Part of your publick Duty, to have informed yourſelf of any Circumſtance that related to an hoſtile Alliance againſt the Britiſh Government?

A. Certainly, of any Thing that happened at the Time I was there; but this happened a Year and a Half before I went there, and I was not inſtructed to make any Enquiry into it.

Q. Whether, in any Negociation or Treaty with any of the different Princes of the Country, any Circumſtance came within your Knowledge, that indicated ſuch a Diſpoſition in the Begums?

A. No; I don't recollect there ever did.

Q. (*By the Counſel.*) The Witneſs has ſaid, that he wrote a Letter upon the 9th of Auguſt to Mr. Briſtow, upon the Subject of a Converſation he had with Mirza Shuffee Cawn; I wiſh to know, Whether he did not receive an Anſwer to that Letter, bearing Date the 21ſt of the ſame Month of Auguſt 1783?

A. I did.

Q. Did that Anſwer ſtate, that the Report in the Converſation was entirely without Foundation?

A. It did, and he inſtructed me to inform Mirza Shuffee that it was groundleſs.

Q. (*by the Managers for the Commons.*) Whether, or no, the Attempt, which Mr. Briſtow authorized you to deny, was not a Second Attempt of the ſame Kind as that made before upon the Begums?

A. It was a Second, no doubt; the other had been carried into Effect about a Year before.

Q. (*by Counſel.*) I only wiſh to aſk whether it was not the Attempt which was the Subject of your Letter of the 9th of Auguſt 1783 that was contradicted by the Letter of the 21ſt of Auguſt 1783; was that the only one you ever wrote about?

A. Yes: It was the only One.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Whether in that Converſation with Mirza Shuffee Cawn, of which you have given an Account, he did, in ſpeaking of what I now underſtand clearly to be a Second Attempt, expreſs in any Terms whatſoever any Reſentment of the former Attempt?

A. He did not poſitively refer to a former Attempt, but he ſpoke of the Attempt that was then ſuſpected in Terms of Reſentment, and as a Diſgrace in which he participated, as being related by Blood to the Houſe of Suffder Jung, who was the Huſband of the old Begum.

Q. Am I to underſtand you to ſay, that Mirza Shuffee Cawn expreſſed his Reſentment of the ſuppoſed Second Attempt, in Terms that implied general Reſentment of any Indignity offered to the Begum?

A. Yes; I think the Terms in which he expreſſed himſelf did imply that.

Q. The Queſtion put to you is, whether the Terms in which he expreſſed his Reſentment, implied a general Reſentment againſt all Indignities that might be offered to the Begums?

A. I think they did. They are clearly recited in the Letter; I believe literally as the Converſation paſſed between us.

Q. What Diſtance is Delhi from Lucknow?

A. About 120 Miles.

Q. (*by Counſel.*) The Witneſs having ſpoken of an Opinion entertained at Delhi upon ſome Tranſactions he has ſtated, I wiſh him to be aſked, in what Eſtimation at Delhi, and other Parts of India where the Witneſs has been, the Character of Mr. Haſtings was held?

A. Mr. Haſtings was conſidered as a Man of conſiderable Abilities; as a Man that had held a high Office for a Length of Time, and was reſpected in the Exerciſe of it: But doubtleſs Men ſpeak more or leſs favourably of him, according as they have been ſerved more or leſs by him; he was not univerſally ſpoken of in the ſame Manner, but generally in the Terms I have mentioned.

Q. (*by the Managers.*) Was you employed at the Court of Delhi by Mr. Haſtings individually and particularly?

A. I think not: My Inſtructions called me his Agent, but the Agent of Government at the ſame Time, and in the ſame Paragraph; therefore I conſidered myſelf as the Agent of the Government, of which Mr. Haſtings was the principal executive Member.

Q. Whether Mr. Haſtings's Inſtructions did not authoriſe you, to make ſome particular Propoſitions of Importance to the King at Delhi, or to his Miniſters?

A. Not any in particular: The Inſtructions ſtated that I was to make a general Profeſſion of the Attachment of the Company to the King, and that they wiſhed to ſhew it as far as lay in their Power.

Q. Did he propoſe any ſpecifick Object of his Negociations?

The Counſel for the Defendant deſired to know to what Point in the Articles this Examination tended; for, as far as appeared at preſent, it was irrelevant to any Thing ſtated in them.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That they were examining the Witneſs to Mr. Haſtings's Character, of which they knew he could ſpeak very particularly.

The Managers for the Commons were informed, that, if that was their Intention, they muſt put a Queſtion relative to his Character.

Q. *(By the Managers.)* Whether Mr. Haſtings did, or did not, afterwards diſavow the Object of his Inſtructions to you?

The Counſel for the Defendant ſtill objected, that a General Queſtion, reſpecting the Character of a Defendant, did not entitle the Party proſecuting to go into a Matter not in Charge againſt the Defendant, or into Proof of particular Facts.

Q. What was your Opinion, with reſpect to the good Faith and plain Dealing of Mr. Haſtings, towards thoſe he has employed in his political Negociations?

A. It is a difficult Matter for me to form an Eſtimation of a Subject, of which I underſtand ſo little.

Q. *(from a Lord).* In what Time would Intelligence be conveyed from Delhi to Lucknow, if there was any Rebellion in the Country of Oude?

A. I think the Rate at which the Poſt goes and comes, is the Third Day; but upon particular Emergency it may arrive the Second Day.

Q. With whom did you correſpond; with Mr. Haſtings, or with the Governor and Council in general?

A. With Mr. Haſtings.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then CHARLES GORING, Eſquire, was called in; and being ſworn, was aſked,

Q. What was your Situation in India?

A. I was appointed to the Nabob's Court upon a Special Commiſſion by the Governor and Council.

Q. At what Time?

A. On the 9th of May 1779.

Q. How long did you reſide there?

A. Four Months.

Q. How long did you reſide in India altogether?

A. I was in India Two different Times; I went out in the Year 1760, and remained there, I think, till the Year 1769. I went out a Second Time in the Year 1774, and remained there till the Year 1778.

Q. Whether, during your Reſidence at the Nabob's Court, or in any other Part of India, you had an Opportunity of obſerving the Manner in which the Women were treated, according to the Cuſtom of the Country?

A. I had.

Q. Give an Account of the Obſervations you made upon the Manner in which the Women were treated, according to the Cuſtom of that Country?

A. The Women of that Country live extremely retired; they do not appear at all in Publick. I had Occaſion, however, to wait at different Times upon the Munny Begum, the Nabob's Mother. I obſerved ſhe was treated with the utmoſt Reſpect by her Son, and by every Body who ſurrounded her, and that ſhe lived in great Magnificence.

Q. From

Q. From what you have obſerved, what Effect do you ſuppoſe, a Threat to remove a Woman of her Rank from her Zenana, would have made upon her Mind?

A. Amongſt the Powers granted me by the Supreme Government, I had that of removing the Begum from the Nabob's Palace to another Place, in caſe I ſhould find her employed in any Intrigue to impede the Buſineſs I was ſent upon. Upon the laſt Viſit I paid her, ſhe took Notice of it, and ſaid, Had I attempted to execute this Power, ſhe would have put to Death every Woman in the Zenana, of which there were at that Time 2000, and have murdered herſelf, rather than be removed from her Palace. I did not find any Occaſion to remove her, becauſe I put her upon her Guard upon my firſt going. I told her I had that Power, but I never wiſhed to execute it.

Q. Did you underſtand that Reſolution which ſhe mentioned to you, in caſe of her being removed, to be the natural Conſequence of the Cuſtoms of the Country, or of any particular Threat of her own?

A. I conſidered it as a natural Idea that all the Women of Rank have, at being removed from their Dwellings.

Q. She did not tell you of this, till you took your Leave?
A. I think not.

Q. Whether you ever had an Opportunity of ſeeing the Widow of Surajah ul Dowlah?
A. I had.

Q. In what State did ſhe appear to live?
A. In great Splendour and Magnificence.

Q. From whence do you ſuppoſe ſhe derived the Means of living, in that Splendour and Magnificence?

A. I ſuppoſed it was from Money depoſited in her Palace, by the Orders of her late Huſband, the Nabob.

Q. Did you ever hear, that Meer Jaffier claimed any Part of the Treaſure left in the Zenana, after the Battle of Plaſſey, and after the Death of Surajah ul Dowlah?
A. I never did.

Q. To whom do you conceive the Treaſure, once lodged within the Walls of the Zenana, muſt of Right belong?

A. I conceive that the Treaſure, lodged within the Zenana, is intended for the Support of the Women of the Zenana.

Q. It is the Cuſtom of the Country to lodge Treaſure in the Zenana, for the Support of the Women?
A. I conceive, ſo from my Obſervation.

Q. Do you mean, of the Women generally left in the Zenana, as well as of the Begum, who is ſuppoſed to have the Direction?

A. I conceive ſo; becauſe the Begum told me, there were no leſs than Two thouſand Women in the Zenana of the Nabob of Bengal.

Q. (*Croſs examined.*) At what Time in the Year 1775, were thoſe Powers granted to you?
A. On the 9th of May.

Q. Do you know, whether, or not, the preciſe Powers granted to you appear upon the Records of the Company?

A. I believe they do; and if they do not, I have the Original in my Poſſeſſion.

Q. Do you know, by whom they were ſigned?
A. By the Secretary of the Council, I think.

Q. Who compoſed the Council at that Time?
A. Mr. Haſtings, General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Barwell, I think.

Q. Do you know, whether, or not, theſe Powers were given with the Approbation of General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis; I mean, particularly, that Power to remove the Begum from her Palace in caſe ſhe entered into any Intrigue, and of which you ſtate you gave her Notice?

A. I received my Orders from the Governor General and Council; conſequently I could not know what paſſed in the Council, it being the Secret Department.

Q. Do you know, whether, or not, the Treaſures which belonged to Surajah Dowlah, and which were lodged in the Zenana, were the Treaſures of the State, or whether they belong to the Begum; and, when you ſpeak upon this Subject, do you ſpeak according to your own Opinion, or have you any poſitive Knowledge on the Subject?

A. I do not underſtand the Queſtion.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know, whether, or not, the Treaſures lodged in the Zenana belonged to the Begum, or whether they were the Property of the State; and do you take it from general Opinion, or your own Knowledge?

A. I conceive, if they were the Treaſures of the State, the State would naturally have demanded them.

Q. If they had been demanded by the State, would that have given you an Opinion that they belonged to the State?

A. That would not follow of courſe. I conceive illegal Demands might be made by the State.

Q. The Queſtion is, As far as you founded your Opinion of their belonging to the Women, upon the Circumſtance of their not being demanded by the State, whether, if you had had no other Reaſon, you would not have ſuppoſed them to have belonged to the State, in caſe they had been ſo demanded?

A. I ſaid, No; becauſe I conceive the State might make an unjuſt Demand.

Q. In the actual Caſe of the State having made the Demand, would you have entertained an Opinion of its being unjuſt?

A. I ſurely ſhould. As ſo many Years had elapſed ſince the Death of Surajah ul Dowlah, and no Demand had ever been made, as I heard of; had a Demand been made at that Time of Day, I ſhould have conceived it to be an unjuſt one.

Q. How many Years had elapſed?

A. I ſhould ſuppoſe, upwards of Twenty Years. I do not know exactly, but a very conſiderable Time.

Q. Do you, or, do you not, know the Amount of the Treaſure reported to be in the Zenana at the Time of the Death of Surajah Dowlah?

A. I know nothing at all of the Matter.

Q. Do you know, whether, or not, it was an uſual Cuſtom for Surajah Dowlah to depoſit his Treaſure there?

A. Surajah Dowlah was cut off before I went to India.

Q. Do you know any Thing of Oude?

A. I know nothing at all of the Matter; I never was in that Country at all.

Q. (*by the Managers.*) Whether Munny Begum, whom you had Authority to remove, was really Mother of the Nabob?

A. She was not—ſhe was his Mother-in-Law; his own Mother was then living, and was in the Nabob's Seraglio.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Have you or have you not read the printed Proceeding of the Council of Bengal, touching your Appointment, and the Object of it?

A. I have read them ſince I have been in England.

Q. (*by the Counſel.*) What was the Name of the Widow of Surajah Dowlah?

A. I don't recollect.

Q. Where did ſhe live?

A. At the City of Muxadabad.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then JOHN STABLES, Eſquire, was again called in; and aſked,

Q. In what Situation was you when you was laſt in India?

A. I had the Honour of being Member of the Supreme Council.

Q. Do you recollect, in a Minute on the 9th of September 1783, that you propoſed an Inquiry to be made, Whether or not there had appeared any Sort of Diſaffection in the Begums of Oude, previous to the Troubles in Benares?

A. Yes, I do recollect it.

Q. What was your Motive for propoſing that Inveſtigation?

A. A Letter from the Court of Directors: I conceived it to be ordered by them.

Q. Did you conceive the Letter of the Court of Directors poſitively to direct that Inquiry?

A. I did ſo certainly at the Time; and I beg to refer to the Minutes which expreſs it.

Q. Had you ever heard of any Marks of Diſaffection in the Begums, previous to the Troubles of Benares, at that Time?

A. I was not in India at the Time of the Troubles of Benares; I arrived ſome Time after.

Q. Had you, at any Time, any credible Evidence produced to you, to induce you to believe the Begums had ever taken any hoſtile Part againſt the Engliſh, previous to the Troubles in Benares?

A. I believe, none, as I recollect.

Q. Upon what Evidence, Ground, or Authority, did you ever believe that they had, at any Time, taken an hoſtile Part againſt the Engliſh Government?

A. I had no Evidence, but what appears upon the Records.

Q. What Evidence did appear upon the Records, and of what Nature?

A. I believe it appears principally by the Narrative delivered in by Mr. Haſtings; but I refer to the Records.

Q. Had you any other Evidence but the Benares Narrative to induce you to believe it?

A. Nothing, but what appears upon the Records.

Q. I want it to be underſtood, Whether any Thing but the Benares Narrative appears upon the Records, that you recollect?

A. I do not recollect, or I would mention it.

Q. Whether you have read the Affidavits contained in that Narrative, relating to the Begums?

A. I cannot ſay I have read them all; I have read a great many of them.

Q. Did you read them upon the Record?

A. No, I did not; Mr. Haſtings was kind enough to give me the Narrative, and I read them there.

Q. Am I to underſtand, that Mr. Haſtings gave you the printed Narrative?

A. Certainly; it was a printed Narrative.

Q. Is that the Authority and Evidence to which you refer?

A. As far as it goes it is; I do not know what other Evidence is upon the Records.

Q. You never compared the printed Book with the Records?

A. No.

Q. What is the Fact; is that printed Book the ſame as the Record or not—I want to know whether you ever ſaw the original Affidavits, and whether they are entered upon the Records, or whether you have only ſeen them in the Caſe tranſmitted from Calcutta by Mr. Haſtings?

A. I do not know; they might be there; it happened before I arrived; but I never ſaw the original Affidavits.

Q. Did you ever converſe with any Man that ever ſaw the original Affidavits?

A. I do not recollect I did; I have no Doubt that they were in Exiſtence.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings aſſign any other Reaſon to you for refuſing to enter into that Inquiry, ſo directed by Order of the Company, except thoſe Reaſons that appear upon the Record—Do you recollect thoſe that did appear upon the Record?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recollect any other Reaſons aſſigned, beſides thoſe?

A. No, I think not.

Q. What Effect did Mr. Haſtings's refuſing this Inquiry produce upon your Mind, at the Time?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to the Queſtion, as being Matter of Opinion only.

Q. Was there any Debate about purſuing the Inquiry?

A. It is recorded upon the Minutes. I do not recollect I had any Converſation upon the Subject.

Q. Did you ever ſay any Thing to Mr. Haſtings, upon the Subject of his refuſing that Enquiry?

A. I do not recollect that I did. I was ſorry the Enquiry did not go on.

Q. Do you know of any other Method, by which the Guilt or Innocence of the Begums might be aſcertained, beſides the Enquiry you propoſed?

A. None ſo likely; my Opinion is clearly expreſſed upon the Minutes.

Q. And that is the whole Opinion you delivered upon the Occaſion, as far as you remember?

A. It is, as far as I remember.

Q. Whether the Whole of the Perſian Correſpondence univerſally, was not carried on in the Name of Mr. Haſtings, and addreſſed to him?

A. I believe ſo; at leaſt it is ſo ordered.

Q. Whether it is not alſo ordered, that it ſhould be communicated to the other Members of the Council?

A. I ſhould think ſo.

Q. Whether that Correſpondence was ſo regularly communicated?

A. I cannot ſay that, becauſe I was no Judge when it arrived; I can only ſay the Time it was given in to the Board.

Q. Do you recollect any Inſtance of Perſian Correſpondence, not ſo communicated?

A. I have taken Notice of One Inſtance, or Two, in my Minutes.

Q. Do you, or do you not, recollect any Thing concerning a Box of Letters ſuppoſed to have been miſlaid?

A. There was a Box of Letters ſent to the Board, upon the Day Mr. Haſtings took Leave of the Council, to go to Lucknow.

Q. Whether it was a Box of Letters ſtated to have been miſlaid, and which ought to have been communicated much ſooner?

A. It certainly ought: I made a Memorandum at the Time, which, if you pleaſe to hear, I will ſtate.

Q. Be ſo good as to give the Date of the Time of the Letters being communicated?

A. The Governor General mentioned he had miſlaid a Letter from Mr. Briſtow, dated the 4th of October 1784, ſent in Circulation to him upon the 15th of October; it was produced to us, that is, to the Council, upon the 17th of February.

Q. Sent in Circulation to him, or by him?

A. To Mr. Haſtings from the Secretary; it was miſlaid in the Council Box till the 17th of February 1785, when it was ſent to the Board; and it contained the Correſpondence of Almas Ali Cawn.

Q. Are thoſe Letters now upon Record?

A. They are now upon Records, if I recollect right, of the 17th or 18th of February.

Q. Where was Mr. Haſtings going; what Journey was he ſetting out upon, the Day on which thoſe Letters were produced?

A. To Suxauger, in his Way to Lucknow.

Q. Did you conceive thoſe Letters to relate to Matters of great Importance?

The Houſe obſerved, That the Letters were upon Record, and would ſpeak for themſelves with reſpect to the Importance of the Matters to which they related.

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Was there any Converſation between you and Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject, as you recollect?

A. Not any, which I recollect.

Q. Did you, as a Member of the Supreme Council, conſent to Mr. Haſtings going that Journey to Lucknow? Was it by the Conſent of the Council at all?

A. I diſſented; and proteſted againſt the Power given, the Minute of which I beg Leave to refer to.

Q. Was Mr. Haſtings very ſolicitous and earneſt to go upon that Journey?

A. His Minutes will ſhew; I refer to them.

Q. Do you know any Thing of his being ſolicitous, except from what appears upon the Minutes?

A. No; I do not.

Q. Do you know of any Concern or Matter in Lucknow, that might not have been tranſacted, without Mr. Haſtings' going perſonally to Lucknow?

A. I know of none, which the Authority of the Board would not have been ſufficient for.

Q. In whoſe Hands do you conceive the ſubſtantial Power of the Country of Oude, then to be placed?

A. It was nominally in the Hands of the Nabob Vizier; but I believe a great Power was in the Hands of his Miniſter, Hyder Beg Cawn.

Q. Do you mean, that Hyder Beg Cawn had in Fact, and in Effect, the Power of the Country, or what Degree of Power did you underſtand Hyder Beg Cawn had, as Miniſter of the Nabob?

A. I underſtood that he had very great Power indeed. I refer to the Inſtructions both to Mr. Middleton and Mr. Briſtow, where his Power is deſcribed.

Q. What was your Opinion, of the Influence and Power of Mr. Haſtings over Hyder Beg?

The Counſel for the Defendant ſaid, they muſt once for all object to Evidence of Opinion.

Q. Do you know any Thing of any Influence that Mr. Haſtings had over that Miniſter?
A. I know of none, further than what appears upon the Records.

Q. What do you know of the Power of the Miniſter of Oude over the Begums, at the Time Mr. Haſtings went up to Lucknow?
A. I do not know of any Power he had over the Begums.

Q. Do you know, in whoſe Poſſeſſion the Begums Jaghires were, at the Time Mr. Haſtings went to Lucknow?
A. No; I do not.

Q. Did you, previouſly to Mr. Haſtings's ſetting out, take any Meaſures for the Reſtoration of the Jaghires from Hyder Beg (if he had them), or from the Nabob's Government, to the Begums?
A. There is a Minute of mine upon the Occaſion, to which I refer; I do not immediately recollect the Terms of it.

Q. Did you take any other Meaſures than what appear upon the Minutes?
A. No.

Q. What Meaſures did you take, to procure the Payment of an Equivalent to the Begums, while the Jaghires were withheld from them?
A. I took no other Meaſures, than what are expreſſed upon the Minutes.

Q. Were any Meaſures taken that you recollect, at your Suggeſtion or Propoſal?
A. I propoſed an Inquiry, to know whether they had been paid, and by what Channel.

Q. Did you procure any Intelligence, that an Equivalent had ever been paid?
A. No, I think I did not.

Q. Were there any other Powers in that Country that could have withheld that Payment from the Begums, but the Nabob, his Miniſter, or the Engliſh Reſident belonging to the Engliſh Government?
A. I believe not.

Q. Was there any Power beſides them, that could have paid the Begums that Money?
A. The Influence of the Engliſh, I ſuppoſe, would have made them be paid.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they preſſed this to ſhew at whoſe Mercy the Begums really were, when Mr. Haſtings took this Journey to Lucknow.

The Houſe obſerved, that the Witneſs ſeemed to think he had expreſſed all his Opinion and all his Ideas upon Record; that he conſtantly referred to them, and did not ſeem to have any other Memory upon the Subject.

Q. (*Croſs examined.*) Whether the Time of your Arrival in India, was a Year and a Quarter after the Troubles in Benares?
A. I arrived upon the 6th of November 1782; I took my Seat at the Board upon the 11th of the ſame Month.

Q. I wiſh to know whether, after your Arrival, you ever went up into the Country of Oude, or was ever abſent at any Diſtance from Calcutta?
A. I never went further than the City of Moorſhedabad, during the laſt Time I was in India.

Q. How far was that?
A. About a Hundred Miles from Calcutta.

Q. State, whether the Perſian Correſpondence is not, according to the Courſe of the Office, entered in a Book, and whether that Book is not open for the Inſpection of all the Members of the Board?
A. The Perſian Correſpondence of the publick Officer very often was upon the Table.

Q. The Queſtion is, whether the Letters are not tranſcribed into ſome Book, which Book is conſtantly open to the Inſpection of all the Members of the Board?
A. I don't believe all the Letters are tranſcribed.

Q. But whether it is not the Courſe of Office to have them tranſcribed?
A. It ought to be ſo certainly.

Q. I underſtood the Witneſs to ſay, with reſpect to the Engliſh Letter received from Mr. Briſtow, when he was deſcribing what Mr. Haſtings ſaid upon the Subject, (and I wiſh to know whether I underſtood him right), that Mr. Haſtings mentioned as a Reaſon why it was not brought earlier before the Board, that it was miſlaid by Accident?

A. I don't

A. I don't know it; but I think it is ſo expreſſed in the Note that came with it to the Council.

Q. At what Time are the Letters tranſcribed into the Book; before, they are ſent into Circulation, or afterwards?

A. I do not know.

Q. What is the common Courſe of the Office?

A. They ought to be firſt tranſcribed in a Book, and then ſent in Circulation.

Q. Do you know whether thoſe Letters were in fact ſo tranſcribed?

A. I do not.

Q. I wiſh to know whether the Witneſs made any Enquiry at all, one Way or the other, upon the Subject of the Rebellion or Inſurrection of the Begums?

A. In Converſation, of courſe; but no official Enquiry.

Q. Recollect, whether you ever ſigned a Letter, bearing Date the 3d of March 1783, in which are theſe Words, "You will inform us if any, and what, Means have been taken for the Recovery of the Balance due from the Begums at Fyzabad; and, if neceſſary, you will recommend it to the Vizier to inforce the moſt effectual Means for that Purpoſe?"

A. I ſhould like to refer to the Records; I have it not in my Recollection perfectly; I dare ſay the Records will ſhew it, if it is ſo.

Q. *(from the Managers.)* Whether you did approve, or direct the Recommencement of Severity towards the Begums or the Miniſters?

A. God forbid I ſhould!

Q. Were not the Miniſters of the Begums in Impriſonment upon your Arrival at Calcutta?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. Does it appear in that Book in which the Letters are tranſcribed for Preſervation, at what Time they are tranſcribed; or does any Thing more appear than merely the Dates of the Letters?

A. I really do not know.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* I ſhould be glad to know, in what Manner the Women could ſubſiſt, if the Jaghires, or an Equivalent, were not paid them?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do you know whether the Letters you have mentioned, related to the Ground upon which Mr. Haſtings went to Lucknow?

A. I ſhould wiſh to refer to the Letters—I think they related to the ſuppoſed Defection of Almas Ali Cawn.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* The Witneſs has ſtated, that at the Time he has mentioned, he conceived the Letter from the Court of Directors to order an Enquiry, and that it was upon that Opinion that he regulated his Conduct, and his Propoſal for ſuch Enquiry; I wiſh to know, Whether the Expreſſion, "at the Time" was merely caſual, or am I to underſtand from it, that the Witneſs has altered his Opinion of the Intention of this Letter ſince that Time?

A. I certainly retain that Opinion, and I wiſhed the Enquiry to go on.

Q. *(from the Managers.)* Whether you know of any other Inſtance of the Suppreſſion of Correſpondence, beſides the one you have ſtated?

A. There was another of the ſame Kind, I believe, taken Notice of in One of my Minutes, which I wiſh to refer to. If your Lordſhips will give me leave, I will give you the Date of the Minute, and I wiſh to refer to that—it is a Minute regarding the Recall of Mr. Briſtow, dated the 4th of September 1783; and the Papers were not laid before the Board till near Three Months after they were received.

Q. But you have no Recollection of that Paſſage, other than what is contained in your Minute?

A. No.

Q. Whether any Note, Minute, or Letter, ſent by you, was ever meant to convey your Conſent or Approbation of the Meaſure purſued reſpecting the Begums, or their Miniſters?

A. No, I think not; that Buſineſs was over before my Arrival.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Did you ever convey to Mr. Haſtings your Diſapprobation of the Meaſures taken againſt the Begums, and their Miniſters?

A. I don't know that I did: I refer to my Minutes. We had no Converſation upon it; it would have been indelicate to have condemned privately: I certainly never approved of the Treatment of the Begums.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Could their Guilt or Innocence appear in any other Way than by publick Enquiry?

A. No. I wiſhed the Enquiry to go on.

Q. *(from*

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Whether all the publick Letters that come to the Board, at Calcutta, are not firſt opened by the Secretary, before they come to the Board?

A. He opens them; but he very often carries them to the Governor General: There are many Letters directed to the Governor General himſelf, and not to the Board.

Q. Is it the Courſe of Office for the Secretary to open Letters, or ſend them as they come cloſed to the Members of the Board?

A. I do not believe there is any general Rule; they are ſometimes opened, and ſometimes not.

Q. (*from the Managers.*) Whether you do not recollect that the following Paragraph is among the General Orders of the Company? "We direct, that you aſſemble in Council Twice every Week; and that all the Members be duly ſummoned; that the Correſpondence with the Princes, or Country Powers in India, be carried on by the Governor General only; but that all Letters ſent by him, be firſt approved in Council; and that he lay before the Council, at their next Meeting, all Letters received by him in the Courſe of ſuch Correſpondence, for their Information: We likewiſe direct, that a Copy of ſuch Parts of the Country Correſpondence be communicated to our Board of Trade (to be conſtituted as hereinafter mentioned), as may anyways relate to the Buſineſs of their Department." Whether that is not a ſtanding Order of the Court of Directors?

A. I think I am aware of it; it is.

Q. In caſe any Letters are directed to the Governor General alone, are they opened by the Governor General, or by the Secretary?

A. I ſhould ſuppoſe not by the Secretary. I ſhould ſuppoſe they were delivered to the Governor General, if directed to him.

Q. Do you remember Mr. Palmer being employed in the Upper Province at Lucknow?

A. I remember his being employed, but I did not know it till long after I went to Bengal.

Q. Was he employed before you got there?

A. I think he was at Lucknow, when I arrived in India; I am not poſitive there were Inſtructions for him: I enquired of the Secretary, and heard of none till ſome Time after I arrived.

Q. Was you, in your Capacity as One of the Council General, duly conſulted upon the Continuance of Major Palmer in the Upper Provinces; or in any Renewal of his Commiſſion; or was you ever conſulted about him?

A. No, I never was.

Q. What is your Opinion of the Effect of ſuch ſecret Agents, upon the Part of the Governor General only, upon the Conduct of publick Buſineſs, when the Company maintains a Reſident there, upon the Part of the Governor General and Council?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to the Queſtion.

The Houſe obſerved, It depended upon the Nature of the Agency, and the Extent of it: If there was any particular Agency, what the Effect of it was, might be a Subject of Obſervation; and therefore the proper Queſtion would be,

Q. Whether the Witneſs knows of any Effect the Agency of Mr. Palmer had upon the publick Buſineſs?

A. It certainly muſt make the publick Agent very uneaſy in his Situation, and it certainly did; but in my Opinion, there was no Occaſion for any private Agent at all.

Q. What Knowledge have you of the Effects of it?

A. I have no Knowledge of the Effects, but from Mr. Briſtow's Writings upon the Subject, to which I refer.

Q. I deſire to know, whether all Mr. Haſtings's Correſpondence with Almas Ali Cawn was ever produced to the Board?

A. I really cannot tell.

Q. Do you know of his having written any Letters to Almas Ali Cawn?

A. I do not immediately recollect.

Q. Do you know whether all the Correſpondence with the Nabob of Oude, concerning Colonel Hannay, was duly laid before the Board?

A. I do not recollect; Colonel Hannay was dead before I arrived.

Q. Have you Reaſon to think Mr. Haſtings had frequent Conference and Communications with the Nabob of Oude's Vackeel at Calcutta?

A. The Vackeel paid his Reſpects to Mr. Haſtings almoſt daily, as I ſhould ſuppoſe every other Vackeel would do, to tell him the News of his Court.

Q. Do you know, whether Mr. Haſtings communicated the Subſtance of any ſuch Converſation with the Vackeel, to the Board?

A. How could I know that?

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Mercurij, 23° *Aprilis* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons informed the Houſe, they would now proceed to prove the Right of the Bhow Begum, the Mother of Aſoph ul Dowla, to the Treaſures given her by Sujah ul Dowla; alſo the Treaties in the Years 1775 and 1776, by which her Right to theſe Treaſures was allowed and confirmed by the Vizier, and guaranteed by the Council at Calcutta.

Then Mr. ROBERT HUDSON was called in; and produced Book 75, intituled, "Bengal Secret Council, 15 October to 20 November 1775."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 8th November 1775, beginning at Page 824 of the ſame Book.

"Fort William, 8th November 1775. Secret Dept. Wedneſday.

"At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering.
The Honourable George Monſon.
Philip Francis Eſquire.

"Received the following Letters from Mr. Briſtow.

"To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, and the Members of the Honourable Supreme Council at Fort William.

"Honourable Sir and Sirs,

"Immediately on his Return from Fyzabad he ſtated his Diſtreſſes to me, and begged of me to uſe my Endeavours to perſuade the Begum to aſſiſt him. I wiſhed to have declined complying with his Excellency's Requeſt, eſpecially after he had indirectly objected to my having any Correſpondence with her; but being ſenſible of his Neceſſities, I conſented, upon the Condition of his not expecting of * me to uſe violent Meaſures. I accordingly went to Fyzabad, and explained particularly in Writing to the Begum, how impoſſible it was for the Nabob to conduct his Government without her Aſſiſtance; and likewiſe inſinuated to her that ſhe could not complain of him, for he had granted her an additional Jaghyr of Four Lacks a Year for the Sums he had already borrowed of her, and treated her with great Reſpect. I further inſinuated to her, that the Treaſures ſhe poſſeſſed were the Treaſures of the State, as ſhe had not ſucceeded to them by any legal Right, and they had been hoarded up to provide againſt an Emergency: That that Emergency was arrived; and I recommended it to her to ſpare his Excellency the Sum of Fifty Lacks as a Donation. If this did not pleaſe her, to let the Treaſure be divided according to the Laws of the Koran, or elſe grant him a Loan, and that I could engage for the Repayment of it. * Sic in Orig.

"After much Perſuaſion the Begum agreed to pay the Nabob Twelve Lacks, and this ſhe declared was wholly to oblige me, and upon the Conditions of the Company's being to ſecure her the Poſſeſſion of her Jaghyrs for Life; and that the Nabob ſhould not interfere with her upon any Account. I excuſed myſelf, becauſe of the Inſignificancy of the Sum, but offered to comply with her Terms in caſe of her granting Fifty Lacks. This I had Authority for from the Nabob, who, on deſiring me to undertake the Negociation, repeatedly and earneſtly expreſſed his Deſire not to uſe any Violence; and in order to prove it, he ſaid he would ſubmit to the Company's being Mediators of all Differences between him and the Begum. But it was hard, when reduced to ſuch Diſtreſs, that his Mother ſhould uſeleſsly keep up immenſe Treaſures.

"On my Return his Excellency approved of my Conduct, and deſired of me to write to the Begum very fully, again explaining his Situation to her; that I had interfered merely to prevent any Differences or Doubts ſubſiſting between them, which I thought the Part of a mutual Friend.

"That I had always diſſuaded the Nabob from violent Meaſures, and would continue my Endeavours; but the Point in Queſtion was a domeſtic Matter, in which I could not inſiſt on his Excellency's following my Advice.

" The Begum, in her Anſwer, complained much of the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and told me, in plain Terms, that what ſhe would do ſhould be for the ſake of the Engliſh, and, as for the Nabob, ſhe would not advance him a ſingle Rupee upon his Word; but ſooner throw her Jewels and Money into the River. On my preſenting the Letter to his Excellency, he again deſired of me to go to Fyzabad, and as there were great Doubts entertained of the Eunuch employed between the Begum and me not having explained my Repreſentations fully to her, but concealed ſuch Part as did not conform to his Views; the Nabob ordered Sellar Jung and Buſſant Ally Cawn to go to Fyzabad alſo, and follow Murtehzeh Cawn's and my Advice in making any additional Repreſentations which might be found neceſſary. It is generally believed the Begum has Four Crores in her Poſſeſſion; but I fancy I may venture to ſay ſhe has One Crore and Seventy Lacks.—Conſidering this immenſe Sum, I hope, now we are all here, and when Circumſtances are impartially ſtated, that ſhe will yield to our Perſuaſions.

[Signed at the End]

" John Briſtow, Reſident at the Court of the Nabob of Oude. (*a*)"

The Managers for the Commons requeſted the Houſe to obſerve that, in theſe Letters, the Treaſures ſtated by Mr. Haſtings as belonging to the State, are claimed by the Nabob as his Right: That, in a former Letter, it appears, he had actually negociated a Loan with the Bhow Begum; and by the Letter now going to be read, it would further appear, that he had alſo given a landed Security, for the Money ſo borrowed from the Bhow Begum.

Read, the following Extract of a Letter from Mr. Briſtow to the Board, dated Fyzabad, 16th October, 1775, from the ſame Book, Page 838.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, and the Members of the Honourable Supreme Council at Fort William.

" Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

" I have already fully explained to the Honourable Board the Part I took in the Negociation between the Nabob and the Begum. My Repreſentations ſince my Arrival this laſt Time have tended to prove to her Excellency, that the Nabob's Situation was deſperate; and ſhe might have determined on what raſh Reſolutions ſhe pleaſed in her own Mind, ſtill it was now a Queſtion, whether the Nabob ſhould ſeize his Right, or ſuffer a Lack of Souls to periſh, and the Sovereignty of theſe Soubahs, now in the Fourth Generation, to be transferred to another Family? I afterwards uſed many mild Arguments. I alſo met Sellar Jung, Myrza Ally, and Murtehrzeh Cawn, and we conſulted together; and after many Meſſages to the Begum, and many Alternatives propoſed by both Parties, Thirty Lacks were conſented to. I am ſure I could have obtained Fifty, the Sum I aſked, if Murtehzeh Cawn had not been impatient to return, and unguardedly mentioned, that the Nabob would be ſatisfied with Thirty. When I preſſed him to adhere to our firſt Requeſt, he ſeemed to be apprehenſive of the Begum's Temper hurrying her into ſome violent Act, diſgraceful to the Nabob's Government; and as the bare Probability of forcing her to Extremities was enough to determine me from aſking ever ſo ſmall a Sum, I at once gave up the Point.

" The Begum not only grants the Nabob this Sum, but gives up to him Twenty-ſix Lacks, for the Re-payment of which ſhe had Security in Land. In lieu of this, ſhe aſked of the Nabob never to interfere with her again, upon any Pretence whatſoever; and for her entire Satisfaction, ſhe inſiſted on having the Company the Guarantees of a Treaty to be entered into betwixt her and the Nabob, and that I likewiſe ſhould execute another directly with her, on the Part of the Company; with which having complied, I have the Honour to incloſe Copies of both Treaties, N° 1 and 2.

" I now ſubmit my Conduct in this Negociation to the Conſideration of the Honourable Board. It is Neceſſity alone which has obliged me to act the Part I have done; for without the Company as Guarantees of the Treaty, the Begum would not have given a ſingle Cowry. The Nabob wholly of himſelf aſked me to interfere, contrary to my Inclination; and I therefore hope the Honourable Board will approve of my Conduct, eſpecially as it was the only Means of realizing a conſiderable Sum at this Juncture. Half of the Money procured from the Begum is to be paid to the Company; which, with Five Lacks now receiving, making altogether Twenty Lacks, is a conſiderable Sum in the preſent State of the Nabob's Affairs.

" I have written Powers, and the Teſtimony of the Perſons concerned in this Negociation, of my having had the Nabob's Sanction: However, I think it neceſſary to provide againſt any future Doubts, and ſhall therefore forward the Honourable Board a Treaty on the Part of the Nabob with the Company, acceding to the Terms with the Begum, which the Miniſter promiſes to get executed with all Expedition. The Begum having at firſt inſerted the Word " Heirs," we had

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(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° VI.

very

very near broke off the Negociation; for I positively refused, and told her Excellency, the Company were in Alliance with the Nabob Aussuf ul Dowla alone, and during his Life knew of no Heirs, or any other Sovereign in this Country.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

(Signed) John Bristow,

" Fyzabad, the 16th Oct. 1775. Resᵗ at the Court of the Nᵇ of Owd (*a*)."

The Managers for the Commons stated, they would next read a short Extract, to prove that the Council did authorize Mr. Bristow to conclude the Faith of the Company by this Guarantee.

Read, the following Extract from the same Consultation, beginning at Page 850 of the same Book.

" Resolved, That the following Reply be sent to Mr. Bristow.

" To Mr. John Bristow, Resident at the Court of Oude.

" Sir,

" We have received your Letters of the 11th, 16th, 20th, and 26th of October. We think that the Circumstances of the Nabob's Affairs, and the unfavourable Disposition which his Mother, the Begum, shewed towards him, made it necessary for you to comply with his Request, for affording your Assistance to persuade her to supply him with a Sum of Money; and we therefore approve and confirm your Guarantee of the Treaty which has been entered into between them (*b*).

" Fort William, 8th Nov. 1775. The Letter concludes,

" We are, &c."

The Managers for the Commons stated, they would next proceed to prove, that the above Proceedings were communicated by the Governor General and Council to the Company.

The Witness produced Book 6, intituled, " Bengal Letters received, 16 May 1775, to 20th January 1776."

Read, the following Extract of a Letter from the Board at Calcutta to the Court of Directors.

" Fort William, the 20th November 1775.

Par. 9. " The Nabob's Mother, Buboo * Begum, retaining Possession of all the late Vizier's Treasure, to a very considerable Amount, the Nabob, when he found all his other Means were exhausted, had recourse to her for a pecuniary Aid, but she was immoveable on his first Applications; he at length found it necessary to press Mr. Bristow to use the Influence of his Mediation, which, after some Solicitation, he complied with. By the Assistance of many of the Nabob's Friends, and the most earnest Entreaties to the Begum, they prevailed on her to give the Nabob Thirty Lacks in ready Money, and a Release for a Sum of Twenty-six Lacks, which she had formerly lent him; but her Conditions were positive, that he should enter into a Treaty with her, under the Ratification of the Company, never to molest her more with Demands for Money, as she would not grant the present Relief on any other Terms. The Nabob signed the Treaty, and Mr. Bristow ratified it: Which Ratification, as the Urgency of the Case rendered necessary, we have approved. The Company were to receive Fifteen Lacks of this Sum, which, together with Five Lacks before in Course of Payment, we expect Mr. Bristow will shortly dispatch to us (*c*)."

* Sic in Orig.

The Managers for the Commons stated, they would next proceed to read the Coulnama between the Nabob and his Mother, and the Guarantee of Mr. Bristow; by which the House would perceive, that supposing the Vizier ever to have made any Claim to these Treasures, it became extinguished; that he received Thirty Lacks upon Account of present, and Twenty-six Lacks on Account of former Debts due to him; and that, upon Receipt of the Thirty Lacks, he renounced all Claim whatsoever in future.

Read, from Book 75, before delivered in, the following Extract, beginning at Page 841 of the same Book.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° VII. (*b*) Vide Appendix, N° VIII. (*c*) Vide Appendix, N° IX.

" Fort William, the 8th November 1775.

Secret Dept. Wedneſday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Philip Francis, Eſquire.

N° 1.

" Copy of a Draft of a Coulnâmâ under the Seal of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, dated the 19th of Shabaun, in the Year 1189 of the Hegyra, (15th of October 1775).

" I Aſoph ul Dowlah Bahadre engage and give this written Agreement, viz.

" I have now taken from my Mother 30 Lacks of Rupees on Account of the preſent, and 26 Lacks on Account of former Debts, in Specie, Goods, Jewels, Elephants, Camels, &c. from the Patrimony of my Father, and have no further Claim on her. Having received this through the Engliſh Chiefs, I renounce all further Demands on her. I alſo engage that I will never moleſt my Mother in the Enjoyment of the Jaghiers, Gunges, Culladarries, Gardens, or the Mints of Oude, Fyzabad, &c. conferred on her by the late bleſſed Nabob, but will leave her in the full Poſſeſſion of them, during her Life Time.—As long as my Mother lives, I will give her no Trouble on account of them.—She ſhall collect whatever appears to be due from the ſaid Jaghiers, by her own People; I will not obſtruct it.

" When my Mother goes on her Pilgrimage ſhe is at Liberty to leave the Jagheers, &c. under the Charge of whomſoever ſhe pleaſes.—It is entirely at her Option: I will not oppoſe it.

" Whether ſhe reſides here or goes on her Pilgrimage the Jagheers, &c. ſhall remain in her Poſſeſſion; and no Perſon ſhall on any Occaſion obſtruct or moleſt her therein. To whomſoever my Mother ſhall give Charge of the Jagheirs, &c. I will on every Occaſion protect and aſſiſt him; and when ſhe goes on her Pilgrimage ſhe is at Liberty to take with her ſuch of her Slaves, Women, and Goods as ſhe thinks proper; I will not moleſt her; nor will I give any Trouble to Johur Ally Khawn, Bahadre Ally Khawn, Nuhaut Ally Khawn, Shegoon Ally Khawn, or to the Taveldarries, by any Demand on them. My Mother is at Liberty to act as ſhe pleaſes therein; ſhe is the Miſtreſs. For the Obſervance of all theſe Articles I give God and his Prophet, the Twelve Imaums, the Fourteen Mauſſooms, and the Engliſh Chiefs are joined in this Engagement. Further I will not in future demand any Loan from my Mother. I have no Claim on her; nor will I ever deviate from this Engagement. Should I act contrary thereto, it may be ſuppoſed that I am eſtranged from the Engliſh Chiefs and the Company.—I have accordingly given this as a Coulnâmâ to remain as a Voucher.

" Liſt of the Jaghiers, &c.

Sullow One Mahal,
Dawa, D°,
Purſeddipore, One Mahal,
Rutaha, D°,
Sumrootah,
At Gourkpore, One Houſe,
Taloe, One Mahal,
Jais, with the Adawlut,
Sair, One Mahal,
Cora, D°,
Tanda, D°,
Nabob Gunge, with the Villages on the other Side of Khahrah, One Mahal,
Iſmael Gunge, with the Villages, is at the Diſtance of Three Coſs from Lucknow,
Iſmael Gunge, at Lucknow,
Cullahdarry of all the Soubahs,
Mints of Owde and Fyſabad,
Bhegum Gunge and Gola Ghaut,
Vizier Gunge,
The Garden of Thirry Sing at Owde, with Ground for Three Gardens,
Eiſhbaug at Lucknow,
Rozah Gaut at Lucknow,
Bhegum Barree with the Bazar,
Garden of Bahara Mull."

" Copy of a Draught of a Coulnâmâ, under the Seal of Mr. John Briſtow, on the Part of the Company and Engliſh Chiefs, dated as above.

" The Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah Yaty a Khan Bahadre Huzzuber Jung has received from his Mother, on Account of the Patrimony of his Father, and appropriated to his own Uſe the Sum of Thirty Lacks of Rupees on Account * the preſent, and Twenty-ſix Lacks on Account of former Debts, in Specie, Goods, Elephants, Camels, &c.; and the Fara Khutty (full Acquittal) which the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah gives to his Mother, is a Voucher. My Seal is affixed thereto, ſo that it may be conſidered as an Act of the Company and Engliſh Chiefs with reſpect to the Jaghiers, Gunges, Culladarries, Gardens, the Mints of Owde and Fyſabad, which the late bleſſed Nabob gave to the Bhegum; the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah will not moleſt her in the Poſſeſſion of them, but leave her in the free Enjoyment of them during her Lifetime, and ſhe is to collect whatever may appear due from the Jaghiers, through her own People. The Engliſh Chiefs are Guarantees for the Obſervance of theſe Articles: No One ſhall moleſt her when the Bhegum goes

* Sic in Orig.

on a Pilgrimage: No Perſon ſhall obſtruct or hinder her; and the Bhegum is ſole Miſtreſs of her own People: No One ſhall make any Demand on her Eunuchs or Women; ſhe is at Liberty to act as ſhe pleaſes with reſpect to them.

" When the Bhegum goes on her Pilgrimage ſhe may leave the Charge of the Jaghiers, &c. to whomſoever ſhe pleaſes; the Engliſh Chiefs are Guarantees of this (*a*).

" Liſt of the Jaghiers, &c. exactly the ſame as that in N° 1."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next proceed to read again a Paſſage in Mr. Haſtings's Defence at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, by which he would lead the Houſe to believe, that the Bhow Begum had no Reaſon to diſtruſt the Good Faith and Punctuality of the Nabob her Son; and therefore that ſhe acted out of perſonal Enmity to him, in refuſing to deliver up the Treaſures.

Read, the following Extract from the Manuſcript Defence, Page 213.

" However willing his Excellency may have been to grant Aſſignments for the Liquidation of his Debt, he was never ſcrupulous of infringing them, when preſſed by other importunate Creditors; but has frequently granted Tuncaws upon Aumils, whoſe Revenue, to its utmoſt Amount, he well knew had been previouſly aſſigned over to the Company (*b*)."

Read, alſo, from the Manuſcript Defence, Page 217.

" The moſt rigorous Means were adopted, and even Threats of Military Execution reſorted to, in the Time of the late Reſident, Mr. Briſtow, in the Year 1776, to exact the Payment then made by the Begum; nor would any ſofter Methods have availed, as ſhe declared " ſhe would " ſooner throw her Treaſures and Jewels into the River, than advance the Nabob a ſingle Rupee." Her Jewels, Cloaths, and Houſehold Utenſils were permitted to be taken, in Default of ready Money Payments, and converted to the Company's Uſe, by publick Auction in Calcutta, without any Diſapprobation having been ſignified by the Council General, either of the Principle on which the Claim had been made on the Begum, or the Mode of enforcing it (*c*)."

The Managers for the Commons obſerved, they had now conducted the Houſe to the Treaty and Guarantee of Mr. Briſtow, relative to the Treaſures; and ſtated, that a Diſpute afterwards aroſe between the Nabob and his Mother, reſpecting ſome Part of the Goods: That thoſe Goods, which conſiſted of Elephants and Military Stores, were not in the Zenana; and therefore, though the Nabob, in the Courſe of the Diſpute, admitted that every Thing in the Zenana belonged to the Begum, he aſſerted that theſe Goods were the Property of the State.

The Managers for the Commons further ſtated, that Mr. Haſtings, in his Defence, where he quotes Mr. Briſtow's Letter on this Subject, ſtates this Diſpute about the Property not in the Zenana, as if it had been a Diſpute about the Whole of the Property; whereas it was expreſsly ſtipulated by the Treaty juſt read, that Part of the Thirty Lacks ſhould be paid in Goods; and they ſhould next proceed therefore to prove, that the Complaint then was of that Treaty not being abided by.

The Witneſs produced Book 78, intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, 29th November 1775 to 8th January 1776."

Read, the following Extract of a Letter from Mr. Briſtow to the Board, dated 30th Nov. 1775, beginning at Page 362 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 18th December 1775.

" At a Council; Preſent,

Secret Dept. Monday.

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

" Reſpecting the Treaty with the Begum, I have had many Letters from her, complaining of its not being abided by, and that the Nabob does her great Injuſtice in diſputing her Right to Effects, which ſhe wants to deliver to him; but he aſſerts them to be his Property, as they were under the Charge of his Conſuma, and only depoſited in one of the Buildings adjoining to the Begum's Palace. He ſays, he acknowledges her Right to any Thing in Truſt with her own Ser-

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(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° X.

(*b*) Vide ſupra, P. 413. Line 18 from the Beginning of the Defence.

(*c*) Vide ſupra, P. 414, Line 7.

vants,

vants, but all other Effects belong to him. I have hitherto been unable to satisfy the Nabob, or
* Sic in Orig. the Begum; but as the Treaty cannot be inforce* without the Begum pays the stipulated Sum, I informed her of this Circumstance, and shall advise her, in a Letter I purpose writing To-night, to compleat her Engagements to the Nabob, all to the Value of the Effects in Dispute, the Right to which may be hereafter settled; and as they only amount to about Two Lacks and a Half of Rupees, it is not an Object to stop her fulfilling her Agreements in other Respects. I find it a difficult Point to please the Begum; for she has, through the Whole of this Negociation, asserted that she placed entire Confidence in the English, by whom alone she was induced to promise the Thirty Lacks of Rupees; and now she thinks herself ill-treated, in having the Identity of her Property disputed."

The Counsel for the Defendant requested the Remainder of the Paragraph might be read.

The House informed the Managers for the Commons, and the Counsel for the Defendant, that the Rule was, for either Side to read what they considered as material to be communicated to the House at the Time; and that the Whole of the Instrument or Paper produced, as far as related to the Charge, would be printed in an Appendix.

Read, the Remainder of the above Paragraph, as follows:

" She also complains heavily of the Troops left to guard the Town, putting Restrictions upon her Servants, and prohibiting them from the same Liberty as the other Inhabitants. I interceded
† Sic in Orig. with his Excellency to forbid any Violence from † being used to her, or any of her Dependants; and he accordingly issued Orders to this Purport. In regard to the Dispute about the Effects, I must enquire in re particularly, as his Excellency's Officers may be in the Wrong; but I know also, by the Behaviour of the Begum's Eunuchs and Servants while I was at Fyzabad, that they were inclined to procrastinate the Payment upon any frivolous Pretence that occurred."

The Witness produced Book 101, intituled, " Bengal Secret Consultations, 15th January to 11th March 1776."

Read, the following Extract, beginning at Page 71 of the same Book.

Enclosure in Mr. Bristow's Letter.

" Fort William, 25th January 1776.

" Copy of a Letter from the Begum, Mother of the Nabob Asuf ul Dowlah, addressed to Mr. Bristow.

" I have received your agreeable Letter, and perfectly understand the Contents. Some Time ago the Affair in Question was settled in your Presence for 30 Lacks of Rupees. The Goods which I delivered for Appraisement were taken Possession of and carried away. It is not I who interrupt this Business, but Asuf ul Dowlah and Murteza Cawn. I am so far from wishing the Continuance of this Dispute, that I am very desirous it should be speedily accommodated; but Asoph ul Dowlah and Murteza Cawn do not desire to have it adjusted. I now enclose you an Inventory of the Prices of the Broad Cloth, Elephants, and Camels which I delivered in your Presence, by which you will be made acquainted with the Value of the several Articles; whatever Balance remains shall be paid. You ask me, since the Accession of the Nabob Asoph ul Dowla, what ill Treatment or Disgrace I have experienced from him. Alas, that you should be still ignorant of it! God forbid that even my Enemy should suffer so much Disgrace. Murteza Cawn stationed a Battalion of Sepoys at my Door, and sent me Word, that if I would quietly deliver the Sum, it was well, otherwise he would prevent any Provisions being brought me, and take it. This is not all the Disgrace I have suffered. Whatever he says is a Law. You were not a Witness of the late blessed Nabob's Musnud, and without having seen it, you can form no Idea of what Kind of a Ruler he was. You came at an unseasonable Time and saw it. ‡ *Asoph ul Dowla on the Musnud the late blessed Nabob went with him.*

‡ " This Passage is very obscure in the Original;—I imagine some Words are omitted.—The Translation I have made of it is quite literal."

" There never was an Instance in the World of a Son exercising such Oppression on his own Mother, as to send his Servants to distress and afflict her. Reflect maturely that no such Instance ever occurred in former Times. I have already written you what Asoph ul Dowla has done to his own Mother, and that I am ready to give up my Life without Fear. Whatever he wishes let him do.

" I have written the real Value of the several Articles, in the List which I have sent you, without the least Variation. Did I wish to procrastinate this Affair, I should have written that the Goods which were seized and carried off amounted to Eleven Lacks of Rupees; but I do not wish to delay it, and have therefore written down the real Value I sent it to you. Deduct this, and whatever Ballance appears shall be made good in other Goods, China Ware, and Bullocks. Guards are stationed over my Goods; cause these to be removed, that a Price may be set on them, and the Ballance made good. You have repeatedly written me that the Coulnama is inefficacious.

" You

" You were a Party in this Affair, and took from me the Sum of Fifty-ſix Lacks of Rupees: If you will cauſe the Fifty-ſix Lacks to be reſtored to me, then the Coulnama will not be binding. And do not you then take any Part in the Affair; and then let Aſoph ul Dowla and Murteza Cawn, in whatever Manner they are able, take Sums of Money from me; they will then ſee the Conſequences (*a*)."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they ſhould next proceed to read a Letter from the Bhow Begum to the Governor General and Council, on the ſame Subject.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 21ſt December 1775, from Book 78, already delivered in, beginning at Page 431 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 21ſt of December, 1775.

" At a Council; Preſent,

Secret Dept. Thurſday.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering.
The Honourable George Monſon.
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

" EXTRACT of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 21ſt December 1775.

" The Governor General lays before the Board the following Letter from Bow Begum, Mother of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla, received by her Servant Coja Shagoon Ally Cawn.

" From the Baboo Begham, Mother of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla: Received the 20th December 1775.

" A long Space of Time has elapſed ſince I have had the Pleaſure of a Letter from you, during which I have been continually on the Rack of Expectation. I formerly ſent you a Letter expreſſive of my Friendſhip, through the Channel of Mr. Briſtow, to which I have not yet been favoured with an Anſwer: I do not impute this to Unkindneſs, but ſuppoſe that you never received that Letter. How ſhall I repreſent you my diſtreſsful Situation! My Grief is without Bounds, and my Life a Burthen to me. Since the Deceaſe of the late bleſſed Nabob, I have bid adieu to all worldly Affairs, and with a broken Heart given myſelf up to Sorrow. I cannot bear the Reflection of my own melancholy Situation—how can I repreſent it to others? My wounded Heart is made to bleed afreſh every Inſtant, and Fortune ſeems to take Delight in tormenting me.

" As my Son the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla is entirely unexperienced in the Affairs of the World, and ignorant of what is good or bad, Murtezza Cawn has taken Advantage of his Inexperience, and turned his Thoughts to frivolous Amuſements, and has taken on himſelf the entire Management of all the Affairs of the Government, appointing his Brethren Foujedars in all the different Soubahs. My Son the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah took from me, the Firſt Time, Thirteen Lacks of Rupees for the Diſcharge of the Dues to the Engliſh Chiefs, giving me a written Engagement to repay this Sum in the Space of a Month. The Second Time he ſent Salar Jung and Murtezza Cawn to me with a Meſſage, importing, that he was in Want of Money to diſcharge his Debts to the Engliſh Chiefs. I then delivered Seven Lacks of Rupees, with Jewels. The Third Time he came to me himſelf, and informed me of the Importunity of the Engliſh Chiefs. Though I was convinced that this was a Leſſon taught him by Murtezza Cawn, I nevertheleſs delivered him Six Lacks of Rupees in Specie, together with Jewels. He gave me a written Engagement, and promiſed on Oath, that all theſe Sums ſhould be repaid me. Some Time afterwards my Son ſent Mr. Briſtow to me for further Sums. Mr. Briſtow wrote me many Letters, deſiring that I would furniſh Money, or the Nabob's Affairs would be ruined. After a long Correſpondence, Mr. Briſtow went to the Nabob, and ſoon afterwards came to my Houſe, accompanied by Sallar Jung and Murtezza Cawn, and ſent a Meſſage to me, that if I would furniſh the Sums wanted quietly, it was well; if not, he would withhold Proviſions from me, and take the Money; that he would even beat my People, and ſend Men into my Houſe to plunder whatever they found there. I returned for Anſwer, 'Do whatever is in your Power.' As Mr. Briſtow was concerned in this Affair, it was at laſt ſettled by an Agreement under that Gentleman's Seal, on the Payment of the Sum of Thirty Lacks of Rupees: Out of theſe Thirty Lacks it was agreed that Eleven Lacks ſhould be in Goods, Elephants, and Camels, and the Remainder in Specie and Jewels. I aſſented, concluding that, as Mr. Briſtow was a Party in the Affair, it would be conducted in a proper Manner; but they valued the Goods which they took at a Fourth Part of their intrinſic Worth—how then could I make good the Sum? The Amount of the ſeveral

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XI.

Sums taken from me by the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, in Specie, Jewels, and Goods, is Fifty-ſix Lacks of Rupees.

" He formerly gave into my Poſſeſſion for the Diſcharge of the Monies due to me, the Mahals of Ackberpore, &c. but after a few Days took them from me again.

" My Son and Murtezza Cawn ſent me Word, that I had written to, and received many Letters from, Mr. Haſtings; that I now ſaw of what Effect they were—ſuch ironical Anſwers did they ſend me. I did ſome Time ago write you a Letter, but mentioned therein nothing to the Diſadvantage of my Son—this you well know. Let me have a Letter in Anſwer from you, and write to the Engliſh Chiefs to afford me their Aſſiſtance and Support, and communicate to me the Subſtance of ſuch Letters, that I may apply to them in Conſequence.

" Murtezza Cawn is ſtriving with all his Might for the Ruin of this antient Family, which he wiſhes utterly to deſtroy. If it is your Pleaſure that the Mother of the late bleſſed Nabob, myſelf, and his other Women, and Infant Children, ſhould be reduced to a State of Diſhonour and Diſtreſs, we muſt ſubmit; but if, on the contrary, you call to Mind the Friendſhip of the late bleſſed Nabob, you will exert yourſelf ſo effectually in Favour of us, who are helpleſs, as to remove Murtezza Cawn. He is the Author of all the Evil. I have no Diſpleaſure againſt the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah—let him be Maſter of his own Affairs. If you do not approve of my remaining at Fyzabad, ſend a Perſon here in your Name, to remove the Mother of the late Nabob, myſelf, and about Two thouſand other Women and Children of the ſaid bleſſed Nabob's, together with the Women of the Nabob Burhan ul Mulck, and thoſe of Sufdar Jung, from this City, that we may reſide with Honour and Reputation in ſome other Place—we cannot even exiſt here. Whatever Remedy occurs to your Wiſdom, let it be applied without Delay, for we are now brought to the very Brink of Diſhonour. In the Nabob's Life-time he was poſſeſſed of no more than the ſingle Soubah, and the Dues of the Engliſh Chiefs were paid out of the Revenues of it, as alſo the Expences of his Army, and his own. At preſent, that the Soubah is increaſed to Three Times its former Extent, what becomes of the Revenue? No one thinks of making this Enquiry; but Sums are continually taken from us helpleſs Women. Murtezza Cawn poſſeſſes the ſole Authority in the Nabob's Family, and his Brethren are Fougedars over all the Provinces, the Revenues of which they embezzle and diſſipate.

" Murtezza Cawn and Mr. Briſtow, as ſoon as they had taken 30 Lacks of Rupees from me, went to Lucknow, from whence Murtezza Cawn ſent Word, that my People were not to be admitted into the Kellah; in conſequence of which they have been prohibited going there, nor are any of my Things ſuffered to be brought out. Murtezza Cawn has alſo ſent Word, that the Things which his People took from me are the Property of the Sirkar; that they muſt not be conſidered as Part of the 30 Lacks of Rupees, but ſent to the Nabob.—A Guard has been placed on my Goods.

" I one Day ſent ſome Copper Furniture to be ſold in the Buzar, but the Guard would not ſuffer them to paſs. I ſay frequently, Take the Copper Utenſils at their Value, as a Part of the Eleven Lacks of Rupees; but no one will attend to me: In a Word, I am reduced to the moſt aſtoniſhing Diſtreſs. For the Sake of God, and of your Prophet, relieve me from my Misfortunes. It is written in the Coulnama, " I have taken 56 Lacks of Rupees on Account of my " Inheritance." I ſent word, that others had a Right to Part of the Inheritance. Murtezza Cawn replied, I have taken the Inheritance of all.—I have now given you a Detail of every Circumſtance. I ſend to your Preſence Mahomed Shagoon Ally Cawn, an Eunuch, who is poſſeſſed of my Confidence. For further Particulars I muſt refer you to him.

" I incloſe for your Inſpection Copies of the Coulnamas in my Poſſeſſion, under the Seals of Mr. Briſtow, the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, and Murtezza Cawn.

" I went to the Nabob, when the Hour of his Death approached, and aſked him to whoſe Charge he left me? He replied, " Apply to Mr. Haſtings whenever you have Occaſion for Aſſiſt- " ance; he will befriend you when I am no more, and will comply with whatever you may deſire " of him." The Recollection of the long Friendſhip which ſubſiſted between you has induced me to write you ſo particularly.

" In the Coulnama given by Mr. Briſtow and the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla, it is written, that it is agreed 19 Lacks of Rupees out of the 30 ſhall be in Specie, and 11 Lacks in Goods, Elephants, and Camels. I accordingly paid the 19 Lacks in Specie and Jewels; and, with reſpect to the Goods, Elephants, and Camels, which I delivered on Account of the 11 Lacks of Rupees, the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah and Murtezzah Cawn have ſent Word that they are the Property of the Sirkar, and will not be allowed a Part of the 11 Lacks of Rupees. I wrote a full Account of theſe Circumſtances to Mr. Briſtow; who returned me for Anſwer, at the Deſire of Murtezza Cawn, that thoſe Goods, Elephants, and Camels, are the Property of the Sirkar. I returned an Anſwer to Mr. Briſtow, in which I ſaid, " From whence ſhould I procure them? all that I poſſeſs is by the Bounty of the late bleſſed Nabob: Nobody will pay Attention to this, but they are bent at all Events to diſhonour me; they have again ſent People to diſgrace and force Money from me. I have all along placed my Reliance on you. Should the Anſwer to this Letter be delayed, my Affairs will be ruined, and I ſhall ſuffer the greateſt Diſgrace: Let me be ſpeedily favoured with a ſatisfactory Anſwer, for which I am very anxious. The Affair before mentioned was ſettled

on

on Condition of my paying 30 Lacks of Rupees: I accordingly paid 19 Lacks in Specie and Jewels, and gave Goods, Elephants, and Camels to the Value of 11 Lacks. When an Account of the Price of the ſeveral Goods was making, Murtezza Cawn ſent Word to have them brought without Valuation, which was accordingly done: I ſent Word of this to Mr. Briſtow, ſaying, "Is this the "Method of obſerving Engagements?" He replied, "I am told by the Nabob and others, that "the Goods you have delivered are the Property of the Sirkar." No One will pay Attention to what I ſay. Aſoph ul Dowlah and Murtezza Cawn have again ſent People to me to demand 11 Lacks of Rupees—where ſhall I procure this Money? I am oppreſſed beyond Meaſure. Favour me with a Letter to Mr. Briſtow to the following Purport, that One Company may be ſtationed as a Guard at my Houſe to prevent my being oppreſſed; write alſo to the Engliſh Chiefs here, that whenever I have a Mind I may begin my Journey to Kerbelah, and that no One is to obſtruct or hinder me. When I am delivered from the Burthen of theſe Misfortunes, I will proceed to you. Should I be tired with remaining here, I will go to Benares or Azimabad, and ſtay there for ſome Time, or will proceed to you: Be ſo kind as to write on this Subject to the Engliſh Chiefs here, and direct, that whenever I chuſe to ſet off for Benares or Azimabad, they are to ſupply me with an Eſcort to conduct me thither in Safety. The late bleſſed Nabob called you his Brother and mine too. Exert yourſelf ſo effectually in Favour of us helpleſs Women, that Murtezza Cawn may be diſplaced, and Mahomed Elich Cawn and Mahomed Buſheer Cawn be reſtored to the Offices they held in this Soubah in the Life-time of the late bleſſed Nabob, by them the Revenues will be collected; and whatever Sums are due to the Engliſh Chiefs, I will cauſe to be paid out of the Revenues: This I will ſtrictly perform. I am induced to repreſent all theſe Matters to you, ſolely from my Regard to the Proſperity of this Family. Do you act in ſuch a Manner as to ſecure the Proſperity of this Family, by which your Name will be tranſmitted with Honour to the lateſt Poſterity, for having preſerved your Friendſhip to the late Nabob beyond the Grave. Murtezza Cawn is ſo far from wiſhing well to this Family, that he is deſirous of its Deſtruction, that he may raiſe himſelf on its Ruin: He is in Fact at preſent poſſeſſed of abſolute Dominion.

"You have doubtleſs learnt the Tranſactions of this Part from the News-papers. I have written nothing but the Truth: For the reſt, you are the Maſter, to act as you think moſt proper. Favour me with an immediate Anſwer to this Letter."

"The Encloſures mentioned above are the ſame as thoſe tranſmitted by Mr. Briſtow, and have been already tranſlated, and ſent in to the Council.

"Agreed, that it lie for Conſideration.

Warren Haſtings.
J. Clavering.
Geo. Monſon.
Rich[d] Barwell.
P. Francis."

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, That Mr. Haſtings in his Defence aſſerts he was always a Friend to the Nabob's Right to reclaim the Treaſures. They ſhould therefore next proceed to ſhew, that he reſiſted the Whole of the Nabob's Claim to the Treaſure, and aſſerted the Right of the Begums: For which Purpoſe they deſired the Minute of the Council, upon the Receipt of this Letter, to be read.

The Counſel for the Defendant deſired the Whole of this Minute might be read.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 3d of January 1776, from the ſame Book, Page 466.

"Fort William, the 3d of January 1776.

"At a Council; Preſent,

"The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident; — Secret Dept. Wedneſday.
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Philip Francis Eſquire.

☞ ["Re-conſidered the Letter from Bow Begum, Mother of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, recorded in Conſultation the 21ſt of laſt Month.

"This Letter having been circulated with the following Note, the Opinions entered after the Note were returned.

"The Governor General requeſts, that the Members of the Board will be pleaſed to conſider this Letter, and to deliver their Sentiments upon it, to enable him to write an Anſwer; the Perſon who brought it being very impatient to obtain one, and having refuſed a Houſe which the Governor had offered him to live in, preferring to remain in his Budjerow, that he might be in Readineſs to return with the Anſwer. — Minutes on Baboo Begum's Letter.

"(Signed) J. P. Auriol, Sec[y]."

"I ſhould

" I ſhould be glad to know the Governor General's Sentiments on it.

" (Signed) John Clavering,
D° D° George Monſon,
D° D° P. Francis."

* Sic in Orig. " I ſhould have been better pleaſed on ſuch a Subject to have concurred in the Reſolution * with the other Members of the Board might have thought it proper to paſs, in conſequence of the preſent Remonſtrance, than to offer my ſeparate Opinion upon it, in the Uncertainty whether it would be adopted. All my preſent Wiſh is, that the Orders of the Board may be ſuch as may obviate or remove the Diſcredit which the Engliſh Name may ſuffer, by the Exerciſe or even the public Appearance of Oppreſſion, on a Perſon of the Beghum's Rank, Character, and Sex. Had the Nabob choſen to have made Uſe of the Means with which his own Power alone ſupplied him, to exact Money from the Beghum his Mother, this Government would have wanted a Pretext to interfere in her Behalf; but as the Repreſentative of our Government has become an Agent in this Buſineſs, and has pledged the Honour and Faith of the Company for the punctual Obſervance of the Conditions under which it was concluded, we have a Right to interfere, and Juſtice demands it, if it ſhall appear that theſe Engagements have been violated, and an Injury offered to the Beghum under the Cover of the Authority by which they were contracted.

" I am therefore of Opinion, and I recommend that a Letter be written by the Board to Mr. Briſtow, commanding him to remonſtrate to the Nabob againſt the Seizure of the Goods as his own original Property, which he received from his Mother in Payment of the Eleven Lacks ſtipulated to be ſo made: To inſiſt on the Nabob's receiving them in Payment; and that he either admit of the Valuation which ſhe has put upon them, or that he allow them to be appraiſed by Perſons appointed for that Purpoſe by both Parties. And that Mr. Briſtow be further ordered to requeſt, and, if neceſſary, to inſiſt, in the Name of this Government, that the Nabob do grant Permiſſion to the Beghum to repair to, and reſide within, any Part which ſhe may chuſe of the Company's Territories.

" If theſe Propoſitions are approved, it will be neceſſary to give other Orders for the Accommodation of the Beghum in any Place which ſhe may chuſe for her future Reſidence; and theſe may be conveyed in the Name of the Board, by Mr. Briſtow, either to Mr. Francis Fowke, or to the Chief of Patna, as it would be improper to notify to either the Intentions of the Board, on a Point of ſuch Delicacy, until it was finally determined.

" (Signed) Warren Haſtings."]

§ (" I think the Nabob ſhould be informed of the Repreſentation which the Beghum has made to " this Government, and a Copy of her Letter ſent to him. I join with the Governor General in " thinking that the Goods which the Beghum has delivered ſhould be appraiſed, and whatever " their Value may appear to be, under Eleven Lacks, which the Beghum engaged to pay, ſhe " ought to be made acquainted with the Difference; for it was on the full Accompliſhment of her " Promiſe that Mr. Briſtow's Guarantee was to have its Effect. Provided that the Beghum be de- " ſirous of withdrawing her Perſon within theſe Provinces, and the Nabob do conſent to it, I think " every Aſſurance of Protection ſhould be granted to her, and a proper Place provided for her " Reſidence; but I cannot conſent that the Company's Authority ſhould be employed in placing " both Elich Cawn and Buſheer Cawn in their former Offices, agreeably to the Beghum's Requeſt; " becauſe the Nabob, conſidering them as his mortal Enemies, would never be prevailed on to " acquieſce in their Return, from the Certainty that his Removal from the Muſnud, and probably " his Death, would be the certain Conſequence of ſuch an Event.

" (Signed) John Clavering."

" The Beghum's Letter ſhould be ſent to the Nabob and Mr. Briſtow, as it contains a Charge " againſt them, and a Breach of Faith in this Government, in the Conduct of the Reſident, which " it will be neceſſary for him to obviate. She ſhould be informed of the Sums of Money the late " Nabob owed this Government by Treaty, for Services performed, and which were not liquidated " at his Death; that ſhe received the Advantages of the Rohillah Conqueſt, the Plunder of thoſe " Countries being depoſited with her; as ſhe ſucceeded, therefore, to all the Nabob's Wealth, it " is juſt ſhe ſhould diſcharge the Demands due for thoſe Services by which ſhe is the principal " Gainer.

" The Vizier's Eſtate has not been divided according to the uſual Cuſtom of Mahomedan " Princes. The preſent Diſpute turns upon the Value of Goods, Elephants, and Camels: I do not " conceive, according to ſtrict Juſtice, theſe Effects to be the Beghum's Property, as I underſtand " Women can only claim a Right only to what is within the Zenana; but if it be a Condition " made by the Nabob with his Mother, that he ſhould take theſe Things in Part of Payment of " the Thirty Lacks, the Value of them ſhould be aſcertained by Arbitration.

" If the Beghum has an Inclination to retire within theſe Provinces, ſhe may be received, the Na- " bob's Conſent being obtained, and it being underſtood that ſhe is not to expect any Support

" from Government. We have no Right to inſiſt that the Nabob ſhould reſtore Elich Cawn and " Buſheer Cawn: Such an Application from us would be juſtly offenſive to him.

" (Signed) Geo. Monſon."

" The Board have already approved of Mr. Briſtow's Conduct in negociating the late Agree- " ment between the Begum and the Nabob. Until ſhe has fulfilled her Part of it, ſhe has no Claim " to the Company's Protection. Before we determine whether ſhe has been ill-treated or not, we " ought to hear the Nabob's Reply to the Charges contained in her Letter; for this Purpoſe, and " that he may be able to judge from whoſe Advice they originate, a Copy of it ſhould be communi- " cated to him. With reſpect to the Property of the Effects in Queſtion, I am inclined to think, " with Colonel Monſon, that Women can claim a Right only to what is within the Zenana. The " Property being determined, the Value, if diſputed, may be ſettled by Arbitration or publick Sale. " I cannot conceive that ſhe has the leaſt Right to interfere in the Nabob's Government; in a Coun- " try where Women are not allowed a free Agency in the moſt trifling domeſtic Affairs, it ſeems ex- " traordinary that this Lady ſhould preſume to talk of appointing Miniſters, and governing King- " doms. Upon the Whole, I look upon the Letter before us not as of her writing, who probably " cannot read, but as the Compoſition of ſome of her Servants, perhaps of the Eunuch who brings " it. With reſpect to receiving her into the Provinces, I ſhall have no Objection to it, provided ſhe " can obtain the Nabob's Conſent; without that ſhe can have no Right to remove the immenſe " Wealth ſhe poſſeſſes, or even her own Perſon, out of his Dominions.

" (Signed) P. Francis."

" Agreed, That Mr. Briſtow be deſired to recommend it to the Nabob, that the Goods taken " by him from the Begum be appraiſed, by ſuch Perſons appointed to value them as ſhall be agree- " able to both Parties.

" And reſolved, That a Retreat ſhall be granted by this Government to the Begum, if ſhe can " obtain the Conſent of the Nabob to her retiring into theſe Provinces.

" Reſolved alſo, That as ſoon as her Engagements with the Nabob, to which Mr. Briſtow is a " Party, ſhall be fulfilled on her Part, * this Government this Government will think themſelves " bound to protect her againſt any further Demand or Moleſtation.

* Sic in Orig.

" The Governor General. I diſſent to the Second Reſolution; becauſe I think, by being made " Guarantees to the Engagements between the Nabob and the Begum, we have a Right to require " his Conſent to her Removal from his Dominions; as we can have no other Security for the faithful " Performance of thoſe Engagements, and it may not be in the Power of the Begum to make a " Second Application to this Board, after the Notification of this to the Nabob; in which Caſe, we " ſhall not have it in our Power to afford her Protection, not knowing that ſhe is injured."

" Mr. Francis. I think that Mr. Briſtow ſhould be ordered to obſerve the Conduct of the " Nabob and his Miniſter to the Beghum, and to aſſure her of his Readineſs to interpoſe in her " Behalf, if ſhe ſhould at any Time hereafter have Reaſon to complain of ill Treatment; we have " no Right to ſuppoſe, that the Nabob will violate an Engagement guaranteed by this Government, " as long as our preſent Influence at his Court continues; at preſent there is no Appearance or Like- " lihood of its diminiſhing; if, however, any injurious Attempt ſhould be made againſt the Beghum, " after ſhe has fulfilled her Part of the Agreement, I ſhall be inclined to give her a Retreat in the " Provinces at all Events. I do not think that, in the preſent Circumſtances, we ſhould be juſtified " in doing it now."

" Agreed, That Orders be ſent to Mr. Briſtow agreeable to the Terms of the above Minute.

" Reſolved, That a Copy of the Beghum's Letter be ſent to Mr. Briſtow, with Orders for him " to communicate the Contents of it perſonally to the Nabob only.

" The Governor General. It appears ſo conſonant to the Principles of ſtrict Juſtice, to afford " thoſe who are accuſed, the Means of vindicating themſelves, that I ſhall requeſt the Board's Per- " miſſion to wave, at this Time, entering the Objection which I have to this Reſolution, as it will " be neceſſary to explain my Sentiments very fully upon it. I approve of the Reſolution, and " ſhould recommend it for communicating the Beghum's Letter to Mr. Briſtow. I diſapprove of " its being made known, either to the Nabob or to Murtezza Cawn."

" Mr. Francis. Having obſerved, in the Begum's Letter, a Paſſage apparently reflecting on " Mr. Briſtow's Character and Conduct, and charging him directly with having ſent a Meſſage to her " in his own Name, that he would ſtop her Proviſions, beat her Servants, and ſend People to " plunder the Zenana, I beg Leave to lay before the Board a literal Tranſlation of the whole Paſſage, " as I think it differs materially from the firſt."

" Signed at the End,

Warren Haſtings,
J. Clavering,
Geo. Monſon,
Richd Barwell,
P. Francis.") (a) §

(a) Vide Appendix, N° XII.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that it would appear afterwards, and they ſhould ſhew, that the Board were perfectly ſatisfied with Mr. Briſtow's Conduct. But, they would firſt read Three ſhort Paſſages from Mr. Haſtings's Defence at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons.

Read, the following Extract from the Manuſcript Defence of Mr. Haſtings, P. 220.

" The Treaſures ſhe poſſeſſed," Mr. Briſtow ſaid, " were the Treaſures of the State, as ſhe had " not ſucceeded to them by any legal Title;" the Nabob was, therefore, ſtrictly juſtified in demanding them; and if there was any Thing in the whole Proceeding, which did not accord with the Sentiments of People in general, it was the Part we officiouſly took to prevent the Nabob's recovering the Whole of his Patrimonial Eſtate from thoſe who fraudulently withheld it from him (*a*)."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from Page 222 of the ſame.

" It is not true that the Begums were left in Charge of the late Nabob's Treaſures, or other valuable Effects, for the Purpoſes ſet forth in the Charge, of maintaining his Offspring and Dependants (the old Begum, the Mother of Shujah ul Dowlah, is entirely out of the Queſtion), having had no Preſents entruſted to her Care; but ſhe became poſſeſſed of them in her Capacity of Truſtee and Treaſurer of the deceaſed, who, for ſome Time before his Death, " depoſited the " Surplus of his Revenues with the Bow Begum, to provide againſt an Emergency." Hence the Whole of his Property, of what Sort ſoever, was in her Cuſtody at the Time of his Death, but ſtill as a Depoſit, though from the Hands of his Mother; for they were the Rights of the State, which ſhe had in Charge. But I muſt repeat, that I diſapprove and ſtill condemn the Interference of our Reſident, becauſe we had no Concern in it, and our Credit ſuffered in the Opinions of Mankind, from the natural Diſguſt which would be excited by a Contention between a Son and his Mother, and by our Appearance as Incendiaries, inſtead of Conciliators, in it (*b*)."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from Page 225 of the ſame.

" The Board approved the Ratification." The Board, I have ſaid, approved of it, and I was a Member of the Board, but I was an inefficient Member of it; the Whole of this Tranſaction having paſſed under the Order and Guidance of the Majority of the Board, which excluded me from any Share in their Acts, equally in ſuch as I approved, and in ſuch as I diſapproved. It will appear from the preceding Reaſoning, that I approved of the Nabob's Aſſertion of his own Right to reclaim the Treaſures of his Inheritance (*c*)."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 100, intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, 1ſt April to 20th May 1776."

Read, the following Extract, beginning Page 579 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 13th May 1776.

" At a Conſultation; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, and } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

" Reſolved, That the following Reply be written to Mr. Briſtow.

" To Mr. Briſtow.

" Sir,

" We have received your Letters of the 30th paſt and 1ſt inſtant.

" We conclude that you will be appriſed of the Begum's ultimate Reſolution with reſpect to the Payment of the Balance of her Account with the Vizier, before this Letter reaches you; and that you will either have recovered the Amount, or received her peremptory Refuſal to pay it. We do not diſapprove of your accepting of the Vizier's Transfer of that Debt to the Company; but as it is highly improper to make them the Inſtrument of aſſerting his Pretenſions on any his Subjects, not in open Rebellion againſt him, and more particularly in enforcing diſputed Claims on his Mother, we direct, that if ſhe ſhall not have diſcharged the Aſſignment, or freely conſented to pay it, when you receive this Letter, you will immediately return it to the Vizier, and leave it to him to adjuſt the Account with the Begum, accepting at the ſame Time any Part that ſhe may be willing to pay you on Account (*d*).

" Fort William, 13th May 1776. [At the End]

We are, &c."

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 414, Line 29.
(*b*) Vide ſupra, P. 414, Paragraph 3.
(*c*) Vide ſupra, P. 414, Line 6 from the Bottom.
(*d*) Vide Appendix, N° XIII.

Then

Then the Witneſs produced Book 38, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, 10th June to 10th September 1776."

Read, the following Extract, beginning at Page 460 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 12th Auguſt 1776.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }
Colonel Monſon indiſpoſed.

" Reſolved, that the following Letter be written to Mr. Briſtow.

" To Mr. John Briſtow, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" We have received the Letter you addreſſed to us on the 17th and 29th ultimo.

" We conſent to your accepting the Offers which you acquaint us the Begum has made to you for the Payment of the Five Lacks of Rupees aſſigned by the Nabob to the Company; but with this expreſs Reſervation, that the Company's Right to reclaim from the Nabob himſelf the Amount of ſuch Part as ſhe may refuſe to diſcharge ſhall not be impaired thereby. And we ſtrictly caution you to avoid interfering or becoming a Party in any Differences which may ariſe between the Nabob and his Mother. To Mr. Briſtow.

" We are, &c.
(Signed) (*a*)."

" Fort William, 12th Auguſt 1776.

The Witneſs produced Book 101, intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, 15th January to 11th March 1776."

Read, the following Extract, beginning at Page 211 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 7th February 1776.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident; Secret Dept. Wedneſday.
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

" Repreſentation made by Mr. Briſtow to the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah.

" I have already preſented for your Excellency's Inſpection * Copy of a Letter addreſſed to the Governor, by her Excellency the Begum; the Contents of which you doubtleſs retain in your Remembrance. As you regard the Payment of Reſpect and Duty to the Begum in Preference to every other Conſideration, it is incumbent on me to give you, in Writing, the Particulars of the Orders which I have received from the Governor and Council, on this Subject, that you may clearly comprehend them, and that there may be no Poſſibility of your loſing the Memory of them. * Sic in Orig.

" 1ſt, Reſpecting the Goods and Effects which the Begum may have given, or may give, on Account of Part of the Thirty Lacks of Rupees, ſtipulated in the Coulnâmâ, that they be received on an Appraiſement made by a Perſon mutually choſen for that Purpoſe. I recommend this Method of accommodating the Matter to your Excellency.

" 2d, Regarding the Begum's coming to reſide in the Company's Territories, ſhould this meet with your Approbation and Conſent, the Governor and Council will undoubtedly agree thereto, and will treat her with that Reſpect and Honour which is due to her Rank. This the Governor has communicated to the Begum. Moreover, when the Begum has fulfilled the Conditions of the Coulnâmâ, ſhe will not be liable to further Demands, or Trouble, on account of Money, and no One, agreeable to the Terms of the Coulnâmâ, will, in any Manner, obſtruct or moleſt her. The Engliſh Company are the Guarantees of this.

" 3d, To the Begum's Requeſt to recommend the Re-eſtabliſhment of Mahomed Ellich Khan, and Mahomed Buſhee Khan, in their former Appointments; the Governor and Council have anſwered, that your Excellency is the Maſter of your own Government, and that it does not become them to make ſuch a Recommendation to you (*b*)."

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XIV.

(*b*) Vide Appendix, N° XV.

Read,

Read, the following Extract, from Book 38, already delivered in, beginning at Page 446, of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 12th Auguſt 1776.

Secret Dept. Monday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }
Colonel Monſon indiſpoſed.

Read, the following Letter from Mr. Briſtow.

Mr. Briſtow.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" In conſequence of the Information I gave the Honourable Board, I attended his Excellency to this Place, to obtain Payment of the Money due from the Begum, and a final Adjuſtment of her Accounts. The Vizier claimed Nine Lacks Sixty-three thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-ſix Rupees; but the Begum admitted only of Three Lacks Sixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſix Rupees, Seven Annas, and Nine Pies; the Particulars of which are explained in the encloſed Account (N° 1.). Neither Party would at firſt relinquiſh their Claim, and I apprehended a Settlement would not have been effected; but his Excellency, after two or three Interviews with the Begum, ſhewed a great Inclination to come to an Adjuſtment upon almoſt any Terms; and I, the Day before Yeſterday, attended him to her Palace, when he agreed to take the ſpecific Sum of Five Lacks. He ſet off immediately after for Lucknow, and left with me an Acquittance, of which the encloſed is a Copy (N° 2). On the Vizier's Departure, the Begum objected to the Payment of the Whole in Money, and wanted me to accept three Lacks in Goods, which I declined; and informed her, if it was not perfectly agreeable to her to comply with the Vizier's Draft, I ſhould not urge her to it, contrary to her Inclination. She afterwards gave up the Point of the Goods, upon Condition that ſhe had Time granted her to provide the Money in.

" The Periods ſhe fixed were as follows, viz.

In Two Days — — — — —	100,000
In Twelve Days — — — — —	100,000
In Six Monthly Kiſts, at 50,000 Rupees per Kiſt, —	300,000
Owd Sicca Rupees — — — —	500,000

" I ſaid, I could not agree to theſe Terms without the Sanction of the Honourable Board; but offered to receive whatever Sums ſhe would pay me, until their Approbation ſhould arrive. To afford the Honourable Board further Information on this Subject, I herewith do myſelf the Pleaſure to encloſe the Copy of the Begum's laſt Letter to me (N° 3). Lieutenant Grant will ſtay at this Place to receive the Two firſt Payments, all together amounting to Two Lacks of Rupees.

" The Cloth was the only Article in the Account on which the Begum laid any great Streſs; but by her own Confeſſion it was much worm-eaten and damaged, ſo that by what I underſtood it could not be ſold at a Fifth of what it was valued *.

* Sic in Orig.

" The Begum in her Arguments principally urged the late Miniſter's having agreed to accept Eleven Lacks of the ſtipulated Sum in Goods, a Circumſtance I well remember, though not mentioned in the Treaty; and under this Pretence ſhe offered all the Cloths and Plunder taken in the Rohilla Campaign in Part Payment, at a moſt exorbitant Rate. I, for my Part, have been very cautious in ſaying any Thing to induce either the Vizier or Begum to adopt my Opinions in the Settlement that has taken Place, but to let them act entirely from themſelves.

" Fyzabad,
17th July 1776.

" I have the Honour, &c.
(Signed) John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court (*a*)."

Read alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book, Page 254.

" Fort William, 22d July 1776.

Secret Dept. Monday.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering.
Philip Francis Eſquire.
Colonel Monſon and Mr. Barwell indiſpoſed.

" Reſolved, That the following Reply be ſent to Mr. Briſtow.

" To Mr. John Briſtow, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

Mr. Briſtow.

" We have received your Letter of the 7th inſtant. You inform us, that you are preparing to proceed to Fyzabad to procure an Interview with the Begum, to perſuade her to the Payment of the Balance due to the Nabob.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XVI.

" By

" By going to Fyzabad to viſit the Begum, you have exceeded our Intentions: However, as we ſuppoſe that Step is now taken, we can only expreſs our Hopes that your Conference with her was conducted in Terms of Amity and Reſpect to her. If your Propoſal to the Begum for liquidating her Accounts with the Nabob ſhould not have ſucceeded, we direct you to deſiſt from any further Application to her on that Account.

" Fort William,
the 22d July 1776.

We are, &c. (*a*)"

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 23d September 1776, from Book 39, already delivered in, beginning at Page 32 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 23d September 1776.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Eſquires.
General Clavering indiſpoſed.

" Received the following Letters from Mr. Briſtow.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" I addreſſed the Honourable Board on the 9th, 10th, and 11th inſtants, and am now to acknowledge their Letter of the 22d Ult°.

" In going to Fyzabad to procure an Interview with the Begum, I had no Intention to interfere between her and the Vizier. I only went to be preſent when any Settlement might take place, without which the Begum never would have been ſatisfied, as ſhe looked upon the Guarantee of the Company as her Security. My Rule of Conduct at Fyzabad not having exceeded this Line, and as the Five Lacks were on the Company's Account, I hope the Honourable Board will, for theſe Reaſons, approve the Event of this Negociation.

" (Signed at the End)

" Lucknow,
18th Auguſt 1776.

John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Court of Oude."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they would next read Two ſhort Paſſages to ſhew, that the Board, upon Enquiry, found, there was no real Cauſe of Complaint againſt Mr. Briſtow.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 7th February 1776, from Book 101, already delivered in, beginning at Page 221 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 7th February 1776.

Secret Dept. Wedneſday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

" Agreed, that the following Reply be written to Mr. Briſtow.

" Sir,

" We have received your Letters of the 25th and 26th ult.

" It was not from any Impreſſion which the Complaints contained in the Begum's Letter had made upon our Sentiments, that we took Notice of that particular Part which might be conſtrued to relate to you, but merely to obtain from you a particular Explanation of the Circumſtances alluded to, which we have now received.

We are, &c. (*b*)"

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 30th December 1776, from Book 39, already delivered in, beginning at Page 786 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 30th December 1776. Monday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

" The Board approve of Mr. Briſtow's Conduct on Occaſion of the Difference between the Nabob and the Bhegum his Mother (*c*).'

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XVII. (*b*) Vide Appendix, N° XVIII. (*c*) Vide Appendix, N° XIX.

The Witneſs produced Book 40, intituled, " Bengal Letters received, 20th March 1776 to 6th January 1777."

Read, the following Extract of a General Letter from the Governor General and Council at Bengal to the Court of Directors, beginning at Page 329 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 12th September 1776. General Letter. Secret Department. Received per Syren, 26th April 1777. Signed, Warren Haſtings, J. Clavering, Rich[d] Barwell, P. Francis.

" To the Court of Directors.

" The Nabob has, at Length, agreed to ſign a full Acquittal for the Thirty Lacks of Rupees which his Mother had engaged to advance him, on her promiſing to pay him, in ready Money, Five Lacks inſtead of Nine, which he claimed as the Balance due on that Account. He has aſſigned theſe Five Lacks to the Company in Part Payment of his Debts."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they had now laid before the Houſe the Whole of the Diſpute relative to the Goods offered in lieu of the Eleven Lacks, upon which Diſpute ſo much Streſs was laid by Mr. Haſtings, in his Defence; and that they had thought it the more neceſſary to ſhew, what the Proceedings of the Board and of Mr. Briſtow were upon the Occaſion, becauſe the Conduct of both was quoted by the Defendant, as a Precedent and Juſtification for the Proceedings againſt the Begums in the Years 1781 and 1782.

They further ſtated, they ſhould next proceed to prove, that after this Diſpute had been amicably terminated, there was a final Releaſe executed, both upon the Part of the Nabob, and by Mr. Briſtow. That the Papers were put together in a confuſed Manner upon the Records of the Company; and it might appear that the Extract now about to be read was only a Repetition of the before mentioned Treaty; but, in Fact, it was a final Releaſe and Diſcharge, under the Joint Seals of the Nabob and Mr. Briſtow.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 26, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, 29th February to 24th July 1780."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 22d June 1780, beginning at Page 522 of the ſaid Book.

Secret Dept. Thurſday.

" Fort William, the 22d June 1780.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General.

Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Viſit to the different Stations of the Army.

" Appendix to Conſultation, the 22d June 1780.

" Tranſlate.

" Copy of an Engagement under the Seal of the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah Behadre, and of Mr. John Briſtow, with his Signature in Engliſh, dated the 28th of Jemmadal Owal in the Year of the Hidgree 1190.

" I Aſſuph ul Dowlah Behadre have, on the 19th of Shabaun, in the Year 1189 Hidgree, according to my Agreement, received the Sum of Thirty Lacks of Rupees, for the preſent Year Twenty-ſix Lacks of Rupees, on account of my old Debt, conſiſting of the following Articles; Ready Money and Goods, Jewels, Elephants, and Camels, &c. which have been ſettled with the Begum, my Mother, through the Mediation of the Heads of the Chiefs of the Engliſh, as my Inheritance from the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, my Father, and have paſſed an Acquittance, in full of all Demands, to the Begum my Mother, on account of her Jagheers, Gunges, Kulledarrys (or Meat Markets), Gardens, Mints of Owd and Fyzabad, &c. which the late Nabob in his Life gave to her. According to this, I agree and give in Writing, that agreeable to the aforementioned Engagement, I have myſelf received the full Amount of this Claim in ready Money and Goods from the Begum my Mother. I have now no Demand whatever upon my Mother; and on no Account will I oppoſe the Begum's Poſſeſſion of the Jagheers, &c. belonging to her, which are included in the Engagement, and ſpecified in the particular Liſt; and I engage in this God, Mohamud, and the Engliſh Chiefs. I have wrote theſe Lines as a Receipt and Acquittance, which ſhall be in force now, and, if Occaſion requires, be made uſe of (*a*)."

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XX.

The

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they had now concluded the Head of Evidence which related to the Rights of the Bhow Begum, the Mother of Aſoph ul Dowla; and deſired the Houſe to obſerve, that theſe Rights had never been impeached by the Nabob, or any Body elſe; on the contrary, they had been admitted to her as far as the Jaghires, and the Treaſures within the Zenana; and that they had been particularly upheld and ſupported by Mr. Haſtings.

They ſhould next proceed, therefore, to ſubmit to the Houſe, Evidence of the Rights of the Elder Begum, the Grandmother of Aſoph ul Dowla, and her Treaſures; and to bring before the Houſe the Treaties of 1778, in which thoſe Rights were confirmed by the Nabob, and guaranteed by the Company: Firſt obſerving, as a Circumſtance materially to be attended to, that the Women and Children ſtated to be in the leſſer Palace, or Khourd Mahal, were virtually included in theſe Negociations, and in the final Treaty and Guarantee.

The Witneſs produced Book 76, intituled "Bengal Secret Council, 8th January to 13th March 1778."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 9th of February 1778, beginning at Page 427 of the ſame Book.

"Fort William, 9th February 1778.

Secret Dept. Monday.

"At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.

Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, and Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

"Read the following Letters from Mr. Middleton.

"Honourable Sir and Sirs,

"The Honourable Board having been long ago informed of an Intention which the Mother of the late Vizier had formed of proceeding on a Pilgrimage to Mecca, and carrying with her the Remains of her deceaſed Son, ſhe was prevailed upon by the Nabob Aſſuf-ul-Dowla, to ſuſpend for a Time the Execution of this Deſign, but would not conſent to relinquiſh it; and ſhe has lately renewed it, ſeemingly with a firm Reſolution to proſecute it. 15th Jan.

"When I was with the Nabob at Bahrach, he mentioned the Circumſtance to me, with an Appearance of great Concern, and told me how exceedingly anxious he was to diſſuade the Begum from ſo raſh a Deſign; but doubted the Power of his own Influence to effect it, unleſs I would alſo unite my Endeavours and perſonal Entreaties. I aſſured his Excellency that I ſhould be willing, on all Occaſions, to afford him my Aſſiſtance in forwarding any Wiſh of his, which might be conſiſtent with his own Honour and Reputation, and in no reſpect incompatible with the Duties of my Station; and as I was clearly of Opinion that he ought to endeavour, by every fair and amicable means, to prevent the Begum's abandoning his Dominions, I very readily promiſed him my Influence, as far as it could be properly exerted, to effect it. I confeſs, however, I had then little Expectation that his Excellency would ever really have occaſion to call upon me for the Performance of this Promiſe, as the repeated Proofs I had had of the Caprice and Inconſtancy of the Begum's Diſpoſition, led me to pay little or no Regard to thoſe Declarations, which I ſuppoſe were calculated merely to carry ſome particular Point with the Nabob, who ſhe is ſenſible is exceedingly averſe to her avowed Deſign; but the Contents of a Letter which the Miniſter received a few Days ago from the Widow of the late Shuja-ul-Dowla, in which ſhe earneſtly entreats him to prevail upon me to viſit Fyzabad immediately, and other corroborating Circumſtances, have inclined me to believe the Begum is now ſerious in her Declarations: In compliance, therefore, with the Nabob's Wiſhes, and his Mother's Solicitations, I thought it my Duty to proceed immediately to Fyzabad, and to uſe my Endeavours, as far as I can conſiſtently with the Line of my Duty, to influence the Begum to relinquiſh a Deſign which, from her Age and Infirmities, ſhe cannot enter upon with any probable Chance of accompliſhing it.

"I arrived at this Place To-day; but as yet I have not had an Opportunity of converſing with the Begum upon the Subject of her intended Expedition. As ſoon as I have that Honour, the Board ſhall be duly informed of the Reſult; in the mean Time, I hope for the Honour of their Approbation of the Steps I have taken in this Buſineſs.

"I have, &c.

"Fayzabad, 15th January 1778. (Signed) N. Middleton, Reſident at the Vizier's Court."

"Honourable Sir and Sirs,

"The Honourable Board will have been informed, from my Addreſs of the 15th inſtant, of the Occaſion and Object of my Journey to Fayzabad; I muſt now beg leave to trouble them with 25th Jan.

 the

the Subſtance of the Converſations which have paſſed between the old Begum and myſelf on the Subject of her intended Pilgrimage to Korbûlla.

" My firſt Viſit having been entirely dedicated to Ceremony and Form, and the Begum having continued indiſpoſed for ſome Days, no Subjects of Buſineſs were diſcuſſed until Yeſterday, when I was concerned to find that my Suſpicions of the Reality of her Deſign were but too well grounded. She was intirely prepared for the Journey, had taken a final Leave of the late Vizier's Family, and had appointed the 24th inſtant for her Departure from Fayzabad. Upon my reſpectfully repreſenting to her the Difficulties and Inconveniencies which ſhe muſt inevitably encounter in the Execution of this Purpoſe; the Dangers ſhe would be expoſed to in paſſing through Countries involved in Troubles; her own Inability, from her Age and Infirmities, to encounter theſe Difficulties; and above all, the Misfortune and irretrievable Loſs which her withdrawing herſelf from theſe Provinces would be to her deceaſed Son's numerous Family, which, in its preſent Infant State, required that tender Care and Attention ſhe alone, from her known Wiſdom and Experience, and Concern for her * Welfare, could be relied upon to give them: She obſerved, that her preſent Purpoſe was not of modern Invention, but had been her determined Object for many Years paſt; even before the Death of her late Vizier ſhe had it in Contemplation, and was irrevocably bent upon putting it into Execution Three Years ago, had ſhe not been prevented by the Sickneſs and Death of her Son: That ſince that unfortunate Event, her Mind had been conſtantly directed to the Care and Education of the young Family, which ſhe thought ſhe could not with Propriety leave, until they were in ſome Meaſure in a Situation to make their own Way in the World. All this was but the Preface to a Narrative of her own Grievances and Complaints againſt the Nabob, whoſe Deportment towards her, his Family and Relations in general, I cannot but admit is very exceptionable. The Heads of the Begum's Complaints are theſe:

* Sic in Orig.

" Firſt, That the Nabob Aſſuf-ul-Dowla had deprived her of the Allowance which had been eſtabliſhed by the late Vizier, for the Maintenance of the Family of her deceaſed Huſband, and had reſumed the Jaghyrs and Emoluments of all her Servants and immediate Dependants.

" Secondly, That his Excellency had made no ſuitable Proviſion for the late Vizier's Women and Children now at Fayzabad: That the Education of the Children had been entirely neglected, and their Situation wholly unattended to: And,

" Thirdly, The Nabob ſuffered his Favourites to infringe her Rights, to inſult his Relations, and the ancient Dependants of the Family; and ſo far from affording her Redreſs in any of her Complaints againſt theſe People, ſhe had Reaſon to believe he had connived at, and ſecretly encouraged ſuch Conduct. Theſe Cauſes of Complaint, although they were not the Origin of her preſent Deſign, ſhe confeſſed had induced her to fix an earlier Period for her Departure than ſhe ſhould have otherwiſe done; but that ſhe would conſent, at my Entreaty, to remain Two or Three Months longer at Fayzabad, if I would engage, on my Part, that ſhe ſhould not be ſubject to ſuch Inſults and Mortifications which ſhe had heretofore experienced; and that I would heartily unite with her and the young Begum, in ſettling the Nabob's domeſtic Affairs in a firm and permanent Manner, and fixing a certain Proviſion for the Support of the Women and Children of her deceaſed Son, and her own Relations, ſo that the Honour and Credit of her Family might be preſerved inviolate. I aſſured the Begum, there was nothing ſhe could poſſibly aſk of me, tending to promote the Dignity and Reputation of her illuſtrious Family, which I would not moſt cheerfully accede to; that I would with Pleaſure exert all my Influence with the Nabob to remove thoſe Cauſes of Complaint which had hitherto exiſted; and I did not doubt but I ſhould be able to prevail upon his Excellency to redreſs her Grievances, and to attend to the diſtreſſed Situation of her Family. She replied, ſhe had experienced too many Proofs of the Nabob's Infidelity, and his total Diſregard of every moral Obligation, to place the ſmalleſt Dependance upon his Promiſes; ſhe therefore expected that whatever Aſſurances I might make her, and whatever Agreements might take place between us, ſhould be wholly in my own Behalf, and not ſubject to the Pleaſure of the Nabob, whom ſhe did not doubt would be ready enough to make Profeſſions, but without the moſt diſtant Idea of adhering to them. I requeſted the Begum would do me the Favour to give me in Writing the Subſtance of her Expectations, and the Services ſhe required of me, that I might duly weigh them in my own Mind, and candidly inform her how far it would be in my Power to comply with them; which ſhe promiſed to do To-morrow, when I ſhall do myſelf the Honour to addreſs the Board again upon the Subject. In the mean time, I think it neceſſary to aſſure the Honourable Board, that as far as I have yet been able to learn, I think the Begum's Claims are very moderate and juſt, and ſuch as it would be natural to ſuppoſe the Nabob cannot in Decency refuſe.

" I have, &c.

" Fayzabad, 25th January 1778.

(Signed) N. Middleton,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court."

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

27th Jan. " I had the Honour to addreſs you under Date the 25th inſtant, acquainting you with the Subſtance of the Converſations which had paſſed between the Old Begum and myſelf on the Subject of her propoſed Expedition to Korbûlla. I now do myſelf the Pleaſure to forward you a Tranſlate of a Writing ſhe has preſented to me, containing her ſeveral Requiſitions and Claims, which ſhe expects ſhall be complied with and guaranteed to her by the Company; ſo that it may not be in the Power

Power of the Nabob at his Pleaſure to annul any of the Conditions, or deviate from any of the Proviſions therein ſpecified. That the Honourable Board may be clearly informed of the Nature and Propriety of the Begum's Expectations, I have ſubjoined ſhort explanatory Obſervations to each ſeparate Article; and if the Honourable Board ſhall be pleaſed to conſider them after in the Light it appears to me, I hope to be favoured with their Permiſſion to ſanctify the Agreement in the Manner the Begum requires, in my Publick Character. I have referred the Subject to the Nabob for his Conſideration and Approval; but I have little Expectation that he will of his own Accord acquieſce in the Begum's Propoſitions, however moderate and reaſonable they may appear; and if he ſhould, his Aſſent alone, without the Ratification and Guarantee of the Engliſh, will not be accepted as any kind of Security by the Begum. If however his Excellency approves of theſe Propoſitions, and gives them the Sanction of his Signature, I apprehend there will be no Impropriety in my becoming a Surety for their Performance, in which Caſe, the direct Interpoſition of the Honourable Board will not be neceſſary; but if, on the contrary, he ſhould refuſe his Concurrence, I beg Leave, with humble Submiſſion, to ſuggeſt the Neceſſity of an immediate Exertion of their Influence to ſecure the Begum, whatever they may be pleaſed to conſider her undiſputed Rights; when I doubt not I ſhould be able to prevail upon her to relinquiſh her Deſign of a Pilgrimage to Korbûlla altogether, though ſhe at preſent declares her Intention of proſecuting it at the Expiration of Two or Three Months, even admitting her Requiſitions are complied with. Indeed I have great Reaſon to believe ſhe has no ſerious Intention of undertaking ſo arduous a Taſk, and that her View is only to withdraw herſelf from theſe Dominions, where the Treatment of her Grandſon ſeems to have rendered her Reſidence diſguſting and irkſome to her, and to accept of an honourable Retreat, which I am informed has been offered her, for herſelf and Family, both by the King and Nudjiff Cawn. I am the more confirmed in this Belief, from her extraordinary Partiality to a young Man, who ſhe has bred up from a Child, and adopted as her Son, and who ſhe means ſhall inherit the Reſidue of whatever ſhe may be poſſeſſed of, after deducting from it what ſhe may conſider an adequate Proviſion for her own Family, and immediate Dependants; which Intention ſhe thinks ſhe cannot ſo well execute in this Country, as the Vizier, no doubt, conſiders himſelf the legal Heir to her Property, and if unreſtrained, I am certain, would pay very little Attention to any previous Diſpoſition ſhe might make of it. I form this latter Opinion upon ſome late Declaration which the Nabob has made, importing, that if the Begum was bent upon abandoning his Dominions, in Oppoſition to his Will, it was his Determination that ſhe ſhould not carry more with her than her Wearing Apparel.

" I have, &c.

" Fayzabad, (Signed) N. Middleton,
27th January 1778. Reſident at the Vizier's Court."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Paper next about to be read, was a Requiſition ſent to Mr. Middleton by the Mother of the late Shujah ul Dowlah, and tranſmitted by him to the Board, with his Remarks upon each of the Articles contained in it. That it might not appear important at firſt; but it was extremely material, to prove, that the Elder Begum had the Guarantee of the Engliſh as well as the Younger Begum; which Circumſtance, though expreſsly denied by the Defendant, they truſted they ſhould make out to the Satisfaction of the Houſe.

Read, the following Extract from the ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 450 of the ſame Book.

" Tranſlation of a Paper preſented, by the Begum Suddur-ul Niſſa, Mother of the late Shujah-ul-Dowlah, to Mr. Middleton.

" In Conſideration of your having come here on my Account, I will protract my Journey until the Noroſe, (about Ten Weeks), on the following Conditions:

" Firſt, That I be permitted, without any Interruption or Moleſtation whatever, to remove the Remains of my deceaſed Son to any Place I may think proper; that I be allowed either to inter them here, or carry them with me to † Corbûllah; in ſhort, that they ſhall be at my Diſpoſal.

† Another Name for Mecca.

" Remark—The Remains of the late Shujah-ul-Dowlah are at preſent lying at Fayzabad. I believe it is the Intention of the Begum to carry them to Delhy, and to inter them with the Remains of her Huſband, which were removed from hence to that Place.

" Secondly, That ſeparate and ſufficient Jaydaads be given for the Support of the Khord Maul, and my late Son's Children, ſuitable to their Rank and Situation; and that when the Children arrive at Ages of Maturity, I be permitted to enter into Treaties of Marriage for them, agreeable to my own Judgment and Diſcretion, and that a ſuitable Allowance be made for the Expences which may be incurred on the Occaſion: That the Daughters who have been contracted may be ſent to their intended Huſbands, or the Huſbands ſent for to receive them; and thoſe remaining in the Maul who are in the ſame Predicament, and not received by thoſe to whom they have been contracted, be provided for; and that for ſuch as may not be joined in Wedlock during my Reſidence here, it will be the Care of my Daughter Bow Begum to ſee done, as Opportunity may offer.

" Remark—An Allowance of 12,800 Rupees per Month has been eſtabliſhed for the Women of
* Sic in Orig. * Khord Maul, and the late Nabob's Children, which will be adequate to the Support of the Children, and ſuch of the Women as, from their Connection with the Nabob, are entitled to a Maintenance. The reſt the Begum has conſented to releaſe from their Confinement.

" Thirdly, That for the Support of the Family and Dependants of the Nabob Sufder Jung, my late Huſband, who are all allied to me, the ſame Allowances be now made that were fixed in the Lifetime of Shujah-ul-Dowlah.

" Remark—The Allowance made by the late Vizier for his Father's Connexions and Dependants was about 17,000 Rupees per Month, excluſive of the Begum's own Jagheer. This Allowance has been withheld from the Period of Shujah-ul-Dowlah's Death, and been diſburſed from the Begum's private Purſe.

" Fourthly, That all my own Dependants are to remain under my excluſive Authority, and uncontrouled by any other Perſon; that I ſhall not be moleſted in any Shape, if I ſhould either give them their Diſmiſſion, or take them with me on my intended Journey.

" Remark—By her own Dependants, ſhe means the Relations and Connexions of her deceaſed Huſband, Meer Huſſan Allee her adopted Son, and ſuch other Perſons as immediately rely upon her for Support.

" Fifthly, That at the Period of the Noroſe, I be permitted to proceed on my Journey, and that no Perſon whatever ſhall attempt to diſſuade me from my Purpoſe; and that, if they ſhould, I will not accede to any ſuch Requeſt.

" Remark—This means nothing more, than that, at the Expiration of the Period ſhe has fixed for her Reſidence here, ſhe ſhall be at full Liberty to proceed out of the Provinces or not, as ſhe thinks proper; and her Reſolution, I will venture to ſay, will be entirely governed by the Treatment ſhe may receive in the Interim from the Nabob.

" Sixthly, That you will protect and take Care of my Allowances and Purgunnahs, which upon my leaving this Place I ſhall commit in charge to my Daughter Bhow Begum, with my own People; and in whatever City or Town I may take up my Reſidence, regular Remittances by Bill ſhall be made to me, and all my People, and Meer Huſſain Ally Cawn ſhall not be moleſted or oppreſſed.

" Remark—This Stipulation I apprehend is meant only to ſecure to herſelf and Aſſigns the Jagheers and Emoluments ſhe now holds, in caſe of her removing from the Provinces. Her own Jagheer, which is now in her own Poſſeſſion, is about a Lack of Rupees per Annum; beſides which, ſhe claims a Purgunnah in the Soubah of Allahabad, which was granted her in Ultumgaw by the King, a ſhort Time before his Departure for Delhy, but never taken Charge of by her. She has produced the King's Sunnuds to me, which are authentic; but it ſeems extraordinary ſhe ſhould not have got Poſſeſſion of the Purgunnah in her Son's Life-time; and I made that Remark to her, which ſhe anſwered by ſaying, that whatever her late Son poſſeſſed ſhe looked upon and commanded as her own; and that ſhe was no Sufferer by leaving the Purgunnah in his Charge—The Revenue is about a Lack of Rupees per Annum.

" Seventhly, The foregoing Conditions and Stipulations I ſignify to you, and I truſt to you to ſee them faithfully performed. The following are the ſpecifick Rights which I expect to be confirmed to me.

" 1ſt. The Sayer Duties of Khoda Gunge and Allee Gunge.
" 2d. Ultumgaw Purgunnah, Raury in the Soubah of Allehabad.
" 3d. Vizier Gunge, the Garden of Sipahdar Khan, and Makee Gunge.
" 4th. Monthly Allowances fixed by my late Son Shuja ul Dowlah, for the Family and Relations of Sufder Jung.
" 5th. The Jagheers of the following Khojah Serais, given by my late Son, and reſumed by the Nabob Aſſuf ul Dowlah.
" Muhrum Allee Cawn.
" Mahmud Illtufaut.
" Mahmud Bhureab.
" Mahmud Dannah.
" 6th. Monthly Allowances, as before, of the following Perſons.
" Mahmud Janud.
" Trumbuch Doſs.
" Hawkeim Mahmud Huſſain Cawn.
" Malony Mahmud Majied.

" Remark—The Sayer Duties of Khoda Gunge, and Alla Gunge, are at preſent in the Begum's Collection; but other Gunges, by the Nabob's Authority, have been eſtabliſhed cloſe to them, under the Auſpices of Rajah Bowanny Sing, and Hingem Cawn, his Excellency's Elephant Driver, who have uſed ſuch Means to people and ſupply their Gunges as have effectually depopulated the Begum's; by which Means ſhe has, for ſome Time, been deprived of the Duties ſhe before

before collected. She requires that Bowanny Sing and Hingem Cawn be compelled to remove their Gunges.

" On the Second Article I have already remarked, Vizier Gunge, which the Begum had always the Duties of, has been depopulated in the ſame Manner as the Two former Ones, by the Erection of another cloſe to it.

" 3d. The Garden of Sipahdar Cawn, and Mâhee Gunge, are in the Begum's Poſſeſſion; but Depredations are conſtantly made upon her Rights in the latter, which ſhe deſires may be prevented.

" On the Fourth Head I have already remarked.

" 5th. The total Amount of theſe Jagheers, as they ſtand on the late Vizier's Records, is about 46,000 Rupees per Annum. Moſt of them were reſumed ſoon after the preſent Nabob came to the Muſnud, by the Advice of the late Miniſter Mocktar ul Dowlah.

" 6th. Theſe Allowances are very inconſiderable, not all together exceeding 10,000 Rupees per Annum.

" Eighthly, The Sum of 30,000 Rupees on account of a Houſe, &c. purchaſed from Muhrum Ally Cawn, at Lucknow, be paid, the Particulars of which Purchaſe are as follow:

" The Houſe, Stable, and the Kurhannahs.

" Two Houſes in Jawar Tully.

" Peir Khân's Fort, Garden, and the Village of Gudoora, and the Cuttera of Ruſtumnagur.

" Remark—When the Nabob fixed his principal Reſidence at Lucknow, he took Poſſeſſion of ſeveral Houſes and Gardens belonging to the Begum and her Dependants, which he agreed to pay for upon an equitable Valuation. The Sum of 30,000 Rupees was admitted by his Excellency for the Poſſeſſions of Muckrum Ally Cawn, but never paid. The Begum expects that this Sum ſhall be reclaimed of the Nabob, or the Houſes, &c. reſtored.

" The ſame Obſervations will apply to the Two following Articles.

" Ninthly, The Houſes of Mahmud Illtafaut and Mahmud Janud, in Lucknow, to be paid for by the Nabob, or delivered up to their proper Owners.

" Tenthly, The Sum of 1,15,000 Rupees which the Nabob agreed to pay on Account of the Coſt of Mutchy Bowan; the Houſe of Jahub Jee, the Fort of Gooſſain, with the Ground and Garden, the Barra Dewarry, on the Banks of the Gompty, the Bazar, Garden, and Houſe of Rajah Mahanarrain, the Houſe of Benny Puſhur, all in the Town of Lucknow, and for which the Nabob Aſſuf ul Dowlah promiſed to pay at the Expiration of Two Months, but Two Years are now elapſed, without having performed his Engagement.

" Fyzabad, 27th January 1778.

(Signed) N. Middleton,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 9th March 1778, beginning at Page 624 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 9th March 1778.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident; } Secret Dept. Monday.
Richard Barwell,
Philip Francis, } Eſquires.
Edward Wheler,

" Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

" I am ſorry to acquaint the Honourable Board, that I have not been ſucceſsful in my Applications to the Nabob in Behalf of the Begum. He has poſitively refuſed to come to any immediate Determination upon any one of the ſeveral Points I have ſubmitted to him; anſwering me only in general Terms, that it is his Intention to viſit Fayzabad on his Return from his Hunting Party, when he will requeſt my perſonal Aſſiſtance in accommodating all Matters of Diſpute between him and the Begums. In the mean Time, he intreats me to take every Means in my Power to prevail upon the old Begum to ſuſpend the Execution of her Purpoſe, until he ſhall have had an Interview with her; and to accompliſh this Object, he even authoriſes me to make her ſuch Aſſurances on his and my own Behalf, and * in my Judgment ſhall ſeem reaſonable and juſt. 2d February. * Sic in Orig.

" It is needleſs for me to remark upon the Ambiguity of this Reply, or the indefinite Terms in which his Authority to me is conceived. The Begum's Requiſitions were laid before him in the Form I received them, clearly and ſpecifically noticed; ſo that it required only that he ſhould have given me his Sentiments upon them, and have informed me how far he wiſhed me to engage his Compliance; but inſtead of this, he contents himſelf with deſiring me to uſe every conciliating Argument I can with the Begum, to diſſuade her from her Purpoſe, while he denies me the only Means by which he knew it could be effected, and by his Conduct, in Fact, ſtrengthens and confirms her Reſolution. I have acquainted the Begum with the Subſtance of the Nabob's Reply to my Letters, which ſhe is by no Means ſatisfied with; and, indeed, I am myſelf convinced there is very little Faith to be placed on the foregoing Aſſurance; but ſhe has, at my earneſt Requeſt,

Requeſt, and from a firm Reliance on the Juſtice and Equity of the Honourable Board, conſented to ſuſpend her Journey until I may be favoured with your Sentiments and Deciſion upon this Reference, which I hope to be indulged with as ſoon as poſſible, as any conſiderable Delay might perhaps raiſe Doubts in the Begum's Breaſt as to the Part the Honourable Board would take in her Affairs, and induce her, at all Events, to take her Departure before your Deciſion reaches me.

" I have, &c.

" Fayzabad, 2d February 1778. (Signed) N. Middleton,
" Reſt at the Vizier's Court."

" Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

3d Feb. 1778. " I had the Pleaſure to addreſs you Yeſterday; and having cloſed the Subject of the old Begum's Complaints and Requiſitions, it is neceſſary I ſhould now trouble you with thoſe of the Bow Begum, who has, through me, demanded the Protection of our Government, and its Influence to reſtore and confirm her Rights.

" On my Arrival here, ſhe addreſſed a long Letter to me on the Subject of her Affairs, covering the original Treaty which had been entered into between her and the Nabob, and guaranteed by my Predeceſſor on the Part of the Honourable Company; Copies of all which I have now the Honour to lay before you, together with a particular Account of the Begum's ſeveral Claims and Requiſitions, with my own Obſervations on each Article.

" As moſt of theſe Claims are expreſsly admitted in the Treaty, and guaranteed by the Reſident, I apprehend by publick Authority, I did not ſuppoſe the Nabob would have heſitated to comply with them: I therefore thought it unneceſſary to take up the Attention of the Honourable Board with a Matter which had before been ſo particularly diſcuſſed and ſettled, and which, after ſuch ſolemn Engagements on the Part of the Nabob, they would hardly expect could at this Time become a Subject of Diſpute. His Excellency has, however, declined Compliance with them.

" I have, &c.

" Fayzabad, 3d February 1778. [Signed at the End] N. Middleton,
" Reſt at the Vizier's Court."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That having read Mr. Middleton's Account from Fyzabad, of the Complaints of the elder Begum, they ſhould next proceed to ſhew the Opinion of the Council upon hearing thoſe Complaints; and it was material to obſerve, that Mr. Haſtings, at this Time, had, in Effect, the whole Government in his own Hands.

The Witneſs produced Book 77, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, 23d March to 21ſt May 1778."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 23d March 1778.

" Fort William, the 23d March 1778.

Secret Dept. Monday. " At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Richard Barwell,
Philip Francis,
Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

" Reconſidered the Letters from Mr. Middleton, dated the 25th and 27th January, recorded in Conſultation the 9th February; and of the 2d and 3d February, recorded in Conſultation the 9th March.

" Reſolved, That the following Letter be written to Mr. Middleton.

" Sir,

To Mr. Middleton. " We have duly conſidered your Letters of the 25th and 27th January, 2d and 3d February, on the Subject of the Complaints and Requiſitions of the Old Begum and Bow Begum.

" We can have no Right to interfere between the Vizir and his Relations or Subjects, for the Redreſs of any Grievances which they may ſuſtain from him, except by Remonſtrance, or in Caſes that we ſhall deem of a Nature ſo groſs and enormous as to caſt a Reproach on the Company, and to involve and affect the Dignity of the Britiſh Name, by withdrawing ourſelves from ſuch a diſhonourable Connection: We muſt therefore decline giving you Authority at preſent to inſiſt on the Nabob's immediate Reſtitution of the Property claimed by the Family of the Old Begum, and by the Family of Nabob Sheir Jung, deceaſed; but as we approve of the Means you have taken to conciliate the Differences that have ariſen from the former, and diſſuade the Nabob from the Act of Oppreſſion which he intended to commit on the Eſtate of the latter, we deſire you will repeat your Remonſtrances to the Vizir on both theſe Points, in the Name of this Government, repreſenting to him the Conſequences of ſuch an arbitrary Proceeding, the Reproaches

proaches to which his Honour and Reputation, as well as ours from being connected with him, will be expoſed by ſuch Acts of Cruelty and Injuſtice, and the Right, which we derive from the Nature of our Alliance with him, to expect that he will pay a Deference to our Remonſtrances.

" If he ſhall perſiſt in his Refuſal, after this, to agree to any reaſonable Terms, you are to take no further Steps till you have adviſed us thereof, and of every Circumſtance attending it, that we may give you our final Orders for your Guidance.

" Having given the Old Begum ſuch a Proof of our Deſire to aſſiſt her, and to obtain Security for her in her preſent Situation, we hope ſhe will be ſatisfied to continue where ſhe is, as we can by no Means encourage her Wiſh to remove, with her perſonal Wealth, from the Nabob's Dominions.

" With reſpect to the Bow Begum, her Grievances come before us on a very different Footing; ſhe is entitled to our Protection by an Act not ſought by us, but ſolicited by the Nabob himſelf, and granted in Compliance with his and her Requeſt: We therefore empower and direct you, to afford your Support and Protection to her, in the due Maintenance of all the Rights ſhe poſſeſſes, in virtue of the Treaty executed between her and her Son, under the Guarantee of the Company, and againſt every Attempt that may be, directly or indirectly, made to infringe them. At the ſame Time that we recommend the greateſt Delicacy to you, in every Caſe of this Nature, we deſire you will act with Firmneſs and Reſolution, and, as far as you can, with Effect.

" [Signed at the End,]

Warren Haſtings,
Richard Barwell,
P. Francis,
Edward Wheler."

The Managers for the Commons requeſted the Houſe to obſerve, that Mr. Middleton had applied for a conditional Permiſſion from the Board to execute the Treaty of Guarantee to the Elder Begum; that ſuch Permiſſion was, for ſome Time, withheld by the Board; and the Report ſtates, that, " having given her ſuch a Proof of their Deſire to aſſiſt her, they hoped ſhe would be ſatisfied to continue where ſhe was, as they could by no Means encourage her Wiſh to remove with her perſonal Wealth from the Nabob's Dominions." That it appeared, it was not her Intention to remain, (and it was ſo ſtated by Mr. Middleton,) except under the Guarantee of the Company.

That her perſonal Wealth was conſiderable; and they would ſhew, in Contradiction to what was ſtated by Mr. Haſtings, that the Elder Begum was actually plundered of her Wealth, after ſhe had conſented ſo to remain in the Dominions of the Nabob, under the Faith of the Company's Guarantee.

The Witneſs produced Book 26, already delivered in.

Read, the following Extract of the Appendix to a Conſultation of the 22d June 1780, beginning at Page 524 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 22d June 1780.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General;
Philip Francis,
Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on a Viſit to the different Stations of the Army.

" Appendix to Conſultation the 22d June 1780.

" TRANSLATE.

" Copy of an Agreement under the Seal and Signature of Mr. Middleton, to all the Particulars of which he engages to procure a Treaty from the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah, after his Arrival, and that he will alſo ſign it as follows:

" 1ſt. That whenever the Begum ſhall chuſe to go to Mecca, ſhe ſhall be permitted to go.

" 2d. That when the Nabob ſhall arrive, I (Mr. Middleton) will procure ſuitable Allowances to be made to the Ladies of the Zunna *, and the Children of the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, and take Care that they are paid.

* Sic in Orig.

" 3d. That the Feſtivals (Shaddee) and Marriages of the Children of the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, ſhall be at the Diſpoſal of the Begum; whenever ſhe thinks proper ſhe ſhall marry them; and if the Begum ſhall go, ſhe ſhall have the Authority to appoint and ſettle their Marriages; and whatever Money ſhall be neceſſary, for theſe Expences, ſhall be paid by the Nabob.

" 4th. That the Syer of Coda Gunge, and Ally Gunge, ſhall be retained by the Begum as heretofore.

" 5th. That I (Mr. Middleton) will, upon the Arrival of the Nabob, procure Vizier Gunge and the Garden of Sepoy Daud Khaun, or their Equivalent, for the Begum.

" 6th. That I (Mr. Middleton) will endeavour to obtain from the Nabob, the Sum of 1,15,000 Rupees, on Account of the Purchaſe of Metchee Bohaun, and the Houſe of Sahebjee, and the Fort of the Goſſein, with the Land and Garden, and the Barraderry on the Banks of the Goomty and Bazar, and Garden of the Houſe of Mahnarain, and the Houſe of Beny Perſaud at Lucknow; all of which the Nabob Aſoph al Dowlah has aſſumed Poſſeſſion of.

" 7th. That I will ſettle with the Nabob, the Allowances to be made in ready Money, to the Ladies of the Zunana, and others, ſpecified in the following Account:

	per Month.
To the Ladies of the Zunna — — —	13,650
To Meer Huſſein Ally Khaun Behadre — —	2,000
To Ahmed Ally Khaun — — —	400
To the Doctors — — — —	1,000
To Mahmud Javaid — — —	140
To Molavie Madjeed — — —	60
	17,250

" 8th. Upon the Arrival of the Nabob Aſſuph al Dowlah Bahadre, I will endeavour, with all my Influence, to ſettle the Monthly Allowances of Mohrum Ally Khaun, and Mahmud Eltafaut Khaun, &c. the Attendants of the Begum.

" 9th. If the Begum ſhall go to Mecca, ſhe ſhall leave her Mahls and Jaghires to the Begum, the Mother of Aſſuph al Dowlah, who ſhall remit the Revenues thereof to the Burree Begum. No one ſhall prevent her enjoying her Jaghires (*a*)."

The Counſel for the Defendant obſerved, That the Papers were Encloſures from Mr. Purling; and that the Firſt Time they appeared upon the Conſultations, was in June 1780.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That the Copy of this Treaty was certainly not tranſmitted at the Time by Mr. Middleton, which was a very material Circumſtance, and One on which they ſhould dwell much, when they came to ſtate under what Circumſtances it came encloſed from Mr. Purling; but they thought it clearer to have the Treaty inſerted here; and when they came to the Year 1780, they ſhould then ſtate thoſe Circumſtances under which it was ſo tranſmitted to the Council from Mr. Purling. That they were aware, the Counſel went on a Suppoſition that Mr. Middleton had not a direct Authority from the Board to execute this Treaty; but they would clearly ſhew, that he muſt have acted by the Authority of the Board, and that it had all the binding Force that ſuch an Authority could have given it.

" TRANSLATE.

" Copy of an Engagement under the Seal of the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah, and under the Seal and Signature, in Engliſh, of Mr. Middleton, as follows:

" 1ſt. I, who am the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah Bahadre, do agree that the Jagheers and Gunges, and Monthly Allowance of the Officers and Servants, and of the Ladies of the Zunana, and of thoſe ſpecified in the Account annexed, ſhall be at the Diſpoſal, and under the Management and Authority of the Begum; and no one ſhall oppoſe or prevent it. This I will punctually obſerve. In this Agreement Mr. Middleton and the Engliſh are engaged.

" 2d. Whenever the Begum may chuſe to go to Mecca, I will not oppoſe it.

" 3d. Whenever the Begum ſhall go to Mecca, ſhe ſhall leave her Lands, Jagheers, &c. either in the Care of my Mother or of me; and I will procure Bills for the Amount of their Revenues, and ſend them to her: No one ſhall oppoſe this.

" 4th. The Begum ſhall have Authority over all the Ladies of her Zunana. She ſhall let them remain with me, and not allow them to go any where without my Permiſſion, or keep them with her.

" 5th. The Jagheers Khodah Gunge, Ally Gunge, &c. with the Mahl and Syher belonging to the Begum, and made over to her, ſhall remain as heretofore in her Poſſeſſion.

" Particulars of the Salaries allowed.

	Per Month.
Allowances to the Family of Boorhaun ul Mulk — —	10,000
Allowance to Meer Huſſein Ally Khaun — — —	2,000
D° to Ahmed Ally Khaun — — — — —	400
D° to Doctors — — — — — —	1,000
D° to Molovie Mudjeed — — — — —	60
	13,460

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXI.

" 6th.

" 6th. I have paſſed a Bond, payable in Six Months, for 1,15,000 for the Price of Houſes, &c. and, God willing, I will pay the Amount when it ſhall become due.

" 7th. I have bought Vizier Gunge and the Garden of Sepoydaud Khaun, in Allahabad, of the Begum, for 10,000 Rupees, and, God willing, I will pay the Amount in Six Months.

" 8th. The Begum has Authority over the Ladies and Attendants of the Zunana. Neither myſelf nor any one elſe will oppoſe it.

" 9th. The Begum (my Grandmother) ſhall have the Authority in all Feſtivals, and in the Marriages of the Children of the late Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, and, with the Conſent of my Mother and myſelf, ſhall regulate them, excepting in the Feſtivals (Shâdee) the Authority is mine.

" The Engliſh are Guarantees to the above Engagements as long as the Begum ſhall exiſt (*a*)."

The Counſel for the Defendant deſired to know, whether this Inſtrument was executed by the Nabob?

The Managers for the Commons acquainted them it was, by the Seal of the Nabob being affixed to it;—that it was well known the Nabob never ſigned his Name.

Then the Managers for the Commons requeſted the Houſe to obſerve, that the Protection and Allowances to the Women and Children in the Zenana, and in the Khourd Mahal, were included in this Negociation and Guarantee.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 102, intituled, " Publick Perſian Correſpondence, received for the Year 1778."

Read, the following Letter from Bahoo Begum to Mr. Haſtings, beginning at Page 368 of the ſame Book.

" From Bahoo Bhegum: Received 15th November 1778.

216. " The Receipt of your Highneſs's Letter, containing the agreeable News of your Welfare, afforded me inexpreſſible Pleaſure. I formerly ſent you, by Shagoon Ally Khan, Copy of an Engagement under the Seal of Mr. John Briſtow, which you doubtleſs inſpected.

" As you formerly wrote me that a Ship was ready, and that I might come whenever I pleaſed, I was Eight Months earneſtly deſirous of repairing to Kerbella; but my Son, Aſoph ul Dowlah, ſent Mr. Middleton to prevent me, who made me a Promiſe that if, at the End of Twenty Months, I continued deſirous of proſecuting the Journey, no one ſhould obſtruct me. On the 15th of Shabaun (8th September) Mr. Middleton came to Fyzabad, and ſpoke of my Departure, and told me to deſire the Nabob's Preſence here, and that all Matters ſhould be ſettled.

" Notwithſtanding the Diſpleaſure I bore towards my Son, yet, to oblige Mr. Middleton, I wrote him a Letter of Invitation, and he in conſequence arrived here on the 1ſt of Ramzaun (23d September).

" I talked to him in a Stile of Affection and Regard. Three Days afterwards my Son diſcontinued the Conſideration of my Affairs, and entered upon other Subjects, propoſing to me to give up the Gunges, Mint, Cullahdang Gardens, and the Havelee at Gorukpore, all which are included in the former Engagement, in lieu of ſome other Places in the Neighbourhood of my Jaghiers. I told him, that in caſe the Exchange were made, the Engagement would not remain in Force. He then ſent me a Meſſage by Mr. Middleton, that if I did not conſent to the Exchange, my Refuſal would be the Cauſe of the greateſt Diſturbances, and many People would loſe their Lives. I was left without an Option, and had no Remedy; and to this Day, which is the 17th of Ramzaun (9th October), the Places to be given in Exchange have not been fixed on; and on the 10th of Ramzaun (2d October) my Son, and on the 12th Mr. Middleton, ſet off from hence for Lucknow. My Son gave me another Engagement, under his own and Mr. Middleton's Seal. Conſider, my Friend, what Reliance can be placed on any Engagement, if it may be withdrawn, and a new one executed in this Manner; or what Confidence can an Engagement give? I requeſt that you will ſend me a Letter to Mr. Middleton, in expreſs Terms, to make the Exchange, if agreeable to me; otherwiſe to deſiſt, and to execute and deliver to me ſuch a Treaty as I ſhall deſire, which may remain as a ſolemn Voucher, to be employed as Occaſion may require; and further, that he ſhall afford me his Support whenever I ſhall require it. Let this Letter alſo direct, that the Corpſe of the late bleſſed Nabob, which is depoſited at Fyzabad, be relinquiſhed to my Diſpoſal, that I may either carry it with me to Kerbella, or ſend it thither before me; for it is a Duty, and highly meritorious, to cauſe the Body to be interred in that holy Ground, which will promote its future Happineſs. It is incumbent on your Friendſhip to give me this Proof of Regard. My Son now declares, both in publick and private, that he is offended with me, his Mother, for having applied to the Engliſh for the Settlement of my Affairs; and that he will take ſuch Meaſures, that whatever I may deſire of them, they ſhall act in direct Oppoſition thereto;

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXII.

and that he will ruin me by their Means—That it is well known to all Ranks of People, the former Coulnama ſpecifies that he is clear from every Claim on the Part of his Mother, and nevertheleſs that ſhe will not yet leave him at Kiſt.

" God is my Witneſs, that againſt all theſe Afflictions and Hardſhips I have no Support but your Favour, which I hope you will exert ſo effectually, as to relieve me from them. I ſhall ſend Akbar Ally Khan to your Preſence, after the End of Ramzaun, who, having been an Eye Witneſs of every Tranſaction, will repreſent them fully to you.

" The moſt aſtoniſhing Circumſtance of all is, that my Son gave me the Coulnama with his own Hand, at Night; and before I could have Time to read it, he ſet off for Lucknow: When I had read it, I found it mentioned, " Beſides the Places I receive in Exchange, I will take Poſſeſſion of other Places alſo." On perceiving this, I was ſurprized and confounded, and cried out, " My God! what Kind of Treaty is this!" I ſent the aforeſaid Treaty to Mr. Middleton, who took it with him, and getting on Horſeback, followed my Son, and overtaking him in the Way, he cauſed the Engagement to be altered, and brought it back to me. I have written you for your Information this Account of the late Tranſactions, and ſhall inform you of what may happen hereafter.

" I have nothing to expect, except through the Influence of your Favour. I am hopeful that you will recollect your long-eſtabliſhed Regard for me, and will take ſuch Meaſures as may promote my Intereſt."

The Managers for the Commons requeſted the Houſe to obſerve, that it appeared by the Letter juſt read, that the Treaty was executed and brought back by Mr. Middleton to the Begum.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 103, intituled, " Bengal Publick Perſian Correſpondence: Letters received pro Anno 1780."

Read, a Letter from the Bahoo Begum to Mr. Haſtings, beginning at Page 78 of the ſame Book.

" From the Bahoo Begum, received 29 April 1780.

" At preſent the Naibs have begun a Negociation about the Nabob's Jaghier, of ſo remarkable a Nature, that it has greatly alarmed us. For firſt, his Jaghier is by no Means equal to his Dignity; yet, on account of the preſent State of Affairs, he has contented himſelf with it, though it approaches not to his Expences. Secondly, About a Year and a Half ago, Mr. Middleton gave a poſitive Promiſe to him, that he would take care no Interruption ſhould be given to his Jaghier, or that of the late Iſtekar ul Dowlah, and entered into a ſacred Engagement to this Purport. It is now Matter of great Aſtoniſhment to us, that, notwithſtanding all this, ſuch a Negociation ſhould have been thought of, ſince your Highneſs can have no Wiſh that the Nabob's ſmall Income ſhould be ſtopped, as the Promiſes of the Engliſh Chiefs are as if written on a Stone, and can admit of not the ſmalleſt Variation (*a*)."

The Managers for the Commons requeſted the Houſe particularly to obſerve, that through the Whole of theſe Tranſactions, in the Years 1775 and 1778, there was not the ſmalleſt Inſinuation againſt the general Diſpoſition of the Begums towards the Engliſh Government. That it was expreſsly alledged by the Defendant, that the Begums ſhewed a conſtant Diſaffection and Hatred to the Engliſh: Whereas they ſhould prove, that when this Treaty was communicated to the Board at Calcutta by Mr. Purling, the Board recogniſed the Treaty, and acted upon it; but, as a Diſtinction might perhaps be taken between a Treaty executed by the Reſident, and a Treaty executed by the Council, or by the Governor General upon the Part of the Council, they ſhould next read a ſhort Extract of a Letter written by Mr. Haſtings, to ſhew his Opinion upon that Subject.

The Witneſs produced Book 90, intituled, " Bengal Publick Perſian Correſpondence, ſent 1778. Received per Ganges, 24th February 1781."

Read, Extract of a Letter from Mr. Haſtings to Fize Ulla Khan, dated 15th June 1778, beginning at Page 28 of the ſame Book.

" To Fize Ullah Khan.

Written 15th June 1778.

" It is with the greateſt Pleaſure I learn from Mr. Middleton, that the Treaty which ſubſiſted between you and the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, has been renewed by the preſent Vizier with

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXIII.

ſuch

ſuch additional Stipulations in your Favour as to leave you in the quiet and undiſturbed Enjoyment of whatever the Country*, which form * your Jaghier, may, by Care and Attention, be made to produce, and that he has affixed his Seal to it on the Part of the Company as Guaranty. The Apprehenſions you at firſt expreſſed of the Authenticity of the Guaranty, becauſe it did not bear the Seal of the Company, were entirely groundleſs. The Objection of the Company to Guaranty the Treaty which has been renewed between you and the Vizier is equally binding on them, by having the Seal of the Reſident on their Part affixed to it, as if it bore their own Seal."

* Sic in Orig.

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, they would preſently call Mr. Middleton to give Evidence relative to this Treaty: in the mean Time would read an Extract, to ſhew what the Opinion of the Nabob was, concerning the Women under the Care of the Elder Begum, it being ſtated by the Defendant that they were inſignificant Perſons, ſcarcely worth Notice or Care.

The Witneſs produced Book 105, intituled, " Bengal Secret Perſian Correſpondence, 1782."

Read, Extract of a Letter from the Vizier, received the 23d of Auguſt 1782.

" From the Vizier.

" Received 23d Auguſt 1782.

" I never found Reſource equal to the neceſſary Expences: Every Year, by taking from the Miniſters, and ſelling the Articles of my Harkhanna, I, with great Diſtreſs, tranſacted the Buſineſs; but I could not take care of my Dependants; ſo that ſome of my Brothers, from their Difficulties, aroſe and departed; and the People of the Khord Mahault of the late Nawab, who are all my Mothers, from their Diſtreſſes, are reduced to Poverty, and involved in Difficulties.—No Man of Rank is deficient in the Care of his Dependants, in Proportion to his Ability (*a*)."

The Witneſs produced Book 104, intituled, " Bengal Publick Perſian Correſpondence; Letters received pro Anno 1784."

Read, a Letter from the Vizier to Mr. Haſtings. N° 79.

" From the Vizier.

" Received 31ſt July 1784.

" My Brother, dear as Life, Saadut Alli Khan, has requeſted that I would permit his Mother to go and reſide with him. My Friend, all the Mothers of my Brothers, and the Women of the late Nawab, whom I reſpect as my own Mothers, are here; and it is incumbent upon me to ſupport them. Accordingly I do it, and it is improper that they ſhould be ſeparated, nor do I approve it. By God's Bleſſing, and your Kindneſs, I hope that all the Women of the late Nawab may remain here. It is the Wiſh alſo of my Grandmother and my Mother, that they ſhould."

Read, Extract of Mr. Haſtings's Defence, delivered in at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, from Page 222 of the Manuſcript.

" It is not true that the Begums were left in Charge of the late Nabob's Treaſures, or other valuable Effects, for the Purpoſes ſet forth in the Charge, of maintaining his Offspring and Dependants. The Old Begum, the Mother of Shujah ul Dowlah, is entirely out of the Queſtion, having had no Preſents entruſted to her Care; but ſhe became poſſeſſed of them in her Capacity of Truſtee and Treaſurer of the Deceaſed; who, for ſome Time before his Death, " depoſited the Surplus of his Revenues with the Bow Begum, to provide againſt an Emergency." Hence the Whole of his Property, of what Sort ſoever, was in her Cuſtody at the Time of his Death, but ſtill as a Depoſit, though from the Hands of his Mother, for they were the Rights of the State which ſhe had in Charge. But I muſt repeat, that I diſapprove, and ſtill condemn the Interference of our Reſident, becauſe we had no Concern in it, and our Credit ſuffered in the Opinions of Mankind, from the Natural Diſguſt which would be excited by a Contention between a Son and his Mother, and by our Appearance as Incendiaries inſtead of Conciliators in it. But no Man could ever aſſert or believe that it was therefore her own. It was undoubtedly a conſtituent Part of the hereditary Eſtate, which devolved to the Nabob Aſſoph ul Dowlah on his Father's Demiſe; and as ſuch, ought to have been wholly delivered up to him; but the Begum refuſed to give up any Thing until coercive Meaſures were threatened, and then ſhe conſented only to the Payment of Thirty out of One hundred and ſeventy Lacks, which Mr. Briſtow declared, that, on the moſt moderate Computation, ſhe poſſeſſed; and making a Merit even of this Condeſcenſion, ſhe was ſuffered to demand, and actually to exact, from the Nabob, an Encreaſe of Jagheers to Ten

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXIV.

Times the Amount of the Income which had been ſettled upon the Old Begum by her deceaſed Son, Shujah ul Dowla, for the Maintenance of herſelf and the numerous Family and Dependants of her late Huſband, Sufdur Jung. The Agreement thus entered into between the Nabob and his Mother, was ratified by Mr. Briſtow, without any Authority; but as the Urgency of the Caſe rendered it neceſſary, the Board approved the Ratification. The Board, I have ſaid, approved of it, and I was a Member of the Board, but I was an inefficent Member of it; the Whole of this Tranſaction having paſſed under the Order and Guidance of the Majority of the Board, which excluded me from any Share in their Acts, equally in ſuch as I approved and in ſuch as I diſapproved. It will appear from the preceeding Reaſoning, that I approved of the Nabob's Aſſertion of his own Right, to re-claim the Treaſures of his Inheritance.

" It is not true, that the Women and Children of the late Nabob were left, or intended to be left, dependant on the Bow Begum. They were ſeparately provided for; and though, from the Failure of the Funds aſſigned for their Maintenance, they were too often ſubjected to great Inconvenience, they never experienced any Acts of Benevolence from the Begum, beyond an occaſional Donation of a few Rupees to the Children, when ſhe condeſcended, which was indeed very ſeldom, to permit them to wait upon her. Neither is it true, that the Jagheers were left the Begum by the late Nabob. At the Time of his Death, the Diſtricts which afterwards conſtituted the Jagheer, were held by the Begum on the Footing of a Farm, under the Name and Management of Jowar Ally Cawn, with whom the Accounts of the ſame were annually adjuſted at the Khalla. To the preſent Nabob therefore ſhe was indebted for the principal Part of her Jagheers (*a*)."

Read, Extract from the printed Paper, called " The Second Defence of Mr. Haſtings," Page 4, Paragraph the laſt.

" Begums are the Ladies of an Eaſtern Prince. But theſe Women are alſo ſtyled, The Ladies of the late Vizier: Their Sufferings are painted in ſtrong Colours; and the unſuſpecting Reader is led to mix the Subjects together, and to ſuppoſe that theſe too were Princeſſes of Oude, ſince the Title prefixed to this Article of the Charge propoſes that, and no other Subject; and that all their Sufferings proceeded from ſome Act of mine, or had the Sanction of my Authority or Permiſſion. The Fact is, that the Perſons of the Khôrd Mahl (or Little Seraglio) were young Creatures picked up, wherever Youth and Beauty could be found, and moſtly purchaſed from the moſt neceſſitous and meaneſt Ranks of the People, for the Nabob's Pleaſures." (*b*)

Then the Managers for the Commons ſaid, they would next read a Paſſage from the Anſwer of the Defendant, delivered in at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, in which he doubts whether there were any Children at all.

Read, the following Extract from the Copy printed by Order of the Houſe, Page 18.

" But he ſays, that the ſaid Women, who were moſtly Perſons of low Condition, and the ſaid Children, if any ſuch there were, lived in the Khourd Mahl, on an Eſtabliſhment entirely diſtinct from the ſaid Begums (*c*)."

Then Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire was called in, and ſworn.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that, previous to their putting any Queſtion to the Witneſs, they thought it right to ſtate the Claim they had to the particular Indulgence of the Houſe with reſpect to the Mode of Examination they might find it neceſſary to purſue, from the Situation in which Mr. Haſtings himſelf conſidered ſome of the Witneſſes they ſhould call, to ſtand towards him. For which Purpoſe, they would read Two or Three Paſſages from the Defence of Mr. Haſtings, delivered at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons.

Read, accordingly, the following Extract from Page 5 of the Manuſcript Defence.

" If this Honourable Houſe is deſirous of knowing in what Eſtimation I ſtood with the Princes and Rulers of India, and with the Subjects of our own Dominion, the Opinions of both may be eaſily obtained by Enquiry of the Witneſſes whom my Proſecutor has called to eſtabliſh his Charges againſt me; and I will anticipate their Evidence. It will ſtate, that my political Conduct was invariably regulated by Truth, Juſtice, and good Faith; that all Perſuaſions of Men were impreſſed with a ſuperſtitious Belief, that a fortunate Influence directed all my Actions to their

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(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 414, Par. 3.
(*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 367, Line 26.
(*c*) Vide Appendix, N° XXV.

deſtined

deſtined Ends; and that my Departure was ſcarcely leſs regretted by the Inhabitants of the Provinces of my late Dependency, than it was by my own Countrymen. I believe this Honourable Houſe is in Poſſeſſion of One Teſtimony of the former, in the Letters which Mahdajee Sindia wrote to his moſt Gracious Majeſty, and to the Company (*a*)."

Read, alſo, from the ſame Paper, Page 210.

"*Preface to the Fourth Charge.*

"Before I proceed to reply to the Charges reſpecting my Conduct to the Begums, and on the Affairs of Oude, I muſt obſerve that they contain Particulars, of which I was totally ignorant until I read them in the Charges. I am therefore very much indebted to the Aſſiſtance of Mr. Middleton, and to the Information of Gentlemen who were in Oude when the Tranſactions alluded to happened. By theſe Aids, I have been enabled to reply fully to theſe Charges, and every Aſſertion in my Reply is capable of Proof, either by Documents, now before this Honourable Houſe, or by Evidence ready to be produced at its Bar." (*b*)

Read, alſo, from the ſame Paper, Page 460.

"The Teſtimony of Colonel Hannay cannot now be had; but his Explanation to Mr. Middleton of the Motives of his Conduct to the Begums and their Agents, at that critical Conjuncture of his own and the national Affairs, that Gentleman will be ready at any Time to certify on Oath, and the Evidence of Captain Gordon may poſſibly throw further Light upon the Subject." (*c*)

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. What Part of Mr. Haſtings' Defence did you compoſe?
A. I do not know that I compoſed any Part of it. I furniſhed Major Scott with ſome Memoranda reſpecting the Begums of Oude.

Q. Have you been preſent at any Conſultation with the Counſel for Mr. Haſtings, or with the Attorneys employed in his Cauſe?
A. I have been occaſionally with Mr. Haſtings' Counſel.

Q. Upon Matters relating to this Cauſe?
A. Not expreſsly; but Matters relating to this Impeachment have occaſionally riſen in Converſation.

Q. Be a little more explicit upon that Subject. My Queſtion is, Whether you have not been at Meetings where the chief Object was the Conduct and Management of this Cauſe, and that the only Object that was diſcuſſed?
A. I do not recollect I have.

Q. Were the Counſel Acquaintances of yours; did you know them previous to the Commencement of this Impeachment?
A. I did not.

Q. Where were the Meetings, at which you were preſent, held?
A. I have been at Drapers Hall, when the Counſel have been aſſembled there.

Q. At whoſe Houſe, or Office, at Draper's Hall?
A. At the Office of Mr. Smith.

Q. Who is Mr. Smith?
A. I underſtand him to be Mr. Haſtings' Solicitor.

Q. *(Croſs examined.)* Whether, upon your Application to the Counſel of Mr. Haſtings, they did not abſolutely refuſe to give you their Advice, and acquaint you, that if you wiſhed for Advice, you muſt go to ſome other Counſel for it?
A. They did.

Q. Whether you came, in conſequence of any Summons, to meet the Counſel of Mr. Haſtings at any Conſultation, or to meet Mr. Scott, or any other Perſon?
A. I came accidentally there.

Q. Whether the Counſel for Mr. Haſtings did not ſpecially recommend it to you, to apply to ſome Body elſe, to ſome other Counſel, for Advice?
A. They did.

Q. Did you adviſe with any other Counſel?
A. I did.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 18, Line 20.
(*b*) Vide ſupra, P. 413.
(*c*) Vide ſupra, Page 418, Par. 2d.

Q. (by

Q. *(by the Managers.)* How many Times have you accidentally called upon Mr. Smith?
A. I cannot ſay exactly; I was there ſeveral Times.

Q. Do you mean to have it underſtood, that your being there all the Times which you were there was, each Time, accidentally, or that you came there, with a View to give any Information you could?
A. I have gone there, I think, with Major Scott Two or Three Times.

Q. Was that accidentally, or was it for the Purpoſe of giving Aſſiſtance or Information, upon this Matter?
A. I came there for the Purpoſe of giving any Aſſiſtance I might be enabled to give.

Q. (*By the Counſel.*) Did you go there for the Purpoſe of being examined, ſo as to enable the Defendant to know what Evidence you could give, if called upon in this Cauſe?
A. I apprehend they did wiſh to know what Evidence I could give; I don't know——*(Interrupted).*

Q. You ſaid, you apprehended they did wiſh to know, what Evidence you could give; and you was going on to ſay, "I don't know——:" What was the Reſt of your Anſwer?
A. I cannot ſay they expreſſed that to me.

Q. Whether you have not attended Meetings of the Managers of the Houſe of Commons for the ſame Purpoſe of furniſhing them with Evidence?
A. Yes.

Q. You were ſummoned there?
A. I was ſummoned there.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* When you was ſummoned by Order of that Committee, whether you anſwered the Queſtions put to you by the Committee?
A. Some I anſwered, and ſome I objected to.

Q. By whoſe Advice did you refuſe to anſwer the Secret Committee, employed to examine you?
A. I conceived the Queſtions tended to criminate myſelf; and I took Advice upon that Subject; finding they did ſo, I conceived myſelf juſtified in refuſing to anſwer them.

Q. Did you communicate any of the Queſtions which you refuſed to anſwer, to Mr. Haſtings, or Major Scott, or any of his Counſel or Attornies?
A. Very poſſibly I might; I communicated them to every Body I had any Communication with.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they did not wiſh to preſs this Examination further.

The Counſel for the Defendant ſtated, that, as the Managers for the Commons had gone into the Manner in which the Witneſs was examined and treated, upon the Part of the Defendant, they would go into the Manner of his Examination and Treatment, upon the Part of the Proſecutors: They wiſhed therefore to know of the Witneſs,

Q. Whether he was not threatened by the Managers, if he did not anſwer the Queſtions ſpecifically put to him; and if, he refuſed to anſwer?
A. A Language of a threatening Nature was certainly uſed.

Q. Relate the Whole of what paſſed at that Time. In what Manner was you treated?
A. I was examined by different Members of the Honourable Committee, and told that I muſt anſwer the Queſtions: That they had a Right to put thoſe Queſtions to me, and they inſiſted I ſhould anſwer them.

Q. Do you know of any debate taking Place, in which you were turned out of the Room of the Committee, and Mr. Francis and the Clerk ſtaid in the Room, while they were deliberating upon the Subject.
A. I was turned out of the Room repeatedly.

Q. Were Mr. Francis and the Clerk left in?
A. To the beſt of my Recollection, Mr. Francis was; the Clerks, I believe, were turned out.

Q. In what Manner was you treated: What particular Threats were employed, to induce you to give the Anſwers propoſed. Have you any other Anſwer to give than you have given before to the Queſtion aſked, in what Manner you was treated?
A. I cannot recollect exactly the Language that was uſed; but I conceived it to be of a threatening Nature. I was ordered not to leave Town till I had been appriſed of what their Determination was.

Q. Did you deſire to be permitted to take Notes of what paſſed, or to ſee the Notes taken in the Committee?
A. I did deſire to have a Copy of the Examinations.

Q. Was you permitted to have, or take, a Copy of them?
A. No.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that the Purpoſe for which they now called the Witneſs was, to examine him reſpecting the Treaty of Fyzabad.

Q. Do you recollect going to Fyzabad in the Year 1778?
A. I do; I believe it was about that Time.

Q. Do you remember what Time of the Year it was?
A. I cannot recollect that.

Q. Was it in January?
A. It was in the Beginning of the Year.

Q. Had you any Converſation with the Elder Begum at that Time?
A. I had.

Q. What was the Subject of that Communication?
A. I went for the Purpoſe of reconciling the Difference between her and the Nabob, which was the Subject of the Negotiation between us.

Q. Do you recollect to have received a Paper of Requeſts from the Begum, and to have tranſmitted it with your Remarks to the Council at Calcutta?
A. I have a Recollection of ſuch a Paper, which I believe I tranſmitted to Calcutta.

Q. Did thoſe Remarks contain Statements relative to Matters which you knew to be true, or which you had ſufficient Reaſon to believe to be true?
A. My Information was drawn from the beſt Sources I could come at; and I did ſuppoſe that they were true.

Q. That is, the Statements in the Paper of Requeſts, which you afterwards communicated to the Government of Calcutta?
A. Yes.

Q. At what Time did you execute the Guarantee to the Elder Begum, or did you execute any Guarantee to her?
A. I do not recollect that I executed any Guarantee.

Q. Do you or not recollect to have affixed your Seal and Signature to a Paper concluding with theſe Words: "The Engliſh are Guarantees as long as the Begums ſhall exiſt?"

The Witneſs was ſhewn a Paper.

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. You have looked at that Paper: Was it executed by you; do you remember?
A. I believe it was.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that upon this Part of the Caſe they had no further Queſtions to aſk the Witneſs.

The Counſel for the Defendant ſtated, that, as they underſtood the Managers for the Commons meant to call the Witneſs again, they ſhould follow their Example, and confine themſelves, for the Preſent, to ſuch Queſtions as related to this Tranſaction only.

Q. Had you any Authority from the Board, or from Mr. Haſtings individually, to execute that Agreement; that is, previous to your executing it?
A. I had none; no Authority: The Object of my Journey to Lucknow was, to reconcile the Difference which had unfortunately ariſen between the Nabob and his Grandmother.

Q. Had you any Inſtructions?
A. No; I had no Inſtructions for executing ſuch Treaty; but I conceived it to be a Part of my official Duty, to reconcile the Difference between the Begum and the Nabob.

Q. Your Anſwer has been taken thus — That you had no Inſtructions for executing any ſuch Treaty; but you conceived it to be a Part of your Duty to reconcile the Difference between the Begum and the Nabob?
A. To ſatisfy the Begum; to induce her to ſtay until I could have a Converſation with the Nabob upon the Subject. The Agreement I did execute with her I conſidered as conditional: It was an Obligation upon me to uſe every Means in my Power to obtain a Treaty; and ſo far I engaged with her.

Q. Whether in the Treaty you guaranteed with Fyzoola Cawn, you did not in that Inſtance receive the previous Authority of the Board? How do you deſcribe that Treaty; was it a Guarantee of a Treaty in 1778?
A. Yes.

Q. With

Q. With Fyzoola Cawn?
A. Yes.

Q. Had you any previous Authority for executing the Treaty in 1778 with Fyzoola Cawn?

A. I do not recollect there was any Treaty executed. It was a Guarantee upon the Part of the Company; for which I had a previous Authority from the Company.

Q. Whether you ſucceeded in obtaining that Treaty from the Nabob, which you promiſed the Nabob's Grandmother, the Elder Begum, you would procure from the Nabob for her Benefit?

A. To the beſt of my Recollection, I did not: The Nabob refuſed to ſanctify the Agreement I had made; to the beſt of my Recollection.

Q. The Treaty we are now ſpeaking of, is that which has juſt been read from the Minutes: (*a*) That Treaty, according to the Deſcription of it, purports to be executed by the Nabob and by you, Mr. Middleton; and I underſtand you to ſay, that you executed that Treaty: Is it ſo?

A. An Agreement for a Treaty.

Then a Paper was ſhewn to the Witneſs, and he was aſked;

Q. Did you ever tranſmit this Paper to the Board; which purports to be a Treaty, or an Agreement, or whatever Name it is to bear?

A. I do not recollect that I did: If I did, it will appear.

Q. Did you ever tranſmit it individually to Mr. Haſtings, if you did not tranſmit it to the Board?

A. I believe I did not.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, That, to ſave Time, they were ready to admit, the Witneſs did not tranſmit the Treaty; and they did not aſk him the Queſtion, as it might tend to criminate himſelf. That he had ſaid, "he thought it was his Duty to do what he did, and that he had executed it." The Fact was, that he executed this Treaty by Mr. Haſtings's private Orders, but withheld it from the Board: Of which there would be abundant Proof, when they came to ſhew, that in the Year 1780, Mr. Purling tranſmitted Copies of this Paper, which he found at Lucknow.

The Counſel for the Defendant ſtated, that it having been inſinuated by the Managers for the Commons, that the Agreement was executed by the expreſs previous Authority of Mr. Haſtings, they deſired the Queſtion to be put to the Witneſs,

Q. Whether he had, or had not, any previous Authority, either from the Board, or Mr. Haſtings, from entering into that Agreement or Treaty?

A. None.

Q. The Witneſs has ſtated, it was an Agreement for a Treaty he was afterwards to procure from the Nabob and the Board; I wiſh him to refreſh his Memory, and to ſay, whether that is what it purports to be, or whether it begins, "I agree upon my Return to procure, &c."

(A Paper was then produced and ſhewn to the Witneſs) and he was aſked;

Q. Is that the Paper you have been ſpeaking of?
A. No: This is not the Paper.

The Managers for the Commons were aſked, where the Paper was they had ſhewn the Witneſs before.

The Managers for the Commons anſwered, that the Paper they ſhewed him before was in a printed Book; but they had now found the Company's Record, from which it would appear that it was guaranteed by the Witneſs, and executed by the Nabob.

Then another Paper was produced, and ſhewn to the Witneſs, who ſaid;

This is the Treaty.

Then the Witneſs read the Titles as follow:

"Copy of an Agreement under the Seal and Signature of Mr. Middleton, to all the Particulars of which he engages to procure a Treaty from the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah and after his Arrival, that he will alſo ſign it."

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 462.

"Copy

" Copy of an Engagement under the Seal of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, and under the Seal and Signature in Engliſh of Mr. Middleton.

Q. Thoſe are the Two Papers you were ſpeaking of: What are the Dates?
A. There are no Dates.——I have an Obſervation to make, if your Lordſhips will permit me. This Second Paper, the Tranſlation, appears to be only a Form; whether he executed it or not is very doubtful: It ſeems to be a Draft of a Treaty; I believe he did not.

Q. If I underſtand you, you ſay, it ſeems to be a Form intended for Execution; but you don't know that it was executed?
A. I do not know that it was; I rather believe it was not.

Q. If it had been executed, ſhould you not in Courſe have tranſmitted it to Calcutta?
A. Undoubtedly: It would have been my Duty ſo to have done.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* Whether you always did tranſmit all Papers to the Council which it was your Duty to tranſmit?
A. I hope your Lordſhips will excuſe my anſwering that Queſtion, as it may tend to criminate myſelf.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, They underſtood the Witneſs, at firſt, to ſay, That he did ſign the Agreement or Treaty himſelf; and now he ſays, the Treaty was not ſigned. They wiſhed, therefore, that he might be aſked, whether he did not now refer to the Treaty ſuppoſed to have been executed by the Nabob?

The Witneſs was aſked;

Q. Whether you do not recollect ſigning your own Part of the Treaty?
A. That conditional Treaty I undoubtedly did ſign, as far as I can recollect; it would not otherwiſe have been ſatisfactory to the Begum.

Q. The ſecond Part of the Treaty, which was to go with the Treaty when executed by the Nabob; do you mean to ſay, you did not execute that? — The laſt you looked at in the Book; ſtated to be under your Signature and Seal?
A. It ſeems to me the ſame Paper; a Continuation of the ſame Paper.

Q. Did you ſign that Paper, or any Part of it?
A. I did.

Q. *(from the Managers.)* We want to identify, that this ſecond Paper is the Part the Nabob was to ſign: If the Evidence is correct, he (the Witneſs) ſigned it, and not the Nabob?

The Houſe directed the Whole of the Paper to be read.

The Witneſs produced Book 26, already delivered in.

Read, the following Extract, beginning at Page 254 of the ſame Book.

" TRANSLATE.

" Copy of an Agreement under the Seal and Signature of Mr. Middleton, to all the Particulars of which he engages to procure a Treaty from the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah, after his Arrival; and that he will alſo ſign it, as follows:

" 1ſt. That whenever the Begum ſhall chuſe to go to Mecca, ſhe ſhall be permitted to go.

" 2d. That when the Nabob ſhall arrive I (Mr. Middleton) will procure ſuitable Allowances to be made to the Ladies of the Zunna *, and the Children of the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, and take Care that they are paid.

* Sic in Orig.

" 3d. That the Feſtivals (Shaddee), and Marriages of the Children of the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah ſhall be at the Diſpoſal of the Begum; whenever ſhe thinks proper ſhe ſhall marry them; and if the Begum ſhall go, ſhe ſhall have the Authority to appoint and ſettle their Marriages; and whatever Money ſhall be neceſſary for theſe Expences ſhall be paid by the Nabob.

" 4th. That the Syer of Coda Gunge and Ally Gunge ſhall be retained by the Begum as heretofore.

" 5th. That I (Mr. Middleton) will, upon the Arrival of the Nabob, procure Vizier Gunge, and the Garden of Sepoydaud Khaun, or their Equivalent, for the Begum.

" 6th. That I (Mr. Middleton) will endeavour to obtain from the Nabob the Sum of 1,15,000 Rupees, on Account of the Purchaſe of Metchee Bohaun, and the Houſe of Sahebjee, and the Fort of the Goſſein, with the Land and Garden, and the Barraderry on the Banks of the Goompty, and Bazar and Garden of the Houſe of Mahnarain, and the Houſe of Beny Perſaud at Lucknow; all of which the Nabob Aſoph al Dowlah has aſſumed Poſſeſſion of.

" 7th. That I will ſettle with the Nabob, the Allowances to be made in ready Money to the Ladies of the Zunana, and others, ſpecified in the following Account:

To

	Per Month.
To the Ladies of the Zunna	13,650
To Meer Huſſein Ally Khaun Behadre	2,000
To Ahmed Ally Khaun	400
To the Doctors	1,000
To Mahmud Javaid	140
To Molavie Madjeed	60
	17,250

" 8th. Upon the Arrival of the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah Bahadre, I will endeavour, with all my Influence, to ſettle the Monthly Allowances of Mohrum Ally Khaun and Mahmud Eltafaut Khaun, &c. the Attendants of the Begum.

" 9th. If the Begum ſhall go to Mecca, ſhe ſhall leave her Mahls and Jaghires to the Begum, the Mother of Aſſuph al Dowlah, who ſhall remit the Revenues thereof to the Burree Begum. No one ſhall prevent her enjoying her Jaghires."

" TRANSLATE.

" Copy of an Engagement under the Seal of the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah, and under the Seal and Signature, in Engliſh, of Mr. Middleton, as follows:

" 1ſt. I, who am the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah Bahadre, do agree that the Jagheers and Gunges, and Monthly Allowance of the Officers and Servants, and of the Ladies of the Zunana, and of thoſe ſpecified in the Account annexed, ſhall be at the Diſpoſal, and under the Management and Authority of the Begum. And no one ſhall oppoſe or prevent it. This I will punctually obſerve. In this Agreement Mr. Middleton and the Engliſh are engaged.

" 2d. Whenever the Begum may chuſe to go to Mecca, I will not oppoſe it.

" 3d. Whenever the Begum ſhall go to Mecca, ſhe ſhall leave her Lands, Jagheers, &c. either in the Care of my Mother or of me; and I will procure Bills for the Amount of their Revenues, and ſend them to her. No one ſhall oppoſe this.

" 4th. The Begum ſhall have Authority over all the Ladies of her Zunana. She ſhall let them remain with me, and not allow them to go any where without my Permiſſion, or keep them with her.

" 5th. The Jagheers Khodah Gunge, Ally Gunge, &c. with the Mahl and Syher, belonging to the Begum, and made over to her, ſhall remain, as heretofore, in her Poſſeſſion.

" Particulars of the Salaries allowed.

	Per Month.
Allowances to the Family of the Boorhaun ul Mulk	10,000
Allowance to Meer Huſſein Ally Khaun	2,000
D° to Ahmed Ally Khaun	400
D° to Doctors	1,000
D° to Molovie Mudjeed	60
	13,460

" 6th. I have paſſed a Bond payable in Six Months, for 1,15,000, for the Price of Houſes, &c. and, God willing, I will pay the Amount when it ſhall become due.

" 7th. I have bought Vizier Gunge, and the Garden of Sepoydaud Khaun in Allahabad, of the Begum, for 10,000 Rupees; and, God willing, I will pay the Amount in Six Months.

" 8th. The Begum has Authority over the Ladies and Attendants of the Zunana. Neither myſelf, nor any one elſe, will oppoſe it.

" 9th. The Begum (my Grandmother) ſhall have the Authority in all Feſtivals, and in the Marriages of the Children of the late Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, and, with the Conſent of my Mother and myſelf, ſhall regulate them, excepting in the Feſtivals (Shâdee) the Authority is mine.

" The Engliſh are Guarantees to the above Engagements ſo long as the Begum ſhall exiſt."

Then the Witneſs was aſked;

Q. What is the Manner of the Nabob executing a Treaty, or any other Inſtrument?
A. His Seal is affixed to it.

Q. Then, do you mean to ſay, there was no Seal affixed to this Treaty by the Nabob?
A. I do not know there was.

Q. Was your Name ever put to that Inſtrument?
A. This is a Tranſlate; no Doubt my Name was put to the original Perſian Paper.

Q. Was

Q. Was it put to the First or Second Paper?
A. I don't recollect.

The House observed, there was One Part which Part purported to be a Treaty executed; and the Witness had been asked, whether he enough recollected it, to say, whether his Name was put to the Bottom of that Paper.

The Managers for the Commons stated, that the Witness had said he put his Name to the First Paper, which was a Proposal to obtain a Treaty; and they wished to know, whether he put it to the Second Paper.

Before the Answer to this Question was taken down, the Witness was directed to recollect himself:

Then the Witness was asked,

Q. What did you say concerning the Second Paper?
A. All I recollect is, that the first was a Conditional Paper, in which I was engaged to procure a Treaty in that Form: And I have no Recollection of the Second Paper.

Q. What was the Paper which you said you have no Recollection of?
A. The Second Paper, which purports to be a Treaty executed by the Nabob and myself, I have no Recollection of.

The last Question and Answer were read by the Clerk:—And then the Whole of the Evidence given by the Witness this Day was read by the Clerk.

Then the following Question was put to the Witness:

Q. Whether, upon your Recollection, you mean to say, that the Second Paper was a Draught of the Treaty; or, whether it was a Part of the same Paper which you admit to have signed and executed?

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Before the Answer to that Question is taken down, I wish the Witness to be asked, whether he is apprised that there are Variations between the one Paper and the other?
A. No; I have not observed them.

Q. Let him consider it a Moment, and look at it; as it struck me that less is granted by the Second than is stipulated by the First. Have you compared the Treaties?
A. I have.

Q. Do you still continue to say, according to your Memory, that the last Treaty was not actually executed, but was intended to be a Form to be executed?
A. That was the Impression upon my Mind;—it is a great many Years ago;—but I cannot be positive whether I am right or not.

Q. In what Sense do you use the Words, that the Second Paper was a Part of the First, as there are Variations between them?
A. It seems to me to be the Form of the Treaty which the Nabob was to execute; which Treaty I engaged with the Begum to procure from the Nabob.

Q. Have you, or have you not, any Recollection how that Treaty, prepared by you, or somebody else, for the Nabob's Execution, came to be different from that which you engaged to prevail upon the Nabob to execute?
A. I have no Recollection whatever of that.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Do I understand you to say this; That what you call the First Part of the Paper, was an Engagement for a Treaty; and that the Second Part of the Paper was added to that First Part, as it were a Form of that Treaty to be executed: If that is what you mean to say, I then wish to know, whether, if it shall appear by the Book that there is a Variation in the Substance and Sense of the Two, you mean to say, the First was added to the Second with that View? Was it added upon the same Paper, or in what manner?
A. Upon the same Paper, as far as I recollect.

Q. If there were substantial Variations, do you suppose that they were added?
A. I suppose it to have been the Form of the Treaty at the Foot of the Agreement; I cannot account for the Variations.

Q. Do you think now, it could be a Draft of the Agreement which you had undertaken to procure from the Nabob, considering there is so capital a Variation, as a flat Refusal to that which you agree to obtain: Do you know any Reason for that Variation?
A. No; I do not.

Q. Explain

Q. Explain how a Treaty, with ſuch a Variation as that, could be deemed the Treaty you had engaged to procure the Nabob to execute?

A. The Firſt Part I recollect perfectly well, the Conditional Part: I have no Recollection whatever of the Second Part; and I take it for granted, it was the Form of the Treaty that was to be executed by the Nabob.

Q. Have you any Recollection of the Diſtance of Time between your executing the Firſt, and your drawing out the Second; between the ſubſequent Paper being added to the former Paper?

A. I cannot ſpeak to that: I ſuppoſe it was upon that Paper at the Time the Conditional Agreement was delivered to the Begum; at the Time I delivered that Conditional Agreement to her.

Q. To the Begum?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you ſuppoſe the Treaty was upon the Conditional Agreement you delivered to the Begum?

A. Yes; I ſhould ſuppoſe it was.

Q. Tell me if I underſtand you right. The Queſtion was; Whether there was any Diſtance of Time, which you can recollect, between the ſubſequent Paper, the Treaty with the Nabob, being added to the former Paper, and the Execution of that former Paper. I underſtand you to ſay, you ſuppoſe it was upon the Paper at the Time the Conditional Agreement was delivered to the Begum?

A. Yes.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* I underſtand you to have ſaid, that the expreſs Purpoſe, or a conſiderable Part of the Motive, for which you was ſent to Fyzabad, was to ſettle the Difference between the Nabob and the Begum?

A. Yes.

Q. From whom had you Inſtructions?

A. I had no Inſtructions.

Q. By whom was you ſent?

A. I went of my own Accord; and my Reaſon for doing ſo was, that the Begum had announced her Intention of ſetting out from Delhi, to quit the Nabob's Dominions altogether. I went to Lucknow myſelf; the Nabob was abſent upon a Hunting Party at a conſiderable Diſtance from the Capital, and I did conceive there was Time enough to apply to him ſo as to prevent the Begum from ſetting out.

Q. Did you ſtate to the Begum that that was the Object of your Journey to Fyzabad?

A. No doubt I did; for it was the only Object of my Journey to Fyzabad.

Q. Did you ſtate to the Begum that this was a Journey undertaken of your own Accord, without any particular Inſtructions from the Government at Calcutta?

A. I cannot venture to ſay that I did; but it is moſt probable that I did.

Q. I underſtand you to ſay, that the Begum would not have been ſatisfied unleſs your Signature had been put to this Treaty; to the Promiſe to her?

A. I conceive ſhe would not.

Q. Do you ſuppoſe her Satisfaction would have been compleat, if ſhe had thought you went up merely as an Individual, or if ſhe had not thought you were inveſted with the Powers of the Engliſh Government?

A. I conceive it would at leaſt have ſatisfied her for a Time. My Agreement with her was only, that I would uſe my Influence to obtain Terms with the Nabob; if it was ineffectual, ſhe ſtill was at Liberty to have left the Nabob's Country, as ſhe intended before.

Q. You have not anſwered my Queſtion. My Queſtion was not, whether ſhe would have been ſatisfied with you as Mr. Middleton; but whether ſhe would have been ſatisfied if ſhe had not thought you acted under the Authority, and as Agent of the Engliſh Government?

A. I do not apprehend ſhe could have conſidered me as acting by the Authority of the Government.

Q. Whether you conſidered the Paper as one Paper or two Papers. Were they tranſmitted to Calcutta. Was there any Guarantee returned from you to the Governor and Council at Calcutta?

A. No, there was not.

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired a Letter of the 18th of March 1778, from Mr. Haſtings to the Bhow Begum, might be read.

The ſame was read from Book 90, intituled, "Bengal Public Perſian Correſpondence," already delivered in; beginning at Page 16 of the ſame Book.

"To

" To the Bhow Bhegum.

" Written 18th March 1778.

" I have been favoured with your Letter (Vide N° 16*.) and underſtand the Contents. I have alſo heard a particular Account of your Situation from your Vackeel, Akbur Ally Khan. It gives me great Concern to learn that you have experienced ſo much Trouble and Moleſtation from the evil Deſigns of bad Men. I formerly wrote to Mr. Middleton on this Subject, and have now repeated my Directions to him, that he will pay a particular Attention to all your Commands, and prevent, to the utmoſt of his Power, either of himſelf, or by Application to the Nabob, any Trouble being given you in future; and I have no Doubt but you will find that Gentleman ever ready to promote your Intereſt and Happineſs.

* Sic in Orig. —Reference to the Letter alluded to.

" Your Highneſs is probably unacquainted with the Difficulties and Dangers neceſſarily attendant on ſo long a Voyage as you propoſe to make, particularly to Women. You, being totally unexperienced in ſuch Matters, cannot poſſibly imagine even a ſmall Part of them: Should you, notwithſtanding, ſtill continue determined, and the Nabob conſents thereto, on which Subject I have likewiſe directed Mr. Middleton to apply to him, I beg you will inform me ſome Months before you propoſe to ſet off, that I may procure every poſſible Accommodation for you. Your Vackeel, Akbur Ally Khan now returns to you, and will deliver you this Letter. For the Reſt, knowing me ever anxious to hear of your Welfare, let me frequently have that Pleaſure.

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Do you recollect ſuch a Letter as that?

A. The Letter is to the Begum;—I never recollect having ſeen a Copy or Tranſcript of it, or hearing of it till now.

Q. Do you now ſuppoſe it probable, that if Mr. Haſtings had not given you any ſuch Inſtructions, that Letter you have heard read would have been written?

A. I ſhould ſuppoſe not; the Letter ſeems to refer merely to the Concerns of the Bow Begum.

Q. Having ſaid, that the Form of the Treaty was annexed to it at the Time your Engagement was given to the Begum, do you think, upon your Recollection, it was probable you ſhould have given her an Engagement to prevail upon the Nabob to make a Treaty with her upon certain Terms, and have annexed to that Agreement a Treaty contrary to thoſe Terms contained in the Firſt Engagement?

A. I have no other Recollection upon the Subject than what I have communicated to your Lordſhips; and I hope for your Lordſhips Indulgence, conſidering it is full Ten Years ſince that Tranſaction happened, and I never have refreſhed my Memory by peruſing any Paper upon the Subject ſince.

Q. To be ſure it is a great Diſtance of Time: But, having now ſeen the Papers, do you think you could have made an Agreement to obtain a Treaty in her Favour from the Nabob, that was eſſentially different from that Treaty propoſed to be executed by the Nabob: Whether you now think it probable, that could have been the Treaty which you ſhewed her, as an Execution of the Promiſe you then made her?

No Anſwer.

Q. Have you looked over thoſe Papers?

A. I have.

Q. Do you think it probable, under all thoſe Circumſtances, you ſhould have delivered that Paper to the Begum, unleſs it had been actually ſigned by the Nabob?

A. This Letter is from the Bow Begum, it ſeems to refer intirely to the Treaty between her and her Son, and to have no Reference that I perceive to the Elder Begum.

Q. The Queſtion is not upon the Interpretation of the Letter ſhewn you, but whether upon the Obſervations you have had an Opportunity to make upon the Paper, you would have carried that Paper to the Begum, if it had not been previouſly executed by the Nabob?

A. I cannot account for the Difference, conſidering it as the Draft of a Treaty to be executed; I cannot account for the Difference between that and the Articles of my Conditions with the Begums.

Q. The Queſtion is, Do you or do you not think it probable that that Treaty muſt have been executed before you delivered it to the Begum?

A. I cannot give any other Explanation of the Matter than I have already ſubmitted to your Lordſhips.

Q. Whether you have attended to the Circumſtance of the Nabob's ſaying, I have given my Bond for the Money, in the Second Paper?

A. I have, and ſee it is ſo ſtated.

Q. When

Q. When you gave Minutes to Major Scott for Mr. Haſtings' Defence, did you bring this Subject to your Recollect.on?

A. I did not; I do not recollect there is any Thing upon the Subject in the Memorandums I gave to Major Scott.

The Managers for the Commons ſaid, They would not preſs this Matter further, but proceeed to aſk a few Queſtions relative to the Authority which the Witneſs diſclaimed having received from the Board.—That they did not think it neceſſary to eſtabliſh that he had Authority from the Board; but they would aſk, whether the Witneſs did not, in a Letter of the 27th of January 1778, written by him to the Board, from Fyzabad, at the Time he was Reſident there, expreſs himſelf thus:

The following Paſſage was read to the Witneſs:

"I apprehend there will be no Impropriety in my becoming a Surety for their Performance; in which Caſe the direct Interpoſition of the Honourable Board will not be neceſſary: But if, on the contrary, he ſhould refuſe his Concurrence, I beg Leave, with humble Submiſſion, to ſuggeſt the Neceſſity of an immediate Exertion of their Influence to ſecure to the Begum whatever they may be pleaſed to conſider her undiſputed Rights; when I doubt not I ſhall be able to prevail upon her to relinquiſh her Deſign of a Pilgrimage to Korbulla altogether, though at preſent ſhe declares her Intention of proſecuting it at the Expiration of Two or Three Months, even admitting her Requiſitions are complied with."

The the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Do you remember any Thing of that Sort?

A. I cannot remember the particular Paſſage. I certainly wrote Letters from Fyzabad at the Time: I wiſh to refer to them.

Q. Whether you ever received any Letter from Mr. Haſtings, or the Council, prohibiting your becoming Guarantee?

A. I did not; if I did receive any they certainly will appear upon the Minutes.

Q. *(by Counſel.)* Whether you recollect being referred to by the Honourable Committee of Managers to thoſe Papers, to refreſh your Memory; and if you were ſo referred to thoſe Papers, did you look at them?

A. I do not remember being referred by the Honourable Managers to thoſe Papers, nor had I any Means of referring to them, as all my Papers were laid before the Houſe of Commons, where they now are.

Q. Whether you know of any Inſtance of a Treaty being actually executed without bearing a Date, during the Time you were in India?

A. I cannot ſay that I remember any Inſtance of that Sort.

Q. (*by the Managers.*) The Witneſs has been aſked, whether he recollects any Inſtance of a Treaty ſigned without a Date; I would aſk, Whether the Engagement to procure the Treaty which he ſigned, has a Date to it?

A. It does not appear to have any Date.

Q. Whether you do not remember being examined to this Treaty of 1778, at the India Houſe, when the Committee appointed to draw up the Articles of Impeachment, ſat there?

A. I do not recollect being particularly examined to this Treaty.

Q. Do you remember being examined at all at that Time at the India Houſe?

A. I was examined at the India Houſe certainly. I recollect that.

Q. Do you not recollect particular Paſſages of your Letters and Correſpondence at this Time; Paſſages of the Treaty, and the concluding Words, "the Engliſh are Guarantees to the above Engagement as long as the Begum ſhall exiſt," being read to you at the India Houſe?

A. I do not recollect any particular Examination upon the Subject.

Q. Do you not particularly recollect Mr. Anſtruther examining you to this Subject at the India Houſe.

A. I do not recollect by whom I was examined?

Q. Do you remember being examined by any Body as to the Subject?

A. I do not.

Q. Whether you do not recollect my reading to you the Paſſage I have juſt ſtated, in the Secret Committee appointed to conduct the Impeachment againſt Warren Haſtings?

A. I do recollect being examined by Mr. Adam upon the Subject in the Committee in the Houſe of Commons. I cannot remember the particular Queſtions; but I referred to my Correſpondence in the Poſſeſſion of the Managers.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Do you recollect the Begum complaining of the Variations, at the Time you preſented the Engagement for the Treaty to her?

A. I have not a clear Recollection of the Matter at ſo great a Diſtance of Time.

Q. At what Time was this Tranſaction between you and the Begum?

A. In the Year 1778.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Whether you tranſmitted all the Papers to Calcutta?

A. I beg not to anſwer that Queſtion.

Q. Whether you ever had any, and what, and whoſe Directions, not to tranſmit any, and what Papers to Calcutta?

A. None.

Q. I mean to the Government at Calcutta?

A. None.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) You ſay, you entered into an Engagement to procure a Treaty with the Nabob upon certain Conditions; I wiſh to aſk, ſince your Recollection is not perfect as to Particulars, whether it does not ſerve you thus far, to recollect, whether that Negociation with the Nabob ſucceeded or failed?

A. As far as my Recollection ſerves me, I underſtand that it failed; but I ſpeak upon very imperfect Recollection of the Tranſaction.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Do exert your Recollection to the utmoſt before this Evidence is cloſed, and conſider whether you, who were employed in many important Negociations, can have any Negociation of great Conſequence ſo obliterated from your Memory, as not to know what the Event of it was. I don't aſk as to the Particulars of it; but whether it did ſucceed wholly, or in Part, or totally failed. Whether it is poſſible that the Event of ſuch a Negociation as this ſhould eſcape your Memory?

A. It is poſſible; for it really does eſcape my Memory.

Q. Do you remember what Steps you took, if any, in Conſequence of the Agreement you entered into with the Begum, towards getting the Treaty executed by the Nabob?

A. I take it for granted, when I met with the Nabob, I uſed every Means in my Power to procure the Treaty from him in the Terms of the conditional Agreement I had given to the Begum.

Q. Whether you tranſmitted at any Time, in any Shape, and in any Manner, any Account to Calcutta, either to the Governor General, or to the Governor General and Council, of the Negociation you had entered into, and which you conceived to be a Part of your official Duty to enter into?

A. To the beſt of my Recollection I did. I wrote to the Governor and Council upon it.

Q. Having ſtated, that you did not, to the beſt of your Recollection, tranſmit this Treaty, either the one which you remember to have ſigned, or the other which you do not recollect to have been executed; whether any, or what Diſſatisfaction upon the Part of the Government, was at any Time conveyed to you for ſuch Neglect of Duty, when that Neglect became apparent from the Communication made ſubſequently by Mr. Purling? Whether the Government did at any Time expreſs Diſſatisfaction to you for not having made this Communication?

A. No; I do not recollect they did.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Jovis, 24° *Aprilis* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons they might proceed with their Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons informed the Houſe, they would now proceed with further Evidence of the Guarantee to the Princeſſes of Oude, and of their Friendſhip with the Eaſt India Company, contained in the Correſpondence between Mr. Purling, the Reſident at the Court of Oude, and the Government at Calcutta.

Then Mr. ROBERT HUDSON was again called in; and produced Book 26, intituled, "Bengal Secret Council, 29th February to 24th July 1780."

Read, the following Extract of Appendix to a Conſultation of the 22d June 1780, beginning at Page 529 of the ſame Book.

"Fort William, the 22d of June 1780.

"At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident. Secret Dept. Thurſday.

Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on a Viſit to the different Stations of the Army.

"TRANSLATE.

"Letter from the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah to Mr. C. Purling.

"I have received your Letter.—You write, that you informed the Council, in the Month of Maug, that I had not Sources in my Country, and my Expences were very great; and that you have received an Anſwer from the Council, that whatever Balance was due at the End of the Year, I ſhould pay; and that the Sum 1,06,62,000 Rupees, which were granted as Aſſets, ſhould ſuffer no Diminution; nor will the Gentlemen of the Council allow One Rupee; but that, agreeable to the Account Particulars, the Balance of 1,36,62,188 : 12 muſt be aſſigned.

"I have in no Reſpect failed in my Compliance with the Pleaſure of the Council, or my Friendſhip for the Company, as far as I have had Ability. And I have acquainted you very fully with the State of my Country, and the Sources of the Revenue: And I have even put a Stop to the Expences of my Table, and the Animals which I ought to keep; and the Jagheers of my Servants and Attendants; and there are Aſſets of 98,98,375. After this, I wrote the Jagheers of my Grandmother and my Mother, and of the Nabob Sallar Jung, and of my Family, and the Sons of my Uncle Mirza Alla Khan, which were granted them for their Livelihood; and they amounted to the Sum of 7,63,625 Rupees. By this Means has the Buſineſs been done. But they all poſſeſs Engagements. And I have made over in Aſſignment the Expences of my Table, which I have put a Stop to with this View, that the Gentlemen of the Council, underſtanding my diſtreſſed Situation, would ſhew me their Friendſhip. I at firſt oppoſed the aſſigning the Jagheers of my Grandmother and Mother, and my Uncle. Now that the Council have, upon ſuch a Repreſentation of my Diſtreſs, written, that there ſhall not be leſs Aſſignments than 1,06,62,000 Rupees, and that the Balance of 1,36,62,188 muſt be given, I am acquainted with the Particulars of the 1,36,62,188. If the Gentlemen of the Council, or you, Sir, will inform yourſelves from the Accounts, you will find, it is not to be obtained. Whatever, in Juſtice, can be obtained from the Accounts, have been granted; but at this Time Aſſignments are demanded of me. The Buſineſs of the World is eaſy, and paſſes away; and the Gentlemen of the Council ſhould, in every Thing that is juſt, be my Guardians and my Friends. I do not put my Life in Competition with Friendſhip. Whatever Aſſets were in the Country, with even my Table, my Animals, the Jagheers of my Servants and Attendants, are granted in Aſſignments, amounting to 98,98,375 Rupees: Beſides theſe, the Jagheers of my Grandmother, Mother, and my Uncles, the Nabobs Mirza Allee and Sallar Jung, which were granted them for their Maintenance, are at your Diſpoſal. If the Council have directed you to attach them, do it. In the

Country

Country no further Sources remain, and I have no Means, for I have not a Subſiſtence. Alas! I have Elephants, Horſes, and Houſes; if they will ſerve the Purpoſe of my Friends, they are ready for them; the Country and the Aumils are at Hand; wherever Aſſets can be found, take them—I do not oppoſe it—In this Situation I am in Want of a daily Subſiſtence—I feed upon the Hope and Expectation of Tranquillity—Upon this the Council's Order is arrived.—Whatever proceeds from Friendſhip is good—my Situation is no Way concealed—How long ſhall I dwell upon my Misfortunes!——I have written ſufficient."

Read, from the ſame Book, Page 67, Extract of a Conſultation of the 3d of April 1780.

" Fort William, 3d April 1780.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Philip Francis,
Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

" To Mr. Purling.

" Sir,

" With reſpect to the Jagheers, we are not competent to judge of the Propriety of retaining or yielding them back to their Proprietors, not knowing who they are; and we deſire that you will afford us every Information in your Power relative to this Point (*a*).

" We are, &c.

[Signed at the End of the Conſultation]

Warren Haſtings,
Philip Francis,
Edward Wheler."

Read, from Page 490 of the ſame Book, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 22d June 1780.

" Fort William, the 22d June 1780.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Philip Francis,
Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

" Read the following Letter from the Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

§ (" Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

" I have been duly honoured with your Letter of the 3d inſtant, requiring an additional Grant " of 30,00,18,812 Rupees, in Tunkaws, from his Excellency the Vizier, and declaring your Diſ- " approval of the Remiſſion of any Part of the Aſſignments already granted; on the contrary, that " if any of the Jagheers were reſtored, other Aſſignments of equal Value and Security are to be taken " in their Stead. Likewiſe deſiring every Information relative to the Jagheers.") §

☞ " [The Account, Particulars of the Jagheers, I have the Honour to encloſe, with ſuch Remarks and Papers annexed to them, as, I hope, will prove fully explanatory on the Points you require Information on. I have nothing to add, but that no One has advanced a Claim to an Exemption, but thoſe obſerved upon in the Account. The Nabob certainly exerts an abſolute Authority, as to the continuing or reſuming of every private Jagheer.]

§ (" Immediately after the Arrival of the Board's abovementioned Orders, I addreſſed his Excel- " lency in the encloſed Letter marked A, which is a Tranſlate, and received an Anſwer, of which " I forward Copy of the Perſian and Tranſlate B. In conſequence of his Excellency's Orders, the " encloſed Abſtract of the whole Amount of his Finances and Diſburſements was prepared, and " would have been forwarded to you long ere this; but the Time it has unavoidably taken to " arrange it for your Inſpection will, I hope, prove a ſatisfactory Apology for the Delay; ſuch " Remarks as are explanatory of the Account I have annexed to it.

" It is hardly neceſſary to obſerve, that the Deductions allowed on Account of the Drought " are the chief Cauſe of the Nabob's preſent Diſtreſs, as will be plainly ſeen by the Second Head " of the Abſtract.

" The Board will perceive in my Letter to his Excellency the Vizier, that I have deſired he will " prohibit the ſeveral Aumils from paying any further Sums to the private Tuncawdars, whoſe " Claims, according to the Abſtract, amount to R^s 26,04,671 : 9. This Sum, which I regarded " as the only Source capable of furniſhing new Aſſignments, includes many of the Nabob's public " Eſtabliſhments, ſome Tuncaws granted for the Pay of his private Debts, and others for the " Arrears due to his Servants. The greater Part of this Sum has been paid, and ſome Part will

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXVI.

" unavoidably

" unavoidably remain in Balance; nor do I think, that in caſe a Stop was put to the further Re-
" ceipts of theſe Tuncawdars, there would be obtained Three Lacks of Rupees.—In ſhort, as I
" believe this Account contains a true Repreſentation of the State of the Nabob's Finances; and
" as his private Expences are much circumſcribed, in compariſon with former Periods, it does
" not appear to me poſſible that any further Expectations can be anſwered in the preſent Year.

" Having given my Opinion upon the Honourable Board's Requiſition for further Tunkaws, as
" far as I could judge from the Abſtract, and the beſt Information I could obtain, I beg your In-
" dulgence while I lay before you the following Obſervations.

" Under the Head of Mootina, or Expences of Troops ſtationed with the Aumils for the Pur-
" poſe of enforcing the Payment of the Revenues, there appears a Sum of 53 Lacks of Rupees.
" Tho' from the natural State of this Country, where the Zemindars take immediate Advantage
" of every Relaxation in the Government, and continually avail themſelves of the Removal of
" the Forces from their Diſtricts, by raiſing Troops of their own, building Forts, and withholding
" their Rents, ſuch a Charge is always neceſſary, yet the Amount of it here ſeems very exorbitant;
" and the Purpoſe for which theſe Sums are allowed appears not to be anſwered, becauſe when-
" ever the Aumils are preſſed, they have always Recourſe to the Honourable Company's Battalions.
" Some Regulations might be made to put theſe Forces on a reſpectable Footing, anſwer all the
" Ends of this Government, and ſave a conſiderable Sum of Money. This, I imagine, might be
" accompliſhed in the enſuing Year; the preſent is too far advanced to admit of a new Regulation.

" As the Firſt Object muſt ever be, to ſecure ſufficient Sums in the Beginning to anſwer the
" Exigencies of the whole Year, it appears neceſſary, that the Eſtimate, having been ſubmitted to
" the Honourable Board, ſhould be returned with ſuch a Letter through him to his Excellency,
" as to ſhew him that the Reſident has no Authority to diſpenſe with any Part of it, and that he acts
" in ſuch Demands agreeable to their Injunctions. This Letter ſhould at leaſt be written a Month
" before the Concluſion of the old Year, that private Tunkawdars may be totally excluded till the
" Honourable Company's Claims are ſatisfied. This has occurred to me from the Conviction,
" which the Nabob in all his Converſations appeared to have, that the Honourable Board would,
" upon his Repreſentation, diſmiſs the Eſtabliſhments paid by Mr. Wombwell. In this Idea, his
" Excellency would not hear of another Demand, until he ſhould receive the Honourable Board's
" Anſwer to his Refuſal. The Change in the Reſident was a Delay of a Month and a Half in ob-
" taining the additional Tuncaws. The Reference afterwards to your Honourable Board, waiting
" the Reply, and then ſettling the Agreements and Accounts with the Aumils, loſt full Five
" Months of the Year. The Kerreef Harveſt, ſmall as it was, owing to the Drought, was loſt;
" and the realizing of the Company's Tuncaws upon a Collection of Eight Months depended
" on a Six Months Source, the Rubbee Harveſt. Another peculiar though unavoidable Circum-
" ſtance has occurred to oppoſe my ſtanding in ſo fair a Light in my Collections as my Prede-
" ceſſors, and that is, that my Predeceſſors were allowed to keep their Accounts till the Collec-
" tions of the Month were cloſed, which did not happen till a Month after: They did not cloſe
" their Collections and ſend away their Accounts at the End of the Month; this makes their
" Collections in the Accounts appear uniform, while mine, under the late Regulation, are ſent
" away at the End of each Month, and the Kiſts having, from invariable Cuſtom, never been
" paid till near the End of the enſuing, my Accounts muſt always have a Balance of a whole Kiſt.

" I have the Honour to ſubmit to your Honourable Board an Eſtimate of the Receipts and Diſ-
" burſements of my Treaſury for the paſt Seven Months of the Year. The Troops are all paid
" up to the preſent Time, and I calculate, that the Amount required for the neceſſary Diſburſe-
" ments of the Remainder of the Year, excluſive of all Contingencies, will be about 30 Lacks
" of Rupees.—This is about the Sum I expect will be realized in the Courſe of the abovementioned
" Period, after deducting the Batta between Fyzabad 16 Sun Sicca Rupees and the ſeveral
" Species which are collected from the Country. The Eſtimate of 30 Lacks I cannot declare to
" be juſt, becauſe the Paymaſters have not furniſhed me with their Accounts Current with the
" Military Paymaſter General, to the preſent Period, which alone could ſerve me in my Calcula-
" tion. The Want of theſe Accounts prevents my keeping my own with the Regularity I could
" wiſh.

" Lucknow,
" 30th April 1780.

I have the Honour, &c. &c.
(Signed) C. Purling."

" Ordered, That the Incloſures in the above Letter be entered after the Conſultation (*a*)."

§

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXVII.

EXTRACT OF BENGAL SECRET CONSULTATIONS, the 22d June 1780.

Enclosure in a Letter from Mr. Purling, Resident at the Court of the Vizier, dated 22d May 1780.

ACCOUNT Particulars of the Jagheers in the Vizier's Dominions, exclusive of the Maulguzarry Lands.

Names of the Places granted as Jagheers.	Names of the Jagheerdars.	Time when granted.	Amount Jumma of each Place.	Jumma of the Grant of each Jagheerdar.	Jagheers resumed and concluded in the Cabooleats of the Aumils.	Amount of Jagheers assigned by the Nabob for the Honourable Company's Claims.	Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have not passed their Bonds and Kistibunds.	Balance or Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have passed their Bonds and Kistibunds.	REMARKS.
Deveey Jangheerabad —	Nabob Salar Jung, and Nabob Mirza Ally Cawn —	Old Grant	72,212 10 —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	Nabob Salar Jung.—This and the Four following Heads are the Jagheers of his Excellency the Vizier's Family, who consider themselves exempt from the Tax to be paid in the present Year, of One Half of the Jumma which his Excellency put upon them; for he urged the doing of it at the Time he made out the last Tuncaw for 38 Lacks of Rupees. The Nabob Mirza Ally Khaun is dead; but the Share of the Jagheer for 6,87,251. 10. which the Nabob had, is continued to his Widow and Family.
Russoolabad — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	64,284 — —						
Beejnor — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	1,20,753 — —						
Sehdowr — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	1,05,000 — —						
Jullolur Hasimun —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	1,05,000 — —						
Summuspore — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	20,082 — —						
Futtypore, Hussoowah, &c. of Chucklah Coorah —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	4,00,000 — —						
Dehaud Syheeb —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	40,000 — —						
Sustrah — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	887 — —						
Mobarraze Nuggur —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	6,132 — —						
Bullia Govind — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	1,201 — —						
Toffeer Orangabad —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	1,700 — —						
			9,37,251 10 —						
Deduct what has been attached by the present Nabob Assoph ul Dowlah in 1186 — —			2,50,000 — —						
				6,87,251 10 —	— —	3,43,625 13 —	3,43,625 13 —	— —	
Mugglasee — —	Ahmed Ally Cawn, and Ally Cooley Cawn — —	in 1182 —	24,225 — —						Ahmed Ally Cawn and Ally Korly Khaun are two Sons of the Nabob Mirza Ally Khaun, and claim an Exemption from this Tax of Half Amount of the Jumma, under the Strength of the abovementioned Letter to their Father and Uncle.
Jullot Gunge — —	Ditto — Ditto —	1183 —	23,992 — —						
Tuppeh Cumyaur —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	12,000 — —						
Tuppeh Mugglasee —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	3,743 — —						
				63,960 — —	— —	31,980 — —	31,980 — —	— —	
Ally Gunge — —	Nabob Sujah ul Dowla's Mother — —	Old Grant	90,000 — —						The Bunee Begum, or Mother of the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, possesses two Engagements; one of the Nabob Assoph ul Dowlah, and the other of Mr. Middleton, that the Jagheers shall remain to her unmolested;—and declare, that nothing but absolute Force shall make her give up any Part of the Jumma, since some of the Terms of her Engagements are uncomplied with.—Translates of these come inclosed No 3 and 4.
Dunghouse — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	92,000 — —						
Rehimnagur — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	3,822 — —						
Dehand of Jaffier Jaur Cawn's Jagheer — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	5,400 — —						
				1,91,222 — —	— —	95,611 — —	95,611 — —	— —	
Joyyes, &c. — —	Nabob Assoph ul Dowla's Mother — —	Ditto —	4,47,200 — —						The Bow Begum, or Wife of the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, has exhibited two Engagements; one under the Seal of his Excellency the Vizier Assoph ul Dowlah, and the other signed by Mr. Briftow:—wherein they promise an unmolested Possession to the Begum of her Jagheers and Gunges:—And therefore refuses to allow of the Taxation.—She also has a full Acquittance from his Excellency the Nabob Assoph ul Dowlah, from which it appears, that his Excellency had made a Demand upon his Mother for his Inheritance.—These are contained in No 5, 6, 7.
Tundah — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	47,616 — —						
Sehudgur — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	14,000 — —						
Ismail Gunge — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	10,000 — —						
Benny Gunge — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	6,000 — —						
Nabob Gunge and Syher —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	60,000 — —						
				5,84,816 — —	— —	2,92,408 — —	2,92,408 — —		
	Carried forward —		— —	15,27,249 10 —	— —	7,63,624 13 —	7,63,624 13 —		

Names of the Places granted as Jagheers.	Names of the Jagheerdars.	Time when granted.	Amount of each Place.	Jumma of the Grant of each Jagheerdar.	Jagheers resumed, and included in the Cabooleats of the Aumils.	Amount of Jagheers assigned by the Nabob for the Honourable Company's Claims.	Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have not passed their Bonds and Kistibunds.	Balance, or Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have passed their Bonds and Kistibunds.	REMARKS.
	Brought forward —	—	— —	15,27,249 10 —	— —	7,63,624 13 —	7,63,624 13 —		
Dehand Inhunna — —	Khahun Cawn, and Hungun Cawn — —	Old Grant	1,700 2 —						
Ditto — — —	Ditto — Ditto —	in 1184	11,000 — —						
Kawrid Puchrumrot — —	Ditto — Ditto —	in 1183	14,055 — —						
Mujgong — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	7,000 — —						
Dehaud Bareily — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	4,963 — —						
Dincurpore Sunha — —	Ditto — Ditto —	in 1184	983 12 6						
Rampore, &c. — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	14,437 — —						
				54,138 14 6	— —	36,862 5 6	— —	36,862 5 6	Mirza Huſſein Reza Khan.—This and all the following Jagheerdars included under the laſt Head, as having paſſed their Bonds and Kiſtbundees, have been taxed Two Thirds of the Amount Jumma of their Jagheers.
Dehaud Kaucory — —	Mirza Huſſein Reza Cawn —	Old Grant	700 — —						
Burtipore — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	19,992 13 6						
Dehaud Tootch Hurry —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	4,007 — —						
				24,699 13 6	— —	16,466 9 —	— —	16,466 9 —	
Dehaund Manickpore —	Iſſope Cawn Kandarree —	Old Grant	— —	4,015 — —	— —	2,061 5 6	— —	2,061 5 6	
Dehand Mohaun — —	Cauzeh Nehama Tulla —	in 1183	— —	4,031 13 —	— —	2,000 — —	— —	2 000 — —	
Jummoo — —	Rajah Bowanny Sing —	Ditto	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Pertaub Gunge — —	Rajah Micoo Sing —	in 1184	13,202 — —						
Mohun Gudge Feel Putchrumrot	Ditto — Ditto —	in 1187	14,000 — —						
Toffeer, an Increaſe found by the Aumil — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	2,138 5 6						
Movlara — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	48,450 — —						
				77,790 5 6	— —	51,091 8 —	— —	51,091 8 —	
Hurdohee Cutwarra —	Rajah Mootee Sing —	in 1183	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Hurdohiz — —	Rajah Nawauz Sing —	Ditto	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Buſſorry — —	Rajah Suba Sing —	Ditto	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Surazepore — —	Rajah Ullah Sing —	Ditto	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Bedlong — —	Rajah Nuddee Sing —	Ditto	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Chucklah Ittawa Dehand —	Huſſein Attah Cawn —	Ditto	— —	5,668 — —	— —	3,778 11 —	— —	3,778 11 —	
Dehand Mona — —	Roy Hoolaus Roy —	in 1184	9,000 — —						
Corah — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	3,500 — —						
				12,500 — —	— —	8,333 5 —	— —	8,333 5 —	
Dehand Lucknow — —	Moonſhee Bauſſid — —	in 1183	— —	400 — —	— —	266 11 —	— —	266 11 —	
Kheway — —	Khaunneh Allum — —	Old Grant	72,000 — —						
Allahabad — —	Ditto — Ditto —	in 1183	3,000 — —						
				75,000 — —	— —	50,000 — —	— —	50,000 — —	
Anuroyah — —	Aukbaul ul Dowlah —	in 1184	— —	1,00,000 — —	— —	66,666 11 —	— —	66,666 11 —	Bundeh Ally Khaun, being a Relation of the Naoob's, he would have him exempted from the Tax —He is therefore omitted.
Baſſimugger — —	Bundeh Ally Cawn —	Old Grant	10,000 — —						
Ametty — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	3,000 — —						
				13,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	Mahaboob Ally Khaun.—The Diſtrict in which this Jagheerdar's Lands were included, has been thrown into much Confuſion by the Miſmanagement of New Aumils, whom his Excellency choſe to
	Carried forward —	—	— —	20,78,493 8 6	— —	11,21,151 15 —	7,63,624 13 —	3,57,527 2 —	

Names of the Places granted as Jagheers.	Names of the Jagheerdars.	Time when granted.	Amount of each Place.	Jumma of the Grant of each Jagheerdar.	Jagheers resumed, included in the Cabooleats of the Aumils.	Amount of Jagheers assigned by the Nabob for the Honourable Company's Claims.	Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have not passed their Bonds and Kistibunds.	Balance or Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have passed their Bonds and Kistibunds.	REMARKS.
	Brought forward —	—	— —	20,78,493 8 6	— —	11,21,151 15 —	7,63,624 13 —	3,57,527 2 —	to appoint in the Beginning of this Year, and afterwards removed, upon those Lands being made over in Assignment to the Honourable Company in the Month of Maug3 and the New Aumil, aware of the Difficulties he had to encounter, refused to take upon him the Responsibility of the Collections for the remaining 8 Months of the Year, unless this Jagheer was included in his Cabooleat, as well as two others mentioned hereafter.
Russoolpore Gosse — —	Mahaboob Ally Cawn —	Old Grant	60,000 — —						
		in 1183	37,000 — —						
				97,000 — —	97,000 — —				
Dehand Allahabad —	Mahmud Ally Commandant —	in 1183	— —	2,134 — —	— —	1,422 11 —	— —	1,422 11 —	
Dehand Barry — —	Koose Muzzer Ally Cawn —	Ditto	— —	12,000 — —	— —	8,000 — —	— —	8,000 — —	
Dehand Allahabad —	Meer Suddeek — —	Ditto	— —	10,000 — —	— —	6,666 11 —	— —	6,666 11 —	
Mirzapore — —	Rajah Govindram — —	Ditto	— —	17,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	Rajah Govindram, the Nabob's Vakeel in Calcutta.—The Nabob would not include this among the other taxed Jagheers.—It is therefore exempt.
Dehand Lucknow — —	Mahmud Wuzzee Coja — —	Ditto	— —	600 — —	— —	400 — —	— —	400 — —	
Muzsahbad — —	Nudjeef Cawn Badre — —	Old Grant	— —	14,500 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	Nabob Mirza Nudjeef Khaun.—The Nabob would not tax his Jagheers.
Dehand Ackburpore —	Ekmut Hussein Cawn — —	Ditto	— —	6,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	
Dehand Nugram — —	Rajah Teppoor Chund —	in 1183	— —	10,000 — —	— —	6,666 11 —	— —	6,666 11 —	
Dehand Angetty — —	Cauzee Mahmud Tuckey —	Ditto	1,128 12 —						
Dehand Nugram — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	871 — —						
Dehand Lucknow — —	Ditto — Ditto —	in 1184	1,500 — —						
Mugglasee — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	1,847 3 —						
Dehand Malliabad, and Mohaun	Umber Ally Cawn — —	in 1183	— —	5,346 15 —	— —	3,564 10 —	— —	3,564 10 —	
Dehand Wauraze — —	Nabob Immaum Udeen Cawn —	in 1184	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Dehand Russoolpore Gosse —	Mahmud Fauzale — —	Old Grant	— —	12,000 — —	— —	8,000 — —	— —	8,000 — —	
Dehand Cuckcorry — —	Mahmud Shuffee Ajam —	Ditto	— —	400 — —	— —	266 11 —	— —	266 11 —	
Kootia Gooneer — —	Almas Ally Cawn — —	in 1184	— —	500 — —	— —	333 6 —	— —	333 6 —	
Dehand Cuckcorry — —	Syfulla Bearer — —	in 1183	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Dehand Mohaun — —	Ally Ekbur Beg — —	in 1183	1,500 — —	6,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	
Dehand Cuckcorry — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	1,130 — —						
Dehand Sandilla — —	Ditto — Ditto —	in 1187	6,000 — —						
				8,630 — —	— —	5,753 6 —	— —	5,753 6 —	
Dehand Roodowlee — —	Ram Tulla — —	Old Grant	— —	1,808 15 —	— —	1,206 — —	— —	1,206 — —	
Dehand Hurdohee — —	Madaur Bux Curkaheet —	in 1183	— —	314 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	Madaur Bux Churkaheet.—He was exempted on Account of his Poverty.
Dehand Mohaun — —	Sufdur Ally Cawn — —	in 1184	— —	3,451 — —	— —	2,300 10 —	— —	2,300 10 —	
Bissoolee — —	Fuyzoolah Cawn Rohilla —	Old Grant	— —	15,00,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	Nabob Fyzoollah Khaun—was not taxed because of his Treaty with his Excellency the Vizier, to which the Honourable Company are Guarantees.
Dehand Futtypore — —	Mahmud Busseer Cawn —	in 1185	— —	1,00,000 — —	— —	66,666 11 —	— —	66,666 11 —	
Dehand Mohona — —	Rajah Bussein Sing, Moonshee —	in 1183	— —	10,000 — —	— —	6,666 11 —	— —	6,666 11 —	
Dehand Mugglasee — —	Meer Fauzale Ally — —	in 1182	— —	13,100 13 —	— —	8,333 7 —	— —	8,333 7 —	
Dehand Coorsey — —	Meer Mauwah — —	in 1183	— —	1,200 11 —	— —	807 6 —	— —	807 6 —	
Dehand Futtypore — —	Mirza Hussein Ally, and Bar Ally	Ditto	— —	2,263 — —	— —	1,508 12 —	— —	1,508 12 —	
Talook Selimabad — —	Furkand Ally Cawn — —	in 1185	— —	10,000 — —	— —	6,666 11 —	— —	6,666 11 —	
Talook Karah — —	Meer Khuyr Ulla — —	in 1184	— —	14,000 — —	— —	9,333 6 —	— —	9,333 6 —	
	Carried forward —	—	— —	39,96,742 14 6	97,000 — —	13,13,715 15 —	7,63,624 13 —	5,50,090 14 —	

Names of the Places granted as Jagheers.	Names of the Jagheerdars.	Time when granted.	Amount Jumma of each Place.	Jumma of the Grant of each Jagheerdar.	Jagheers resumed, and included in the Cabooleats of the Aumils.	Amount of Jagheers, assigned by the Nabob for the Honourable Company's Claims.	Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have not passed their Bonds and Kistibundees.	Balance or Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have passed their Bonds and Kistibundees.	REMARKS.
	Brought forward —	—	—	39,96,742 14 6	97,000 — —	13,13,715 15 —	7,63,624 13 —	5,50,090 14 —	
Dehand Baffey — —	Mahmud Yaur Cawn —	Old Grant	— —	6,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	
Dehand Cuckcorry — —	Buffunt Ally Cawn —	Ditto	— —	2,637 — —	— —	1,500 — —	— —	1,500 — —	
Zellah Pepergong, in Maliabad	Nabob Maudar ul Dowla —	in 1187	— —	60,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	Nabob Madaur ul Dowlah, one of the Nabob Vizier's Family; and the Vizier would not tax him.
Dehand Sandilla — —	Afhurruf Ally Cawn, &c.	—	— —	17,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	Afhurruff Ally Khaun, alfo one of his Excellency's Family.
Zelleh Ramnagur, in Syluck	Rajah Jowlott — —	in 1187	— —	48,000 — —	— —	32,000 — —	— —	32,000 — —	
Dehand Lucknow — —	Mirza Ruffee and Sowdah —	Ditto	— —	2,370 — —	— —	1,580 — —	— —	1,580 — —	
Dehand Syluck — —	Mirza Boo Ally Cawn —	Ditto	— —	2,000 — —	— —	1,333 10 4	— —	1,333 10 4	
Dehand Syluck — —	Mirzahee — —	Ditto	— —	6,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	
Sehaulee — — —	Mirza Mahmud Huffein —	Ditto	— —	21,000 — —	— —	14,000 — —	— —	14,000 — —	
Dehand Baharoys — —	Muzzuffer Huffein Cawn —	Ditto	— —	25,000 — —	— —	16,666 11 —	— —	16,666 11 —	
Nuggur, Amlahs of Muggarbuftee — —	Affrin Ally Cawn — —	Ditto	— —	30,000 — —	30,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	Affreen Ally Khaun, his Jagheer is in the fame Predicament as that of Mahaboob Ally Khaun, being in the fame Diftrict.
Dehand Syluck — —	Nabob Badre — —	Ditto	— —	20,000 — —	— —	13,333 5 —	— —	13,333 5 —	
Dehand Syluck — —	Mirza Ekbur Beg — —	Ditto	— —	1,000 — —	— —	666 10 8	— —	666 10 8	
Dehand Baunfee — —	Saduck Beg Cawn — —	Ditto	— —	5,000 — —	5,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	Sadduck Beg Khaun, in the fame Diftrict as that of Mahabood Ally Khaun and Affreen Ally Khaun, and refumed.
Chucklah Barrelly —	Lautaful Ally Cawn — —	Old Grant	— —	1,15,805 12 —	— —	77,204 — —	— —	77,204 — —	
		Total —	—	43,58,555 10 6	1,32,000 — —	14,80,000 — —	7,63,624 13 —	7,16,375 3 —	

N. B. The Nabob Vizier, by including the Country of Fyzullah Khaun among his Jagheers, makes their Amount appear to be 43½ Lacks of Rupees; but if the 15 Lacks are deducted, the whole Amount of the Jagheers will not be more than 28½ Lacks; Half of which is about the Amount of the Tuncaws granted by the Nabob.

Lucknow, the 30th of April 1780.

Errors excepted.

per C. Purling.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next read the Order of the Board to Mr. Purling, upon this Repreſentation to reſtore the Jaghires.

Read, the following Extract from the ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 501, of the ſame Book.

☞ ["Agreed, That the following Letter be written to Mr. Purling.

"Sir,

"We have received your Letters of the 31ſt of April and 22d of May, with their ſeveral Incloſures.

"At this late Period of the Year, and in conſequence of the ſtrong Objections made by his Excellency the Vizier, added to the Teſtimony which you bear to the Truth of the Account given of the State of his Finances, we are compelled for the preſent to wave our Claim to the additional Aſſignments, which in our Letter of the 3d of April, we required you to obtain for the whole Amount of the Company's Demand upon him; but we hope, that at the Commencement of the Year enſuing, your Efforts, not only to provide for the Exigencies of that Year, but to ſecure the Payment of the Balance due from his Excellency at the Concluſion of the preſent, will be more ſucceſsful."]

§ ("The Expence attending the Collection of the Nabob's Revenues, ſtated in the Account "accompanying your Letter under the Heads Mootaina and Aerajaut and Mahl Charges, "amounting in all to the Sum of Rupees 57,92,954. 6. is ſo enormous and unreaſonable, that "we know not in what Manner to account for it, without ſuppoſing ſuch unlimited Abuſes to be "committed by the Perſons in Charge of the Collection as require the moſt deciſive Exertion of "his Excellency to put an End to them. We direct, that you furniſh us as ſoon as poſſible with "the Particulars of theſe Articles of Expence; and we deſire that, at the approaching Settlement "of the Revenues for the Year 1188, your Attention may be particularly directed to the Dimi-"nution of it, and that you recommend in the ſtrongeſt Manner to the Vizier the Neceſſity of "his applying the moſt effectual Remedy to the Abuſe, and a principal Means of effecting it, "the total Reduction of the Mutaina Troops.

"We have attended to the Explanation and Particulars which you have tranſmitted to us of "the private Jaghires, and authorize you to reſtore the Aſſignments on them to the Proprietors.

"Fort William,
22d June 1780.

We are, &c.") §

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next read a Paper from Mr. Haſtings's Defence delivered in at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, to ſhew that, after thoſe Treaties had been tranſmitted to Calcutta, and recorded by Mr. Haſtings there, he himſelf mentions, that both the Begums were poſſeſſed of Treaties and Guarantees from the Company.

Read, the following Extract from the Manuſcript Defence, beginning at Page 232 of the ſame.

"No Injury was intended or could poſſibly ariſe to the Begums, from the Reſumption of the Jagheers; they were found deſtructive of the Nabob's Revenue, and dangerous to the very Exiſtence of his Government; they had been made the Sources to feed a Rebellion. It was neceſſary therefore to reſume them; and the only Change which the Begums Situation could undergo from it, was the Subſtitution of the Nabob's Agency, with the pledged Security of the Company's Reſident, in lieu of that of their Eunuchs Jowar and Bahar Ally Cawn. No Stipulation was made in Favour of any other Jagheerdars, becauſe the Faith of the Company was not concerned in it (*a*)."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, They would next read another Paſſage to the ſame Purpoſe; in which the Houſe would obſerve, Mr. Haſtings repreſents the particular View of the Nabob at the Time of the Treaty of Chunar, to be the Reſumption of the Jaghires of his Mother and Grandmother.

Read alſo, the following Extract, beginning at Page 237 of the Manuſcript.

"When the Nabob ſo earneſtly deſired my Sanction for the Reſumption of the Jagheers, he certainly had in View only the Begums, and a few others of Magnitude, which he conſidered protected either by the Guarantee or Favour of the Company. He could not be ſuppoſed to aſk my Sanction to the Reſumption of Grants, in which the Company's Faith was no Ways concerned;

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 415, Par. 4.

but

but being aware that his Excellency intended a partial Reſumption, reſerving the Jagheers of his particular Favourites, who from their Characters and Conduct ought to be the firſt proſcribed, I determined to defeat the Deſign by adviſing him to make the Reſumption general, and he engaged to follow my Advice. The Conſequence of this his Excellency did not at the Time advert to; but when he diſcovered that, by the Spirit of the Agreement, and my determined Adherence to it, he was precluded from ſhewing any Partiality; and moreover, that the Produce of the Jagheers, when reſumed, inſtead of coming immediately into his Poſſeſſion, was to be appropriated to the Liquidation of his Debt to the Company, for which I expreſsly ſtipulated, he became indifferent, and even apparently averſe to the Reſumption (*a*)."

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, They had been informed by Mr. Goring, One of the Witneſſes examined on Tueſday laſt, that there was a Circumſtance in his Evidence, which, upon having Recourſe to his Papers, he diſcovered to be in ſome Degree erroneous, and was therefore very deſirous of correcting. For this Purpoſe, they ſhould requeſt Mr. Goring might now be called to the Bar.

Accordingly, Mr. GORING was called in; and aſked,

Q. Do you wiſh to explain any Thing in the Evidence you gave to the Houſe upon Tueſday laſt?

A. Upon my firſt Viſit to the Begum, I recollect her having taken Notice of the Power granted to me by the Supreme Council of Bengal: She then ſaid, if ſhe was to be removed from the Nabob's Palace, ſhe would go to Calcutta: I aſſured her, that as that Power was principally in me, ſhe need be under no Apprehenſion whatever; that I ſhould treat her with the utmoſt Reſpect and Attention as long as I continued there. I informed your Lordſhips, the laſt Time I was examined, that the Begum had taken no Notice of the Power granted to me till the laſt Viſit I paid her; but I find, upon referring to my Papers, ſhe did take Notice of it upon my opening my Commiſſion to her.

Q. (*by Counſel.*) I underſtood you to have ſaid, upon your laſt Examination, that you ſaw the Widow of Surajah Dowlah, and that ſhe reſided at Moorſhedabad: I wiſh to aſk, Whether you are, at this Day, poſitive that there was any ſuch Perſon exiſting at the Time you mentioned: At what Time was it you ſaw this Lady, whom you ſuppoſe to be the Widow of Surajah Dowlah?

A. When I went up to Moorſhedabad upon this Commiſſion, which I received upon the 10th of May 1775, I cannot now preciſely tell the Day, I paid Viſits to every Perſon of Rank and Conſequence; but I had neglected to pay a Viſit to this Lady: She ſent her Eunuch to me, to inform me who ſhe was; and I underſtood, from the Meſſage the Eunuch brought me, that ſhe was the Widow of Surajah Dowlah.

Q. Have you any other Reaſon for believing the Fact to be ſo, except that Meſſage?

A. Undoubtedly; for I paid her a Viſit at her own Houſe; as I had done to every other Perſon of Conſequence.

Q. Was the Perſon of whom you ſpeak, generally reputed, in Moorſhedabad, to be the Widow of Surajah Dowlah?

A. I have not the leaſt Doubt of it. She lived in a very magnificent Manner, had a very large Palace there, and conſequently muſt be a Perſon well known. The Women do not appear in Publick there.

Q. Was there any Thing peculiar to the Stile or Appearance of the Widow of Surajah Dowlah, ſo as to diſtinguiſh her from other Perſons of her Rank and Condition?

A. I do not very well comprehend the Queſtion.

Q. Is there any Thing in their Houſes, or any Thing particular in their Mode of living, ſo as to diſtinguiſh them?

A. I only ſaw the Size of the Houſe, and the Number of Attendants.

Q. Is there any Thing in the Appearance of their Houſes, or Families, or Eſtabliſhments, that diſtinguiſh Ladies belonging to the Firſt Family either of Surajah Dowlah, or of other Nabobs, from other Women of Diſtinction and Opulence?

A. No; nothing that I know of.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) I wiſh him to be aſked, if he ever heard that this Lady was not the Widow of Sujah Dowlah?

A. Never.

Q. How long did you continue at Moorſhedabad after the Time of this Viſit?

A. Some Months.

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* Vide ſupra, Page 416, Par. 2.

Q. Had

Q. Had you any other Occaſion to pay your Compliments to her?
A. She did me the Honour to invite me to her Houſe; gave me a very magnificent Entertainment, and offered me conſiderable Preſents, which I refuſed; as I did every Preſent that was offered to me.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* I wiſh the Witneſs to be aſked, if he ſhould have thought himſelf authorized, under the Orders he received, to have diſpoſſeſſed the Begum of her Palace by Force, in caſe ſhe had refuſed to comply with thoſe Orders?
A. I certainly would have made uſe of every Means in my Power before I would have come to ſuch Extremity as that, if I would have done it at all; but I do not think I ſhould.

Q. Were your Inſtructions written Inſtructions?
A. Yes.

Q. Where are they?
A. They are upon Record.

Q. *(by Counſel.)* I abſtained, the laſt Time the Witneſs was examined, from aſking as to the Purport of thoſe Inſtructions, underſtanding they were upon Record, not thinking it proper to examine him to a Paper in Exiſtence; I wiſh to have the Fact from the Witneſs, whether the original Inſtructions are or are not in his Poſſeſſion?
A. I believe they are.

Q. Have you thoſe Inſtructions with you at this Time?
A. I have not.

Q. When did you ſee them laſt;—you ſay you believe they are;—I wiſh to know whether you are not poſitive they are?
A. I have not the leaſt Objection to produce them, nor any Paper in my Power.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* From whom had you your Inſtructions?
A. From the Governor General and Council.

Then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then CHARLES PURLING Eſquire was called in; and being ſworn, was examined as follows.

Q. In what Situation was you in India in the Year 1780?
A. I was the Reſident upon the Part of the Company at Lucknow.

Q. Do you recollect when you went to reſide in that Character?
A. In November 1779.

Q. How long did you continue there?
A. A Year; till November 1780.

Q. What Negociations had you with the Nabob Vizier, or his Miniſter, reſpecting the Reſumption of the Jaghires in general?
A. The Jaghires were never reſumed.

Q. But what Negotiations had you upon the Subject of their being reſumed; was there any Propoſal for reſuming them?
A. No Propoſals for reſuming them.

Q. If there was no Propoſal whatever for reſuming them, what was the Propoſal made by you reſpecting the Jaghires?
A. That they ſhould be taxed in a certain Proportion.

Q. Do you mean a Tax that was to fall only upon the Eſtates called Jaghires, or upon other Land-holders beſides?
A. Only upon the Jaghires.

Q. Whether the Nabob was averſe, or otherwiſe, to that Propoſition; how did he receive the Propoſition?
A. I think, upon my firſt Negotiation for additional Tuncaws upon the Company's Debt, the Nabob propoſed the taxing the Jaghires; but afterwards, when I propoſed to him to Tax them, he was very much averſe to it; that was ſome Time after he propoſed himſelf at firſt to Tax them.

Q. Then your Negotiations began by demanding Tuncaws, or Aſſignments, upon the Revenue Lands, for the Company's Debt.
A. Yes, upon the Revenue Lands.

Q. Give your Account of the Tranſaction?

A. Upon my firſt going to Lucknow, I found it neceſſary to demand from the Nabob additional Tuncaws to what Mr. Middleton had already obtained from the Nabob for the yearly Expences and the Company's Debt.

Q. Do you mean the Vizier's yearly Expences—was you to take Tuncaws for the Vizier's Expences?

A. By no Means; the Vizier's Expences were thoſe incurred for the Company's Troops in his Provinces.

Q. What was the End and Extent of your Demand of the Tuncaws?

A. To pay the different Troops, on the Part of the Company, ſtationed in his Dominions, and for the Civil Expences at Lucknow.

Q. What is your Deſcription of the Civil Expences?

A. The Reſident's Expences.

Q. That was your Reaſon for demanding the additional Tuncaws?

A. Yes, and for the Company's Debt.

Q. Give an Account of the Progreſs of that Negotiation, according to your Memory of it?

A. Upon my firſt Meeting with the Nabob, he granted additional Tuncaws for Thirty Lacks of Rupees, or 300,000 l. beyond what Mr. Middleton had obtained before my Arrival at Lucknow; and the Nabob then ſuggeſted, that if more ſhould be demanded that the Jaghires might be taxed: I think ſo, to the beſt of my Recollection; and I ſhould be very glad to refer to the Records, to ſee whether I did not mention this to the Council at Calcutta—I do not recollect whether I did or not.

The Managers for the Commons were aſked, how that was in point of Fact?

The Managers for the Commons ſaid, they would read a Paſſage to the Witneſs, which he perhaps would recollect.

The Houſe obſerved, That the Examination of the Witneſs was to a Matter which he conducted as an Officer of Government Eight or Nine Years ago; that he was willing to give a full Account of it, as far as his Memory went; but having tranſmitted the Fact to the Company, he wiſhed to be aſſiſted with the Account he gave of it at the Time, to refreſh his Memory; which was but reaſonable; for if he had taken Notes of it at the Time, he could refer to thoſe Notes for that Purpoſe.

Read, the following Extract of a Secret Conſultation of the 3d April 1780, from Book 26, already delivered in, beginning at Page 60 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 3d April 1780.

" At a Council; Preſent, Secret Dept. Monday.

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Philip Francis, } Eſquires.
Edward Wheler, }

" Extract of a Letter from Mr. Purling to the Governor General and Council.

" I have now the Honour to inform you, that his Excellency has been pleaſed to grant Tuncaws for 37,80,000 more, which makes, with the former Grants, about Rupees 1,06,62,000. I beg Leave to encloſe the Account Eſtimate of Demands made on his Excellency and the General Kiſtbundee. I hope the Sum granted will be more than ſufficient for the Exigencies of the Year, though inferior to that of the Eſtimate, which amounts to 120 Lacks, including the Balance of the Honourable Company's Account current with the Vizier to the End of Baudun 1186. Out of this Eſtimate I have omitted the Demand for the Donation to the Army, and the Six Lacks eſtimated Loſs on the Exchange; for the Nabob declares an utter Impoſſibility to provide more Money for the preſent Year; and, indeed, the Situation of his Excellency's Affairs at this Period are ſuch as demand my faithful Repreſentation of them, and a very ſerious Conſideration on the Part of Your Honourable Board; and Sir Eyre Coote, who has an Opportunity of judging on the Spot, has required it of me as a Point of indiſpenſable Duty. To be enabled to provide ſo large a Sum upon the reduced State of his Finances, when Half the Year is elapſed, and One Harveſt totally deſtroyed for want of timely Rain, his Excellency is now certainly getting rid of a great Part of the Animals he has kept, either for his State or for his Diverſion; has reduced Part of his Troops which attended his Perſon, has diſbanded many of his Battalions raiſed for his Collections, has diſcharged a large Number of the Servants of his Houſehold, among whom are included many old Attendants of his Family, and has put an entire Stop to his Buildings. Notwithſtanding theſe Retrenchments, his Excellency has been obliged to give Aſſignments upon his Jagheerdars to the Mr. Purling.

Amount of near 15 Lacks of Rupees. The only Means of relieving the Nabob from his preſent Diſtreſs is, by ſuſpending the Demand of the Balance of the laſt Year's Account current with the Honourable Company, which, I have Reaſon to believe, his Excellency will be ſatisfied with; and there is no Doubt he will be able to pay in the enſuing Year, if the Misfortune of a Second Drowth does not prevent his reſuming the large Deductions he has been obliged to give his Collectors. If your Honourable Board are pleaſed to give your Aſſent to this, the Accounts of the Grants will ſtand thus:

Amount of the Tuncaws for the Year 1187,				—		1,06,62,000 — —
His Excellency's Balance at End of the Year 1186,				20,60,608	2 1	
Deduct Amount, at this Time, in the Hands of the ſeveral Paymaſters, viz^{t}.						
Mr. Oliver, temporary Brigade,	3,52,433	9	5			
Mr. Champion's Cavalry, D^{o}	71,842	4	—			
				4,24,275	13 5	
						16,36,322 4 8
Balance Tuncaws remaining,				—		90,25,677 11 4

(Signed at the End of Conſultation)

Warren Haſtings,
P. Francis,
Edward Wheler."

Q. Is that the whole Account that was tranſmitted, reſpecting the Part of the Tranſaction that you are now giving an Account of?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember any other Circumſtances relative to that Tranſaction, except thoſe you have mentioned.

A. Nothing more, than that the Nabob propoſed to me to tax the Jaghires.

The Managers for the Commons ſaid, the Witneſs having ſtated, that he propoſed to the Nabob the Jaghires ſhould be taxed, they wiſhed a Paragraph to be read, which would ſhew what Sort of Temper the Nabob was in at that Time, and explain upon what Ground he made that Propoſition.

Read, the following Extract of a Secret Conſultation of the 22d June 1780, beginning at Page 530 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 22d of June 1780.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Philip Francis, } Eſquires.
Edward Wheler, }

" Extract of a Letter from the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah to Mr. C. Purling.

" I have in no Reſpect failed in my Compliance with the Pleaſure of the Council, or my Friendſhip for the Company, as far as I have had Ability; and I have acquainted you very fully with the State of my Country, and the Sources of the Revenue; and I have even put a Stop to the Expences of my Table, and the Animals which I ought to keep, and the Jagheers of my Servants and Attendants; and there are Aſſets of 98,98,375. After this I wrote the Jagheers of my Grandmother, and my Mother, and of the Nabob Pallar Jung, and of my Family, and the Sons of my Uncle Mirza Ally Khan, which were granted them for their Livelihood; and they amounted to the Sum of 7,63,625 Rupees. By this Means has the Buſineſs been done; but they all poſſeſs Engagements. And I have made over in Aſſignment the Expences of my Table, which I have put a Stop to with this View, that the Gentlemen of the Council, underſtanding my diſtreſſed Situation, would ſhew me their Friendſhip. I at firſt oppoſed the aſſigning the Jagheers of my Grandmother and Mother, and my Uncle. Now that the Council have, upon ſuch a Repreſentation of my Diſtreſs, written that there ſhall not be leſs Aſſignments than 1,06,62,000 Rupees, and that the Balance of 1,36,62,188 muſt be given, I am acquainted with the Particulars of the 1,36,62,188. If the Gentlemen of the Council, or you, Sir, will inform yourſelves from the Accounts, you will find it is not to be obtained. Whatever in Juſtice can be obtained from the Accounts, have been granted; but at this Time Aſſignments are demanded of me. The Buſineſs of the World is eaſy, and paſſes away; and the Gentlemen of the Council ſhould, in every Thing that is juſt, be my Guardians and my Friends. I do not put my Life in Competition with Friendſhip. Whatever Aſſets were in the Country, with even my Table, my Animals, the Jagheers of my Servants and Attendants, are granted in Aſſignments, amounting to 98,98,375 Rupees. Beſides

ſides theſe, the Jagheers of my Grandmother, Mother, and my Uncles, the Nabobs Mirza Allee and Sallar Jung, which were granted them for their Maintenance, are at your Diſpoſal. If the Council have directed you to attach them, do it. In the Country, no further Sources remain; and I have no Means, for I have not a Subſiſtence. Alas! I have Elephants, Horſes, and Houſes; if they will ſerve the Purpoſe of my Friends, they are ready for them. The Country and the Aumils are at Hand: Wherever Aſſets can be found, take them; I do not oppoſe it. In this Situation, I am in Want of a daily Subſiſtence. I feed upon the Hope and Expectation of Tranquillity. Upon this the Council's Order is arrived. Whatever proceeds from Friendſhip, is good. My Situation is no Way concealed. How long ſhall I dwell upon my Misfortunes!—I have written ſufficient."

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Whether he had any Reaſon to believe this Repreſentation of the Nabob to be untrue?
A. No.

Q. You will proceed, as far as you remember, with the Account of your Negociations with the Nabob, relative to the taxing the Jaghires?

A. As far as I recollect, after the Nabob had propoſed to tax the Jaghires, he became very much diſſatisfied, which, I ſuppoſe, was the Occaſion of that Letter. He allowed the taxing of all the other Jaghires, but he did not like thoſe of his own Family ſhould be taxed; and though he granted Tuncaws for them, I never could make any Collection upon them.

Q. Whether, in the Expreſſions uſed by the Nabob of Diſſatisfaction at the Jaghires being taxed, any particular Alluſion was made to the Jaghires of the Begums?—Was there any other Expreſſion of Averſion to the Reſumption of the Jaghires of his Mother and Grandmother, except that his Faith was pledged, as he had given them Agreements?

A. He once appeared to me to be in violent Anger, in a Converſation I had with him upon it.

Q. Upon what Subject?
A. Upon my urging him to tax the Begums, as well as the reſt of the Jaghiredars.

Q. What Circumſtances were mentioned reſpecting the Begums having Guarantees from the Eaſt India Company for their Security?

A. He informed me that his Mother and Grandmother had Agreements from him, and that they were ſigned by Mr. Middleton and Mr. Briſtow; and he directed his Miniſters to give me Copies of them, as far as I can recollect.

Q. Did they do ſo, according to your Recollection?
A. They did, as well as I recollect.

Q. Did you ſend any Account of them to the Company?
A. It appears upon the Records.

Q. From whom did you obtain them?
A. From the Nabob and his Miniſter.

Q. Whether, after you had ſeen theſe Treaties, you did deſiſt from, or perſevere in, the Idea of taxing the Jaghires of the Begums, Mother and Grandmother of the Nabob?

A. The Nabob granted Tuncaws upon thoſe Jaghires, but I did not make any Collections upon them.

Q. Were thoſe Tuncaws demanded upon your Part, or granted by the Nabob after the Time of your having ſeen thoſe Copies delivered to you by him or his Miniſters?

A. The Tuncaws were granted before thoſe Agreements were given me.

Q. Whether, after you had ſeen thoſe Agreements, you continued in any Manner to preſs for the Execution of the Tax?

A. I did not—I made a Repreſentation of it to the Council at Calcutta.

Q. Whether, at the ſame Time the Copies of the Guarantee to the elder Begum were delivered to you, you did not receive a Copy of the Guarantee, under Mr. Briſtow's Hand and Seal, to the Bow Begum?

A. I did.

Q. Do you know what thoſe Copies were that you ſo received?

A. I was informed the Copies were Copies of Agreements between the Nabob and the Bunnee Begum, and the Nabob and the Bow Begum, not to moleſt them in the Poſſeſſion of their Jaghires; and that one of them was granted by Mr. Briſtow, and the other by Mr. Middleton.

Q. By whom was you ſo informed?
A. By the Nabob and his Miniſter.

Q. You had Copies of them?
A. I had.

Q. Were

Q. Were they in Perſian?
A. They were in Perſian.

Q. Do you underſtand that Language?
A. I do not.

Q. Did you get them tranſlated?
A. I did.

Q. Did you ſend thoſe Tranſlations to the Company?
A. I did, to the Council at Calcutta.

Q. It will appear then whether they were or were not ſigned in that Manner?
A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever ſee the Originals?
A. I never did.

Q. You have already ſaid, they were delivered to you as ſubſiſting Treaties?
A. Yes.

Q. Did you or not, when you tranſmitted them to the Council, conſider them as ſubſiſting Inſtruments?
A. I did.

Q. Were there Two different Copies tranſmitted by you to Calcutta, or only One?
A. I really do not comprehend the Queſtion.

Q. You have given an Account of Copies having been delivered to you by the Nabob and his Miniſter. The Queſtion put to you before was, whether Tranſlations of thoſe Copies were by you tranſmitted to the Government at Calcutta? I underſtood you to ſay they were?
A. Yes.

Q. Did you find in your Office when you came there any other Papers, purporting to be Treaties or Copies of Treaties?
A. When I firſt went to Lucknow?

Q. Or at any Time when you were there?
A. No, I did not.

Q. Whether you ever heard any Objection made upon the Part of the Governor General and Council to that Treaty, reſpecting the elder Begum, or ever heard that it was in any Reſpect doubted?
A. I did not.

Q. Where was Mr. Middleton at the Time you tranſmitted thoſe Treaties to Calcutta?
A. I believe Mr. Middleton was in Calcutta; I am not certain.

Q. *(from a Lord)* I wiſh to aſk, whether you know of any Inſtance in the Province of Oude of ſuch a Meaſure as the Reſumption of the Jaghires, or of their being taxed?
A. Not in the Manner it was propoſed in the Year 1780; but I have ſtated upon the Records here, that the Nabob has reſumed Jaghires at his own Pleaſure, whenever he choſe.

Q. Have you referred to any Inſtance of it?
A. They are particularly mentioned upon the Record.

Q. Tranſmitted by you to Government?
A. Tranſmitted by me to Government. I have alſo ſaid, that the Exerciſe of his Power with reſpect to the Jaghiredars has always been arbitrary, as far as I recollect.

Q. Whether there is not ſome Diſtinction with reſpect to the Title of the Jaghires?
A. I cannot comprehend the Queſtion.

Q. Do you know of any Diſtinction with reſpect to the Title of the Jaghires, whether they are all held from the Nabob?
A. All the Jaghires of the Nabob's Country are certainly held of the Nabob.

Q. *(from the Managers.)* Whether you have not heard that many Jaghires are confirmed by Sunnuds from Delhi?
A. I have.

Q. Do you mean in the Province of Oude, or any other Place, and where?
A. In all the Provinces of Indoſtan.

Q. Whether you have not heard that Lord Clive's Jaghire was ſo confirmed?
A. I have heard it was.

Q. Whether you have yourſelf known any Inſtance of the Reſumption of the Jaghires, previous to this Reſumption by the preſent Nabob?

A. I do

A. I do not recollect any; but from the Form of the Government in Hindoſtan, I have no doubt there are many Inſtances of it. I have no Doubt: but I cannot recollect any.

Q. Thoſe Reſumptions, according to your Knowledge of the Form of Government, from the Obſervations you made, were they regarded as Acts of Violence, or as having been done in the ordinary Courſe of Things?

A. Towards People of high Rank, I believe it would be conſidered as an Act of Power; but it is generally conſidered in Hindoſtan, that the Power which can confer a Subſiſtence of that Kind can take it away again.

Q. Whether you know if there might not be a Difference between the Tenure of the Jaghires, and that ſome are expreſſed during Pleaſure, and others during Life?

A. I believe they are.

Q. Whether you do not know, or have not Reaſon to believe, that the Jaghires of the Begums were granted to them for the Term of their Lives?

A. I do not know from what Period it originated; but I ſhould conceive that People of their Rank would have Jaghires of that Kind for Life.

The Managers for the Commons were aſked—If there was no Account tranſmitted to Calcutta of the Nature of the Begums Jaghires?

The Managers for the Commons made Anſwer—The Begums themſelves, and their Miniſters, conſtantly aſſerted they were for Life; ſome of them were not derived from the preſent Nabob, particularly the elder Begum's.

Q. Whether the Nabob made any Complaints of the Jagheerdars, in general, in his Dominions, that they were hoſtile to his Government, and brought Diſtreſs and Confuſion upon his Affairs?

A. I never heard he did.

Q. Whether you remember the Nabob's repreſenting, that the Begums were in Enmity with him?

A. I have heard of occaſional Diſputes between the Nabob and his Mother and Grandmother, but never that they were hoſtile.

Q. Whether the Tenure of the Jagheerdars, in reſpect of the Troops and Forces they might keep up, were repreſented by the Nabob as bringing Confuſion into the Affairs of his Government?

A. By no means.

Q. Whether you had any Reaſon to believe, that either of the Begums were diſaffected, or entertained hoſtile Deſigns towards the Britiſh Government?

A. I never heard ſo.

Q. Nor were diſaffected?

A. Not while I was there.

Q. Do you not think, or have you not Reaſon to know, that the Begums depended upon the Britiſh Government, and looked to them for Protection, and treated with you accordingly, as Reſident?

A. I never had any Negotiation with the Begums at all; but from what paſſed with Mr. Middleton, I have no Doubt but they looked to the Government for Protection.

Q. They looked to the Government for Protection?

A. I have no Doubt of it.

Q. Whether you conſidered yourſelf as in the Confidence of Mr. Haſtings, and in the Secrets of the Britiſh Government, while you were Reſident at Lucknow?

A. From what Judgment I could form, I believe I was not.

Q. Had you an Aſſiſtant Reſident there?

A. I had.

Q. Who was he?

A. Mr. Bathurſt.

Q. Whether you have any Reaſon to think Mr. Bathurſt had his Confidence?

A. I really cannot tell; I do not think he had.

Q. Whether there were any other Gentlemen Aſſiſtants in the Reſident's Office there?

A. There were Two more.

Q. Who were they?

A. Mr. Hill and Mr. Holt.

Q. In what Character was Mr. Richard Johnſon there?

A. He went up with Sir Eyre Coote, in his Family.

Q. In what Light did you conſider Mr. Johnſon there; as Aſſiſtant to you in the Government, or as a Spy upon you? Was he in the Reſident's Office at all?

A. He

A. He was not at that Time.

Q. In what Light did you conſider Mr. Johnſon's being there?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to the Witneſs's Opinion.

The Houſe obſerved, that the Witneſs had ſaid he went up in Sir Eyre Coote's Family; the proper Queſtion to put therefore was,

Q. Whether he was there in any other Character?
A. I do not know of any other Character he had, at that Time.

Q. Had he any other Character?
A. He had not, at that Time.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* For what Purpoſe do you imagine he was there?
A. I have ſaid, he was there in Sir Eyre Coote's Family.

Q. Whether he did not interfere in the Government, in the Affairs of your Miſſion?
A. Mr. Johnſon had frequent Conferences with the Nabob's Miniſters; and I certainly conſidered that as an Interference with my Office.

Q. Did Mr. Johnſon communicate to you the Subject of thoſe Conferences?
A. He did not.

Q. *(by the Counſel.)* Whether Mr. Johnſon, at the Time you ſpeak of, was not in Sir Eyre Coote's Family at Lucknow?
A. I mentioned he went up in that Family.

Q. You have been aſked, Whether you obſerved any Inſtance of the Begums diſturbing the Nabob's Government; I wiſh to know whether you returned into the Country of Oude at any Time after the End of 1780?
A. Never.

Q. You have been aſked, whether the Nabob had ever expreſſed any Apprehenſion reſpecting the Power and Authority of the Jagheerdars in his Country; I wiſh to know whether you recollect writing a Letter, in which there is this Paragraph:—"Though from the natural State of this Country, where the Zemindars take the immediate Advantage of every Relaxation in the Government, and continually avail themſelves of the Removal of the Forces from their Diſtricts, by raiſing Troops of their own, building Forts, and with-holding their Rents;"—Do you recollect ever having made a Repreſentation to that Effect?
A. No Doubt I did.

Q. Do you know that the Nature and Extent of the Power and Authority of the Jagheerdars was ſuch as to give them an Opportunity, if they pleaſed, of making any Diſturbance in the Government of Oude?
A. No Doubt, where large Sums of Money can be raiſed, People may raiſe Troops; but I did not hear there was any ſuch Intention at that Time.

Q. The Queſtion was not about Intention; I will make it intelligible to you if I can: What Quantity of Troops were kept up by the Begums or the other Jagheerdars, do you know that?
A. No, for the Jagheerdars are exempted from the Inveſtigation of the Affairs of Government; and as they pay nothing to Government, they can have no reaſon to be in Contention with the Government, reſpecting any thing to pay them.

Q. Not being reſponſible to Government, they can have no Diſpute with them, about what they are to pay?
A. No.

Q. And you do not know, what Number of Troops are kept up by any of thoſe Jagheerdars?
A. No.

Q. Do you know of any other Means of their raiſing a Diſturbance in the Government there?
A. No other, than by having Sums of Money at their Diſpoſal.

Q. Whether the Circumſtance of their being exempt from the Authority of Government prevents their being able to deſtroy that Government?
A. I did not ſay they were exempt from the Authority of Government.

Q. Do you know whether the Grants of the Jaghires are in Writing, or at the Pleaſure of the Prince, by Parole?
A. I underſtand they are always given by Sunnuds, under the Signature of the Prince; there is ſome Mark he makes, I forget the Mark.

Q. I wiſh to know whether you ever ſaw any of thoſe Inſtruments with the Mark you mention?
A. I think I have; but I cannot at this Time deſcribe it.

Q. But

Q. But you take them to be Grants in Writing?
A. Yes.

Q. Is there any Difference, in point of Form, between the Jagheers granted to a Perſon of high Rank and Authority, and the Jagheers granted to one of inferior Rank?
A. I do not know.

Q. The Witneſs was examined to a Letter written by the Nabob, which, I think, he ſaid, he conceived to be a true Repreſentation; I would wiſh to know from the Witneſs, whether he meant to repreſent, that the Whole of that Letter is to be taken literally as true, and particularly this Paſſage in which the Nabob ſays, "If the Council has directed you to attach them, do it: In the "Country no further Reſources remain. I have no Means, becauſe I have not the Means of Sub-"ſiſtence (*a*)." Do you take that Repreſentation to be true?
A. I could not doubt but the Nabob muſt have a Subſiſtence in the Country; but he meant by that Paſſage to repreſent a great Diſtreſs in his Circumſtances; that is what my Imagination of it was.

Q. Whether you mean, when the Nabob ſays, I am in want of daily Subſiſtence, that at that Time he was not living in a Princely State, as uſual?
A. I think they ſaid he had diſbanded ſome of his Troops, and diſmiſſed ſome of his Servants, at the Time; but he had much the ſame State.

Q. He had diſmiſſed ſome Troops; to what Amount?
A. I do not know: ſome of both were diſcharged.

Q. I do not know whether I underſtand the Witneſs, with reſpect to that Agreement with the elder Begum, whether there was any Copy of that in the Reſident's Office, before it was given by the Nabob to Mr. Purling?
A. I never ſaw any.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* If I have not miſunderſtood the Witneſs, he ſaid Mr. Johnſon went up in the Suite of Sir Eyre Coote; he afterwards ſaid, that Mr. Johnſon held Conferences with the Miniſter, which he conſidered as trenching upon his Office as Reſident, and of which Mr. Johnſon gave no Account to him. At the Time he held thoſe Conferences, did he conſider Mr. Johnſon as being in the Suite of Sir Eyre Coote; did he remain in the Suite of Sir Eyre Coote the whole Time he was there?
A. He did the whole Time; he continued in it all the Time he was there.

Q. Do you know what the Amount of the Savings was, by the Reductions you have ſpoken of, of the Troops and the Servants; did they amount to 93 Lacks a Year, or any other Sum?
A. I do not know a Syllable of it.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* I think you ſaid you had tranſmitted a Copy of the Agreement with the Begums, which Mr. Middleton had ſigned and ſealed, and which was Yeſterday called the Firſt Agreement, and that you had received it, and tranſmitted it to Calcutta?
A. Yes.

Q. I alſo underſtand you to ſay, you had tranſmitted a Copy of the Agreement with the Nabob, to which you alſo underſtood there was Mr. Middleton's Signature and Seal; did you ſend any other Copies of any other Inſtrument, which you underſtood to be ſubſiſting Agreements between the Nabob and the Begums?
A. They were two different Agreements, One between the Nabob and his Grandmother, and the other between the Nabob and his Mother.

Q. Were both thoſe Agreements given you by the Miniſter of the Nabob?
A. They were, both.

Q. You ſent them both?
A. I ſent them both.

Q. Were there any other beſides?
A. No; they were each of them in two Parts; I think there are two Papers of each upon Record.

Q. Each in Two Parts, and conſequently Two Papers of each?
A. Two Papers of each.

Q. Did you ſend any other Papers beſides theſe?
A. I believe there is a Letter from the Nabob to the Uncle Sâlar Jung, in which he tells him, he will not moleſt him in his Jagheers.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, There was ſuch a Letter as that, but they did not inſert it in their Evidence here, becauſe it was not to the preſent Purpoſe.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 491.

Q. Are

Q. Are you aware of a Paper conſidered as a conditional Agreement with the Begum, to obtain a Treaty from the Nabob in her Favour, that Mr. Middleton tranſacted with her?

A. That is One of the Papers I ſent down, with my Obſervations upon it, relative to the Jaghires.

Q. That being One of the Papers that you tranſmitted to Calcutta—Was it One of thoſe Papers that was delivered to you by the Nabob or his Miniſter?

A. Thoſe Papers were both delivered to me, as a Ground for exempting the Begums from any Collection being made upon their Jaghires.

Q. By whom?

A. By the Miniſter of the Nabob.

Q. So that the conditional Agreement, as well as the other, was delivered to you by the Nabob or his Miniſter?

A. By his Miniſter.

Q. Were they delivered as different Papers?

A. They were delivered together.

Q. In your Memory, from the View you had of thoſe Papers, do you know whether Mr. Middleton's Signature was to both.—Did theſe Copies appear to have the Signature of Mr. Middleton and the Nabob, or either of them?

A. I do not recollect whether they had or not. They were ſaid to be under the Signature of the Nabob, and the Guarantee of Mr. Middleton; but I don't recollect ſeeing any Thing elſe.

Q. Whether you ever heard of that conditional Treaty with the Elder Begum, previous to the Communication of that Paper from the Nabob?

A. I might have heard of it a Day or Two before, but I do not recollect it at preſent.

Q. Do you recollect, in fact, that you did hear of it a Day or Two before?

A. No; I do not.

Q. Whether you ever applied to ſee the Original, either of the Agreement, or of the ſubſequent Treaty?

A. I never did.

Q. Whether you did not receive the Treaties from the Nabob as complete Inſtruments; and whether the Nabob did not conſider them as Inſtruments by which he was bound?

A. I did.

Q. Whether it is uſual in the Reſident's Office in India, that there ſhould be Books of Record kept of the Proceedings of that Office?

A. There is a Letter Book; but there is no Appearance in the Letter Book that denoted ſuch a Tranſaction to have taken Place.

Q. Whether thoſe Letters, that were recorded in your Reſident's Office, were tranſmitted alſo to Calcutta?

A. This Letter Book uſually contained the whole Correſpondence of the Reſident to any particular Army Stations, or on any other particular Buſineſs.

Q. The Queſtion is, whether in that Letter Book, or from any Knowledge you had, there were any Traces of this Agreement, between the Nabob and the Begum, to be found?

A. I did not ſee any.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that in Corroboration of the Teſtimony of the Witneſs, relative to the Diſtreſs of the Nabob, they would next proceed to read Two ſhort Extracts: One an Extract of a Letter from the Nabob, ſtating his Diſtreſs; the other, an Extract of a Letter from Mr. Purling, vouching for the Truth of the Circumſtances ſo repreſented by the Nabob.

Read, the following Extract of Appendix to a Conſultation, on the 13th of December 1779, from Book 112, already delivered in, beginning at Page 912 of the ſame Book.

" Extract of Tranſlation of a Letter from the Vizier to the Reſident, C. Purling Eſquire, at his Court, being an Encloſure in his Letter to the Board, dated Lucknow, 19th November 1779.

" The Situation of my Affairs reſpecting the preſent Time, I informed Mr. Middleton of, both by Writing and Converſation, and I now proceed to lay the Whole before you.

" During theſe Three Years paſt, the Expence occaſioned by the Troops in Brigade, and others commanded by European Officers, has much diſtreſſed the Support of my Houſehold, inſomuch that the Allowance made to the Seraglio and Children of the deceaſed Nabob has been reduced to One Fourth Part of what it was, upon which they have ſubſiſted, in a very diſtreſſed Manner, for theſe Two Years paſt. The Attendants, Writers, Servants, &c. of my Court have received no

Pay for these Two Years; and there is at present no Part of the Country that can be allotted to the Payment of my Father's private Creditors, whose Applications are daily pressing upon me. All these Difficulties I have for these Three Years past struggled through, and found this Consolation therein, that it was complying with the Pleasure of the Honourable Company, and in the Hope that the Supreme Council would make Enquiry, from impartial Persons, into my distressed Situation; but I am now forced to a Representation."

Read, the following Extract of a Consultation of the 3d of April 1780, from Book 26, already delivered in, beginning at Page 61 of the same Book.

"Extract of a Letter from C. Purling Esquire to the Board.

"Dated Lucknow, February 9th 1780.

"Out of this Estimate I have omitted the Demand for the Donation to the Army, and the Six Lacks estimated Loss on the Exchange; for the Nabob declares an utter Impossibility to provide more Money for the present Year; and, indeed, the Situation of his Excellency's Affairs at this Period are such as demand my faithful Representation of them, and a very serious Consideration on the Part of your Honourable Board; and Sir Eyre Coote, who has an Opportunity of judging on the Spot, has required it of me as a Point of indispensable Duty. To be enabled to provide so large a Sum upon the reduced State of his Finances; when half the Year is elapsed, and one Harvest totally destroyed for Want of timely Rain, his Excellency is now certainly getting rid of a great Part of the Animals he has kept either for his State or for his Diversion; has reduced Part of his Troops which attended his Person; has disbanded many of his Battalions raised for his Collections; has discharged a large Number of the Servants of his Houshold, among whom are included many old Attendants of his Family; and has put an entire Stop to his Buildings. Notwithstanding these Retrenchments, his Excellency has been obliged to give Assignments upon his Jagheerdars to the Amount of near Fifteen Lacks of Rupees.—The only Means of relieving the Nabob from his present Distress, is by suspending the Demand of the Balance of the last Year's Account current with the Honourable Company."

Q. That is the Representation you gave at the Time, upon your Recollection?
A. Yes.

Q. Do you think that Representation to have been correct?
A. Yes.

Q. Was the Treaty signed by Mr. Bristow, with the Younger Begum, the same Species of Instrument with that which was signed by Mr. Middleton, with the Elder Begum?
A. No; I believe not: But both Treaties are here, and may be read: They will give Information better than I can.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the House, that as they conceived they had laid sufficient Evidence before the House, respecting the Treaty with the Elder Begum, they should next call Mr. Middleton to examine him relative to the Treaty with the Younger Begum.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON Esquire, was accordingly called in, and examined as follows.

Q. Was you, or was you not, a Second Time at Fyzabad in the Year 1778?
A. I think I was.

Q. Have you any Doubt about being there in the Year 1778?
A. I have a Doubt about the exact Time; but not as to being there a Second Time.

Q. Some Time in the Year 1778 or 1779, or at what Time?
A. Some Time thereabouts I was.

Q. Answer as near as you can, whether you was at Fyzabad either in one Year or the other?
A. I was in the Year 1778, as far as I can recollect.

Q. Whether, the Second Time of your being there in the Year 1778, you signed any Treaty or Guarantee, of any Kind, with either of the Begums?
A. I think, the second Time I was there, the Nabob Vizier was also there; and, according to my Recollection, there was some Sort of an Agreement between him and the Younger Begum, the Bhow Begum, to which it is very likely I gave my Signature.

Q. Whether, according to your Recollection, you did, or did not, give your Signature to a Treaty at that Time?
A. I think I did. It will appear upon the Records if I did: I refer to them, and think, according to the best of my Recollection, I did.

Q. Did you tranſmit that Treaty, the Original, or a Copy of it, to the Governor General and Council at Calcutta?

A. I ſhould apprehend I did; but I beg Leave to refer to the Records.

Q. Whether you had not Authority or Sanction from Mr. Haſtings, for executing and ſigning that Treaty?

A. The Bhow Begum was always conſidered to be under the immediate Protection of the Company, therefore any Negociation between her and the Nabob, to which I became a Party, I conceive I was authoriſed in, from the ſeveral Inſtructions of the Company. I do not recollect I had any expreſs Orders for the Act to which I am now alluding.

Q. Had you any Communication with Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject of this Treaty, which, according to your Recollection, you had ſigned, after you had ſigned it?

A. I do not believe I had.

Q. Did you not apply to the Secret Committee, ſince your Examination Yeſterday, for Permiſſion to refreſh your Memory, by looking at the Books of your whole Correſpondence while at Lucknow?

A. I did.

Q. Have you been employed in looking over thoſe Books this Morning?

A. For about Ten Minutes I was.

Q. At what Time was you informed the Books would be ready for you?

A. Mr. White called upon me laſt Night, to ſay I might inſpect the Books any Time this Morning. The Note was left at my Houſe when I was not at Home.

Q. When did you receive the Note?

A. I received it laſt Night, but was not at Home when it came.

Q. Have you inſpected them, ſo as to receive all the Information from them that you want, upon this Subject of the Treaty?

A. The Purpoſe of my Reference to the Books of Correſpondence was, to give your Lordſhips a more perfect Account of the Treaty with the Elder Begum than I was able to give Yeſterday, and my Reſearches were entirely confined to the Letters upon that Subject.

Q. Had you a ſufficient Opportunity to refreſh your Memory upon that Subject?

A. As far as the Correſpondence would ſerve to refreſh my Memory, I have.

Q. Was you not examined to this Subject alſo Yeſterday, and a Letter from the Bhow Begum relating to the Treaty read to you?

A. I recollect a Letter being ſhewn to me from the Bhow Begum, which, I underſtood from the Honourable Managers, referred to the Elder Begum.

Q. Whether you have adverted to that Letter, and to a Letter from Mr. Haſtings upon the ſame Subject, To-day?

A. I have no Copy of that Letter from the Bow Begum.

Q. Have you read that Letter To-day?

A. No, I have not.

Q. Have you read a Letter from Mr. Haſtings upon the ſame Subject To-day?

A. I have read a Letter, in my Books of Correſpondence, from Mr. Haſtings in his official Capacity of Governor General, upon this Subject.

Q. Upon the Subject of all the Treaties?

A. Upon this Subject of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the Nabob and the Begums, to which the Engliſh were Security.

Q. Whether the Begum did not conſider the obtaining your Signature to the new Treaty in 1778, as an additional Security to her?

A. No Doubt ſhe did. I believe it will be found the additional Treaty contains ſome additional Articles which were not mentioned, and Stipulations which are not expreſſed, in the original Treaty.

Q. The Treaty of October 1778, you mean?

A. Yes.

Q. It contains other Articles than you mentioned before?

A. Yes; other Articles and Stipulations not mentioned in the original Treaty; I believe it does; I have no Copy of the Treaty.

Q. Do you recollect whether you ſigned this Treaty?

A. To the beſt of my Belief I did ſign it.

Q. Do

Q. Do you remember whether the Elder Begum is not mentioned in that Treaty?
A. I do not recollect whether ſhe is or not; I beg Leave to refer to the Treaty.

Q. Whether you conſidered that Treaty as binding upon you, and upon the Government of Bengal?

A. If it was ſanctioned by the Governor General and Council, I certainly ſhould; I am not certain of the Fact: But had it been ſanctioned by the Governor General and Council, I moſt certainly ſhould.

Q. The Queſtion is, Whether you, in your future Proceedings, treated, and conſidered and acted upon that as a binding Engagement, conſequently as a Sanction, or not?
A. Certainly it depends upon the Terms of my Signature;—poſſibly it might be only to exert my Influence with the Nabob, upon all Occaſions in which he ſhould attempt to infringe the Rights of the Begums.

Q. Do you, or not, recollect whether, in your ſubſequent Dealings with the Begums, that Treaty was conſidered by you as a ſubſiſting and binding Engagement?
A. Yes; I ſhould think it was.

Q. You think it was?
A. I think it was.

Q. Did you conſider this as a regular, ſolemn Engagement, the Treaty of October 1778?
A. Certainly.

Q. Do you know whether this Treaty had any Date?
A. I do not recollect, but I ſhould imagine it had.

Q. Whether you recollect, or have as good Reaſon to believe that this Treaty had a Date, as that the Treaty with the Elder Begum was without a Date? Have you any Reaſon to believe upon that Subject either this Way or that?
A. I know it is uſual to date Treaties; what I ſaid reſpecting the Treaty with the Elder Begum Yeſterday, I took from the Book.

Q. Have you ſeen this Treaty upon the Book?
A. No, I have not.

Q. The Witneſs ſaid, he knew of no Inſtance of a regular Agreement being without a Date; the Witneſs has now ſhewn, that it was without a Date.
A. I ſpoke from my own Knowledge; no Inſtance had come to my Knowledge of a Treaty without a Date.

Q. Do you recollect any now?
A. None.

Q. What are the Circumſtances, which enabled you to recollect ſo much reſpecting this Treaty in October 1778, with the Bhow Begum; and which did not lead you to recollect any Thing of the Negociations of the Nabob with the Elder Begum?
A. I have not a very perfect Recollection of that Treaty with the Bhow Begum; I have only a general Recollection, that it was to terminate ſome Diſputes upon new Matters that had occurred between the Nabob and the Begum, which could not have been Matter of Diſpute, if they had been inſerted in the original Treaty.

The Counſel for the Defendant requeſted, before any new Examination was gone into, that the Treaty might be put into the Hands of the Witneſs, that he might be able, from the Inſpection of it, and his Recollection, to give a better Account of it.

The Houſe obſerved, that the Witneſs had been examined to the whole Progreſs of the Treaty, before he was ſhewn the Treaty; therefore, if there were any particular Circumſtances relative to that Tranſaction, upon which it might be explained, it was fit he ſhould ſee the Treaty, to have an Opportunity of refreſhing his Memory.

The Treaty was ſhewn to the Witneſs; and the following Queſtion was put to him.

Q. You have been underſtood to ſay, you have had an Opportunity of looking into ſome Books? What Books were they; do you recollect them?
A. They were Letter Books; Letters of Correſpondence.

Q. Was it your Letter Book, or a publick Letter Book?
A. A publick Letter Book; my own publick Letters to Government.

Q. Having had that Opportunity, is there any Explanation you are deſirous to give to the Houſe further, of the Depoſition you made Yeſterday?

A. I examined the Books for that Purpoſe to refreſh my Memory, to endeavour to give your Lordſhips a more perfect Account than I could Yeſterday.

Q. What is the Account you would now give?

A. I found the ſeveral Letters read by the Honourable Managers in the Courſe of this Proſecution: I found alſo one from the Board, in which they declined giving me any Authority for concluding the Treaty with the Elder Begum; aſſigning their Reaſons for it: I alſo found a Letter from myſelf to the Governor General and Council, mentioning, that the Nabob Vizier had refuſed poſitively to ratify the Agreement with the Elder Begum. That is all that appears upon the Correſpondence, with reſpect to the Matter. I am, however, inclined to believe, that the Agreement was entered into and ſigned by the Nabob and the Elder Begum; and, I think, it is very probable (I ſpeak from Probability only, without the ſmalleſt Recollection of the Fact), it is very probable I did give my Signature to it: I ſpeak from Probability, not from any Recollection I have now of the Matter, more than I had Yeſterday.

Q. Is that the Whole of the Explanation you mean to give, of the Evidence that you delivered Yeſterday?

A. That is all that I am able to give.

The Managers for the Commons obſerved, That the Witneſs had mentioned having received a Letter from the Board, refuſing to become Guarantee for the Elder Begum: That they denied that Letter to be any Authority from the Board; and deſired it might be now read. But Firſt it would be neceſſary to read Mr. Middleton's Letter.

Read, from Book 76, already delivered in, Extract of a Conſultation of the 9th February 1778, beginning at Page 437 of the ſame Book.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" I had the Honour to addreſs you under Date the 25th inſtant, acquainting you with the Subſtance of the Converſations which had paſſed between the Old Begum and myſelf on the Subject of her propoſed Expedition to Korbûlla. I now do myſelf the Pleaſure to forward you a Tranſlate of a Writing ſhe had preſented to me, containing her ſeveral Requiſitions and Claims, which ſhe expects ſhall be complied with and guaranteed to her by the Company; ſo that it may not be in the Power of the Nabob at his Pleaſure to annul any of the Conditions, or deviate from any of the Proviſions therein ſpecified. That the Honourable Board may be clearly informed of the Nature and Propriety of the Begum's Expectations, I have ſubjoined ſhort explanatory Obſervations to each ſeparate Article; and if the Honourable Board ſhall be pleaſed to conſider them after in the Light it appears to me, I hope to be favoured with their Permiſſion to ſanctify the Agreement in the Manner the Begum requires, in my Publick Character. I have referred the Subject to the Nabob for his Conſideration and Approval; but I have little Expectation that he will of his own Accord acquieſce in the Begum's Propoſitions, however moderate and reaſonable they may appear; and if he ſhould, his Aſſent alone, without the Ratification and Guarantee of the Engliſh, will not be accepted as any kind of Security by the Begum. If however his Excellency approves of theſe Propoſitions, and gives them the Sanction of his Signature, I apprehend there will be no Impropriety in my becoming a Surety for their Performance; in which Caſe, the direct Interpoſition of the Honourable Board will not be neceſſary; but if, on the contrary, he ſhould refuſe his Concurrence, I beg Leave, with humble Submiſſion, to ſuggeſt the Neceſſity of an immediate Exertion of their Influence to ſecure the Begum, whatever they may be pleaſed to conſider her undiſputed Rights; when I doubt not I ſhould be able to prevail upon her to relinquiſh her Deſign of a Pilgrimage to Korbûlla altogether, though ſhe at preſent declares her Intention of proſecuting it at the Expiration of Two or Three Months, even admitting her Requiſitions are complied with. Indeed I have great Reaſon to believe ſhe has no ſerious Intention of undertaking ſo arduous a Taſk, and that her View is only to withdraw herſelf from theſe Dominions, where the Treatment of her Grandſon ſeems to have rendered her Reſidence diſguſting and irkſome to her, and to accept of an honourable Retreat, which I am informed has been offered her, for herſelf and Family, both by the King and Nudjiff Cawn. I am the more confirmed in this Belief, from her extraordinary Partiality to a young Man, who ſhe has bred up from a Child, and adopted as her Son, and who ſhe means ſhall inherit the Reſidue of whatever ſhe may be poſſeſſed of, after deducting from it what ſhe may conſider an adequate Proviſion for her own Family, and immediate Dependants; which Intention ſhe thinks ſhe cannot ſo well execute in this Country, as the Vizier, no doubt, conſiders himſelf the legal Heir to her Property, and if unreſtrained, I am certain, would pay very little Attention to any previous Diſpoſition ſhe might make of it. I form this latter Opinion upon ſome late Declaration which the Nabob has made, importing, that if the Begum was bent upon abandoning his Dominions, in Oppoſition to his Will, it was his Determination that ſhe ſhould not carry more with her than her Wearing Apparel.

" I have, &c.

" Fayzabad,
27th January 1778.

(Signed) N. Middleton,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court."

Then

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Did you refer to a Letter from the Board as a Foundation for ſurmiſing that this Guarantee was not ratified?

A. Yes.

Q. What is the Date of the Letter from the Board?

A. It is dated the 23d of March 1778.

The Houſe directed that Letter to be read.

Read, Extract of a Conſultation of the 23d March 1778, from Book 77 already delivered in, beginning at Page 5 of the ſame Book.

☞ [" We have duly conſidered your Letters of the 25th and 27th January, 2d and 3d February, on the Subject of the Complaints and Requiſitions of the Old Begum and Bow Begum.

" We can have no Right to interfere between the Vizier and his Relations or Subjects, for the Redreſs of any Grievances which they may ſuſtain from him, except by Remonſtrance, or in Caſes that we ſhall deem of a Nature ſo groſs and enormous as to caſt a Reproach on the Company, and to involve and affect the Dignity of the Britiſh Name, by withdrawing ourſelves from ſuch a diſhonourable Connection; we muſt therefore decline giving you Authority at preſent to inſiſt on the Nabob's immediate Reſtitution of the Property claimed by the Old Begum, and by the Family of the Nabob Sheer Jung, deceaſed; but as we approve of the Means you have taken to conciliate the Differences that have ariſen with the former, and diſſuade the Nabob from the Act of Oppreſſion which he intended to commit on the Eſtate of the latter, we deſire you will repeat your Remonſtrances to the Vizier on both theſe Points in the Name of this Government; repreſenting to him the Conſequences of ſuch an arbitrary Proceeding; the Reproach to which his Honour and Reputation, as well as ours, from being connected with him, will be expoſed by ſuch Acts of Cruelty and Injuſtice; and the Right, which we derive from the Nature of our Alliance with him, to expect that he will pay a Deference to our Remonſtrances.

" If he ſhall perſiſt in his Refuſal after this to agree to any reaſonable Terms, you are to take no further Steps till you have adviſed us thereof, and of every Circumſtance attending it, that we may give you our final Orders for your Guidance.]

§ (" Having given the Old Begum ſuch a Proof of our Deſire to aſſiſt her, and to obtain Security " for her in her preſent Situation, we hope ſhe will be ſatisfied to continue where ſhe is, as we can " by no Means encourage her Wiſh to remove with her perſonal Wealth from the Nabob's Do- " minions.

" With reſpect to the Bow Begum, her Grievances come before us on a very different Footing; " ſhe is entitled to our Protection by an Act not ſought by us, but ſolicited by the Nabob him- " ſelf, and granted in Compliance with his and her Requeſt; we therefore impower and direct " you to afford your Support and Protection to her in the due Maintenance of all the Rights ſhe " poſſeſſes in virtue of the Treaty executed between her and her Son, under the Guarantee of " the Company, and againſt every Attempt that may be, directly or indirectly, made to infringe " them: At the ſame Time, that we recommend the greateſt Delicacy to you in every Caſe of " this Nature, we deſire that you will act with Firmneſs and Reſolution, and, as far as you can, " with Effect.") §

Then the Witneſs was aſked;

Q. Did you proceed, upon that Letter, with the Elder Begum, upon the Notion of its being, or not being, a Ratification of any Agreement made between her and the Nabob, and guaranteed by the Company?

A. I do not recollect I did.

The Counſel for the Defendant requeſted, That an Allegation in the Defendant's Anſwer, in which he denies, that any Guarantee of the Britiſh Nation was ever pledged to the Elder Begum for her Protection, might be read.

The ſame was read, as follows:

" And the ſaid Warren Haſtings does not know or believe, that any other Interferences, Powers, or Authorities, were made, given, granted, or confirmed, by the ſaid Governor General, and the ſaid Council, for the Purpoſe aforeſaid: And he denies that any Guarantee of the Britiſh Nation, or any Guarantee of any Kind whatever, was, by the Reſident, under the Authority of the ſaid Warren Haſtings, ever pledged to the ſaid Elder Begum for her Protection."

Q. (*from a Lord*). What do you underſtand by the Words of the Council " approving of " the Means you had uſed?"

A. The Step I had taken in going to Fyzabad, to endeavour to reconcile the Diſputes between the Nabob and his Mother and Grandmother.

Q. Did not the Nabob, at the Time of executing the Treaty of 1775, where ſhe gave 56 Lacks, in Lieu of all Demands made upon her, give her a Coulnama, as a Pledge upon that Occaſion?

A. I underſtood he did.

Q. Was that Coulnama tranſmitted to Calcutta, or any Copy of it?

A. I was not at Lucknow at that Time.

Q. (*by a Manager.*) Where was you in March and April 1780?

A. I was at Calcutta, or ſomewhere very near it.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings demand any Explanation from you at that Time with reſpect to the Treaty tranſmitted by Mr. Purling?

A. No.

Q. (*by a Lord.*) With regard to your Proceeding ſubſequent to the Receipt of the Letter from the Board, I wiſh to know whether you did ſignify to either of the Parties, namely, to the Begums or either of them, or to the Nabob, that the Company would not guarantee the Agreement between them?

A. I don't remember that I made any Communication of that Sort.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would now proceed to examine the Witneſs upon the other Heads of Evidence.

Q. Whether, during any Part of the Year 1778, you ſaw or knew of any Diſaffection or hoſtile Temper in the Begums towards the Britiſh Government?

A. I did not.

Q. Whether you did not uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to perſuade the Elder Begum to forego her Intention of quitting the Nabob's Dominions?

A. I certainly did.

Q. Whether the Begums did not conceive they had many powerful Enemies at the Nabob's Court?

A. I do not recollect they made me acquainted with their Conceptions.

Q. Did they make any Complaints to you of the Treatment which they received, either from the Nabob, or any of his Servants, or Perſons employed in his Government?

A. To the beſt of my Recollection, they complained of Interference with their Right by different People of the Nabob's Government—of occaſional Interferences.

Q. Whether or not you underſtood them as looking to the Britiſh Government for Support and Protection?—When they made thoſe Repreſentations to you, with what View did you ſuppoſe they made them?

A. To get them redreſſed.

Q. That is, to you as Britiſh Reſident?

A. Yes, to uſe my Influence with the Vizier to get them redreſſed.

Q. Whether they addreſſed themſelves to you to uſe your Influence which your being Reſident for the Britiſh Government gave you with the Vizier, or did you underſtand them to apply to you with a View of going to your own Government for further Aſſiſtance?

A. I conceive they meant I ſhould uſe my Influence to procure this Redreſs, both with the Vizier and my own Government.

Q. Did you know of any other Power or Connection in India, to which the Begums looked with greater Confidence than to the Britiſh Government, to afford them Protection?

A. No, I did not, at that Time.

Q. (*by a Lord.*) I wiſh to aſk, as to the Time when you ſigned this Treaty between the Nabob and the Begum, whether it was before or after the Receipt of the Letter from the Board?

A. May I aſk, with which Begum?

Q. The Elder?

A. I have informed your Lordſhips, I do not recollect poſitively ſigning that Treaty at all.

Q. Whether the Tranſaction of that Treaty, ſuch as it was, was before or after the 23d of March?

A. I think it muſt have been after that Letter, if I did ſign it.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) How came you to ſign the Treaty after that Letter, underſtanding it as you underſtand it?—or did you ſign it?

A. I am not certain I did ſign it: If I did, I ſaid before, it was probably as pledging myſelf to uſe my Influence with the Nabob, as far as I could, to prevent his infringing upon the Begum; but not as looking upon myſelf as having any Authority from the Government under which I ſerved.

Q. I deſire

Q. I desire to know, whether you did not, upon another Occasion, declare that if you had signed such a Paper, you must have had an Authority for it?

A. If I signed it as a Guarantee upon the Behalf of the Company, I do take it for granted I must have had an Authority for it.

Q. Whether you made use at that Time of any such Qualification?

A. I don't recollect I did.

Q. Whether, having excused yourself upon the Weakness and Imperfections of your Memory, your Want of the Power of resorting to Materials, and the Length of Time that has passed since those Transactions, you did not, early last December 1787, apply to a Member of the Secret Committee for Leave to inspect your Books of Correspondence?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Whether, in consequence of that Application, the Committee did not order that you should be permitted to have Access to, and to take Copies from, your Books of Correspondence, laid before the Committee the last Sessions, upon the Impeachment of Mr. Hastings, and left at the India House?

A. They gave me Permission to inspect them as far as I found necessary.

Q. Did they give you Permission to take Copies?

A. I do not recollect whether the Permission expressed that; but I imagine it did.

Q. Whether you did not know that an Impeachment against Mr. Hastings was depending in the House of Commons, in which those Treaties were charged as existing?

A. I heard there was an Impeachment depending before the House of Commons, but I cannot say I remember particularly the Articles of it.

Q. The Question is, Whether you remember that one of the Articles turned upon the Existence of the Treaty with the Elder Begum, or not?

A. Not that it turned upon the Existence of the Treaty with the Elder Begum; but with the Younger Begum, certainly.

Q. Whether you were not employed in drawing up or furnishing Materials for an Answer to that very Charge?

A. I believe I informed your Lordships Yesterday, that I did furnish some Materials to Major Scott respecting that Article of the Charge.

Q. Do you remember whether any of the Materials related to this particular Point of the Treaty with the Elder Begum in that Article of the Charge?

A. I do not recollect particularly; but I take it for granted they did.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Whether you have ever read that Article of the Charge?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. *(from a Manager.)* Was you consulted upon drawing any Part of Mr. Hastings's Defence as presented to the House of Lords.

I do not recollect I was; I informed your Lordships Yesterday that I was occasionally at Drapers Hall, and that the first Time I went there was by Accident. I think it necessary to confirm that Declaration to your Lordships, and to inform you how it arose: the Occasion of my Visit there was from a Note that came from Major Scott (Mr. Hastings at this Time was not in London, but in Scotland)—Major Scott informed me that Mr. Hastings's Business was going on at Drapers Hall—that they were preparing for the Trial at Drapers Hall, and whenever I went into the City he wished me to call in there—The first Time I did go into the City I did call in, as he had desired, at Drapers Hall.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* Whether a Visit in consequence of a written Appointment and Note, is your Idea of an accidental Calling? Whether that was the Idea you meant to convey of an accidental Calling by a Note from Major Scott informing you that Mr. Hastings's Business was going on?

A. Yes; it requesting I would call in whenever I went into the City.

Q. That was what you meant by an accidental Calling?

A. Yes.

Q. How soon was your first Visit into the City after you received that Note from Major Scott?

A. I do not recollect, but I think it was some Days after.

Q. Whether you do not know that Major Scott was the professed Agent of Mr. Hastings?

A. I did not know that he was the professed Agent of Mr. Hastings; I knew he was a Friend of Mr. Hastings, and attended there to assist Mr. Hastings's Business all in his Power.

Q. Whether you do not know that Major Scott came over from India to be the Agent of Mr. Hastings in England?

A. I have

A. I have heard ſo; but I ſuppoſe, of courſe, Major Scott's Agency ceaſed upon Mr. Haſtings's own Arrival in England.

Q. Whether the Witneſs did not go to Drapers Hall with Mr. Scott the firſt Time?
A. I do not believe I did, but I cannot ſay poſitively—I do not believe I did.

Q. I underſtand Mr. Smith has a Houſe at Drapers Hall?
A. Yes.

Q. He lives there?
A. Yes.

Q. Did you go to his Houſe?
A. Yes.

Q. And who did you inquire for?
A. I generally inquired for Major Scott.

Q. When you went to Mr. Smith's at Drapers Hall, did the Converſation, or not, turn upon the Subject of this Charge at any of the Times?
A. No doubt, it did every Time I went there.

Q. How did it happen, that frequently converſing upon this important Subject, which was a Matter of Charge before this Court, you never took any Means of refreſhing your Memory till this Morning? Did you take any Means to refreſh your Memory till this Morning?
A. I do not recollect particularly; I ſaw all the Papers and Books from Time to Time, with reſpect to this Buſineſs, at Drapers Hall.

Q. *(from Counſel.)* With regard to the Books you have mentioned, whether they were public or private Letters which the Honourable Committee took under their Charge?
A. They were Copies of public Letters, I believe.

Q. Were thoſe Copies of Letters that were before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, Copies that were made by you, or who were they made by?
A. They were made by me, or by Perſons employed by me.

Q. Do they alſo appear upon the Bengal Conſultations?
A. I believe they do.

Q. Whether the Books were the Property of the Eaſt India Company, or your own Books: Were they Copies for your own Uſe, or for publick Authority?
A. Copies taken for my own Uſe.

Q. How came you diſpoſſeſſed of them?
A. They were produced by me to the Committee of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, who detained them.

Q. Do you mean the Committee of Managers, or the Committee of the whole Houſe of Commons?
A. The Committee of the whole Houſe.

Q. Were they depoſited with the Committee of the whole Houſe at your Deſire, or by the Authority of the Houſe?
A. I was required by the Houſe to bring them, which I complied with, and they were left there.

Q. Did you deſire to have them back?
A. Not formally.

The Counſel for the Defendant acquainted the Houſe, that as they underſtood the Witneſs was to be called again by the Managers for the Commons, they would defer their Examination of him till ſuch Time as the Examination on the Part of the Managers for the Commons was fully cloſed.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* Whether the Witneſs had any Acceſs to thoſe Papers while they continued in the Cuſtody of the Houſe of Commons, and whether he had not Permiſſion to examine them?
A. I have already informed your Lordſhips I had ſuch Permiſſion from the Houſe of Commons.

Q. Whether you had not Acceſs to them previous to the Time of their being referred to the Committee of the Managers upon this Impeachment?
A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay when they were referred to the Committee of the Managers; upon my firſt Application, Mr. Burke, One of the Honourable Managers, gave me Permiſſion to have Acceſs to them whenever I pleaſed.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether you had not Acceſs to them whilſt they were in the Cuſtody of the Clerk who keeps the Papers of the Committee of the Whole Houſe?

A. I had Acceſs to them.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they had now cloſed their Evidence, ſo far as it related to the Rights of the Begums, and the Guarantee of the Company; and they ſhould now proceed to the Infractions of thoſe Rights: For the better underſtanding of which it would be neceſſary previouſly to explain the preliminary Steps and whole Conduct of Mr. Haſtings, with reſpect to the Nomination of Mr. Middleton to be the Reſident, and in fact his private and confidential Agent, at the Nabob's Court at Lucknow.

Then Mr. Hudſon, being again called in, produced Book 106, intituled, "Bengal Secret Conſultations, from the 25th October to the 28th December 1774."

Read, Extract of a Conſultation of the 25th October 1774, beginning at Page 39 of the ſaid Book.

"Fort William, the 25th October 1774.

"At a Council; Preſent,

"The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

"The Board proceed to the Conſideration of that Part which reſpects the Political State of Affairs in India.

"Read the General Letters of laſt Year to the Court of Directors as far as relate to the Treaty of Benaras and the Rohilla Expedition.

"Read the Treaty of Banaras, and the Vizier's Requiſition for the March of the Brigade.

"Read the Governor's Report on his Return to Banaras.

"The Commander in Chief propoſes, that the Governor General be deſired to lay before the Board his original Correſpondence with the Reſident at the Vizier's Court, and with Colonel Champion commanding the Troops acting in Conjunction with the Army of the Vizier.

"The Governor obſerves on this Propoſition, that he will lay before the Board all ſuch Extracts of the Reſident's and Colonel Champion's Letters as regard the Conduct of Public Affairs; but as they may contain many Things in the Courſe of a free and perſonal Communication, which might not be proper for a public Record, and as he believes that many of them do contain ſuch, he begs leave to decline laying the original Letters, or the Whole of the Correſpondence, before the Board.

"The General, in Reply to the Governor, offers the following for the Conſideration of the Board.

"In order that the Board may judge of the Nature and Extent of the Engagements which have been contracted with Suja Dowla, and how far they have been fulfilled by the taking of Futtergur, and by the entire Reduction of the Rohillah Country, and with a View to our claiming the 40 Lacks of Rupees ſtipulated by thoſe Engagements, and conſequently whether it will be ptoper to ſend an Order for the immediate Recall of the Brigade, or to leave it there, till Suja Dowla pleaſes to ſend it back, it appears abſolutely neceſſary that the Whole of Mr. N. Middleton's and Colonel Champion's Correſpondence, which the late Preſident maintained with them, they being both employed on a Public Service, ſhould be communicated to this Board; and for the Reaſons above ſtated he moves, That the Governor be deſired to lay the Whole of the Correſpondence with the Reſident and Colonel Champion, according to his firſt Propoſal, before the Board.

"The Majority of the Board agree in the General's Propoſition, and reſolve, That the Governor be deſired to give in the Letters moved for by the General accordingly.

"The Governor enters his Diſſent to this Reſolution of the Board, for Reaſons which he will deliver in Writing To-morrow (*a*)."

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXVIII.

Read alſo, the following Extract of a Conſultation of 26th October 1774, beginning at Page 47 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 26th October 1774.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell,
Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

" The Governor delivers in the Minute in Diſſent to the Reſolution of the Majority of the Board Yeſterday, which he then promiſed, as follows:

" I diſſent from the Reſolution of the Board, becauſe I do not think the Whole of the Correſpondence which the Commander in Chief deſires to have laid before the Board, is neceſſary for their Information, and becauſe, as I have already declared, there are ſeveral Parts of Mr. Middleton's, which comprehend an unreſerved, and confidential Communication of his Opinion, and of ſuch Occurrences as he judged neceſſary for my private Information, entered into, and carried on by him, on my repeated Aſſurances that I would not reveal any Part of his Correſpondence, which might ſubject him to ill Will or Inconvenience.

" That I had a Right to give Mr. Middleton ſuch Aſſurances at the Time I delivered him his Inſtructions, cannot be doubted; and it will be found perfectly conſonant to the Truſt repoſed in me by the Adminiſtration. It was the Condition and expreſs Declaration of the Board in his Appointment, that he ſhould be my Official Agent in the Maintenance of that Intercourſe with the Vizier, which the Honourable Company had committed eſpecially and ſolely to my Charge, and for which I alone was reſponſible; ſuch were the Ideas and the Practice, with no Exceptions which could invalidate the Rule, of every Adminiſtration in Bengal, from the Year 1757 to the Diſſolution of the late Government, and I will venture to appeal to the Members of the laſt Council, whether they did not underſtand that I was allowed to employ the Services of Mr. Middleton with the Latitude I have deſcribed.

" If the Latitude allowed to me in the Exerciſe of theſe Conſtitutional Powers by the former Adminiſtration, ſhould be deemed under the New Government too extenſive, it depends on them to retrench it; but I conceive that Engagements of whatever Nature contracted by me during that Period, underſtood to be conſiſtent with the Rules of the Service, and the Powers veſted in me, can loſe no Part of their Obligation by a Change of Government. If theſe Engagements were legal, no Power on Earth can authorize me to violate them; much leſs ſhall I ſubmit to an ex poſt facto Law of ſo ſudden Formation: if they were not legal, I ſhall patiently ſubmit to the Cenſure of thoſe to whom only I am accountable.

" I muſt be permitted further to obſerve, That to me the whole Proceeding in this Buſineſs carries the Air of an Inquiſition into my perſonal Conduct, in my Negociations with the Vizir. After having ſolemnly declared to the Board, that I would lay before them every Part of the Correſpondence required, which could give any Information upon Public Affairs; without waiting for this Communication, without knowing whether it would furniſh them with every Light that could be deſired, or whether any Chaſm would be found in the Intelligence, for want of the Reſt of the Correſpondence, they arbitrarily reſolve, That I ſhould expoſe to them all the Minutiæ of a confidential Correſpondence, and betray into public Record the unreſerved Opinions of a young Man, hazarded only on the moſt ſacred Aſſurances of Secrecy, from the only Perſon to whom he looked upon himſelf as accountable in that immediate Duty. I muſt declare, that I regard this as prejudging a Matter not yet compleatly laid before the Board, merely to convey a Cenſure on my former Adminiſtration, in the Branch of Correſpondence with the Foreign Powers, and to introduce the Change propoſed with every Circumſtance of Mortification to me.

" I will conclude with a few Words, which I think neceſſary, reſpecting Mr. Middleton, for obviating any Conſtruction to his Prejudice which may be drawn from what I have ſaid of the ſecret Nature of Part of his Correſpondence. I therefore now declare, that I never either expected or received from him any Information reſpecting Individuals, which the ſtricteſt Honour could not juſtify, nor has he ever conveyed to me an Opinion or a Word reflecting upon the Character of any Gentleman in the Service, unleſs the Letters which I ſhall lay before the Board ſhall be conſtrued to have ſuch Tendency. As to the reſt, I am certain that the whole of Mr. Middleton's Management, including even his moſt ſecret and confidential Correſpondence, whenever it ſhall be publicly known, will reflect Honour, both on his Principles and Abilities, and recommend him to the Notice of his Employers, in a Manner that will be favourable to himſelf, and do Credit to me in the Choice I made of him.

" I have now formally to acquaint the Board, that all the Official Letters of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, and ſuch Parts, even of his Private Correſpondence, as I can with Propriety ſhew, ſhall be laid before them; a Copy alſo ſhall be delivered of my Letters addreſſed to him, in which I ſhall obſerve the ſame Reſervation.

(a) Vide Appendix, N° XXIX. (b) Vide Appendix, N° XXX. (c) "All

" All Colonel Champion's Official Letters, ſhall be laid before the Board, with Copies of mine to him if required; but ſuch as have paſſed between us of a familiar and friendly Communication, I do not think myſelf authorized to produce, becauſe they were written only for our mutual Information, and his are expreſsly marked with a diſtinct Mode of Addreſs, for thoſe which are intended for Official, and for thoſe which he intended as confidential. I am the more obſervant of this Rule towards Colonel Champion, becauſe our Correſpondence has not been altogether cordial on many Points; and we have ſeveral Times expoſtulated with each other on theſe Topicks, with the Freedom of private Friends, and in a Stile which though decent in every Degree, is yet different perhaps from the formal Addreſſes of Official Correſpondence.

" (Signed) Warren Haſtings."

" The General thinks it proper to proteſt againſt the Governor's Refuſal to deliver up the Whole of the Correſpondence, and will deliver his Reaſons in a Minute To-morrow.

" Colonel Monſon the ſame; and

" Mr. Francis the ſame.

" Colonel Monſon propoſes the following Queſtion to the Board:

" Whether or not Mr. Middleton ſhould be continued Reſident at the Court of the Vizir, the Governor having refuſed to lay before the Board the Whole of his Correſpondence?

" This Queſtion being accordingly put;

" Mr. Francis thinks that he ſhould not be continued.

" Mr. Barwell thinks that it would be improper to remove him at this Juncture.

" Colonel Monſon thinks that Mr. Middleton ſhould not be continued there.

" The Commander in Chief alſo thinks that he ought not to be continued.

" The Governor objects to the Removal of Mr. Middleton.

" Reſolved by the Majority of the Board, that Mr. Nathaniel Middleton be not continued Reſident at the Vizir's Court.

" The Governor enters the following Diſſent to this Reſolution:

" I diſſent from the Reſolution of the Majority of the Board, for the Diſmiſſion of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton from his Employment; and I hereby enter my ſolemn Proteſt againſt all the Conſequences of ſo violent a Meaſure, which proclaims to all the Powers of Hindoſtan, in almoſt the firſt Public Act of the new Adminiſtration, the total Abolition of the Authority which they have hitherto ſeen exerciſed by me, either in Perſon or through my Official Agent, as the firſt and executive Member of the Government of Bengal, an Authority which has been confirmed to me, by an Act of the Britiſh Legiſlature, and eſpecially aſſigned me by the Inſtructions of the Honourable the Court of Directors, in the Clauſe appointing me the ſole Channel of Correſpondence with the Princes and Powers of India.

" (Signed) Warren Haſtings (*a*)."

Then the Witneſs delivered in Book 39, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 2d December 1776, beginning at Page 613 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, the 2d December 1776.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
General Clavering,
Richard Barwell,
Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

" The Governor General moves, That Mr. John Briſtow be recalled from the Court of the Nabob of Oude, and that Mr. Nathaniel Middleton be reſtored to the Appointment of Preſident at that Court (*b*).

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 631 of the ſame Book.

" Reſolved, that Mr. John Briſtow be recalled to the Preſidency from the Court of the Nabob of Oude, and that Mr. Nathaniel Middleton be reſtored to the Appointment of Reſident at that Court, ſubject to the Orders and Authority of the Governor General and Council, conformably to the Motion of the Governor General (*c*)."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 108, intituled, " Bengal Diſpatches, 31ſt January 1776 to 28th November 1777."

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXIX. (*b*) Vide Appendix, N° XXX. (*c*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXI.

Read,

Read, the following Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor General and Council in Bengal, 4th July 1777; beginning at Page 693 of the ſaid Book.

11. " Upon the moſt careful Peruſal of your Proceedings of the 2d December 1776, relative to the Recall of Mr. Briſtow from the Court of the Nabob of Oude, and the Appointment of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton to that Station, we muſt declare our ſtrongeſt Diſapprobation of the Whole of that Tranſaction.

12. " We obſerve that the Governor General's Motion for the Recall of Mr. Briſtow, includes that for the Reſtoration of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton; but as neither of thoſe Meaſures appear to us neceſſary, or even juſtifiable, they cannot receive our Approbation.

13. " With reſpect to Mr. Briſtow, we find no Shadow of Charge againſt him. It appears that he has executed the Board to the entire Satisfaction even of thoſe Members of Council who did not concur in his Appointment. You have unanimouſly recommended him to our Notice; Attention to your Recommendation has induced us to afford him Marks of our Favour, and to reannex the Emoluments affixed by you to his Appointment, which had been diſcontinued by our Order. And as we muſt be of Opinion, that a Perſon of acknowledged Abilities, whoſe Conduct has thus gained him the Eſteem of his Superiors, ought not to be degraded without juſt Cauſe, we do not heſitate to interpoſe in his Behalf, and therefore direct that Mr. Briſtow do forthwith return to his Station of Reſident at Oude, from which he has been ſo improperly removed (*a*)."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 79, intituled, " Bengal Council, 26 September to 14 November 1780."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of 2d October, beginning at Page 61 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 2d October 1780.

Puh. Dept. Monday.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote K. B.

Motion from Mr. Francis,

" Mr. Francis moves, That the 11th, 12th, and 13th Paragraphs of the Company's general Letter of the 18th July 1777; and the 149th Paragraph of the general Letter of the 23d December 1778, be now read.

" Read, the abovementioned Paragraphs of the Company's general Letters of the 18th July 1777, and 23d December 1778.

for the Re-appointment of Mr. Briſtow at Lucknow.

" Mr. Francis moves, That in Obedience to the Company's Orders, Mr. Briſtow be forthwith appointed, and directed to return to his Station, of Reſident at Owde; and that Mr. Purling be ordered to deliver over Charge of the Office to Mr. Briſtow, immediately on his Arrival, and return himſelf forthwith to the Preſidency.

" Alſo, That the Governor General be requeſted to furniſh Mr. Briſtow with the uſual Letter of Credence to the Nabob Vizier."

Read alſo, from the ſame Conſultation, Extract of the Governor General's Minute, beginning at Page 64 of the ſaid Book.

" I will aſk, Who is Mr. Briſtow, that a Member of the Adminiſtration ſhould, at ſuch a Time, hold him forth as an Inſtrument for the Degradation of the Firſt executive Member of this Government? What are the profeſſed Objects of his Appointment? What are the Merits and Services, or what the Qualifications which entitle him to ſuch an uncommon Diſtinction?—Is it for his ſuperior Integrity, or from his eminent Abilities, that he is to be dignified at ſuch Hazards of every Conſideration, that ought to influence Members of this Adminiſtration? Of the former I know no Proofs; I am ſure that it is not an Evidence of it, that he has been enabled to make himſelf the Principal in ſuch a Competition: and for the Teſt of his Abilities, I appeal to the Letter which he has dared to write to this Board, and which I am aſhamed to ſay we have ſuffered. I deſire that a Copy of it may be inſerted in this Day's Proceedings; that it may ſtand before the Eyes of every Member of the Board, when he ſhall give his Vote upon a Queſtion for giving their Confidence to a Man, their Servant, who has publickly inſulted them, his Maſters, and the Members of the Government to whom he owes his Obedience; who, aſſuming an Aſſociation with the Court of Directors, and erecting himſelf into a Tribunal, has arraigned them for Diſobedience of Orders, paſſed Judgement upon them, and condemned or acquitted them as their Magiſtrate and Superior. Let the Board conſider, whether a Man, poſſeſſed of ſo independant a Spirit, who has already ſhewn ſuch a Contempt of their Authority, who has ſhewn himſelf ſo

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXII.

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wretched an Advocate for his own Cauſe, and Negociator for his own Intereſt, is fit to be truſted with the Guardianſhip of their Honour, the Execution of their Meaſures, and as their confidential Manager and Negociator with the Princes of India (*a*)."

Read, alſo, a further Extract of the ſaid Minute, beginning at Page 70 of the ſaid Book.

" The Removal of Mr. Middleton, my Agent at the Court of the Nabob of Owde, was the firſt Act of a Majority of this Adminiſtration, in the Year 1774, to proclaim the Annihilation of my Authority; and the Effect moſt completely anſwered that Intention; for, from that Moment, I was conſidered, both at the Court of Owde and in every other Court which had any Connection with this Government, in no other Light than as the conſtrained Inſtrument of exerciſing an Authority, which had been eſtabliſhed on the Ruins of my own. Such muſt be the evident Effect of the preſent Queſtion, if it ſhall be carried againſt me (*b*)."

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, Extract of a Conſultation of the 3d of October 1780, beginning at Page 95 of the ſame.

" Fort William, 3d October 1780.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident; Pub Dept. Tueſday.

Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires;

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.

" The Governor General delivers in the following Minute:

" I cannot, conſiſtently with what I conſider due to the Dignity and Authority of my public Station, and to my own Character and Feelings as a Man, conſent to affix my Signature to the Letters of Credence or Inſtructions of Mr. Briſtow, as Reſident at the Court of Oude. The Court of Directors, after having, in their firſt Inſtructions to this Government, expreſsly enjoined every Member of the Board not only to be guided by the Voice of the Majority, but alſo to ſubſcribe to all Letters, Orders, Acts, and Meaſures, reſulting from the Deciſions of ſuch Majority, have ſince thought proper to compliment General Clavering and Mr. Francis upon their Departure from this Rule, in Inſtances where their Sentiments have not accorded with thoſe of the other Members of the Board. This will be a Juſtification to me in the Reſolution I have taken; for whatever Law is binding an ane* Member of the Adminiſtration, muſt certainly be ſo to the Whole; and although it is a Latitude I neither approve or ſhould in general wiſh to avail myſelf of, yet in this very particular Inſtance I truſt I ſhall ſtand acquitted, not only to my Employers, but to the whole World. I muſt therefore deſire that the Board will deviſe ſome other Means of notifying Mr. Briſtow's Appointment to the Vizier; and as they have thought it incumbent on them, as a Point of official Duty, to revive and put in Force an antiquated Order of the Court of Directors in Favour of Mr. Briſtow, which, for the Reaſons aſſigned in my Minute of Yeſterday, will neceſſarily be conſidered by all the Country Powers as a Superceſſion of my Authority, I am yet willing to hope that the Board will not only liſten to, but afford me their Support, in a Motion which I ſhall beg Leave to make, with a View to repair the Injury which I conceive my public Station has ſuſtained, and avert in ſome Degree the prejudicial Effects which this Meaſure cannot fail to produce on our Affairs. * Sic in Orig.

" I propoſe that Mr. Briſtow's Appointment be limited ſolely to the Conduct of ſuch political Negociations, Correſpondence, and Tranſactions, as this Government may now, or at any future Period, be engaged in with the Vizier, and in no Shape whatever to interfere in any Matters reſpecting our pecuniary Engagements with his Excellency. That a ſeparate Agent be appointed by us to that Truſt, whoſe Duty it ſhall be to receive, collect, and manage the Tuncaws, or Aſſignments, which have been, or may hereafter be, granted by the Nabob for the Liquidation of the Claims of this Government upon him. That he be entruſted with the Adjuſtment of all Accounts relative to theſe Claims with the Nabob, and his Miniſters, with all Diſburſements to the Paymaſters of the Company's Troops ſtationed in the Dominions of the Vizier; as alſo to his Excellency's own Military Eſtabliſhment under Britiſh Officers, &c. remitting the Reſidue of his Collections immediately to us, and that he be directly amenable to our Authority and Orders, and in no Reſpect whatever dependant on, or connected with the Office of the Reſident: And as Mr. Purling cannot continue with a diminiſhed Commiſſion, and as it now becomes more than ever neceſſary that I ſhould have a Perſon in Station in thoſe Provinces, not only in whom I can confide, but who is publickly known to be attached to me, I propoſe Mr. Middleton for the above Office, hoping to meet with the Concurrence and Support of the Board.

Sir Eyre Coote.—I agree to the Governor General's Propoſal of the Appointment of Mr. Middleton to the Office mentioned, not becauſe Mr. Purling may not continue at Lucknow with Debates.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXIII. (*b*) Vide Appendix, Ibid.

a diminiſhed

a diminiſhed Commiſſion, but becauſe Mr. Nathaniel Middleton is a Perſon publickly known to be attached to the Governor General. The Neceſſity of the Times requires an Appearance of that kind.

Mr. Wheler.—I object to the Queſtion.

Mr. Francis.—The Office deſcribed in the Motion, is the ſame which Mr. Briſtow held before, and which has been held ſince, by Mr. Middleton and Mr. Purling. I know no Reaſon why it ſhould be diminiſhed, and ſo materially altered when it is given to Mr. Briſtow. I therefore cannot conſent to the Propoſition. At the ſame Time, it is a Matter of Indifference to me, by whom the Duties propoſed to be veſted by Mr. Middleton are exerciſed.

" The Governor General's Motion carried in the Affirmative.

" Reſolved accordingly, That Mr. Briſtow's Appointment be limited ſolely to the Conduct of ſuch political Negociations, Correſpondence, and Tranſactions, as this Government may now, or at any future Period, be engaged in with the Vizier; and that he, in no Shape whatever, interfere in any Matters reſpecting our pecuniary Engagements with his Excellency.

" Reſolved, That Mr. Nathaniel Middleton be appointed Agent on the Part of this Government for receiving, collecting, and managing the Tuncaws or Aſſignments which have been or may be granted by the Nabob, for the Liquidation of the Claims of this Government upon him; that he be entruſted with the Adjuſtment of all Accounts relative to theſe Claims with the Nabob and his Miniſters, with all Diſburſements to the Paymaſters of the Company's Troops ſtationed in the Dominions of the Vizier, as alſo to his Excellency's own Military Eſtabliſhment, under Britiſh Officers, &c. remitting the Reſidue of his Collections immediately to us; and that he be directly amenable to our Authority and Orders, and in no Reſpect whatever dependant on or connected with the Office of Reſident.

" Mr. Francis moves, That as the Governor General declines ſigning the Letter of Credence for Mr. Briſtow, Mr. Briſtow's Appointment may be communicated to Mr. Purling by the Board, with Directions to make it known to the Vizier.

" Agreed to.

" Ordered, That Mr. Charles Purling be directed to deliver over Charge of all the Papers of the Office hitherto held by him, which have a Relation to the Office to which Mr. Briſtow has been appointed, to Mr. Briſtow; and that he be directed to deliver over Charge to Mr. Nathaniel Middleton of all the Papers and Accounts of the Office hitherto held by him, which have a Relation to the Office to which Mr. Middleton is appointed, together with the Balance of Caſh in his Hands (*a*)."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 35, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, 2d April to 14th June 1781."

Read, Extract of a Conſultation of 21ſt of May 1781, beginning at Page 1305 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, 21ſt May 1781.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
and
Edward Wheler Eſquire;
Lietenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. abſent on Command at the Preſidency of Fort St. George.

" The Governor General finds himſelf under the diſagreeable Neceſſity of reviving the Subject of Mr. Briſtow's Appointment of Reſident at the Court of the Nabob of Owde, and of moving that he may be recalled. His general Reaſons for this Motion have been recorded very fully in various Parts of the Conſultations, and particularly in thoſe of the 2d and 3d of October, and the 14th of January laſt. To theſe a recent Motive is added in the Neceſſity of removing every Circumſtance which may contribute to leſſen his Influence on the Effect of any Negociations in which he may be engaged in the Proſecution of his intended Viſit to Lucknow, and in the accompanying Letters juſt received from the Nabob Vizier to the Governor General, and to his Miniſter Raja Govindram."

" Agreed to the Governor General's Motion, and ordered accordingly (*b*)."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 42, intituled, " Bengal Diſpatches."

Read, Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Board at Calcutta, dated the 28th Auguſt 1782.

Mr. John Briſtow.

" Equally extraordinary and unwarrantable have been your Proceedings reſpecting Mr. John Briſtow.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXIV.

(*b*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXV.

" He

" He was appointed Reſident at Owde in December 1774. In December 1776 he was recalled without the Shadow of a Charge being exhibited againſt him. By our Letter of 4th July 1777, we ſignified our Diſapprobation of the Proceedings againſt Mr. Briſtow, and directed that he ſhould be reſtored to his Station; which Direction we confirmed by our ſubſequent Letter of the 23d December 1778. Mr. Briſtow arrived in India in February 1780, and in October of the ſame Year, it was reſolved by your Board, that Mr. Briſtow ſhould return to Owde; but that his Appointment ſhould be limited ſolely to the Conduct of Political Negociations; Mr. Middleton being at the ſame time nominated to ſettle pecuniary Matters with the Vizier. On the 21ſt of May 1781, upon receiving a Letter from the Vizier, expreſſing his Deſire, that Mr. Briſtow ſhould be removed from his Court, he was again recalled. But without entering into the Conſideration of this Matter, and in order to vindicate and uphold our own Authority, we do hereby poſitively direct, that Mr. Briſtow do forthwith proceed to Owde, in the Station of our Reſident there. We do not mean in the leaſt to reflect on the Character and Ability of Mr. Middleton, who muſt be immediately recalled from thence; but it is a Duty incumbent upon us, thus to maintain the Reſpect due to the Orders of the Court of Directors. You are likewiſe to obſerve, that we ſhall not ſuffer any other Perſon to proceed to Oude, for the Management of the Finance, one Perſon being in our Opinion ſufficient to tranſact our Buſineſs there, as Principal in both thoſe Departments; and we expect our Orders reſpecting the Succeſſion to that Reſidency be fully complied with."

Approbation, Lords of Treaſury, 3d Auguſt 82, Sey. State, 14th July.

(Signed at the End).

Then the Witneſs produced Book 62, intituled, " Bengal General Council, from the 16th September, to the 28th October 1782."

Read, Extract of a Letter from the Governor General to the Board at Calcutta, from a Conſultation held on the 23d September 1782, beginning at Page 58 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, 23d September 1782.

Pub. Depart. Monday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
Edward Wheler, and
John M'Pherſon, } Eſquires.
The Governor General indiſpoſed.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Command, at Fort St. George.

" Extract of a Letter from the Governor General to the Council, dated 22d September 1782.

" Upon the ſame Occaſion I obſerved to you, that the Obſtacle which oppoſed itſelf to the Nomination of Mr. Briſtow to the Reſidentſhip at Oude, no longer exiſted; it was removed by my having vindicated what muſt ever be eſteemed one of the neceſſary Privileges of this Government. I had the Pleaſure of finding, upon the moſt impartial Enquiry, that the Conduct of Mr. Briſtow during his former Reſidence at the Court of the Vizier, had been proper and attentive. I accordingly wiſhed to recommend him to ſucceed the preſent Reſident, provided the Vizier had no reaſonable Objections to his Appointment (*a*).

(Signed at the End).

Then the Witneſs produced Book 80, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, 1ſt April to 29th May 1783."

Read, Extract of the Governor General's Inſtructions to Mr. Briſtow, dated Fort William, 23d October 1782, and entered upon a Conſultation of 21ſt April 1783, beginning at Page 304 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, 21ſt April 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheeler
John Macpherſon } Eſquires.
John Stables,
Sir Eyre Coote gone to Fort St. George.

" I do Juſtice to my Senſe of your Character, in declaring my entire Reliance on your Prudence and Integrity, and to theſe I truſt for your Deviation from any Part of theſe Inſtructions, at your Diſcretion, in any Inſtance which ſhall appear to you neceſſary to require it; deſiring however, as a proper Caution, that, as much as you can, you will leave the Subject free for my Correction of it; and inſtantly inform me, or the Board, according to the Degree of its Importance, that you have acted in ſuch Manner, with your Reaſons for it (*b*).

" I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
" (Signed) Warren Haſtings."

" Fort William,
23d October 1782.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVI.

(*b*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVII.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that they had thought proper to trace, and to ſubmit to the Houſe, the Steps with which the Defendant appeared to have purſued one Object indefatigably, namely, that of appointing Mr. Middleton to be his private confidential Agent at Lucknow, in order to fix the Reſponſibility afterwards upon the Defendant himſelf; and deſired Leave to obſerve, that the Moment in which he propoſed to recall Mr. Briſtow, and to deliver the Whole of the Papers to Mr. Middleton, was the Day upon which he himſelf propoſed to leave Calcutta and go to Oude. They would next proceed to ſhew the Light in which the Defendant wiſhed Mr. Middleton ſhould be conſidered at the Court of the Nabob at Lucknow.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 109, intituled, " Bengal Perſian Correſpondence, Letters ſent from the 6th January 1774, to the 31ſt December 1777."

Read, Extract of a Letter from the Governor General to the Mother of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, dated the 18th December 1776, beginning at Page 287 of the ſaid Book.

" To the Mother of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah. Written the 18th December 1776.

" Mr. Middleton is going, on my Part, to reſide with the Vizier. I have recommended to his ſtricteſt Attention whatever you may wiſh to have effected; I beg you will regard whatever he may repreſent to you as coming from myſelf; and I do not doubt but that, by his good Offices, he will be able to accompliſh what I have greatly at Heart—the Re-eſtabliſhment of Confidence and Affection between you and the Vizier your Son."

Read alſo, a Letter from the Governor General, to the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah; dated 26th December 1776, beginning at Page 288 of the ſame Book.

" To the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, written 26th December 1776.

" As it is the Object of my Wiſh and daily Study to encreaſe and ſtrengthen the Friendſhip which ſubſiſts between your Excellency and the Engliſh, my own Friendſhip being ſo perfect as not to admit of any Addition, I have ſent Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, a Gentleman who was formerly ſtationed with your Father, the late Nabob Shuja ul Dowlah, to your Excellency. He will reſide with you in the Place of Mr. Briſtow, who will deſire your Leave to return. I requeſt that you will honour him with your Confidence and Regard, and communicate with him freely and without Reſerve, conſidering whatever he may advance as proceeding immediately from myſelf. I hope that you will favour and befriend him, as it will give me Pleaſure."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next read Two ſhort Extracts, to ſhew that where the Board had directed a Communication to be made to the Nabob officially, and in publick, Mr. Haſtings referred the Vizier to a private Explanation and Communication through Mr. Middleton, as to Matters which were not poſſible to be explained by publick Letters, which Explanation therefore he muſt have given by Letter to Mr. Middleton.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 110, intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations."

Read, Extract of a Conſultation of 4th Auguſt 1777, beginning at Page 343, of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, the 4th Auguſt 1777.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General Sir John Clavering K. B.
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

" Agreed, That the Governor General be requeſted to write to the Nabob of Oude, in reply to his Letter approving the Plan recommended to him in May laſt, for the Arrangement and Alteration of the Eſtabliſhment of his Troops, under the Command of Britiſh Officers; and that he acquaint him that the Preſident has in conſequence made ſuch Regulations and Appointments, as were neceſſary for carrying it completely into Execution; the Particulars of which will be communicated to him by Mr. Middleton."

Read alſo, Extract of a Conſultation of the 7th Auguſt 1777, beginning at Page 358 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort

" Fort William, the 7th Auguſt 1779.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General Sir John Clavering,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

" Reſolved alſo, that the following Letter be written to Mr. Middleton.

" Sir,

" In conſequence of the Nabob's Approbation of the Plan, which we recommended to him in May laſt, for the Arrangement and Alteration of the Eſtabliſhment of his Troops, under the Command of Britiſh Officers, we have made ſuch further Regulations and Appointments as were neceſſary for carrying it completely into Execution, and incloſe you a Copy of them, to be communicated to the Vizier."

Read, from Book 109, already delivered in, Extract of a Letter from the Governor General to the Vizier, dated the 8th of Auguſt 1777, beginning at Page 344 of the ſaid Book.

" To the Vizier. Written 8th Auguſt 1777.

" In conſequence of your Excellency's Approbation of the Plan which I ſome Time ago propoſed to you, for the Arrangement and Alteration of the Eſtabliſhment of your Troops under the Command of Britiſh Officers, ſuch further Regulations and Appointments have been made as were neceſſary for carrying it completely into Execution.

" As the Particulars of this Arrangement can be more clearly explained to you by Word of Mouth, I beg Leave to refer you for them to Mr. Middleton, who has received full Inſtructions on this Head."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 111, intituled, " Bengal Perſian Publick Correſpondence, ſent 8th February to 31ſt December 1780."

Read, Extract of a Letter from the Governor General to Hyder Beg Khan, dated 26th April 1780, beginning at Page 13 of the ſaid Book.

" To Hyder Beg Khan. Written the 26th April 1780.

" I have been favoured with ſeveral Letters from you, which Hurry of Buſineſs prevented my acknowledging ſooner. I cannot conceal from you, that my Feelings have been much hurt by ſome Parts of the Nabob's Conduct, which, I was led to believe, proceeded, in a great Meaſure, from your Advice; but Mr. Middleton having explained to me ſome Matters which before appeared to me in a different Point of View, I am happy to aſſure you, that the unfavourable Impreſſions I conceived of your Conduct, are now in a great Meaſure removed."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that in this Evidence they particularly wiſhed to ſhew the peculiar Reſponſibility Mr. Haſtings took upon himſelf, when he appointed Mr. Middleton, and the Terms upon which he appointed him, to the Court of Lucknow; they ſhould prove, by ſeveral Inſtances, that Mr. Haſtings made a very proper Choice for his Purpoſe, and found a Perſon who perfectly underſtood the Object for which he was Agent, as would appear from Two ſhort Paſſages they ſhould next produce to the Houſe for this Purpoſe.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 82, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, 2d June 30th D° 1783."

Read, Extract of a Letter to Mr. Haſtings, dated Lucknow, 30th December 1781, and ſigned Nath. Middleton, from a Conſultation of 12th June 1783, beginning at Page 203 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, 12th June 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.
John Stables,

" My Dear Sir, Lucknow, 30th December 1781.

" I have this Day anſwered your publick Letter in the Form you ſeemed to expect. I hope there is nothing in it that may to you appear too pointed. If you wiſh the Matter to be otherwiſe underſtood

underſtood than I have taken up and ſtated it, I need not ſay I ſhall be ready to conform to whatever you may preſcribe, and to take upon myſelf any Share of the Blame of the (hitherto) Non-performance of the Stipulations made on Behalf of the Nabob; though I do aſſure you, I myſelf repreſented to his Excellency and the Miniſters, conceiving it to be your Deſire, that the apparent Aſſumption of the Reins of his Government (for in that Light he undoubtedly conſidered it at the firſt View), as ſpecified in the Agreement executed by him, was not meant to be fully and literally enforced; but that it was neceſſary you ſhould have ſomething to ſhew on your Side, as the Company were deprived of a Benefit, without a Requital; and, upon the Faith of this Aſſurance alone, I believe I may ſafely affirm his Excellency's Objections to ſigning the Treaty were given up. If I have underſtood the Matter wrong, or miſconceived your Deſign, I am truly ſorry for it; however it is not too late to correct the Error; and I am ready to undertake, and, God willing, to carry through whatever you may, on Receipt of my Publick Letter, tell me is your final Reſolve.

" If you determine, at all Events, that the Meaſure of reducing the Nabob's Army, &c. ſhall be immediately undertaken, I ſhall take it as a particular Favour if you will indulge me with a Line at Fayzabad, that I may make the neceſſary previous Arrangements with reſpect to the Diſpoſal of my Family, which I would not wiſh to retain here, in the Event either of a Rupture with the Nabob, or the Neceſſity of employing our Forces on the Reduction of his Aumils and Troops. This done, I can begin the Work in Three Days after my Return from Fayzabad.

" I am, &c. &c.

" Nath. Middleton (*a*)."

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

ERRATUM.

An Extract read on Thurſday, April 24th (the Day immediately preceding), having been omitted by Miſtake, it is here inſerted with a Reference to its proper Appendix.

The Order in which it was read was, immediately after the Extract from Book 106, "*Conſultations of the 26th October* 1774," *ending in Page* 507 *ſupra, and before the Extract from Book* 39, "*Conſultation of the 2d December* 1776," *beginning in the ſame Page.*

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book (Book 106), the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 21ſt December 1774, beginning at Page 449.

" Fort William, the 21ſt December 1774.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident; — Secret Dept. Wedneſday.
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

" General Clavering now propoſes that Mr. John Briſtow be appointed Reſident at the Vizier's Court, as qualified for it, from his general Knowledge of Buſineſs, and his particular Acquaintance with the Perſian Language.

" The Governor General objects to this Propoſition, becauſe, in his Judgement, Mr. Briſtow is not qualified for the Office, neither by his Knowledge of the Perſian Language, nor by any diſtinguiſhed Abilities.

" Agreed, that the Queſtion above propoſed by General Clavering be put.

" Mr. Francis delivers the following Reply:

" I am happy in hearing a Gentleman named for this high Office, to whoſe Appointment I can ſafely give a poſitive Approbation. I know him to be a Man of Senſe, Induſtry, and Judgment; I have poſitive Reaſons to think that he underſtands the Perſian Language, as well from the Aſſiſtance he has favoured me with in the Letters I have received and anſwered, as from his public Office of Tranſlator to the Khalſa: This Office implies, Knowledge of Buſineſs, Knowledge of Accounts, and Knowledge of Language. I do not inſiſt upon his Engliſh Connections, though, in this Reſpect, few Gentlemen are better connected than Mr. Briſtow. I agree to the Propoſition.

(Signed) " P. Francis."

" I beg Leave to explain to the Board, that, by the Word *poſitive* uſed in this Minute, I mean no more than a Contradiſtinction to *negative*, which I had uſed in my former Minute.

(Signed) " P. Francis."

" Mr. Barwell. I cannot aſſent to the Nomination of Mr. Briſtow, for the following Reaſons:

" Becauſe, I think, when a Propoſition from the Chair is over-ruled, there ought to be very good Grounds for ſuch a Meaſure. The Preference given to the General's Nomination, undoubtedly

ſpeaks

ſpeaks Inattention to the Governor; beſides, in this Particular, I think the Governor ſhould have been conſidered, as he is the Channel of publick Correſpondence, and ſhould be ſupported, as the Head of this Government, in the Eyes of the Princes of India: This Character he will ſcarcely maintain, if a Gentleman, in Oppoſition to his Sentiments, goes the Publick Agent to the Court of the Vizir.

(Signed) " R. B."

" Colonel Monſon. I aſſent to the General's Nomination, as I ſuppoſe Mr. Briſtow to be a Perſon qualified for the Truſt, from the Station which he now fills.

" The Governor General diſſents from the Propoſition.

" Agreed, by a Majority of the Board, that Mr. Briſtow be appointed Reſident at the Court of Suja Dowla (*a*)."

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII. A.

Die Martis, 29° *Aprilis* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons informed the Houſe, that before they proceeded with an Article of written Evidence, which they were about to ſubmit to the Houſe, they requeſted Mr. Middleton might be called to hear it read, it being his own Wiſh to have an Opportunity of hearing it read before he ſpoke to it.

Mr. MIDDLETON was accordingly called in.

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, That the Paper juſt mentioned was a Third Treaty, and Guarantee, ſigned by Mr. Middleton, which it was not their Intention originally to have brought forward as Part of their Evidence; but, finding from ſome Anſwers of Mr. Middleton on a former Day, that it was extremely material, they would now lay it before the Houſe; and, by Way of Elucidation, firſt read a Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Board, previous to his going a ſecond Time to Fyzabad in the Year 1778.

Then a Book, intituled, "Letters to the Board from 1777 to 1782," and marked with the Letter B, was delivered in, and acknowledged by the Witneſs to be one of the Books, containing Copies of his publick Correſpondence, delivered by him to the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, purſuant to an Order for that Purpoſe.

Read, the following Extract from the ſame Book.

"Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Honourable Board.

"Honourable Sir and Sirs,

"I had the Honour to forward you, ſome Time ago, an Addreſs from Mr. Henry John Chandler, requeſting Permiſſion to reſign his Station of Aſſiſtant to the Reſident at this Court; but not having been honoured with a Reply, and the State of Mr. Chandler's Health calling for an immediate Change of Air, I have taken upon me, at his earneſt Requeſt, to yield my Conſent to his Proceeding within the Company's Provinces, where he will again addreſs the Honourable Board, and wait their Pleaſure.

"The growing Differences between the Nabob and the Two Begums, which, * if ſuffered to continue, might be productive of an irreparable Breach, and ultimately be attended with the moſt unhappy Effects to the late Nabob's Family. I have thought it the Duty of my Station, to endeavour to avert theſe Conſequences by a timely Mediation. The Honourable Board have already been minutely informed of the ſeveral Claims of the Two Begums, which, for the moſt Part, appear to me founded in Equity; and the Nabob, although formerly averſe to complying with them, has of late manifeſted ſo ſtrong a Deſire to accommodate theſe Differences, and reſtore the mutual good Underſtanding which ought to ſubſiſt between him and the Two Begums, that I am inclined to believe he would willingly give up many Points which he has hitherto refuſed, to effect this Object. I have therefore, at his Excellency's urgent Solicitations, undertaken a Viſit to Fyzabad, in the Hope that I may be able to remove thoſe ill Impreſſions which have naturally ariſen from mutual Injuries, and adjuſt the Preliminaries of a perſonal Interview, which both Parties appear equally deſirous ſhould take Place: This done, the Nabob has given me his ſolemn Promiſe, that he will immediately join me at Fyzabad; and I entertain the moſt ſanguine Expectations that it will prove the Means of removing thoſe violent Prejudices and Diſguſts which have ſo long prevailed, to the Deſtruction of almoſt every Kind of Intercourſe and Connection between them.

* Sic in Orig.

" I ſhall duly inform the Honourable Board of the Reſult of my Proceedings at Fyzabad, and take no Part officially in any Accommodation or freſh Agreements which may take Place between the Nabob and the Begums, without their previous Sanction and Concurrence.

" Fyzabad, I have the Honour to be, &c.
" the 14th September 1778. (Signed) Nath[l] Middleton."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, That ſubſequent to the Date of this Letter, Mr. Middleton proceeded a Second Time to Fyzabad; they ſhould therefore next produce the Treaty which he then ſigned, and the Letter incloſing the Treaty from the Begum, which was ſent down afterwards.

The Witneſs produced Book 24, intituled, " Publick Perſian Correſpondence, Letters received from the 1ſt of January to the 31ſt of December 1779."

Read, the following Extract, being a Letter from Omut ul Zahra to Mr. Haſtings, beginning at Page 2 of the ſame Book.

" From Omut ul Zahra, the Daughter of Ameen ul Dowlah
" Iſhauk Khan, and Mother of the Vizier.

" Received 1ſt February 1779.

" I have already tranſmitted you a Letter, with a particular Relation of the late Tranſactions here, which you have, I flatter myſelf, honoured with Peruſal, and I ſhall juſt now touch on the moſt material of them.

" As you wrote me that the Ships were ready, and that I might ſet off whenever I pleaſed, relying with the greateſt Confidence on this agreeable Intimation, I was more than ever anxious to proſe-
* Sic in Orig. cute my Pilgrimage to Kerbella *, and was preparing to take with me the Corps of the late bleſſed Nabob, and to begin my Journey, when the Nabob Kukkun ul Dowlah, Mr. Middleton coming here, forbad me to take any Meaſures for that Purpoſe, for the Term of 20 Months longer, after which I ſhould meet with no Obſtruction in the Proſecution of my Deſign. I was accordingly under the Neceſſity of ſuſpending my Journey. After the Period had elapſed, Mr. Middleton came to Fyzabad the firſt Time the latter End of Shabaun, and informed me, in the Courſe of a Converſation we held together, that the Settlement of all Matters depended on the Preſence of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah. Notwithſtanding the Diſpleaſure I had conceived againſt my Son, yet, at Mr. Middleton's Requeſt, I wrote him an Invitation to Fyzabad, and he came accordingly. Two or Three Days were paſſed in the Duties of Hoſpitality and reciprocal Acts of Affection. After which my ſaid Son ſet all the Buſineſs aſide in the moſt unkind Manner, and ſent me a Meſſage to exchange ſeveral Places, and to change the former Engagements between us. Notwithſtanding I highly diſapproved of the Changes propoſed, becauſe the forming Engagements and changing them, ever tends to remove all Confidence and Security in the moſt ſolemn Acts, yet, for the Satisfaction of Mr. Middleton, and from a Deſire to put an End to all Diſputes, I found no other Means but that of ſubmitting in Silence. Akbur Ally Khan was an Eye-witneſs of the whole Tranſaction from firſt to laſt. By him I ſend you Copies of the new Engagements; and beg Leave to refer you to him for the full Particulars.

" I ſwear by all the Saints, that I have no Hopes of obtaining the Accompliſhment of my Wiſhes but in you.—The World affords me no other Protector. If you approve of the aforeſaid Treaties, be pleaſed to affix your own Seal thereto, that I may be freed from all Apprehenſions, and receive full Confidence and Satisfaction; for without your Seal I cannot place the ſmalleſt Reliance on them. It is neceſſary that you favour me with a Letter to the Gentlemen reſiding here, to afford their Support to my Affairs on all Occaſions, that ſo I may have nothing to do with any other Perſons, nor they with me; and through your Friendſhip to me, may paſs the ſhort Remainder of my Life in Peace and Tranquillity.——How long is the Corps of the late bleſſed Nabob to continue here in the Nature of a Depoſit?

" I am hopeful that you will ſend hither Perſons of Credit, that I may diſpatch the Body with a proper Eſcort under their Charge to your Quarter; from which, you will cauſe it to be tranſ-
† Sic in Orig. ported to Kerbella †."

" Incloſures in the Above.

" Copies of the ſeveral Treaties concluded by the Nabob Vizier with his Mother and Mr. Briſtow, &c. as Guarantee to them. Theſe having been before tranſlated and entered, it ſeems unneceſſary to enter any at preſent, except the laſt; to which Mr. Middleton ſet his Hand and Seal as Guarantee, as follows.

" Copy of a Treaty, bearing Date the 11th Ramzaun 1192 Hejeree, 3d October 1778, to which Mr. Middleton affixed his Seal.

" The Vizier of the Empire, the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah Yeyah Khan Huzzebur Jung Bahadre, having given me as Guarantee to the following Treaty concluded with her Highneſs,

I,

I, on the Part of the Engliſh Chiefs, deliver this Writing; to wit, That his Highneſs ſhall faithfully perform all the Articles of the following Treaty which he has entered into with her Highneſs the Bhegum. The Engliſh Chiefs and myſelf are Guarantees for the due Performance of it.

" Whenever her Highneſs chuſes to proſecute her Journey to Kerbella, ſhe is at Liberty to do ſo, and to go either by Land or Sea, as ſhe thinks proper.

" His Highneſs ſhall, without fail, diſcharge the Tunkas of the ſmall Mahals, and ſhall fix and pay a ſuitable Allowance for the Support of the Children of the late bleſſed Nabob.

" Her Highneſs, the ſuperior Bhegum, (the Vizier's Grandmother), and her Highneſs the Vizier's Mother, ſhall, with the Approbation of his Highneſs, contract Alliances for the Marriage of the Sons and Daughters of the late bleſſed Nabob, with whomſoever they judge proper. Should her Highneſs, the ſuperior Bhegum, proceed on a Pilgrimage to Kerbella and the Holy Places, her Highneſs is the Miſtreſs to form the Alliances herſelf, and to conclude the Marriages, with the Approbation of his Highneſs. The neceſſary Expences attendant on the Celebration of the Nuptials of the Sons and Daughters of the late bleſſed Nabob ſhall be paid by his Highneſs from his own Treaſury. Her Highneſs, the ſuperior Bhegum, and her Highneſs, are the Miſtreſſes to contract Alliances for the Sons and Daughters of the late bleſſed Nabob, with the Approbation of his Highneſs; but in all other Matters, excluſive of the Nuptials, his Highneſs is the Maſter.

" Her Highneſs ſhall never be moleſted in the Enjoyment of the Mahals and Jaghiers in the ſubjoined Liſt; viz.

Sullore,	1 Mahal Tellore,	1 Mahal.
Dutwa,	1 D° Khalis, with the Syer Adawlut,	1 D°.
Perſeddepore,	1 D°,	1 D°.
Sumideah,	1 D° Khorah,	1 D°.
Rutth,	1 D° Taunnah,	1 D°.

" Nabob Gunge, &c. Places mentioned in the following Liſt are to be put into his Highneſs's Poſſeſſion, and, in Lieu thereof, his Highneſs ſhall deliver to her Highneſs Places equal to the Amount thereof, in one Spot, to remain in her Highneſs's Poſſeſſion. From this Agreement his Highneſs ſhall in no-wiſe deviate.

Nabob Gunge, with the Villages on the other Side of the Kauhra,
Gulla Daug,
Mints of Owde and Fyzabad,
Bhegum Gunge and Gola Gaut,
Garden of Hurry Sing in Oude,
Rowſa Ghaut in Lucknow,
Bhegum Bazar, in D°,
Garden of Bhara Mull,
Vizier Gunge,
Garden of Noor Uſhaun, Large Rumnah,
Iſmael Gunge, Three Coſs on this Side Lucknow,
Iſmael Gunge at Lucknow,
Gorukpore Houſe,
Bazar of the Houſe of Mahomed Buſheer Khan at Fyzabad.

" The Sum of 83,700 Rupees on Account of the Mutiny of the Sepoys, which Mirza Huſſein Reza Khan, &c. engaged ſhould be diſcharged by his Highneſs, his Highneſs engages to pay in Six Months.

" The Jungle of Khaukra, on the other Side of the River, is in her Highneſs's Poſſeſſion.—Should any Diſturbance ariſe therein, his Highneſs will deliver to her Highneſs ſome other Place, to the ſame Amount, in lieu of the ſaid Jungle.

" The Tunkas of Beney Kanim Sahiba and Nowazuſh Ally Khan, commonly called Okka Ally Khan, ſhall be continued by his Highneſs on the former Footing, and paid Monthly.—His Highneſs will likewiſe make regular monthly Payments of Maellage Khan's Tunka.

" His Highneſs has given up the Jaghier Villages of Hikmut Hoſſein Khan, and ſhall not interfere or moleſt the ſaid Jaghier; he ſhall likewiſe pay monthly the Tunkas of the Attendants on the late Nabob's Tomb.

" Moreover, her Highneſs is the Miſtreſs of the Attendants, and returnal Servants, &c. People dependant on her own Sirkar. His Highneſs has no Right of Interference with them on the Plea of Accounts, &c. Further, his Highneſs ſhall never, at any future Period, deſire of her Highneſs to exchange the Places now included in the Jaghier granted to her.

" Moreover, his Highneſs ſhall not, at any future Period, make demand of a Loan, or any other Demand, from her Highneſs. Further, his Highneſs ſhall not, at any future Time, deſire from her Highneſs the Exchange of any Places of the old or new Jaghiers; which old and new Jaghiers were fixed to her Highneſs in the Exchange lately made by the Nabob.

Moreover, his Highneſs has given the illuſtrious Engliſh Chiefs, as Guarantees for the due Performance of the above Stipulations, as long as her Highneſs lives.

I, therefore, on the Part of the illuſtrious Engliſh Chiefs, deliver this written Engagement, that there be no Room for a Change or Failure in the Articles above recited."

" Draft

" Draft of a Declaration on the Part of the Governor General, to be affixed to the Treaty before recited, requeſted by the Begum.

" The Vizier of the Empire of Hindoſtan, the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah Yeyah Khan Bahadre Huzzebur Jung, having called on Mr. Middleton to become Guarantee to a Treaty, he has concluded with her Highneſs the Begum, and that Gentleman having entered into an Engagement conformable thereto, as Guarantee to the ſaid Treaty on the Part of the Engliſh Chiefs; I likewiſe, for the Purpoſe of giving complete Confidence and Satisfaction to her Highneſs the Bhegum, deliver this Engagement under my Hand and Seal, that the Nabob Vizier of the Empire will abide by all the following Stipulations he has entered into with her Highneſs. I am Guarantee thereto; and no Room is left for the *Deviation from the Articles hereafter recited."

* Sic in Orig.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Did you ſign or execute that Treaty?
A. I did.

Q. What Authority had you for ſigning and executing that Treaty?
A. It appeared to me to be ſo conformable to the former Treaty, to which the Engliſh were Guarantee, I conceived the diſcretionary Power of my Office warranted me in giving my Signature to it.

Q. Had you any expreſs Authority beſides what your Diſcretion prompted you to take?
A. I recollect a Letter from the Governor General and Council mentioning that it was the Duty of my Office to interfere upon all Occaſions between the Nabob and the Begum, where his Excellency ſhould attempt to infringe upon any of the Conditions of the former Agreement guaranteed by the Eaſt India Company. The Letter is dated the 23d of March 1778, and I beg Leave to refer to it.

Q. Did you underſtand that Letter as prohibiting you from executing any Guarantee to the Elder Begum?
A. To pledge the Faith of the Company, I certainly did. I conſidered it as a Prohibition to pledge the Faith of the Company to any Agreement with the Elder Begum.

Q. Upon what Authority then did you ſign the Treaty, or do any Thing that ſhould tend towards pledging the Faith of the Company.—How do you diſtinguiſh between pledging the Faith of the Company, and ſigning the Treaty as Reſident and Guarantee from the Company at Lucknow, pledging the Faith of the Company?
A. In one Inſtance the Company would be particularly mentioned; in the other I ſhould only ſign the Treaty, and engage to uſe my Influence, as far as I could, in Support of the Begum, to prevent any Infringement of the Agreement, whatever it ſhould be.

Q. You ſay, that in point of Fact you did underſtand yourſelf to be prohibited from pledging the Faith of the Company, but you did not ſuppoſe you was prohibited from ſigning the Guarantee; and if the Nabob attempted to infringe it, then you, as Reſident, were to take the moſt active Part you could for ſupporting the Begums?
A. Yes.

Q. Is any ſuch Diſtinction made in this Treaty which you ſigned?
A. In the Treaty juſt read?

Q. In the Treaty juſt read, do you obſerve that it makes any Diſtinction between the Two Caſes you have put; the One, of the Faith of the Company being directly and effectually pledged; the other, of the Reſident of the Company, by his Signature, being pledged to prevent any Infringement of the Agreement?
A. I do not obſerve by the Treaty, there is any expreſs Diſtinction.

Q. Then are we to underſtand, that the Elder Begum had exactly the ſame Security, as far as your Signature went, as the Younger Begum?

The Houſe obſerved, That by the Language the Witneſs had made uſe of, he ſeemed to think, there was a Diſtinction between the Faith of the Company being pledged, in expreſs Words, and the Treaty being ſigned by him; which would pledge him, as Reſident, to make all the Terms of it good.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That no ſuch Diſtinction was made in the Treaty; that the Witneſs admitted the Faith of the Company was pledged, by his Signature, to the Younger Begum; and that there was no Diſtinction in the Treaty made with the Elder Begum.

Then the Witneſs was aſked;

Q. Did you underſtand the Faith of the Company to be more pledged to the Younger Begum than to the Elder Begum, by Means of that Treaty?

A. As

A. As far as the Elder Begum was concerned in that Treaty, I conceive the Faith of the Company to be pledged.

Q. As far as the Elder Begum was concerned in that Treaty, you conſidered the Faith of the Company to be pledged to her?

A. Yes.

Q. I have underſtood you hitherto—you did not underſtand the Faith of the Company to be ſo directly pledged by your Signature, as if they themſelves had made an expreſs Engagement for it?

A. That is, in the Treaty with the Elder Begum, to which I have put my Signature.

Q. What do you mean by the Company being more pledged to the Younger than they were to the Elder Begum? In what Senſe did you underſtand theſe Words?

A. In that Treaty they were pledged to both equally; I conſidered the Articles as of no Conſequence. If you advert to thoſe Articles reſpecting the Elder Begum, they are of no Conſequence.

Q. The Queſtion is upon the Treaty previous to this. Why did you conſider the Company to be leſs engaged to the Elder Begum by that Treaty, than by this of the 3d of October?

A. As far as I recollect that Treaty, it was nothing more than a Signature in my individual Capacity as Reſident in the Vizier's Court, to uſe my Influence upon all Occaſions to prevent the Nabob from interfering with the Rights of the Elder Begum. I have already declared to your Lordſhips I have no Sort of Recollection of ſigning that Treaty; I ſpeak now of what, probably, was the Motive to induce me to ſign it, if I did ſign it.

Q. To prevent the Vizier from interfering, with what did you ſay?

A. With the Elder Begum.

Q. With the Rights of the Elder Begum?

A. With the Claims of the Elder Begum.

Q. Did you ſay any Thing more than that?

A. No.

Q. You had no Recollection of ſigning that?

A. No poſitive Recollection.

Q. Have you any Recollection?

A. I have none. I have no Recollection of ſigning it.

Q. If you do not recollect you ſigned that Treaty in Fact, how do you recollect the Diſtinction between the Authority of the Two Treaties?

A. I have only ſuppoſed I did ſign the Treaty, and ſigned it in the Manner I have now explained it to your Lordſhips.

Q. It is upon that Suppoſition?

A. Upon that Suppoſition only. I have not a ſufficient Recollection; indeed, I have no Recollection of it: But I take it for granted it was ſigned, as it appears ſo upon the Face of it.

The Managers for the Commons deſired, that the following Paſſage in the Defendant's Anſwer, delivered in at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, might be read to the Witneſs (*a*).

The ſame was accordingly read.

"And that the Governor General and Council, the ſaid Warren Haſtings being then Governor General, did thereupon direct the ſaid Mr. Middleton to make ſuch Repreſentation to the Nabob as is ſtated in the ſaid Article: And the ſaid Warren Haſtings does not know or believe, that any other Interferences, Powers, or Authorities, were made, given, granted, or confirmed by the ſaid Governor General, and the ſaid Council, for the Purpoſe aforeſaid; and he denies that any Guarantee of the Britiſh Nation, or any Guarantee of any Kind whatſoever, was, by the Reſident, under the Authority of the ſaid Warren Haſtings, ever pledged to the ſaid Elder Begum for her Protection."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Whether you furniſhed Mr. Haſtings with any Minute to that Effect, in aſſiſting him to make his Defence to this Article of the Charge?

A. I cannot ſay I remember the particular Minutes I furniſhed Mr. Haſtings with; they were in general ſuch Information as occurred to me upon the Affairs of Oude.

(*a*) Vide Printed Anſwer to the Second Article, Page 14, 6th Line from the Bottom.

Q. But do you recollect whether you furniſhed him with that particular Minute or not?
A. I do not.

Q. Did you receive, after executing this Treaty, any Sanction or Approbation of that Meaſure from Mr. Haſtings?
A. I received a Letter from Mr. Haſtings by Ackbur Ali Cawn, which I beg leave to ſtate to your Lordſhips. It is a Letter, dated the 29th of March 1779.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they would read the Letter immediately: They only wiſhed firſt to aſk,

Q. Whether the Witneſs knew who Ackbur Ali Cawn was?
A. I cannot ſay I remember his Perſon; but I underſtood him to be an Agent of the Younger Begum, and to have gone down from the Younger Begum as Agent to the Governor General.

Q. But whether he was in her Service, or in what Capacity, you do not know?
A. I do hot know.

Then a Book, intituled, "Letters from the Board, from 1775 to 1782," marked C, was delivered in.
Read, the following Extract, being a Letter from the Defendant, dated, Fort William, 29th March 1779, to Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Court of the Vizier.

"To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Court of the Vizier.

"Sir,

"This ſerves to introduce to you Akber Aly Khan, diſpatched to me with Letters by the Bahoo Bhegum, for whom I deſire your Civilities and Attention.

"From the Bhegum's Letters, and the Papers of which ſhe has ſent me Copies, I am ſurprized to obſerve, that although the Nabob has repeatedly entered into ſolemn Engagements with her, and the Name of the Company pledged for the Performance of them, yet none of them have been obſerved any longer than the Nabob thought proper.—Such Inſtances of Breach of Faith bring our Name, as well as the Nabob's, into Diſcredit. The Bhegum informs me, that ſhe ſhall reſt ſatisfied with the laſt Engagement contracted with her by her Son, to which you have ſet your Seal on the Part of the Company as Guarantee, provided ſhe can be aſſured it will be obſerved.

"I muſt therefore deſire that you will make uſe of your Influence with the Nabob, to prevent his attempting any Act contrary to theſe Engagements; and that if he ſhould at any Time ſo far forget himſelf as to make it neceſſary, you declare to him peremptorily in my Name, and on the Part of the Council, that we will pay all due Attention to the Bhegum, and afford her Aſſiſtance in all Matters when ſhe may have Occaſion to require it, and which have a Relation to theſe Engagements.

"I am, Sir,

"Fort William, the 29th March 1779.

Your moſt obedient Servant,
(Signed) Warren Haſtings."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs.

Q. Did you underſtand that Letter to be a full, compleat, and perfect Sanction and Approbation of the Treaty which you had ſo ſigned?
A. I did.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they had no further Queſtions to put to the Witneſs upon the Subject of the Treaty.

Q. (*Croſs examined.*) The Witneſs has ſaid, he conſidered that Letter as a full Sanction and Approbation of the Treaty he had ſigned. I wiſh him to be aſked, what Treaty he refers to, and with whom made?
A. The Treaty with the Bhow Begum.

Q. Of what Date?
A. The Date is the 3d of October 1778.

Q. Did you underſtand that Sanction and Approbation as relating to that Treaty only?
A. To that Treaty only; certainly.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) If I miſtook not, in hearing the Letter read, there are theſe Words, "and all the other Engagements;" if theſe Words appear upon the Face of the Treaty, I would wiſh to know what you underſtood by them?
A. I underſtood, all the other Engagements with the Bhow Begum. I underſtood the Letter to refer ſolely to the Engagements with the Bhow Begum.

Q. Did

Q. Did you underſtand the Treaty as referring ſolely to the Bhow Begum?
A. I have obſerved there were ſome Clauſes in it reſpecting the Elder Begum.

Q. Can you tell upon what Foundation you underſtood the Letter to refer not to thoſe Clauſes reſpecting the Elder Begum, but to thoſe reſpecting the Bhow Begum only?
A. To the whole Treaty I underſtood it to refer.

Then the following Queſtions, and Anſwers of the Witneſs thereto, were read by the Clerk.

Q. Did not the Nabob, at the Time of executing the Treaty of 1775, give her a Coolnama as a Pledge upon that Occaſion?
A. I underſtood he did.

Q. Was that Coolnama tranſmitted to Calcutta, or any Copy of it?
A. I was not at Lucknow at that Time.

Then the Witneſs was aſked:

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Was that Coolnama, which you underſtood to be granted in the Year 1775 by the Nabob to the Bhow Begum, ſigned by you?
A. No: I was not there at the Time.

Q. You ſay you did not ſign the Coolnama, as you know of?
A. Not that I know of.

Q. Do you remember ſigning any Coolnama, if you did not ſign that in the Year 1775?
A. The One that has been read To-day.

Q. You call that a Coolnama?
A. I call that a Coolnama.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Whether you ever tranſmitted to Mr. Haſtings, or to the Board, that Treaty which was entered into in October 1778, or the Inſtrument, whatever it was?
A. I do not remember whether I did or not.

Q. Recollect, if you can, whether you did or did not?
A. I ſhould rather think I did not, as I do not underſtand that it appears upon the Correſpondence.

Q. Whether you underſtood, that the Board knew or received any Account of the Tranſaction, till the Time the Younger Begum ſent down her Agent to the Board with an Account of it?
A. I ſhould apprehend not.

Q. Then I ſhould be glad to know, if that Account had not been ſent down, and the Board had no Knowledge of that Tranſaction, whether your Signature and Guarantee would have bound the Company's Faith?
A. If any Cauſe had ariſen in which I ſhould have had Occaſion to recur to the Powers of that Guarantee, I muſt of Neceſſity have made a Reference to the Governor General and Council.—I ſhould conceive it would.

Q. You conceive the Government would have been bound, though they had not given any poſitive or ſpecifick Sanction to it?
A. I ſhould conceive they would, becauſe I conceive this Coolnama to be very little or nothing more than a Confirmation of the former Coolnama, which had been ſanctified by the Approbation of the Governor General and Council.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* I ſhould be very glad to know for what Reaſon it was, that you did not ſend an Account of this material Tranſaction, either to the Governor, or the Board?
A. I could have had no other Reaſon, than not conſidering it as a new Tranſaction, but merely a Confirmation of the former Coolnama of 1775.

Q. I ſhould be glad to know then, now the Treaty has been read to you, whether, by comparing it with the former, you are ready, upon your own Obſervation, to ſay they are preciſely the ſame?
A. They are not preciſely the ſame; there are ſome Exchanges of Conditions propoſed and agreed to by the Nabob and the Begum mutually.

Q. Whether there is not a Clauſe, whereby the Nabob binds himſelf to demand no Loan of the Elder Begum?
A. No; I do not recollect it.

The following Paſſage of the ſaid Treaty was read.

" Moreover, his Highneſs ſhall not, at any future Period, make Demand of a Loan, or any other Demand, from her Highneſs. Further; his Highneſs ſhall not, at any future Time, deſire

ſire from her Highneſs the Exchange of any Places of the old or new Jaghires:" Which old and new Jaghires were fixed to her Highneſs in the Exchange lately made by the Nabob.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. In what Light did you conſider the Guarantee, in reſpect of the Jaghires: Did you underſtand it to protect the ſpecifick Property guaranteed, or to allow a Reſumption of it, in Conſideration of an Equivalent? Did you underſtand the Eſtate in the Jaghire to be ſecured, or only the Rent and Value of it?

A. That is Matter of Opinion; which I could wiſh your Lordſhips would excuſe my ſpeaking to.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Why did you omit to inform the Board of this Treaty which you ſigned upon the 3d of October 1778?

A. I can aſſign no Reaſon for it.

Q. I underſtood you to ſay, when the Queſtion was put to you before, that you looked upon the Articles to be but ſmall Changes from what was contained in the Treaty of 1775?

A. Yes; I did ſay ſo.

Q. Was that your Reaſon; or had you no Reaſon?

A. I have no Reaſon that I can at this Time recollect.

Q. At the Time you ſigned any of thoſe Treaties as Guarantee, or as a Reſident, did you produce to the Begums, or to the Nabob, any Authority for doing ſo?

A. I do not recollect producing any Authority; it is probable, that having ſuch Authority, I ſhould mention it to them.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* When you ſigned any Treaty, guaranteeing the Company, how were the Nabob, or the Begums, to know that the Treaty, by which they bound themſelves, was, or was not, actually guaranteed by the Company, unleſs your Authority was produced to them conſtantly?

The Witneſs deſired the Queſtion to be repeated.

The Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Did you explain to the Nabob, or to the Begum, or had they any Means in the World of knowing, when you ſigned the Treaty, whether they had, or had not, to depend upon the Company for the Performance of it?

A. It is moſt probable I did explain to the Begum the Authority upon which I acted;—I could not produce the Authority of the Board, becauſe it would not have been intelligible to the Begum.

Q. By the Anſwers you have made, there is a Difference in your Account of the Tranſactions with thoſe Princeſſes, between a Treaty ſigned under the expreſs Guarantee of the Company, and a Treaty only ſigned by yourſelf as Reſident;—the Queſtion propoſed to you is this;—whether, according to your Knowledge and Belief, they were appriſed of that Diſtinction, or not?

A. I ſhould apprehend that the Bhow Begum was appriſed I had Authority to guarantee her Treaty; the Elder Begum could not have underſtood any Thing of that Kind, as I certainly had no expreſs Authority for it.

Q. See whether I make myſelf underſtood by you. You have ſtated this Sort of Difference: That the Company was bound, where they were expreſsly named Parties, and where they gave Authority and Ratification to what was done: But you think they were not bound by the ſimple Act of your Signature, as Reſident. The Queſtion propoſed to you is this; Did the Begums, or did they not, know of the Diſtinction that you make between the different Modes of Guarantee?

A. They probably did: I have no Doubt but they did.

Q. *(from a Lord)*. You have ſaid, in Anſwer to a former Queſtion, that you thought the Company were bound by your Signature; which you afterwards explained to be only, becauſe it was a Confirmation of a former Treaty. I wiſh to know, how the Begums, or the Nabob, could poſſibly know that ſuch a Diſtinction exiſted, which made the Guarantee void or valid?

A. I muſt certainly have explained to the Bhow Begum, what the Extent of my Authority was, what the diſcretionary Powers of my Office were: I do conceive, and I have no Doubt, I informed her at the Time, that I conſidered the Act I did, by confirming the Agreement between her and the Nabob, as nothing more than the Confirmation of the former Coolnama: I have no Doubt I informed her ſo at the Time.

Q. Attend to the Queſtion: You make a Difference between a Treaty authoriſed by, and afterwards expreſsly ratified by the Company, and a Treaty ſimply ſigned by the Reſident, without ſuch previous Authority, or ſubſequent Ratification. The ſingle Queſtion now put is; How you

ſuppoſe the Princes of that Country ſhould be appriſed of that Diſtinction: Did you ever make that Diſtinction known to them?

A. I don't recollect that I did.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Whether you conſider your Signature as pledging the Faith of the Company, though you might be culpable yourſelf for doing it without Authority?

A. No; I do not conceive it would in all Caſes.

Q. According to your Opinion of the Tranſaction, do you ſuppoſe the Nabob would be bound upon the one Side, if your Signature would not bind the Company upon the other: Have you formed any Opinion upon it or not?

A. No, I have not.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* The Queſtion is, whether the Nabob, or the Princeſſes, or either of them, did or did not underſtand the Treaty to be binding upon the Company by Means of your Signature only?

A. It would ſeem the Begum did not, as ſhe ſent down her Agent to Calcutta expreſsly to get a Confirmation of it from the Governor General and Council.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* Whether upon the following Queſtion being aſked, upon a former Examination, "Do you know, from your Reſidence in that Country, whether by the Uſage of Indoſtan, and according to the Opinion of the People of that Country, the Atteſtation of a Perſon of the Rank of Sir Robert Barker is conſidered as a Guarantee"—You did not anſwer—"I think it is?"

The Managers for the Commons were informed, That the proper Queſtion to be put was, whether the Witneſs conſidered the Atteſtation of Sir Robert Barker, in the Situation in which he was, as a Guarantee binding upon the Engliſh Nation?

A. The Queſtion was not aſked, What I conſidered, but what the Parties contracting would conſider. I did ſuppoſe, from the high Situation in which Sir Robert Barker ſtood, the Nabob Fyzoola Cawn would conſider it as pledging the Faith of the Company.

Q. What was Sir Robert Barker's Situation?

A. He was Commander in Chief of the Britiſh Army, with conſiderable Powers, as I underſtood, of Negotiation.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Whether the Signature of the Reſident employed by the Company to treat with the Nabob, or any other Prince, would not be of as much Conſequence, and whether the Company would not be as much bound by it, as they would by the Atteſtation of Sir Robert Barker in the Situation in which he ſtood?

The Witneſs deſired the Queſtion to be repeated.

Q. You have ſaid you had ſome Knowledge of the Situation in which Sir Robert Barker was, and it is a Compariſon between Sir Robert Barker's Situation and yours as Reſident at Lucknow: The Queſtion is, Whether, upon that Compariſon, as well as you are able to make it, you think that the Signature of the Reſident at Lucknow would not be as effectual to bind the Company, as the Atteſtation of Sir Robert Barker to a Treaty?

A. It would be much the ſame, I ſhould conceive.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Had you any written Credentials given you by the Company to be preſented to the Vizier at Lucknow, when you went to reſide there, explaining the Nature and Extent of your Powers?

A. To the beſt of my Memory I had a Letter from the Governor General to the Nabob, informing him generally of my Appointment to reſide at his Court.

Q. That Letter was preſented?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you make any other Repreſentation to the Nabob, beſides what that Letter contained, of the Extent of the Powers with which you were charged?

A. No; I do not think I did.

Q. Do you know whether the Bhow Begum received from Mr. Haſtings any other Account of your Authority there, beſides what the Letter of Credence gave her?

A. No; I do not know that ſhe did.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, They would now read a Paſſage to the Witneſs from his own Book, to which he had been daily recurring, in order to refreſh his Memory.

Then Book 109, intituled, " Bengal Perſian Correſpondence," was delivered in.

Read, Extract of a Letter from Mr. Haſtings to the Mother of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, beginning at Page 287 of the ſame Book. Written the 18th December.

" ——Mr. Middleton is going on my Part to reſide with the Vizier. I have recommended to his ſtricteſt Attention whatever you may wiſh to have effected. I beg you will regard whatever he may repreſent to you as coming from myſelf; and I do not doubt, but that by his good Offices he will be able to accompliſh what I have greatly at Heart—the Re-eſtabliſhment of Confidence and Affection between you and the Vizier your Son."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs.

Q. Did you conſider that as a Letter of Credence to the Bhow Begum?
A. Yes, I did; but I beg Leave to obſerve, that this is not one of my Books: I applied repeatedly this Morning for a Sight of it to refreſh my Memory, with reſpect to the Treaty that has been read, without being able to obtain a Peruſal of it.

Q. Did you, or not, remember that Letter, at the Time you gave the former Anſwer?
A. I never ſaw that Letter before, nor knew of it.

Q. Was you the Bearer of that Letter yourſelf?
A. Not as I remember; I do not remember carrying any Letter to the Begum whatever.

Q. From all you recollect in the Correſpondence, do you recollect any other Letter from Mr. Haſtings to the Bhow Begum, which credited you to her?
A. Not at this Moment.

Q. The Witneſs has ſaid, he never heard or read this Letter before; I would aſk, Whether he was not in Court, the other Day, within a few Yards from where he now ſtands, when that Letter was read here?
A. I do not remember ever hearing the Letter before.

Q. *(from a Lord)*. Whether you mean to ſay, you never ſaw that Letter at any Time, according to your Memory; or only, that you have never ſeen it ſince you came to England?
A. I never recollect to have ſeen it at any Time.

Q. Whether it is the Cuſtom of the Reſident's Office to keep, in the Office, Tranſlations of all Perſian Letters; and to ſend thoſe Tranſlations, together with the original Letters themſelves, to Calcutta?
A. I do not underſtand it to be a general Cuſtom: In ſome Caſes, no Doubt, it may be ſo.

Q. Do you remember this—Whether a Copy of that Letter which Mr. Haſtings wrote to the Begum, was ſent to you as the Reſident?
A. I do not remember that any Copy was ſent; I do not recollect the leaſt about it.

Q. *(from a Lord)*. I wiſh to know, whether Mr. Haſtings, in any Converſation previous to your going to the Reſidentſhip, expreſſed to you, that he had ſent the Begum Word, you were to be conſidered by her as the confidential Agent, or Miniſter, between him and the Begum; and to take care of her Concerns?
A. I cannot charge my Memory with any ſuch Converſation: But I take it for granted, Mr. Haſtings would inform me, he ſhould write to the Begum of my Appointment; and that he would inform the Begum of my Appointment.

Q. *(from the Managers.)* Whether in the Intercourſe between the Britiſh Governor and any of the Princes of India, the Authority of a Reſident to tranſact with them, has ever been doubted?
A. I recollect One Inſtance, in the Caſe of the Nabob Fyzoola Cawn.

Q. Would a Doubt, ſuggeſted in that Manner by One of the Indian Princes, be looked upon as diſreſpectful to the Government, or to the Reſident who repreſented that Government?
A. I did look upon it in that Light.

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired an Extract of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Barwell, dated 20th April 1778, might be read.

Read, the following Extract from Book 77, already delivered in, beginning at Page 210 of the ſame Book.

" To Mr. Daniel Barwell.

" As I conſider the Doubts and Suſpicions Fyzoolah Khan has thought proper to manifeſt, and indeed to declare, of my being duly authoriſed to act in this Buſineſs, as a perſonal Inſult to myſelf, and as the higheſt Indignity to the Authority I have the Honour to repreſent; it is therefore

therefore incumbent upon me, as well in Juſtice to my own Feelings, as in Support of the publick Authority veſted in me, to inſiſt upon his receiving the Guarantee in the Form, and under the Sanction, it has been tranſmitted to him, or upon your putting a Stop to all further Negociation with him, and immediately withdrawing yourſelf from his Court. I cannot, conſiſtently with my Duty, and the Dignity of my Employers, aſſent to any other Alternative; for, to gratify Fyzoolah Khan in his preſent Demand, would not only be to deviate from an invariable Practice of the Service, and tacitly to ſubmit to the Inſult he has offered to my publick Character, but would alſo be admitting a Precedent which might, and certainly would, be fraught with Conſequences entirely deſtructive of that deciſive Conduct on many Occaſions expected from me, as well as allowing him to dictate to the Honourable Board, and, in Fact, to arrogate to himſelf the Right of preſcribing the Terms of their Indulgence."

[Signed, at the End of the Letter]

" Lucknow,
20th April 1778.

Nathaniel Middleton,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs.

Q. Whether, if either of the Begums had doubted your Authority to become a Guarantee, you would not have made them an Anſwer ſimilar to that?

A. If the Bhow Begum had done it, I certainly ſhould.

Q. Why not, if the Elder Begum had?

A. Becauſe I had no Authority for any Agreement with the Elder Begum.

Q. The Queſtion is a general one: Whether if any Perſon, with whom you pretended to have an Authority to treat, had doubted the Fact of your having ſuch Authority, you would not have treated their Doubt in the Manner you treated this of Fyzoola Cawn?

A. I think I ſhould.

Q. Did you ever tell the Elder Begum, that you had no Authority to pledge the Faith of the Company?

A. I cannot charge my Memory with ſuch a Communication to her. I am pretty certain I never told her that I had ſuch an Authority.

Q. In your Tranſactions with the Elder Begum, do you ſuppoſe ſhe would have concluded you had ſuch Authority, unleſs you had told her negatively, you had not?

A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay what might have been her Judgment.

Q. Was there any Thing in your Tranſactions with her, that would have given her to apprehend you had ſuch Authority, unleſs you had expreſsly denied having ſuch Authority?

A. I fancy not.

Q. Did you, or not, think your Authority was general at that Court, that you had a ſufficient Authority to tranſact any Thing there?

A. I did not conceive the general Authority of my Situation to be of that Extent.

Q. You are deſired to recollect yourſelf; and ſay, whether, according to your Memory, as far as you were concerned in it, the Governor General was left in total Ignorance of the Tranſaction of the 3d of October 1778, till Acbar Ali Cawn carried thoſe Inſtruments to him?

A. I have no Knowledge which induces me to think the contrary.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) An Extract of a Letter from the Witneſs has been read, in which he promiſes to give an Account of the Succeſs of his different Negociations, and of the Steps he is to take: I would aſk, whether any, and what Notice, was taken of that Letter by the Board or by the Governor General; whether they ever obſerved upon his total Silence from the Time that he made that Promiſe, in which he expreſsly ſays, that he ſhall give them an Account of his Succeſs? Do you recollect the Letter that has been read, in which you promiſed to give the Government an Account of the Succeſs of your Tranſactions?

A. Yes.

Q. Then the Queſtion put to you is, Whether any Notice was ever taken by the Government of that Letter, or of your not having given an Account of thoſe Tranſactions in Conformity to it?

A. No: I do not recollect any Notice was taken.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) I underſtand the Witneſs to have ſaid, that he made Application this Morning to the Managers upon the Part of the Commons, for Leave to inſpect certain Books in their Cuſtody, in order to refreſh his Memory, and that ſuch Permiſſion was refuſed.—I wiſh to aſk, to whom did he make ſuch Application, and who it was that ſo refuſed him?

A. I hope I have not been underſtood to have made any ſuch Charge againſt the Honourable Managers. I came down here early this Morning, under an Aſſurance that I ſhould be allowed to ſee my own Books, as well as a Book of Perſian Correſpondence, which I wiſhed to refer to for the

Peruſal

Peruſal of that Treaty which has been juſt read to your Lordſhips. I had Acceſs to my own Books, which were in the Cuſtody of Mr. White, who, I believe, is Clerk to the Committee of the Honourable Managers.—But this other Book of the Perſian Correſpondence, not belonging to me, I could not get Acceſs to it.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that the Book of Perſian Correſpondence was in the Cuſtody of the Houſe, for the Purpoſe of the Evidence delivered on a former Day being printed.

Then the Managers for the Commons ſtated, they had done entirely upon the Head of the Treaties. They ſhould proceed therefore to aſk a few Queſtions of the Witneſs, relative to the intimate and confidential Connection between him and Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Whether you conſidered yourſelf as in a peculiar Degree of Confidence with Mr. Haſtings while you were Reſident at Lucknow?

A. I did conſider myſelf as poſſeſſing a conſiderable Share of Mr. Haſtings's Confidence.

Q. Whether you had not frequently ſeparate Communications with Mr. Haſtings upon Publick Affairs;—Communications which were not addreſſed to, nor made to the Board?

A. It is poſſible I might, upon ſome Occaſions, communicate with Mr. Haſtings ſeparately from the reſt of the Board:—Poſſibly I might.

Q. Private Letters?

A. Private Letters.

Q. I do not aſk "poſſibly," but did you, or did you not?

A. I did.

Q. Did you ever conſider Mr. Haſtings's ſeparate Direction to you as a ſufficient Authority to you to act? Did you receive from Mr. Haſtings any ſeparate Directions, not purporting to be Orders from the Board?

A. Not till Mr. Haſtings came up to Chunar, inveſted with the Whole Authority of the Board. I was then inſtructed to conſider him and his ſingle Authority as the Authority of the Board.

Q. Then, before Mr. Haſtings came up to Chunar, you do not remember to have received any Inſtructions from him, which did not purport to be the Inſtructions of the Board?

A. No; no Inſtructions upon which I could take any official Step.

Q. Whether you can take upon you to ſay, you never acted in a publick Manner upon the Direction which you underſtood to be Mr. Haſtings's ſeparate Direction, apart from the Reſt of the Board?

A. Previous to that?

Q. Previous to Mr. Haſtings's Arrival at Chunar?

A. I cannot ſay I can call to my Mind any Inſtance where I did take any official Step upon a private Intimation from Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Whether you conſidered your Publick Correſpondence as a Matter addreſſed to the Board, and over which the Board at large had the Controul?

A. Certainly I did.

Q. Whether you ever, at any Time, delivered any Part of your publick Correſpondence to Mr. Haſtings, by the private Order of Mr. Haſtings, and without any Order from the Board?

A. I muſt beg Leave to enter into an Explanation upon this Subject. When I firſt went up to the Court of the Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah, my Appointment was that of Agent to Mr. Haſtings; I was directed to correſpond with him alone, upon every Matter that ſhould come within my Department. I did ſo; and, upon the Appointment of the new Government, they were pleaſed to call upon me for all my Correſpondence with Mr. Haſtings, during the Period I had reſided at the Court of Sujah ul Dowlah: But conceiving myſelf to have acted in that Court by the ſole Authority of Mr. Haſtings, and myſelf to be amenable to him for all my Acts there, I did not conſider myſelf as warranted in giving up that Correſpondence to any Authority but his; and I therefore did refuſe it to the Government, when they demanded it of me; and it was afterwards delivered up to Mr. Haſtings, at his Requiſition.

Q. Did not that Correſpondence relate to publick Matters?

A. It belonged to both publick and private; to perſonal Matters.

Q. Was not the Time you are ſpeaking of, long prior to the Treaty of Chunar, and the new Government? How long before the Appointment of the new Government, had you been appointed Agent under Mr. Haſtings?

A. I think it was in the Year 1774, I was appointed there.

Q. Did you underſtand yourſelf as the private Agent of Mr. Haſtings down to the Year 1781?

A. No.

Q. When

Q. When did your private Agency with Mr. Haſtings determine?
A. Upon my Recall by the New Government.

Q. When was that?
A. About the End of the Year 1774.

Q. I thought your Firſt Appointment had been in the Year 1774?
A. In the Beginning of the Year 1774.

Q. Do you recollect when you was recalled?
A. I was recalled in October 1774.

Q. Therefore your private Agency with Mr. Haſtings was from the Beginning of the Year 1774 till October 1774, when you was recalled by the new Government?
A. Yes.

Q. Was you his private Agent at Lucknow at any other Time but that?
A. No.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* Whether after the Period of your Recall in 1774, you ever delivered up any Part of your Correſpondence to Mr. Haſtings? When was it, in Fact, that you delivered up the Correſpondence to Mr. Haſtings that you refuſed to the Government?
A. I do not recollect the exact Period when I delivered it up to him.

Q. Did you ever withhold, or refuſe to deliver up, any of your Correſpondence at any other Time than that?
A. Never, any other Correſpondence.

Q. Did you ever propoſe, after you ceaſed to be Mr. Haſtings's private Agent, to write any publick Letters in ſuch Form as Mr. Haſtings himſelf ſhould preſcribe, different from the Letters you had wrote to him before?
A. I do recollect an Inſtance in Anſwer to a publick Letter from Mr. Haſtings, mentioning to him in a private Letter, that if I had miſunderſtood his Directions, and acted upon Principles that he did not wiſh; if I had acted upon miſtaken Principles, I was willing to correct the Letter, and to make it conformable to his Wiſhes: I have a Recollection of ſuch an Inſtance.

Q. Do you mean that theſe Letters were to be ſubſtituted in the Place of Letters which had been actually written?
A. It was in Anſwer to a Letter written by himſelf: At this Time Mr. Haſtings was up the Country, and had all the Powers of Government veſted in himſelf.

Q. Was your Propoſal to write to him another Letter upon the ſame Subject, upon which you had written him a former Letter, to be ſubſtituted in the Place of that former Letter, and that the former one was to be withdrawn?
A. The private Letter, which I have juſt mentioned, accompanied a publick Letter, and, in the private Letter, I declared myſelf to the Purpoſe I have juſt now mentioned.

The Letter was ordered to be read.

The ſame was accordingly read, from Book 82, already delivered in, beginning at Page 203 of the ſame Book.

" My dear Sir, Lucknow, 30th December 1781.

" I have this Day anſwered your publick Letter in the Form you ſeemed to expect. I hope there is nothing in it that may to you appear too pointed. If you wiſh the Matter to be otherwiſe underſtood than I have taken up and ſtated it, I need not ſay I ſhall be ready to conform to whatever you may preſcribe, and to take upon myſelf the Share of the Blame of the (hitherto) Non-performance of the Stipulations made on Behalf of the Nabob; though I do aſſure you, I myſelf repreſented to his Excellency and the Miniſters, conceiving it to be your Deſire, that the apparent Aſſumption of the Reins of his Government (for in that Light he undoubtedly conſidered it at the firſt View,) as ſpecified in the Agreement executed by him, was not meant to be fully and literally enforced; but that it was neceſſary you ſhould have ſomething to ſhew on your Side, as the Company were deprived of a Benefit, without a Requital; and, upon the Faith of this Aſſurance alone, I believe I may ſafely affirm his Excellency's Objections to ſigning the Treaty were given up. If I have underſtood the Matter wrong, or miſconceived your Deſign, I am truely ſorry for it; however it is not too late to correct the Error; and I am ready to undertake, and, God willing, to carry through whatever you may, on Receipt of my Publick Letter, tell me is your final Reſolve.

" If you determine, at all Events, that the Meaſure of reducing the Nabob's Army, &c. ſhall be immediately undertaken, I ſhall take it as a particular Favour if you will indulge me with a Line at Fyzabad, that I may make the neceſſary previous Arrangements with reſpect to the Diſpoſal

of my Family, which I would not wish to retain here, in the Event either of a Rupture with the Nabob, or the Neceſſity of employing our Forces on the Reduction of his Aumils and Troops. This done, I can begin the Work in Three Days after my Return from Fayzabad.

"I am, &c. &c.

"Nath. Middleton (a)."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Whether this Letter was not written at the Time the Negociations and Tranſactions were going on reſpecting the depriving the Begums of their Treaſures and Jaghires?

A. It was.

Q. Whether you had not a Publick and Private diſtinct Correſpondence going on with Mr. Haſtings during the Whole of the Tranſactions reſpecting the Jaghires?

A. I was in Correſpondence with Mr. Haſtings the whole Time, both publickly and privately, as appears from the Letters on Record.

Q. Have all your private Letters upon that Subject appeared, or were they afterwards delivered up by you to Mr. Haſtings?

A. None were delivered up by me to Mr. Haſtings. I believe they all appeared upon that Subject.

Q. It is a Miſtake in putting the Queſtion: The Queſtion is, Whether they were afterwards delivered up by Mr. Haſtings?

A. No.

Q. All the private Letters were not delivered up by Mr. Haſtings?

A. All the Letters that paſſed upon this Subject, both publick and private, I believe are upon Record. I delivered none up to Mr. Haſtings, nor did he deliver up any to me.

Q. Whether all the Letters you wrote to Mr. Haſtings, or which you wrote to any other Perſon, in order to be communicated to Mr. Haſtings, upon that publick Buſineſs reſpecting the Begums, were delivered up, and whether they are all upon Record?

A. I believe they are.

Q. Have you looked to the Records wherein this Correſpondence is entered?

A. I have ſeen the Books that have been publiſhed upon this Buſineſs.

Q. Do you believe thoſe Books contain all the Letters you wrote upon that Subject?

A. They contain all, that I have the leaſt Recollection of, upon the Subject.

Q. Had you any private Correſpondence with Sir Elijah Impey to be communicated to Mr. Haſtings upon that Subject?

A. I had.

Q. Do thoſe appear upon Record?

A. They do.

Q. Upon what Records?

A. Upon the Proceedings of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons.

Q. I underſtood you, by Records, to mean the Tranſactions of the Government at Calcutta?

A. No; they do not appear upon the Record there.

Q. You had a Letter read to you juſt now: I do not know whether I perfectly underſtand the Effect of it. Did you mean, in that Letter, to make Mr. Haſtings an Offer of withdrawing the Letter you had actually written to him upon a publick Subject, and to ſubſtitute any other Letter in the Place of it in a different Form?

A. If it is not taking up too much of your Lordſhips' Time, I wiſh the Letter and my Anſwer to be read.—Your Lordſhips will then ſee there is ſome Difference of Sentiment and Opinion between me and Mr. Haſtings, and I wiſhed to make it palatable to him. I was fearful I might have expreſſed myſelf with too much Warmth.

Q. The Suggeſtion that aroſe in my Mind, upon reading that Letter, was this, that you meant to make an Offer to Mr. Haſtings, of withdrawing the Letter you had written?

A. Of altering that Letter, if I had expreſſed myſelf in Terms offenſive to him: Of withdrawing that Letter, and writing another more conformable to his Wiſhes.

Q. Did you mean to alter that Letter in any other Reſpect, than with regard to perſonal Expreſſions to Mr. Haſtings: Did you mean to alter it with reſpect to any publick Tranſaction?

A. No.

(a) Vide ſupra, Page 514.

Read,

Read, the following Extracts from Book 82 before delivered in, beginning at Page 188 of the ſame Book.

" Appendix to Conſultations, 12th June 1783.

" Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at the Vizier's Court,
" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

" Sir,

" The ſolemn Call you have made upon me, in your Commands of the 26th inſtant, with which I was honoured Yeſterday, demands from me the moſt unreſerved and decided Reply: And that I might not advance any Thing haſtily, I took all Yeſterday to deliberate upon my Reply. For the Sake of Perſpicuity, I have thought it beſt to recapitulate the ſeveral Paragraphs of your Letter, and arrange my Anſwers to them reſpectively in the ſame Order.

" 1ſt. My Mind has been, for ſome Days, ſuſpended between Two oppoſite Impulſes; One ariſing from the Neceſſity of my Return to Calcutta; the other, from the Apprehenſion of my Preſence being more immediately and more urgently wanted at Lucknow. Your Anſwer to this ſhall decide my Choice.

" To this Paragraph I freely anſwer, that your Preſence is in no Shape neceſſary here, but, on the contrary, could not fail of being of conſiderable Retardment to the Collections; becauſe, in theſe Countries, the Motions of Governors are looked upon to imply great intended Exertions, and, with them, great Changes; conſequently, all Agents in publick Stations, from the higheſt to the meaneſt, put an immediate Stop to all their Avocations, and gaze motionleſs for the Reſult. This is the Height of the Kheriff Collection; and any Impediment now thrown in the Way loſes the Produce of the Crop. The encloſed Statement ſhews what I have received, and what I have diſburſed. It will, at firſt Sight, evince the Importance of realizing every immediate Reſource. The current Diſburſements of the Second Brigade have not been made good: and the Arrears due from the Nabob to the late temporary Brigade and Cavalry, agreeably to Stipulations, have not yet been liquidated.

" 2d. I have waited thus long in Hopes of hearing that ſome Progreſs has been made in the Execution of the Plan which I concluded with the Nabob in September laſt. I do not find that any Step towards it has yet been taken, though Three Months are elapſed; and little more than that Period did appear to me requiſite to have accompliſhed the moſt eſſential Parts of it, and to have brought the Whole into Train. This Tardineſs, and the Oppoſition prepared to the only decided Act yet undertaken, have a bad Appearance.

" In Reply to the Second Paragraph, I beg Leave to refer you to my former Letters, ſtating the turbulent State of the Country. Three Months is a Period in which the Changes you allude to probably might have been effected in Times of perfect Tranquillity; but when all the Diſtricts acroſs the Gogra were in Arms, and all the Jagheerdars (a very numerous and powerful Body) were very little ſhort of the ſame State in every Diſtrict, and for the regulating and Reduction of whom, the Aumils were principally to be applied to, could a general Change, or Attack upon thoſe Aumils, with Eaſe have been undertaken? I think not;—but I put this Argument of the Practicability or Impracticability out of the Queſtion, as it was not that Conſideration which prevented me from enforcing the Meaſures recommended by you to the Nabob in the Treaty. The Fact is this; I did not underſtand, at the Period of executing the Agreement between you and the Vizier, that your Intention was, that the Whole of the Reform propoſed was, in its fulleſt Extent, to take place this Year; nor, indeed, at all, if the Company's Debt became liquidated. I conceived your Interference in the Nabob's Government tended ſolely to eſtabliſh the Means of the moſt ſpeedy Payment poſſibly of the Company's Debt, and that whenever this ſhould be accompliſhed, every Shadow of Interference was to be

deſiſted

deſiſted from, which I ſtated to the Nabob and the Miniſters; and I believe upon the Faith of that Aſſurance principally was his Excellency's Acquieſcence obtained. For the Proſecution of theſe Meaſures, I looked to the occaſional Aſſiſtance of the Regiments of the Subſidiary Brigade as permitted in the Treaty, and your ſubſequent Inſtructions, and intended employing the Aumils and their Sebundy, in the firſt Inſtance, for the Reduction of the Jagheerdars, that I might not have the whole Country to attack at once. This Mode of Proceeding threatened no Interruption to the Collections, but an immediate Increaſe of Means in hand to defray the Charges of the Troops, without which previous Point even our own Army muſt be uſeleſs. The Meaſure of reſuming the Jagheers involved many, and ſome very powerful Intereſts, ſubject to much Odium, from the Diſappointment of the Parties, deprived of their Means of Subſiſtence; and in ſuch extenſive Dominions, under a Government ſo irregular in its Conſtitution, and ſo ſhaken as this is, it could not be effectually accompliſhed in a Day. However it is now effected nearly throughout (with the Nabob's Sanction, which, at the Point of Execution, there was the moſt alarming Difficulty to obtain), and in a very few Days I truſt it will be enforced; and bad as the Appearance of Oppoſition may be, I truſt to be able to execute the whole Reform, without Delay, upon the Grounds I ſhall ſtate in my Anſwer to your Paragraphs ſucceſſively.

" 3d. I approve the Nabob's Reſolution to deprive the Begums of their ill employed Treaſures. In both Services it muſt be your Care to prevent an Abuſe of the Power given to thoſe that are employed in them. You yourſelf ought to be perſonally preſent. You muſt not allow any Negociation or Forbearance, but muſt proſecute both Services until the Begums are at the entire Mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers in the quiet Poſſeſſion of his Aumils, and their Wealth in ſuch Charge as may ſecure it againſt private Embezzlement. You will have a Force more than ſufficient to effect both theſe Purpoſes.

" To the 3d Paragraph I ſhall only ſay, that I march To-morrow with the Nabob to enforce both the Services you exact in it; and if I ſucceed, as I have the ſtrongeſt Reaſons to hope, in obtaining large ready Money Reſources towards liquidating the Arrears to the Troops, which form a large Proportion of the Debt to the Company, I have not a Doubt of accompliſhing every End you have now declared you look to the inſtant Performance of: But as Troops alone can do it, their Aſſiſtance cannot be depended upon without previous Pay, or the Poſſeſſion of certain Means in hand for that Purpoſe, as it follows that an immediate Stop to all Collections muſt enſue, from any general Military Exertion.

" 4th. The Reformation of his Army, and the New Settlement of his Revenues, are alſo Points of immediate Concern, and ought to be immediately concluded.—Has any Thing been done in either?

" To the 4th, I anſwer that nothing has been done, for the Reaſons aſſigned in my Anſwer to the Second Paragraph.—If I erred in the Judgment I had formed of your Intentions, I can ſay no more, as it is paſſed, than that the Inſtant the Fyzabad Buſineſs is finiſhed ſucceſſfully, which cannot take more than One Fortnight from the Day of marching there, I ſhall take ſuch Steps as the Means in my Power will admit of, towards procuring from the Nabob the Orders to each Aumil to pay his Groſs Revenue to the Miniſters, and to receive the Pay of their Troops, being reduced into regular muſtered Eſtabliſhments, from the general Treaſury; and ſhould he refuſe I will iſſue my own, together with thoſe of the Miniſters to that Pur-

" 5th. I now demand, and require you moſt ſolemnly to anſwer me: Are you confident in your own Ability to accompliſh all theſe Purpoſes, and the other Points of my Inſtructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet and aſſured Mind to the Preſidency; but leave you a dreadful Reſponſibility if you diſappoint me.—If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your Power, and the other Means which you poſſeſs, for performing theſe Services, I will free you from the Charge. I will proceed myſelf to Lucknow, and I will myſelf undertake them; and, in that Caſe, I deſire, that you will immediately order Bearers to be ſtationed for myſelf and Two other Gentlemen between Lucknow and Illahabad; and I will ſet out from hence in Three Days after the Receipt of your Letters.

" 6th. I am ſorry that I am under the Neceſſity of writing in this preſſing Manner. I truſt implicitly to your Integrity. I am certain of your Attachment to myſelf; and I know that your Capacity is equal to any Service. But I muſt expreſs my Doubts of your Firmneſs and Activity; and, above all, of your Recollection of my Inſtructions, and of their Importance.

" 7th. My Conduct in the late Arrangements will be arraigned with all the Rancour of Diſappointment and Rapacity; and my Reputation and Influence will ſuffer a mortal Wound from the Failure of them. They have already failed in a Degree; ſince no Part of them has yet taken place, but the Removal of our Forces from the Doaub and Whitcund, and of Britiſh Officers and Penſioners from the Service of the Nabob; and the Expence of the former thrown, without any Compenſation, on the Company.

poſe; as I did in a former Inſtance, when the Nabob refuſed his Perwannahs for the Reſumption of the Jagheers, and ſhall further enforce the Execution againſt each diſobeying Aumil, by marching againſt him and diſplacing him.—Theſe Three Points complete the Heads of your Recommendations to the Nabob; the Fourth Article, which was the Separation and Limitation of his own Diſburſements to the Medium of his Receipts for the laſt Three Years, having already taken Place; and then no Aſſignments will remain upon the Country, but thoſe of the Company, as expreſſed in the Treaty.

" To the 5th, I confidently reply, that I am fully competent to undertake and effect the Completion of the Reform upon the Grounds ſtated in my Anſwer to the 4th Paragraph; and therefore again repeat, that your coming here is unneceſſary; and that, as far as regards the Duties of my Station towards the Execution of your Orders, you may depart in Conviction, that neither Activity or Firmneſs ſhall be wanting in the Exertion of every Means within my Power. And thoſe Means I can foreſee no Deficiency in, upon the Permiſſion I have of calling upon Colonel Morgan for Aid, and the Receipt of Aſſets at Fyzabad. For theſe Reaſons, therefore, I have not thought it neceſſary to lay the Bearers that you conditionally ordered.

" In Reply to the 6th Paragraph, nothing need be offered by me, by * my Acknowledgement, for the Juſtice you do to my Sentiments towards your Perſon and Government.

* Sic in Orig.

" To the 7th. If your Conduct ſhould be arraigned, as you ſuſpect, I can at all Times teſtify, that upon the Plan of the foregoing Years, the Receipts from the Nabob were only a Deception; and not an Advantage, but even an Injury to the Company; for by the accumulating Increaſe of the Demands upon him, and the proportionate Decreaſe of his Means, only his Debt to the Company encreaſed, with a Diminution of Proſpect of its Liquidation; while the Company's actual Money or Aſſets went to the Payment of the Troops, ſuppoſed to † maintained ſolely at the Vizier's Expence.

† Fac ſim. in Orig.

" In Proof of this, it will ſuffice to remark, that the annual net Remittances to the Preſidency, ſhould have been the Difference of the Subſidy, and the real Expences of the Brigade.

Say — — — —	12,00,000
The Money paid from the Treaſury at Calcutta, to Abdubrahama Khan — —	3,30,000
And the Payment made in like Manner to Mirza Sadit Ally	3,00,000
Beſides the full Payment of ſuch Stores as the Company occaſionally iſſued to the Nabob	
Sun[h] Rup[e]	18,30,000

or

or about 20,00,000 of Current; which never yet has been the Caſe from the annual Jaidads, or current Collections; conſequently, the Plan was a Fallacy: For the Difference between this Amount and the Remittances to the Preſidency, was an actual Loſs that the Company annually ſuſtained, inſtead of a ſuppoſed Advantage of a Brigade of Infantry and Cavalry being totally defrayed by the Nabob. From this, therefore, I may ſafely conclude, that the Remiſſion to the Nabob of this inſufferable Burthen, was a Profit to the Company, whenever the extra Troops, paid by the Nabob, ſhall be diſbanded, or quartered upon other Neighbours who are protected by our Power, and the Debt put into a probable State of ſpeedy Liquidation.

" 8th. I expect a Supply of Money equal to the Diſcharge of all the Nabob's Arrears, and am much diſappointed and mortified that I am not now able to return with it.

" To the 8th Paragraph—If the Supply expected at Fyzabad ſhall prove adequate to the Diſcharge of all Arrears due to the Troops, and afford an adequate Fund for a Liquidation of the Company's Debt, it will remain at your Option to employ it as a Remittance to the Preſidency, or the future Payment of the Troops you may ſtill think neceſſary to keep up, to regulate the Nabob's internal Government, in regard to which I ſhall hope for your Determination when I can inform you of what Means I poſſeſs.

" 9th. Give me an immediate Anſwer to the Queſtion which I have herein propoſed, that I may loſe no more Time in fruitleſs Inaction.

" To the laſt Paragraph I truſt you will find all my Anſwers as explicit and deciſive as you could wiſh them; and that they will enable you to determine upon yielding with Confidence to the Impulſe ariſing from the Neceſſity of your Preſence at the Preſidency.

" I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.
(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court (*a*)."

" Lucknow,
" the 30th December 1781.

Q. Is this the Whole of the Letter and the Anſwer?
A. Yes.

Q. Was there a private Letter which went with this beſides?
A. There was.

Q. Where is the private Letter?
A. It has been juſt read.

Q. Would you wiſh to have your private Letter read again?
A. No.

Q. Then what is the Explanation which you give of the Terms of that private Letter beyond what you have given?

A. In this Letter which has juſt been read, I give my Opinion of the Object and the Intention of Mr. Haſtings's Agreement with the Nabob at Chunar:—It appears I miſunderſtood him; that I had not taken it up in the ſame Point of View that he had, and, therefore, that I had not performed what he expected immediately upon my Arrival at Lucknow. I conſidered the Treaty to aim only at the Payment of the Company's Debt: If there was any Proſpect to accompliſh that without the direct Interference which the Treaty warranted, that I was to avoid that Interference. Mr. Haſtings in his Letter to me did not conceive it in that Light: No Meaſures of Conſequence had been taken upon that Treaty. I was therefore willing, if he ſhould diſapprove of the Terms in which I had expreſſed myſelf to him, to have borne any Share of the Blame in not executing his Orders. I was willing to have adopted his Sentiments upon the Nature and Extent of the Chunar Treaty, and to take upon myſelf the Blame of not having carried his Orders into ſpeedier Execution.

Q. What did you mean by this Propoſition to Mr. Haſtings, " If you wiſh to have the Matter otherwiſe underſtood, I am ready to conform to your Wiſhes."—Did you, or did you not, mean to

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXIX.

withdraw

withdraw that Letter you then wrote, and to ſubſtitute another Letter, containing a Difference of the Tranſactions?

A. Of the Tranſactions to come, for nothing had paſſed.

Q. Do you mean now to ſay, that you meant only to tell him you would entertain other Purpoſes, and purſue them, and ſubſtitute a Second Letter in Place of the Firſt?

A. No, I cannot ſay I meant that.

Q. Did you mean to ſubſtitute a Second Letter in Place of the Firſt at all?

A. I meant, if I had expreſſed myſelf contrary to his Wiſhes, certainly I meant to have altered the Letter.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Whether you meant to have expreſſed yourſelf differently as to the Matter, or only in Point of Form?

A. In ſome Reſpects as to the Subject Matter of it. I meant to leave out thoſe Parts where I had ſo much miſunderſtood his Intentions: I meant to have left them out altogether.

Q. How did you know that you had miſunderſtood his Intentions?

A. I knew from his Letter that my Sentiments upon the Nature and immediate Purport of the Chunar Treaty and his, were very much different; we differed very widely.

Q. That is what you meant: You conceive by that Letter that you expreſſed yourſelf as having been of a different Opinion?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know it otherwiſe than from that Letter?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Do you not ſtate in that Letter, that the Nabob had refuſed to ſign the Treaty of Chunar, but upon the Explanation which you had given to the Nabob?

A. I believe I ſtated in that Letter, that I did conceive my Arguments with the Nabob principally influenced him to ſign the Treaty.

Q. Did you mean to deny thoſe Arguments, and that Conſtruction, as Mr. Haſtings ſhould pleaſe, and to give a different Repreſentation of them?

A. If I had found they were offenſive to Mr. Haſtings, I probably ſhould have left them out altogether;—I ſhould not have expreſſed myſelf ſo.

Q. Whether you meant that the publick Letter you actually wrote ſhould have been upon Record, if it had been contrary to Mr. Haſtings's Wiſh that it ſhould have been ſo?

A. It reſted with Mr. Haſtings to put it upon Record or not, as he thought proper; the whole Power and the Government were veſted in him at this Time; and I was directed to correſpond with him only, upon the Subject of my Office.

Q. Did not that Letter contain Statements of Facts, with reſpect to the Situation of the Country?

A. It did.

Q. Did it not contain an Opinion of yours to this Purpoſe, that the Receipts of the Nabob were a Deception, and not of Advantage, but even an Injury to the Company?

A. It did.

Q. Did you mean to alter the Statement of thoſe Facts and Opinions, according as Mr. Haſtings ſhould deſire?

A. Not of that: I fancy Mr. Haſtings was of the ſame Opinion. I did not mean to alter that certainly.—What I meant to have altered, was chiefly to have left out what I had ſaid upon my Conduct, reſpecting the Execution of the Chunar Treaty.

Q. What did you mean by the Expreſſion, "if you wiſh the Matter to be otherwiſe underſtood, I ſhall conform to whatever you will preſcribe?"

A. I meant, in general, that if he wiſhed it ſhould be underſtood that the Treaty of Chunar was to be carried into immediate Effect, in all its Clauſes, that I ſhould not offer any Opinion upon that, or declare the Part that I had taken to influence the Nabob to give his Signature to it.

Q. That is, you were to withdraw the Letter you had actually written, and to write another Letter, omitting the Opinions, and the Tranſactions with the Nabob?

A. Yes.

Q. Were there any other Inſtances in which your Correſpondence with Mr. Haſtings was ſent to him, upon the Terms that he might alter them if he pleaſed?

A. No; I do not recollect any other Inſtance.

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired a Paſſage from a Letter might be read to the Witneſs.

Read,

Read, the following Extract of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Haſtings, from Book 82, already delivered in, beginning at Page 90 of the ſame Book.

" My dear Sir, " Lucknow, 12th October 1781.

" Incloſed I take the Liberty of tranſmitting Copies of the ſeveral Papers you ſigned previous to my Departure from Chunar.—The original Agreement between you and the Nabob I am afraid to truſt to the preſent Uncertainty of the Dauks: It ſhall however be forwarded the Moment you deſire it, and an authentic Copy may, in the mean Time, anſwer your immediate Purpoſe.—Theſe Papers I have put under a ſealed Cover, that you may not have them opened and entered, before you wiſh them to become publick.

[Signed at the End of the Letter]

" Nath'. Middleton."

Q. What were thoſe Papers which you put under a ſealed Cover, that they might not be opened and entered, till Mr. Haſtings wiſhed them to become publick?

A. They were all the Papers connected with the Treaty of Chunar.—Mr. Shee's Recall; the Meaſure of recalling all the Officers belonging to the Company in the Vizier's Service; in ſhort, all the Papers connected with the Treaty of Chunar.

Q. What was your Motive for ſending the Papers in that Form to Mr. Haſtings?

A. At the Time the Papers were ſent, the Meaſure of recalling the Britiſh Eſtabliſhment from the Nabob of Oude, and the Temporary Brigade, had not been publiſhed; it was not my Province to judge how far it would be proper to publiſh thoſe Papers, before Mr. Haſtings had made his neceſſary Arrangements.

Q. Do you remember whether the Treaty of Chunar was with theſe Papers?

A. I fancy it was; I cannot poſitively ſay; I take it for granted it was.

Q. Who had at that Time the original Treaty of Chunar; and where did thoſe Papers come from?

A. From Lucknow.

Q. In whoſe Poſſeſſion were they, at that Time?

A. I believe the Treaty of Chunar was carried, by Miſtake, to Lucknow by me: I think, that, with ſome other Papers, was carried by Miſtake.

Q. Do you remember whether Mr. Haſtings applied to you, while at Lucknow, after the Treaty of Chunar, for a Copy of the original Treaty?

A. I remember an Application by Mr. Haſtings for the Papers, generally, which I had carried to Lucknow.

Q. But you do not recollect any Application, particularly, for a Copy of the Treaty?

A. Not particularly for the Treaty: but a general Application for all the Papers I had carried to Lucknow.

Q. Then this Letter, with the original Treaty between you and the Nabob, in which you ſay, " I am afraid of truſting to the Uncertainty of the Dawks:" Do you recollect when you forwarded that? Do you recollect how long after it was, that you forwarded the original Treaty, or the Copy, to Mr. Haſtings: Did you ſend an authentic Copy with thoſe other Papers mentioned in the Letter of the 12th of October 1781?

A. I believe I did. The Original remained, and was forwarded, I think, about Six Weeks afterwards.

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired that a Letter from the Witneſs to the Court of Directors, relative to the Production of his Correſpondence, dated the 31ſt of May 1786, might be read.

The ſame was delivered in, and read.

" Thomas Morton Eſquire, Secretary to the Court of Directors of the Honourable the United Eaſt India Company.

" Sir,

" I have had the Honour to receive your Letter of Yeſterday's Date, encloſing Copy of an Order of the Honourable Houſe of Commons for the Production of " ſuch Part of the Correſpondence which paſſed between Warren Haſtings Eſquire and myſelf, in our official Capacity, during my Reſidence at the Court of the Vizier, in the Year 1774, as may not already have been laid before the Court of Directors; together with all Papers and Documents relating to the publick Service, tranſmitted in the Courſe of that Correſpondence; and alſo any Diary or Minutes relating to publick Affairs, which I might have kept during that Period;" and ſignifying to me the Commands of the Court of Directors, that I forthwith tranſmit to them all ſuch Correſpondence as is deſcribed in the ſaid Order, to enable them to comply therewith.

" In Reply to the above, I beg Leave, through you, Sir, to teſtify my utmoſt Reſpect for the Commands of the Honourable Court of Directors, and my Readineſs, on all Occaſions, to yield implicit Obedience to them; but, in the preſent Caſe, I am unfortunately precluded from a Compliance with their Requiſition; having, many Years ſince, delivered up to Mr. Haſtings, by his peremptory Order, the Whole of my Correſpondence with him during the Period alluded to, containing his own original Letters, and Copies of mine, together with every other Paper or Document appertaining to that Correſpondence; and I beg Leave to aſſure the Honourable Court of Directors, that I am not poſſeſſed of a ſingle Letter, either Original or Copy, or of any other Paper whatever, belonging to it, or relative to the publick Affairs in which I was then employed.

" In Reply to the laſt Part of the Order, it will, I hope, ſuffice to aſſure the Honourable Court of Directors, that I never kept any Diary, Minutes, or other Document, of my Proceedings at the Vizier's Court, than was contained in my Correſpondence; not, as I recollect, being bound to it by any Inſtructions from the Governor, under whoſe ſole Orders I acted, nor holding it to be a Rule of cuſtomary Obſervance in the Service.

" I have the Honour to be, Sir,
your moſt obedient humble Servant,

" Harley Street, the 31ſt May 1786. Nath. Middleton."

Then the following Extract of General Inſtructions to the Governor General and Council, dated the 29th of March 1774, before delivered in, beginning at the Second Paragraph, was read.

" We direct that you aſſemble in Council Twice every Week, and that all the Members be duly ſummoned; that the Correſpondence with the Princes, or Country Powers in India, be carried on by the Governor General only; but that all Letters ſent by him be firſt approved in Council, and that he lay before the Council at their next Meeting, all Letters received by him in the Courſe of ſuch Correſpondence, for their Information: We likewiſe direct, that a Copy of ſuch Parts of the Country Correſpondence be communicated to our Board of Trade, (to be conſtituted as herein-after mentioned), as may any Ways relate to the Buſineſs of their Department."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Whether you are aware of that Part of the General Orders of the Court of Directors to their Servants in India? Was you apprized of it?

A. No; I cannot recollect that I have heard it before.

Q. *(by the Counſel.)* Whether you did, after writing the Publick and Private Letters of the 30th of December 1781, ever withdraw the Publick Letter, and ſubſtitute any other in its Room?

A. No.

Q. Whether you was ever deſired by Mr. Haſtings, after writing that Letter of 1781, to do ſo? Did Mr. Haſtings ever deſire you to do ſo?

A. No, he did not.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* In the Letter juſt read, you ſpeak of a peremptory Order of Mr. Haſtings, in Conſequence of which, you delivered up the Whole of your Correſpondence to him; in what Manner was that Order communicated to you?

A. By Letter.

Q. What was the Date of that Letter?

A. I cannot exactly tell the Date.

Q. Do you, or do you not, recollect the general Purport of that Letter; the Reaſons aſſigned, if any were aſſigned, for the total Surrender of the whole Correſpondence?

A. To the beſt of my Recollection no Reaſon was aſſigned; but I was ordered, as ſoon as poſſible after the Receipt of that Letter, to deliver up the Whole of that Correſpondence.

Q. Did you receive that Letter in England, or in India?

A. In India.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Can you bring to your Memory how long it was before Mr. Haſtings left India that you received that Letter?

A. It muſt have been ſeveral Years; I cannot ſpeak with any Preciſion.

Q. Was it before or after the new Government?

A. After the new Government.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Do you know what is become of that Letter?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Have you any Copy of it?

A. Not as I know of.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would now proceed to a new Head of Evidence, to ſhew the real Motives which, they conceived, exiſted in Mr. Haſtings's Mind, for taking the Journey to Oude when he left Calcutta in the Year 1781. As to the Illegality of the Powers he then aſſumed, it was already in Evidence before the Houſe, upon the Benares Charge, and therefore it was unneceſſary for them to enter into it again upon this Article.

Then Mr. Robert Hudſon was called in again, and produced Book 35, intituled, "Bengal Secret Council, from 2d April to 14th June 1781."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 21ſt May 1781, beginning at Page 1298 of the ſame Book.

"Fort William, 21ſt May 1781.

"At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident; and
Edward Wheler Eſquire;
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. abſent on Command at the Preſidency of Fort Saint George.

"The Governor General delivers in the following Minute.

"The Province of Oud having fallen into a State of great Diſorder and Confuſion, its Reſources being in an extraordinary Degree diminiſhed, and the Nabob Aſoph ul Doulah having earneſtly intreated the Preſence of the Governor General, and declared, that unleſs ſome effectual Meaſures are taken for his Relief, he muſt be under the Neceſſity of leaving his Country, and coming down to Calcutta, to repreſent his Situation to this Government; the Governor General therefore propoſes, with the Concurrence of Mr. Wheler, to viſit the Province of Oude, as ſpeedily as the Affairs of the Preſidency will admit, in Hopes that from a minute and perſonal Obſervation of the Circumſtances of that Country, the Syſtem of Management which has been adopted, and the Characters and Conduct of the Perſons employed, he may poſſibly be able to concert and eſtabliſh ſome Plan, by which the Province of Oude may, in Time, be reſtored to its former State of Affluence, good Order, and Propriety.

"In remedying Evils which have grown to ſo great a Height, Exertions will be required more powerful and immediate in their Application than can be made through the delegated Authority of the Servants of the Company now in that Province. The Undertaking is arduous and difficult, and the Governor General is far from being ſanguine in his Expectations, that even his Endeavours will be attended with much Succeſs, as the Time which he can ſpare will, he fears, be too ſhort for accompliſhing the Ends propoſed. The Object however is of Importance, and the Attempt at leaſt deſerves to be made.

"The preſent Time affords the moſt favourable Opportunity for the Governor General's Viſit. The Ships of the Seaſon for Europe are all diſpatched. The Buſineſs of the Revenues is put into an eaſy Channel, and will not require much of the Board's Attention; and nothing of any Conſequence can happen, after the ſetting in of the Rains, that can materially affect the Tranquillity of the Country, or the general Syſtem of Politicks. But what chiefly renders the preſent Opportunity favourable, is the mutual Confidence which, after a Period of ſo many Years, is at Length happily reſtored between the Members of this Adminiſtration, which enables the Governor General to leave Calcutta, with the fulleſt Reliance that the Affairs of the Preſidency, under the Charge of Mr. Wheler, will ſuffer no Detriment from his Abſence, and he is thoroughly convinced, that ſuch a confidential Communication will ſubſiſt between them, that the Buſineſs in which he and Mr. Wheler may be reſpectively engaged, will meet with the Concurrence and Approbation of both.

"It is hoped that the Governor General's Viſit to Owde will alſo afford him an Opportunity of negociating effectually with the Berar Government, and fixing Modagee Bhoſelah to act decidedly and openly in our Favour. Dewagur Pundit, his Miniſter, who has long dictated the Politicks of the Court of Nagpore, has often profeſſed an Intention of meeting the Governor General to concert Meaſures with him for the mutual Benefit and Safety of the Governments of Bengal and Berar. But whilſt nothing is done to fix his Intentions to a particular Period and Place, they might be poſtponed from Time to Time, and never carried into Execution. When he is informed of the Governor General's Deſign of proceeding to Owde, and that One of the Objects of this Journey is to give him a Meeting at Benares, it is probable that he will ſurmount thoſe Obſtacles and Difficulties which have hitherto retarded, and might otherwiſe ſtill continue to retard him from carrying his Intentions into Execution.

"The Governor General thinks, that about the 15th of July he will be ready to leave the Preſidency."

"Mr. Wheler.—The Governor General's Repreſentation of the preſent State of the Province of Owde, I believe to be but too well founded; and am convinced, that it will require his utmoſt Abi-

lities

lities and Powers, applied and exercised on the Spot, to restore it to its former good Order and Affluence.

" I admit the Force of the Governor General's Arguments, proving the present Season to be the most favourable for his leaving the Presidency; and the more readily agree to them, from the Opportunity it will afford of negociating effectually with the Berar Government: But notwithstanding the Greatness of the Objects, which may, and I trust will be attained by the proposed Expedition, I am persuaded that nothing but the Harmony and good Understanding which at this Time prevails in the Council, could induce the Governor General to withdraw his Attention from the Affairs of the Presidency at a Crisis like the present; and unless convinced that I was so fortunate as to possess his entire Confidence, and that I might rely upon receiving his Support and Sanction to the Measures I might deem proper to pursue in his Absence, I should, at this Time, accept with Reluctance so weighty a Charge. For although it may not be difficult to provide for the usual Occurrences of this Government, yet such others may, during his Absence, intervene, and demand immediate Decision, as are not within the Reach of human Foresight; and, in such Instances, I should not be able to exert myself, under the Influence of Distrust or Restraint."

Then the Witness produced Book 36, intituled, " Bengal Secret Consultations."

Read, the following Extract of a Consultation of the 3d of July 1781, beginning at Page 44 of the same Book.

" Fort William, 3d July 1781.

" At a Council; Present,
The Honourable Warren Hastings Esquire, Governor General, President; and Edward Wheler Esquire.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote absent on Service at Fort St. George.

Secret Dept. Tuesday.

" In my Minute, which I laid before the Board on 1st May, I expressed the Satisfaction with which I could at this Juncture leave the Presidency, from the mutual Confidence which was happily established between Mr. Wheler and me. I now readily repeat that Sentiment, and observe with Pleasure that Mr. Wheler confirms it. Before my Departure, it is probable that we shall, in Concert, have provided at the Board for almost every important Circumstance that can eventually happen during my Absence. But if any should occur, for which no previous Provision shall have been made in the Resolution of the Board, Mr. Wheler may act with immediate Decision, and with the fullest Confidence of my Support. In all such Emergencies, as well as in conducting the ordinary Business of the Presidency, and, in general, in all Matters of this Government, excepting those which may specially or generally be intrusted to me, Mr. Wheler, during my Absence, may consider himself as possessed of the full Powers of the Governor General and Council of this Government, as in Effect he is by the Constitution, and he may be assured, that so far as my Sanction and Concurrence shall be, or be deemed necessary to the Confirmation of his Measures, he shall receive them."

Governor General's Minute.

" Resolved, That the following Credentials be given to the Governor General.

" Whereas it has been resolved, that the Governor General shall proceed to Benares and Lucknow, for the Purpose of obtaining an Interview with the Nabob Vizier and Duwager Pundit, the Duwan of the Rajah of Berar, and for the other consequent Purposes, which are expressed in the Minute of the Board passed to this Effect on 21st May last: And whereas, besides the said Purposes, others may occur which may require the immediate Presence of the Governor General, with an effective and complete Authority for their Execution; it is hereby resolved, That the Governor General shall be, and is invested with full Powers and Authority to form such Arrangements with the Rajah of Benares, for the better Government and Management of his Zemindarry, and to perform such Acts for the Improvement of the Interest which the Honourable Company possesses in it, as he shall think fit and consonant to the mutual and actual Engagements subsisting between the Company and the Rajah; to assist the Nabob Vizier in forming such Regulations as may be necessary for the Peace and Order of his Government, the Improvement of his Revenue, and the Adjustment of the mutual Concerns subsisting between him and the Company, with such Authority to enforce the same, as the Governor General and Council might or could exercise in Occasions in which they would be warranted to exercise the same, by the Claims which the Honourable Company hold or may have on the Revenues of the Dominions of the said Nabob, and to form and conclude such several Engagements or Treaties with the Nabob Vizier, the Government of Berar, and with any other of the Chiefs or Powers of Hindostan, as he shall judge expedient and necessary, whether for the Termination or more effectual Prosecution of the War with the Marratta State, or for the Advancement of the Interests of the Honourable Company, or for the strict and permanent Establishment and Confirmation of the Alliances which do at present subsist, or which he shall judge it necessary to form with the said Chiefs and Powers respectively; and it is hereby declared, that all such Acts, and all such Engagements or Treaties, made as aforesaid, shall be binding on the Governor General and Council, in the same Manner, and as effectually, as if they had been passed

Governor General's Credentials.

and

and done by the ſpecial and immediate Concurrence and actual Sanction of the Governor General and Council, in Council aſſembled.

" Given in Fort William under the Seal of the Honourable Company, and under the Hands of the Governor General and Council, this 3d Day of July, in the Year of our Lord 1781.

" The Time approaching for the Governor General's Departure, the Board think it neceſſary to communicate the following Reſolutions to the Commander in Chief, to be publiſhed in general Orders.

" The Governor General intending to viſit the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier, it is therefore ordered, That all ſuch Orders as he ſhall, from this Time, think it proper to iſſue to the Troops ſtationed beyond the Provinces, as well in the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier as thoſe which are ſituated beyond them, ſhall be obeyed, and that his ſingle Authority ſhall be conſidered and received as of the ſame Force as that of the Governor General and Council collectively, until this Order ſhall be revoked.

" Agreed and ordered, That the Military Power veſted in the Honourable Warren Haſtings, as Governor and Commander in Chief of the Garriſon and Fortreſs of Fort William, and Town of Calcutta, be exerciſed by Edward Wheler Eſquire, during the Abſence of the Honourable the Governor General.

" Reſolved, That the following circular Letter be written to Colonel James Morgan, &c.

" Sir,

Circular Letter to Colonel James Morgan.

" The Governor General intending to viſit the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier, we therefore direct you to obey all ſuch Orders and Inſtructions as he may from this Time think proper to iſſue to you, and to the Troops under your Command, in his own Name, and in all Reſpects to conſider his ſingle Authority as of the ſame Force, until this Order ſhall be revoked, as that of the Governor General and Council collectively. We are, &c."

" Ordered, That the Secretary do immediately prepare the above Papers; but that they be not iſſued, until the Governor General ſhall have taken Leave of the Board.

" The Governor General reports to the Board, That he has made every Preparation for his Departure, and has no Impediment to his ſetting off immediately but the Neceſſity of waiting for the Swallow's Diſpatches."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that having conducted the Evidence to the Time Mr. Haſtings was upon the Point of leaving Calcutta to proceed to Oude, they ſhould next ſhew, that in the private Communications which he made at that Time, and in which he mentions the Diſaffection of the Rajah Cheyt Sing, he never throws out the ſmalleſt Hint or Suſpicion againſt the Begums.

Read, the following Extract from the printed Copy of the Benares Narrative, Calcutta Edition, beginning at Page 12 of the ſame Book.

☞ [" I can therefore only offer ſuch preſumptive Proofs of my Intention as the Nature of it will admit and Accident has provided. Theſe are my early and confidential Declarations, and the Atteſtations of thoſe to whom they were made."]

§ (" In a Point of ſuch publick Moment, independently of the near Intereſt which I have in " eſtabliſhing the Truth of it, Mr. Wheler will pardon my Appeal to him, although in one " Light it may tend to involve him in a Participation of the Reproach of thoſe who may regard " every Severity ſhewn to Cheit Sing as criminal, however founded. He doubtleſs will recollect " the Converſation which I had with him on the Subject, on the Eve of my Departure from " Calcutta; our mutual Opinion of Cheit Sing's paſt Conduct; mine of the Juſtice and Policy of " exacting an exemplary Puniſhment of it by a large pecuniary Mulct; the Sum to which I " then declared my Reſolution to extend it; my Conviction of his Ability to pay it; and the " Two Alternatives on which I had reſolved, if he refuſed to ſubmit to it. He will alſo remember, that I beſpoke his Confidence in the Means which I ſhould uſe for this End, and his Support in the Iſſue of them. I entreat him to give me his formal and circumſtantial Atteſtation " of theſe Facts; and that he will permit it to be inſerted in this Part of my Narrative (*a*).") §

Read alſo, from the ſame Book, Page 13, Note *.

" Mr. Wheler.—I have the Pleaſure to comply with the Governor General's Requeſt, and will chearfully record, in this Place, what I at preſent recollect to have paſſed between us, at the Time, and on the Circumſtances, he mentions.

" I well remember, that, on the Eve of the Governor General's Departure from Calcutta, the Conduct of Cheit Sing, late Rajah of Banaris, was a principal Subject of a confidential Diſcourſe

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 114, L. 23.

between us; and that he beſpoke my Support of the Meaſures which he intended to purſue towards him. I recollect, that the Governor General thought the Rajah's Offences were ſuch, as to require early Puniſhment; and as his Wealth was great, and the Company's Exigencies preſſing, it was thought a Meaſure of Policy and Juſtice, to exact from him a large Pecuniary Mulct for their Relief: The Sum, to which the Governor declared his Reſolution to extend the Fine, was Forty or Fifty Lacks; his Ability to pay it was ſtated as a Fact that could not admit of a Doubt; and the two Alternatives, on which the Governor declared himſelf to have reſolved, if Cheit Sing refuſed to comply with the Requiſition, were, to the beſt of my Recollection, either a Removal from his Zemeedary entirely; or, by taking immediate Poſſeſſion of all his Forts, to obtain out of the Treaſure depoſited in them, the above Sum for the Company (*a*)."

Read alſo, from Appendix to the ſame Book, Page 157.

"SECOND PARCEL.

"Num. 2. A.

"Affidavit of Major Palmer.

"William Palmer, Major in the Service of the Honourable the Eaſt India Company in Bengal, maketh Oath, and ſaith, That about the latter End of the Month of June laſt, the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General of Bengal, diſcourſing with this Deponent on the Subject of his intended Journey to Banaris and Lucknow, declared one of the principal Objects of it to be, to exact, from Rajah Cheit Sing, a Fine or Contribution of Fifty Lacks of Rupees, as a Puniſhment for Breach of Engagements with the Government of Bengal, and for Acts of Miſconduct in his Zemeedary. The Governor General further declared to this Deponent, that he knew the Ability of the Rajah to contribute ſuch a Sum to the Exigencies of Government; and that he (the Governor General) was determined to convert the Faults committed by the Rajah into a publick Benefit. The Governor General further declared to this Deponent, in the ſame Converſation, that an Offer from the Rajah, but indirectly, had been made to him of Twenty Lacks of Rupees for the publick Service, as a Retribution for his Failure of Engagements; but that he (the Governor General) was reſolved to inſiſt upon the firſt mentioned Sum of Fifty Lacks of Rupees; and if the Rajah ſhould abſolutely refuſe the Demand, that he (the Governor General) would deprive him of his Zemeedary, or transfer the Sovereignty thereof to the Nabob Vizeer.

"W. Palmer.

"Sworn before me, this 4th Day of December 1781,

"E. Impey (*b*)."

Read alſo, from Appendix to the ſame Book, Page 158.

"Num. 2. B.

"Atteſtation of David Anderſon Eſquire.

"To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

"Honourable Sir,

"In Obedience to your Commands, conveyed to me through Major Palmer, I ſhall endeavour to repeat, as well as I can remember, the Purport of what you were pleaſed to inform me, before your Departure from Calcutta, of your Intentions regarding Cheit Sing; but as ſo long an Interval has ſince elapſed, my Recollection, which has never been ſtrengthened by a Communication, muſt neceſſarily be ſomewhat imperfect.

"After enumerating ſome of the Reſources which you expected to find up the Country, for the Relief of the Company's Exigencies, you mentioned to me the Conduct of Cheit Sing.

"You obſerved, that he owed his Elevation to the Company; that he was allowed to enjoy a very conſiderable Income, the Revenue exacted from him being much inferior to the Produce of his Diſtricts; and that his Territories were maintained and defended by the Engliſh Army: That, on thoſe Conſiderations, it had been reckoned equitable, that he ſhould contribute, on an Emergency, to the Support of Wars carried on by that Government, under which he held his Zemeedary, and to which he was indebted for its Protection. Accordingly you mentioned, that a Sum had been demanded from him; that, after ſome Difficulties, he had agreed to pay it at a certain Period; that, truſting to his Promiſes, you had made an Aſſignment on him for the Uſe of Colonel Camac's Detachment; and that Colonel Camac, relying on his Punctuality, had returned a Bill for a leſs Sum, which had been ſent to him by Mr. Middleton; but that this Confidence had nearly proved fatal to the Detachment, and actually did prove the Cauſe of retarding the Expedition; that Cheit Sing, in ſpite of all the Repreſentations which were made to him, delayed ſo long the promiſed Payment, that the Officers of the Detachment were reduced to the Neceſſity of ſelling their Plate: That you therefore determined to call him to an Account, and oblige him to make an Atonement for his Conduct in this Inſtance, and the Want of Attachment he had in general ſhewn to our Government, by paying a conſiderable Sum of Money to the Relief of the Company's Exigencies;

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 114, Note. (*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 232.

that, if he conſented, you were deſirous of eſtabliſhing his Poſſeſſion on the moſt permanent and eligible Footing, but, if he refuſed, you had in your Power to raiſe a large Sum for the Company, by accepting of an Offer which had been made for his Diſtrict by the Vizeer. You minuted the Particulars of Cheit Sing's Conduct, in an Account which you drew up in Calcutta, of the State of the different Powers of Hindoſtan; though I do not believe that, in that Paper, you expreſſed the Intentions you had formed; and I remember you told me, that you had communicated to Mr. Wheler your Intentions regarding Cheit Sing; and I believe (though I cannot poſitively recollect) you ſaid he had concurred in them.

" I am, with the greateſt Reſpect, &c.

" D. Anderſon."

" Mahdajee Sindia's Camp, near Dutteah,
" the 14th January 1782 (*a*)."

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, Page 12.

" I left Calcutta, impreſſed with the Belief, that extraordinary Means were neceſſary, and thoſe exerted with a ſtrong Hand, to preſerve the Company's Intereſts from ſhaking under the accumulated Weights that oppreſſed them (*b*)."

Read, alſo, from Appendix to the ſame Book, Page 9.

" The Begums will ſuffer no actual Loſs, by the Reſumptions of the Jagheers, except of an Influence, which they have invariably employed, to the moſt pernicious Purpoſes, againſt one State which had conferred, and another which ſecured and protected them (*c*)."

Read, the following Extract, from the printed Paper, called, " the Second Defence," beginning at Page 4 of the ſame.

" It has occurred to me, as a Queſtion, which might naturally ariſe out of the Subject, Why the Begums ſhould have entertained ſo vehement a Hatred as that by which I have deſcribed them to have been actuated againſt the Engliſh Government and Nation? The Anſwer is obvious to thoſe who know the Hiſtory of our Connection with the Nabob of Oude. The Begums regarded us as the Oppreſſors of their Houſe, and the Uſurpers of its Inheritance; nor was their Reſentment confined to the Engliſh. The Nabob himſelf had his Share in it, for the Sacrifice which he had made of the Province of Benares, againſt the united Oppoſition of his Family; and the Nabob Salar Jung, the Brother of Bhow Begum, avowed to me himſelf, that he had from that Time, withheld himſelf from all Concern in the Nabob's Councils, and aſſigned that as the Reaſon for it. I am ſorry that I muſt in Truth add, that a Part of the Reſentment of the Begums, was as I had too much Reaſon to ſuſpect, directed to myſelf perſonally. The Incidents which gave riſe to it, are too light to be mixed with the profeſſed Subject and Occaſion of this Detail, and, as they want the Authenticity of recorded Evidence, I could lay no Claim to Credit in my Relation of them. At ſome Period I may be induced to offer them to the World, my ultimate and unerring Judges, both of that and of every other Trait in my political Character (*d*)."

Read, the following Extract, from Book 113, before delivered in.

" Extract of a Letter from Warren Haſtings Eſquire to the Court of Directors.

" On the River Ganges, 21 February 1784.

" If it ſhould be objected, that the Allowance of theſe Demands would furniſh a Precedent for others of the like Kind, I have to remark, that in their whole Amount, they are but the Aggregate of a contingent Account of Twelve Years; and if it were to become the Practice of thoſe who have paſſed their prime of Life in your Service, and filled, as I have filled it, the Firſt Office of your Dominion, to glean from their paſt Accounts all the little Articles of Expence which their Inaccuracy or Indifference hath overlooked, your Intereſts would ſuffer infinitely leſs by the Precedent, than by a Single Example of a Life ſpent in the Accumulation of Crores for your Benefit, and doomed in its Cloſe to ſuffer the Extremity of private Want, and to ſink in Obſcurity (*e*)."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next ſubmit to the Houſe, Evidence upon the Subject of the great Preſent Mr. Haſtings received from the Nabob, when he met him at Chunar, previous to ſigning the Treaty of Chunar; and, Firſt, produce Evidence of the Nabob's Situation at the Time he was ſuppoſed to have made the Preſent.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 9th of December 1779, from Book 112, before delivered in, beginning at Page 898 of the ſame Book.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 232.
(*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 114, Line 7.
(*c*) Vide ſupra, Page 141, Line 2 from the Bottom.
(*d*) Vide ſupra, Page 367, Line 5.
(*e*) Vide Appendix, N° XL.

" Fort

" Fort William, the 13th December 1779.

" At a Council; Preſent,

Secret Dept. Monday.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;

Richard Barwell,
Philip Francis,
Edward Wheler,
} Eſquires.

Sir Eyre Coote on a Viſit to the different Stations of the Army.

" Extract of a Letter from Mr. Purling to Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. Members of Council, dated Lucknow, the 19th November 1779.

" I have in vain urged him on the glaring Impropriety of refuſing Tuncaws upon the ſame Diſtricts as laſt Year, and giving them to his own Troops, without Diſcipline to ſupport his Government, and always ready to plunder every Country to which they have been ſent. His Anſwer has been invariably, that while he had the Means of providing for the Demands of the Company, he has never refuſed it; but he is now deprived of that Ability, by the Drought which has obliged him to give Deductions to the Amount of Twenty-five Lacks of Rupees; and even now the Aumils are deſirous of being releaſed from their Engagements upon the Plea of Inability to comply with them. His Family, and that of his Father and Grandfather, after repeated Promiſes made to them and broken, are ſtill unprovided for; that he did not believe the Council meant to ſeize the Expences of his Table and Houſehold, which was all that was now left him. When I quitted him, I declared I did not imagine the Governor and Council would ever conſent to the Reform of the new Brigade, and the other preſent Eſtabliſhments for his Collections; that, if they were not diſmiſſed, they muſt be paid, and from the Sources of that Country for the Protection of which they were raiſed. That I would have him for the Preſent to conſider the Means of granting the Supplies, in the Hope of an Anſwer more likely to be pleaſing to our Government. A Day or two after I received a Letter from him, a Tranſlate of which, No. 3. I think it neceſſary to lay before you. As I have never been able to induce his Excellency to adopt any other Sentiments than thoſe he firſt declared, and have received another Letter from him, expreſſing much Diſſatisfaction at my Urgency on a Point he had determined on, and would not give up, unleſs he ſhould be compelled by the Governor and Council, I have thought it needleſs to preſs him further at preſent, but at his Requeſt have tranſmitted a Letter from him to the Governor General, ſetting forth his Diſtreſs.

" In this Situation, it only remains for me to lay before you the following Extract of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton's Letter of the 5th inſtant, the Day on which Charge was delivered to me.

" When I have of late preſſed his Excellency for further Aſſignments, he has pleaded Inability ' to anſwer the very heavy Demands which will this Year fall upon him, on account of the ' Drought which has unfortunately happened, to the almoſt total Deſtruction of the Khurreff Har- ' veſt, and the conſequent Diminution of his Revenue: I am concerned to confeſs there are but ' too good Grounds for this Plea. The Misfortune has been general throughout the Whole of the ' Vizier's Dominions, obvious to every Body; and ſo very fatal have been its Conſequences, that ' no Perſon of either Credit or Character would enter into Engagements with Government for ' farming the Country, without a very heavy Direction * in the laſt Year's Jumma, which his Ex- ' cellency has been compelled to allow to all who have hitherto been appointed to Farms; and ' ſome who have engaged even under theſe Circumſtances, have to my Knowledge made moſt ur- ' gent Applications to the Nabob and his Miniſters to be releaſed from their Obligations, and al- ' lowed to relinquiſh their Farms, which they found they could not hold but at a certain Loſs to ' themſelves. You will ſoon be convinced by undoubted Teſtimony, and loud Complaints from ' every Quarter, of the Reality of this Misfortune, which has neceſſarily been the Means of delay- ' ing the general Settlement of the Country, and of preventing my hitherto getting Aſſignments ' for more than Rupees 68,82,000; but how far its Operation and Effects preclude the Nabob ' from anſwering the Demands upon him on public Accounts, you will be the beſt able to judge ' from the Statements you will obtain of his eſtimated Revenue."

* Sic in Orig.

" As it appears from the Whole of this Extract, that Mr. Middleton had met with Obſtacles, from a Reaſon aſſigned which no human Foreſight could prevent, I hope your Honourable Board will not imagine I have been remiſs or inattentive; nothing but a compulſive Order from me upon an undefined Right could obtain the Collection of a Rupee more than I have Tuncaws for; and nothing but a deciſive and ſpeedy Inſtruction from you, when the Time elapſed, may not occaſion a material Loſs in the Revenue, can poſſibly procure the Grants neceſſary for the current Diſburſements from my Treaſury.

" Upon this Principle, it is needleſs to add, that no Bill from the Preſidency can poſſibly be anſwered, ſince the Demands on the Treaſury upon the preſent Eſtabliſhment exceed the expected Income; and the laſt Drafts of the Honourable Board, and their Order, for the Payment of Two Lacks and a Half of Rupees to Captain Popham, which has been complied with, have ſo effectually drained the Treaſury, that I have not yet been able to pay the Firſt Brigade for October *(a)*.

(Signed at the End) " E. Purling."

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XLI.

The

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would not here read the Vizier's Letter again, already in Evidence before the Houſe (*a*), but proceed to a Minute of Mr. Haſtings, upon the Repreſentation made by the Vizier in that Letter of the Diſtreſs and Famine at Oude.

Read, the following Extract from the ſame Book, beginning at Page 905.

" Governor General.—I underſtand the Subſtance of the Vizier's Letter to be a peremptory Refuſal to grant Aſſignments but for the Expence of the regular Brigade ſtationed at Cawnpore; a Demand for the Recall, or Reduction of the Troops ſtationed at Rohilcund for his Service in that Diſtrict, and his new acquired Dominions in the Doaub; and for the Diſmiſſion of the Corps eſtabliſhed in his own immediate Service, under the Command of Britiſh Officers; viz. Thoſe ſeverally commanded by Major Hannay, Captain Oſburne, and the Body Guard under Captain Mordaunt, for the Purpoſe of ſubſtituting additional Eſtabliſhments of Horſe and Foot, under his immediate Command, for the Service of the Revenues. Theſe Demands, the Tone in which they are aſſerted, and the Seaſon in which they are made, are all equally alarming, and appear to me to require an adequate Degree of Firmneſs in this Board, in Oppoſition to them. Without further Comment, I ſhall proceed to recommend the following Draft of a Letter to be written to Mr. Purling, which, if agreed to, may ſerve as the Subſtance of One to be written on the ſame Subject to the Nabob *(b)*."

To prove the Nabob's Situation in 1780, the Year before Mr. Haſtings met him at Chunar,

Read, Extract of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Haſtings—received 24th of February 1780, from Book 116, beginning at Page 136 of the ſame Book.

" From the Nabob Vizier. Received 24th February. 1780.

" I have received your Letter, and underſtand the Contents. I cannot deſcribe the Solidity of your Friendſhip and brotherly Affection which ſubſiſted between you and my late Father. From the Friendſhip of the Company he received numberleſs Advantages; and I, notwithſtanding I was left an Orphan, from your Favour and that of the Company, was perfectly at Eaſe, being ſatisfied that every Thing would be well, and that I ſhould continue in the ſame Security that I was during my Father's Lifetime, from your Protection. I accordingly, from the Day of his Death, have never omitted to cultivate your Favour, and the Protection of the Company; and whatever was the Deſire and Directions of the Council at that Time, I have ever ſince conformed to, and obeyed with Readineſs. Thanks be given to God, that I have never as yet been backward in performing the Will of the Engliſh Company, of the Council, and of you, and have always been from my Heart ready to obey them; and have never given you any Trouble from my Difficulties or Wiſhes. This I have done ſimply from my Knowledge of your Favour towards me, and from my being certain that you would learn the Particulars of my Diſtreſſes and Difficulties from other Quarters, and would then ſhew your Friendſhip and Good-will in whatever was for my Advantage: but when the Knife had penetrated to the Bone, and I was ſurrounded with ſuch heavy Diſtreſſes that I could no longer live in Expectations, I then wrote an Account of my Difficulties.—The Anſwer which I have received to it is ſuch, that it has given me inexpreſſible Grief and Affliction. I never had the leaſt Idea or Expectation from you and the Council, that you would ever have given your Orders in ſo afflicting a Manner, in which you never before wrote, and which I could not have imagined. As I am reſolved to obey the Orders and Directions of the Council without any Delay, as long as I live, I have, agreeable to thoſe Orders, delivered up all my private Papers to him, that when he ſhall have examined my Receipts and Expences, he may take whatever remains. As I know it to be my Duty to ſatisfy you, the Company and Council, I have not failed to obey in any Inſtance; but requeſted of him that it might be done ſo as not to diſtreſs me in my neceſſary Expences. There being no other Funds but thoſe for the Expences of my Muteſeddies, Houſehold Expences, and Servants, &c. he demanded theſe in ſuch a Manner, that, being remedileſs, I was obliged to comply with what he required. He has accordingly ſtopped the Penſions of my old Servants of 30 Years, whether Sepoys, Muteſeddies, or Houſehold Servants, and the Expences of my Family and Kitchen, together with the Jaghiers of my Grandmother, Mother, and Aunts, and of my Brothers and Dependents, which were for their Support. I had raiſed 1500 Horſe and 3 Battalions of Sepoys, to attend upon me; but as I have no Reſources to ſupport them, I have been obliged to remove the People ſtationed in the Mahals, and to ſend his People into the Mahals; ſo that I have not now One ſingle Servant about me. Should I mention what further Difficulties I have been reduced to, it would lay me open to Contempt. Although I have willingly aſſented to this, which brings ſuch Diſtreſs on me, and have in a Manner altogether ruined myſelf, yet I failed not to do it; for this Reaſon, becauſe it was for your Satisfaction and that of the Coun-

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 496.

(*b*) Vide Appendix, N° XLI.

cil;

cil; and I am patient and even thankful in this Condition: but I cannot imagine from what Cauſe you have conceived Diſpleaſure againſt me.—From the Commencement of my Adminiſtration, in every Circumſtance I received Strength and Security from your Favour and that of the Council; and in every Inſtance you and the Council have ſhewn your Friendſhip and Affection for me: but at preſent, that you have ſent theſe Orders, I am greatly perplexed.

"Sir, I was in Hopes, from your Friendſhip, that if, which God forbid, any Diſpleaſure ſhould ariſe in your Mind, you would have firſt given me your Advice on it, in ſuch a Manner as is uſual to Perſons of Diſtinction, and where I ſhould have learnt it, were it true, I ſhould be the more abaſhed by it; and having explained and reconciled it to you, whatever might be your Wiſh and that of the Council, which might have been for my Advantage, it ſhould be complied with; or if it had been falſe, I ſhould have written ſo to you, that it might be explained to you fully. At preſent, aſſenting to every Thing which is required of me, I have executed your Orders; but am in Hopes of your Favour, that I may ſome Time or other have a Meeting with you, in which I may make known to you all my Diſtreſſes, and after that perform whatever may be your Will. I ſhall not trouble you with long Accounts of my Loſſes reſpecting my Affairs; for all my Concerns and Dignity depend on you and the Council, and you will perform every Thing which is for my Advantage and Intereſt, and for the Honour and Credit of the Company and of you.—This is not delayed by my Requeſts. As you and my late Father were like Brothers, I am in the ſame Degree as your Nephew. I am therefore confident, that you will direct whatever may appear to you adviſeable for me. I am only wiſhing for a Meeting with you; and I hope from your Friendſhip, that whatever you may determine upon for this Buſineſs, or whatever Place you can come to from Calcutta, you will inform me of it; or ſhould you have no Leiſure for it, I will repair to Calcutta. It is neceſſary you write all theſe Circumſtances to me.—Sir, if from your Friendſhip you ſhould write your Aſſent to this, it is well; I will come with great Satisfaction and Pleaſure; and although you ſhould forbid my coming, I will not put it off, but ſhall be the more deſirous of it, ſince I have not One ſingle Perſon near me who could make much Preparations neceſſary for the Journey, not even one Attendant. I ſhall, however, travel alone to your Quarter with great Pleaſure. My Situation abſolutely requires it, as I cannot at preſent remain here by any Means. If I have once an Interview with you, I ſhall have my Heart at Eaſe; after that, whatever your Orders and thoſe of the Council may be, they ſhall be obeyed. At preſent, that it is difficult for me to ſupport myſelf alive, by the Bleſſing of God, you who are prudent can remove my Griefs, and are favourably inclined to me, and will perceive, that when I am reduced to that State, that all my Servants are diſmiſſed, and my Houſehold Expences, and even my Kitchen, ſtopped, how can I ſupport it, or remain alive? I am ready and reſolved to preſerve the Friendſhip and Good-will of you and the Council to the utmoſt of my Life and Property, and have continually obeyed whatever has been your Orders and thoſe of the Council. What the People of Diſtinction of every Nation deſire, that their Name, Honour, and a Sufficiency for their unavoidable Expences, may be preſerved to them, I have no other Wiſh. If, which God forbid, this ſhould not take Place, it will be difficult for me to live One Inſtant.

"I am therefore hopeful, that you will favour me with an Anſwer to this Letter, agreeable to my Requeſt. My ſole Strength and Security is from your Favour and that of the Council. Further Particulars will be made known to you by Rajah Govind Ram."

To prove, that Mr. Haſtings, in conſequence of the above Repreſentation of the Nabob, removed ſeveral Engliſh Gentlemen from his Court;

Read, the following Extract from Appendix to the Benares Narrative, Page 7.

"With reſpect to the Removal of the Company's Servants, Civil and Military, from the Court and Service of the Vizier, I was actuated ſolely by Motives of Juſtice to him, and a Regard to the Honour of our national Character. In removing thoſe Gentlemen I diminiſh my own Influence as well as that of my Colleagues, by narrowing the Line of Patronage, and I expoſe myſelf to Obloquy and Reſentment from thoſe who are immediately affected by the Arrangement, and the long Train of their Friends and powerful Patrons. But their Numbers, their Influence, and the enormous Amount of their Salaries, Penſions, and Emoluments, were an intolerable Burthen on the Revenues and Authority of the Vizeer, and expoſed us to the Reſentment of the whole Country, by excluding the native Servants and Adherents of the Vizeer from the Rewards of their Services and Attachment (*a*)."

To prove a further Repreſentation by the Nabob, with reſpect to the Expences of the Engliſh Gentlemen at his Court, after the above Removal;

Read, the following Extract of a Letter from the Vizier to Mr. M'Pherſon, from Book 115, already delivered in.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 141, Line 19.

" Extract of a Letter from the Vizier.

" Received 21st April 1785.

" With reſpect to the Expences of the Gentlemen who are here, I have before written in a covered Manner, I now write plainly, that I have no Ability to give Money to the Gentlemen, becauſe I am indebted many Lacks of Rupees to the Bankers for the Payment of the Company's Debt. At the Time of Mr. Haſtings's Departure I repreſented to him that I had no Reſources for the Expences of the Gentlemen. Mr. Haſtings having aſcertained my diſtreſſed Situation, told me, that after his Arrival in Calcutta he would conſult with the Council, and remove from hence the Expences of the Gentlemen, and recall every Perſon, except the Gentlemen in Office here. At this Time that all the Concerns are dependent upon you, and you have in every Point given Eaſe to my Mind, according to Mr. Haſtings's Agreement, I hope that the Expences of the Gentlemen may be removed from me, and that you may recall every Perſon reſiding here, beyond the Gentlemen in Office. Although Major Palmer does not at this Time demand any Thing for the Gentlemen, and I have no Ability to give them any Thing, yet the Cuſtom of the Engliſh Gentlemen is, when they remain here, they will in the End aſk for ſomething. This is beſt, that they ſhould be recalled (*a*)."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation 28th July 1783, from Book 81, already delivered in, beginning at Page 60 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 28th July 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;

Edward Wheeler, John Stables, } Eſquires.

Mr. Macpherſon, indiſpoſed.

" Extract of Mr. Middleton's Defence, in a Letter to the Board, dated Calcutta, 30th June 1783.

" But the Year 1180, from unforeſeen Events, was already began ere the Treaty was ſigned, and theſe large Bodies could not be removed without ſome previous Notice. Between Two and Three Months were aſſigned them for Preparation, in which Time it was ſuppoſed ſufficient Funds would have been forthcoming for their Diſcharge. The paying them off, involved another Balance of Arrears to them reſpectively, not included in the Balance of 1187 and 1188 to the Company. Theſe Arrears further ſwelled in their Amount, becauſe the Monthly Collections to the Period of their Diſcharge were not equal to their Pay and Arrears, and a Proviſion for the other indiſpenſible Diſburſements of my Office, which obliged me to deviſe other Means of liquidating them; accordingly, after long Negociation, attended with much Difficulty, I accompliſhed a Loan, at the Beginning of the Year, on my own Credit, of 10 Lacks; without which Exertion, the Reſources of the whole Year would have been clogged with the encreaſing Amount of theſe Arrears. While the Effect of my Negociation was yet in Suſpence, another Balance before we heard of, amounting to upwards of 26 Lacks, was ſent up from the Preſidency. Why this Balance was unknown t o the Reſident, to the Governor General, and conſequently not included at the ſigning of the Treaty, will be ſhewn in its proper Place. I had pledged myſelf to the Governor General for realizing the Company's Balance, which of courſe meant the Balance in Agitation before us at the ſigning of the Treaty, which had this for its declared Object (*b*)."

To prove that Mr. Haſtings took the Bribe charged in this Article,

Read, the following Letter from Mr. Haſtings to the Court of Directors, dated, Patna, 20th January 1782, from Book 29, already delivered in.

" Patna, 20th January 1782.

" To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable Court of Directors.

" Honourable Sirs,

" While the Nabob Vizier was at Chunar, an Offer of a very conſiderable Sum of Money was made to me, both on his Part, and on that of his Miniſters, as a Preſent. I accepted it without Heſitation, and gladly, being entirely deſtitute both of Means and Credit, whether for your Service, or the Relief of my own Neceſſities. This Donation was not made in Specie, but in Bills, which have been in Part only, and tardily realized, being drawn on the Houſe of Gopaul Daſs, who was at the Time a Priſoner in the Hands of Cheit Sing. The Remainder is in Courſe of Payment, and I make no doubt of its being paid. What I have received has been laid out in the Publick Service. The Reſt ſhall be applied to the ſame Account. The nominal Sum is Ten Lacks of Rupees, of the Currency of Oude. As ſoon as the Whole is completed, I will tranſmit to you a faithful Account of it, reſigning the Diſpoſal of it entirely to the Pleaſure of Your Ho-

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XLII.

(*b*) Vide Appendix, N° XLIII.

nourable

nourable Court. If you ſhall adjudge the Depoſit to me, I ſhall conſider it as the moſt honourable Approbation and Reward of my Labours; and I wiſh to owe my Fortune to your Bounty.

" I am now in the Fiftieth Year of my Life, I have paſſed Thirty-one Years in the Service of the Company, and the greateſt Part of that Time, in Employments of the higheſt Truſt. My Conſcience allows me boldly to claim the Merit of Zeal and Integrity; nor has Fortune been unpropitious to their Exertions. To theſe Qualities I bound my Pretenſions. I ſhall not repine, if you ſhall deem otherwiſe of my Services; nor ought your Deciſion, however it may diſappoint my Hope of a Retreat, adequate to the Conſequence and Elevation of the Office which I now poſſeſs, to leſſen my Gratitude for having been ſo long permitted to hold it; ſince it has, at leaſt, enabled me to lay up a Proviſion, with which I can be contented in a more humble Station.

" I have the Honour to be,
" Honourable Sirs,
" Your moſt faithful, and moſt
" Obedient Servant,
" Warren Haſtings."

Then NATHANIEL MIDDLETON Eſquire was again called in.

Q. Did you negotiate any Loan for the Nabob in the Year 1781?
A. I did negociate a Loan for the Nabob; I do not exactly remember the Time.

Q. How near to the Year 1781 was it, according to your Recollection?
A. I think it muſt have been the End of the Year 1781.

Q. You recollected it very accurately Yeſterday?
A. It was the End of 1781.

Q. Was it before you joined Mr. Haſtings at Chunar?
A. No; it was afterwards. In my Examination before the Committee laſt Night, I made a Miſtake of Dates; it certainly was after I ſaw Mr. Haſtings at Chunar.

Q. Before what Committee do you mean?
A. The Committee of the Honourable Managers.

Q. Had you any Profit or Advantage upon that Loan?
A. None.

Q. Why did the Nabob apply to you to borrow that Sum of Money?
A. I do not recollect that the Nabob applied particularly to borrow the Money; the Intention of borrowing the Money was to pay off the Eſtabliſhments that were diſmiſſed from the Nabob's Service in conſequence of the Treaty of Chunar.

Q. You ſaid you negociated a Loan for the Nabob; did he or not apply to you for that Purpoſe?

A. I don't recollect any expreſs Application for that Purpoſe; it muſt have been in Concert with the Miniſter.

Q. Did any of the Miniſters apply to you for that Purpoſe?
A. I apprehend they did.

Q. Then the Queſtion is, Do you know upon what Account it was that the Nabob or his Miniſters made an Application to you to negociate that Loan?
A. Becauſe the Money was wanted; and I do not apprehend the Nabob could have borrowed it without I had given him Aſſiſtance at that Time.

Q. I underſtand you, that the Nabob had not Credit from the Bankers at Lucknow without your Security. Did you give any Security for the Money?
A. No, I did not.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, that the Nabob would not have had Credit, without your interpoſing to give him Credit by negociating the Loan?
A. I apprehend he would not.

Q. Did you give any Security?
A. No, no Security; but I promiſed to repay the Money out of the firſt Funds I ſhould become poſſeſſed of: I gave no Security.

Q. What were thoſe Funds?
A. The Nabob's Funds.

Q. How were you to be in Poſſeſſion of them?
A. By the Aſſignments I had upon the Country:—From the Produce of the Aſſignments I was in Poſſeſſion of.

Q. Were

Q. Were thoſe Aſſignments made for the Purpoſe of repaying this Sum?
A. They were given for the publick Service in general; not expreſsly for this Purpoſe. If it is not waſting your Lordſhips' Time, I beg that Part of my Defence may be read from which this is taken; where it will appear for what Purpoſe this Money was taken up.

Read, the following Extract of Mr. Middleton's Defence, from Book 81, already delivered in, beginning at Page 59.

" When I took Charge of the Office of Collector of the Vizier's Aſſignments to the Company, this Balance upon the Reſident's Book, cloſed to the End of the Fuſſullee Year 1187, was 32 Lacks, excluſive of 10½ Lacks Army Donation. In the Year 1188, it encreaſed 12 Lacks, making 44 Lacks, when the Governor General arrived at Benares, the Beginning of 1189. To diſcharge ſo much of this Balance as was due to the Company, therefore, was the Object of the Treaty; and to enſure the Accompliſhment of it in the ſhorteſt Time poſſible, a Plan was laid down, one Part of which was, the Suſpenſion of ſundry current Claims upon the Nabob, ſuch as Mr. Wombwell's Office, and the Temporary and Cavalry Brigadeers; which together amounted to ſo heavy an Expence, that, with the Continuance of them, even the current annual Claim could not be anſwered, much leſs the abovementioned Balance liquidated. But the Year 1180, from unforeſeen Events, was already begun ere the Treaty was ſigned, and theſe large Bodies could not be removed without ſome previous Notice: Between two and three Months were aſſigned them for Preparation, in which Time, it was ſuppoſed, ſufficient Funds would have been forthcoming for their Diſcharge. The paying them off involved another Balance of Arrears to them reſpectively, not included in the Balance of 1187 and 1188, to the Company. Theſe Arrears further ſwelled in their Amount, becauſe the monthly Collections, to the Period of their Diſcharge, were not equal to their Pay and Arrears, and a Proviſion for the other indiſpenſible Diſburſements of my Office, which obliged me to deviſe other Means of liquidating them. Accordingly, after long Negotiation, attended with much Difficulty, I accompliſhed a Loan at the Beginning of the Year, on my own Credit, of 10 Lacks; without which Exertion, the Reſources of the whole Year would have been clogged with the increaſing Amount of theſe Arrears (*a*)."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. What was the Amount of the Loan you negociated?
A. Ten Lacks.

Q. Do you think the Nabob could not have obtained it from Goopal Daſs, at Benares?
A. I do not apprehend he could at that Time.

Q. Did you ever, at any Time, know the Nabob to be in greater Diſtreſs, than he was at the Time he left Lucknow, to join Mr. Haſtings at Chunar?
A. No: I believe he was in as great Diſtreſs as at any Time I had known him. It was at the Beginning of the Year, before the Collections of the Country came in; conſequently, he was left very much without Reſources.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings inform you, that the Nabob, immediately upon his Arrival at Chunar, had given him a Preſent of One hundred thouſand Pounds?
A. He did not.

Q. Did you leave Lucknow with the Nabob?
A. Yes.

Q. Did Haſſein Reza Cawn, and Hyder Beg Cawn, accompany you and the Nabob to Chunar?
A. Haſſein Reza Cawn did; Hyder Beg Cawn, I believe, went on the Day before, and arrived at Chunar before the Nabob.

Q. Did you ſend, or cauſe to be ſent, any Sum of Money from Lucknow to Benares, during the Troubles at that Time at Benares?
A. I do recollect a Sum of Money being remitted, by Means of Major Roberts, who commanded a Company of Sepoys; and he eſcorted the Treaſure down to Chunar.

Q. By whoſe Order?
A. By Mr. Haſtings's Order.

Q. To what Purpoſe did you underſtand the Money to be deſtined?
A. I underſtood it was deſtined for the Payment of the Troops at Chunar.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings at that Time expreſs himſelf to you as under great Apprehenſion for want of Money to pay the Troops?
A. As I recollect, the Order of Mr. Haſtings for the Remittance of this Money was by Letter, before I had joined him at Chunar.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XLIV.

Q. But

Q. But after you had joined him at Chunar, did Mr. Haſtings expreſs himſelf under any Apprehenſion for Want of Money to pay the Troops?

A. I do not recollect that he expreſſed himſelf to me particularly; but I have heard he was much diſtreſſed for Money to pay the Troops, and under Apprehenſion for the Conſequences; but I cannot ſay he ever expreſſed himſelf in that Way to me.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings ever make any Mention to you, while at Chunar, of his having received this Preſent of Ten Lacks, or £. 100,000?

A. No.

Q. When did you firſt hear Mr. Haſtings had taken the Preſent?

A. I am not certain I heard of it before my Arrival in England. It is poſſible I might, but I cannot charge my Memory with it. I think the firſt Time I heard of it was after my Arrival in England.

Q. Was not you at that Time confidentially employed by Mr. Haſtings in negociating the Treaty of Chunar with the Nabob, or his Miniſtry, or with both?

A. I was in Mr. Haſtings' Confidence very much at that Time, as I conceived, and was employed between him and the Nabob in ſuch Negociations with the Nabob as Mr. Haſtings himſelf did not perſonally engage in.

Q. Had you not at that Time a Knowledge of the State of the Nabob's Treaſury, and alſo of all his Reſources?

A. No; I cannot ſay I had an intimate Knowledge of it.

Q. What Degree of Knowledge had you of them; becauſe you ſaid juſt now you thought he never was poorer?

A. I did conceive he was in very poor Circumſtances at that Time with reſpect to Treaſure.

Q. Had you any, and what Sort of Knowledge of the State of his Treaſures, or of the State of his Reſources?

A. I had no poſitive Knowledge of the State of his Treaſures, it was only from my own Belief, and his own Complaints.

Q. Do you think Mr. Haſtings could have entirely concealed the Receipt of this Preſent from you, who were confidentially employed by him in the Negociation between him and the Nabob, without a conſiderable Degree of Care and Management?

A. I conceive that ſome Care muſt certainly have been uſed to conceal it, or I ſhould probably have come to the Knowledge of it.

Q. Do you conceive the Preſent was made in Money or Bills; or do you know in what Manner the Money was paid?

A. I ſhould imagine it muſt have been made in Bills: I do not ſpeak from any poſitive Knowledge of the Fact.

Q. Have you any Reaſon to know it was made in Bills?

A. No other, than that I conceive ſo large a Sum of Money could not have been tranſported without my being acquainted with it.

Q. Had you not yourſelf conſiderable Tranſactions with all the great Bankers with whom the Nabob had Dealings or Connections?

A. Yes: I conceive I had Tranſactions with moſt of them.

Q. Had you Connections with Gopaul Doſs of Benares?

A. Gopaul Doſs had an Agent at Lucknow, with whom a great Part of the Company's Buſineſs was managed.

Q. And conſequently you had Tranſactions with him?

A. Yes.

Q. When you firſt heard of this Preſent being given to Mr. Haſtings, in what Manner did you underſtand it was made?

A. I cannot recollect in what Manner it was communicated to me; I rather think the firſt I heard of it was from the Papers publiſhed from the Reports of the Committee.

Q. Did you not hear it was in Bills from Gopaul Doſs?

A. Yes, from thoſe Papers; but I knew nothing of it in India.

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to this as any Evidence.

Q. Whether you know any Circumſtances which would have enabled the Nabob to borrow Ten Lacks from Gopaul Doſs for the Purpoſe of making Mr. Haſtings a Preſent, when he could not borrow any Sum for the Purpoſe of paying his own Troops, or for any other Purpoſe?

A. No, I do not know how he could have tranſacted it.

Q. Do you know whether he had Credit with Gopaul Doſs, or had you any Means of knowing it?

A. No, I had no Means of knowing it poſitively.

Q. Had you, or not, any Means of knowing the Extent of the Nabob's Credit with Gopaul Doſs?

A. No certain Means: When I ſaid, the Nabob, I ſuppoſed, would not have had Credit to have borrowed the Sum of Money I aſſiſted him in borrowing, I did not mean to ſay, he might not have Reſources within himſelf to pay it; he had Reſources probably within himſelf, that I was not acquainted with.

Q. But when he wanted Money, you ſaid, you thought your Interpoſition was neceſſary to raiſe that Money?

A. Yes.

Q. And that is from your Obſervation of his Circumſtances?

A. Yes.

Q. Would not thoſe Ten Lacks, which you ſtate to have been given to Mr. Haſtings at Chunar, have anſwered the Purpoſe for which the Nabob borrowed the Ten Lacks from you?—What was the Difference in Point of Time?

A. I imagine about Six Weeks or Two Months after my Arrival.

Q. Need he have borrowed Ten Lacks more, if he had had that which was given to Mr. Haſtings?

A. No, he would have had no Occaſion for it.

Then the following Letter from Mr. Palmer to Mr. Middleton was read, from Mr. Middleton's Letter-Book, marked C.

" To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire.

" Sir,

" The Governor General deſires, that you will pleaſe to order an Eſcort for ſuch Treaſure, as the Gomaſtah of Gopaul Doſs has to tranſport from Lucknow to Benares, for the publick Service, from Time to Time.

" I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient, humble Servant,

" Benares,
" 24th October 1781. (Signed) William Palmer, Military Secretary."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Was it uſual for you to receive Orders through Major Palmer, reſpecting the publick Treaſures?

A. This is the only one I recollect to have received.

Q. Whether you have any Reaſon to know or believe, that the Treaſure afterwards taken from the Begum, enabled the Nabob to diſcharge thoſe Bills upon Gopaul Doſs, that were given to Mr. Haſtings?—Do you know any Thing of the Diſcharge of thoſe Bills?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Do you know any Thing of the Application of the Treaſure which was raiſed from the Begums?

A. It was paid to the Reſident, upon the Company's Account.

Q. The Queſtion is, Whether you know if the Application of any Part of that Treaſure went to Gopaul Doſs, to pay thoſe Bills?

A. I believe not.

Q. From what other Fund do you think the Nabob paid thoſe Bills, at the Time Mr. Haſtings ſtates them to have been realized?—Do you know any Thing of the Manner in which Gopaul Doſs was reimburſed for his Advances to Mr. Haſtings?

A. No, I do not; I apprehend it muſt have been from the Revenues of the Nabob's Country.

Q. Do you know at what Time Gopaul Doſs was reimburſed for the Advance he made for the Nabob to Mr. Haſtings?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Had you not in January 1782, at the Time of ſeizing the Begum's Treaſures, Aſſignments and Claims which covered all the Revenues of the Country that were at the Nabob's Diſpoſal?

The Queſtion repeated at the Deſire of the Witneſs.

A. No, certainly not.

The

The Managers for the Commons being aſked, What they meant by the Word "Claims" made Anſwer, "Demands on the Part of the Company."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Whether the Aſſignments you actually had, and the Claims you were at that Time preſſing for, taking them together, would not have covered the whole Revenues of the Country?

A. As I underſtand the Queſtion now, I muſt anſwer it in a different Manner: As I underſtood it before, it was, whether I had Aſſignments covering the whole Revenue of the Country; to which I anſwered, I certainly had not;—but if the publick Claims were alſo added, and Aſſignments obtained for the Whole, they clearly would have covered all the Revenue the Nabob had to diſpoſe of.

Q. Then, could the Nabob have found Means of paying this Preſent in January 1782, without holding back from the Company ſome Part of that Property upon which you had Aſſignments for, and which you were preſſing for Aſſignments upon?

A. No; I do not know any Reſources he had.

Q. From what Funds or Reſources do you believe the Nabob offered a Second Preſent of 100,000l. to Mr. Haſtings, after receiving the Treaſure of the Begums? Do you know of any Second Preſent being offered to Mr. Haſtings?

A. I hope your Lordſhips will excuſe my anſwering that Queſtion, as I conceive it may criminate myſelf.

Here the Clerk read over the Queſtion to the Witneſs, and the Anſwer.

Q. Do you know of a Second Preſent being offered Mr. Haſtings?

A. I hope your Lordſhips will excuſe my anſwering that Queſtion, as I conceive it may criminate myſelf.

Q. Do you know of a Preſent being offered through any other Medium than yourſelf?

A. No.

Q. The Queſtion then is, Did the Nabob offer a Preſent through you to Mr. Haſtings?

Queſtion objected to.

Q. Whether you conceive yourſelf to have been ſuſpected and charged by Mr. Haſtings with having received a Sum of Money yourſelf upon Account of the Treaty of Chunar?

A. No; I was not charged; but I received a Letter from Mr. Haſtings, which I conſidered as an Implication of taking Money.

Q. What Reply did you make to that Implication?

A. I made a moſt ſolemn Diſavowal of it, and of every Imputation of the Kind that it was in my Power to make, offering at the ſame Time to confirm upon Oath what I then wrote to Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Did Mr. Johnſon, the Aſſiſtant Reſident, make the ſame Diſavowal? Was he charged alſo?

A. The Imputation ſeemed to be directed to us Two.

Q. Do you know any Thing of Mr. Johnſon's having made ſuch Avowal?

A. We made a joint Diſavowal.

Q. Did you never hear from Mr. Johnſon, or from Hyder Beg Cawn, any Mention whatever, at any Time while he was in India, of this Preſent?

A. No; I don't recollect that I ever did.

Q. Do you know from what Fund the Eaſt India Company's Forces were paid, from the Time of the Troubles downwards till the 20th of January 1782?

A. No; I do not know of any other than the Remittance I have ſtated, made from Lucknow. That, I take it for granted, went in part Payment of the Army; but it could only make a ſmall Part.

Q. What was the Amount of that Remittance?

A. Only One Lack of Rupees.

Q. That was the Remittance under the Eſcort of Major Roberts?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know what the Pay of the Army at Chunar would amount to at the Period I have mentioned?

A. I do not know what that Army conſiſted of.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know whether Mr. Haſtings ſupplied the Army with Money during that Time, or any Part of that Time, borrowed upon his own private Credit, or how otherwiſe?
A. I have no Knowledge of it.

Q. Whether, prior to the Time of the Vizier's Departure from Lucknow to Chunar, in December 1781, he had his uſual Train of Attendants and Servants about him, and whether he lived in his uſual State?
A. I obſerved no Difference whatſoever.

Q. Was the uſual State of the Vizier that of a very conſiderable Prince, ſplendid and expenſive, or do you know what it was?
A. It muſt have been very expenſive, his Attendants were very numerous.

Q. And as great as any other Indian Prince?
A. It was the greateſt I ever ſaw in Point of Splendour and Appearance.

Q. Do you not know, that after the Treaty of Chunar, and after the Arrangements that took Place upon it, the Sum of 40 Lacks, or 400,000 l. a Year, was ſet apart for the private Expences of the Vizier?
A. I do not recollect the exact Sum, but between 30 and 40 Lacks.

Q. Whether in ſaying as you did juſt now, that the Aſſignments and Claims of the Company would have covered the Whole of the Revenues, you meant to include thoſe 40 Lacks, or only the Remainder of the Revenues, after deducting the 30 or 40 Lacks that were ſet apart for his own private Eſtabliſhment?
A. I believe it would not have left the 40 Lacks free.

Q. Do you know what was the actual Amount of the Aſſignments?
A. I do not at this Time recollect the Amount.

Q. Have you any Knowledge of the Amount of the Claims, or the Aſſignments you had?
A. I cannot from Memory ſtate it.

Q. Have you any Knowledge of the Extent of the Nabob's Revenues One Year with another?
A. I recollect the Groſs Revenue of the Nabob's Country was about Two Crores and 25 Lacks, happening to look into my Defence this Morning, where it is mentioned, and, I ſuppoſe, upon good Authority.

Q. Have you any Notion what the net Revenue was?
A. I cannot venture to ſpeak with any Accuracy as to that.

Q. Do Two Crores and 25 Lacks amount to 2,250,000 l. Sterling Money?
A. Yes.

Q. Whether the Troops aſſembled with Mr. Haſtings, at Chunar, at the Time you came down to Chunar from Lucknow, were not very conſiderably in Arrear in their Pay?
A. I underſtood they were conſiderably in Arrear.

Q. Do you know how many Months Pay were due to them at that Time?
A. I cannot ſay how many Months they were in Arrear: I underſtood they were very conſiderably in Arrear.

Q. Whether you apprehend it might have been very dangerous to the Britiſh Intereſt in India, and conſidering the Situation of the Provinces at that Time, that the Troops ſhould be left conſiderably in Arrear?
A. It muſt depend a good Deal upon how much they were in Arrear; the Troops in India are uſed to be in Arrear, therefore I conceive if they were not much in Arrear they would not.

Q. Do you know of the Forces under Captain Williams and Major Macdonald deſerting, and turning their Arms againſt them, for Want of their Pay?
A. I do not know the Fact of my own Knowledge; but I heard that very conſiderable Bodies of Troops did leave their Officers, particularly Captain Williams; and thoſe of Major Macdonald I have heard did.

Q. (*by the Managers*). Whether you do not know that it is one of the Charges againſt the Begums, that they excited the Troops to deſert their Officers?
A. It appears ſo, upon the Affidavits that were taken reſpecting that Buſineſs.

Q. Is the long Want of Pay alledged, in any Part of that Charge, as the Cauſe of that Mutiny?
A. I do not recollect it is.

Q. What Situation was Mr. Johnſon in?
A. Mr. Johnſon, here mentioned, was, no Doubt, my Aſſiſtant at Lucknow.

Q. Was

Q. Was he left to ſupply your Place in your Abſence?
A. He was.

Read, the following Extract of Appendix to a Conſultation of 12 June 1783, from Book 82, already delivered in, beginning at Page 182 of the ſame Book.

" Extract of a Letter from Mr. Johnſon, to the Governor General at Benares, dated at Lucknow, 28 December 1781.

" Your Letter of the 24th is juſt arrived, ordering the temporary Brigade to be again put on the Vizier's Liſt, which the late Treaty had juſt eaſed him of. Nothing leſs than Blows can effect this; for he is not even able to pay off the Arrears ſtill due to it for the laſt Year, which, with the 2½ Months ſtipulated by the Treaty, amount to 9 Lacks, by Mr. Day's Statement. Upwards of 12 Lacks have been paid to Mr. Wombwell, beſides Remittances made to the 2d Brigade and Colonel Muir; and ſcarce 6 Lacks have yet been collected; a hard Strain of private Credit alone has made theſe large extra Payments; and total Ruin muſt inevitably be the Conſequence of any Interruption in the Recovery of the Money advanced. However, this is merely a private Conſideration, and therefore cannot weigh in publick Meaſures but in a publick Light. The Troops being all in Arrears, and no Poſſibility of preſent Payment, ſo large a Body aſſembled here without any Means in Hand to check or controul them, nothing but Diſorder could follow.

" As one Proof that the Nabob is as badly off for Funds as we are, I may inform you that his Cavalry roſe this Day upon him, and went all armed to the Palace to demand from 13 to 18 Months Arrears due to them; and with great Difficulty * perſuaded to retire, which was probably more effected by a Body of Troops getting under Arms to go againſt them, than any other Conſideration (*a*)."

* Sic in Orig.

Read, the following Extract from Mr. Middleton's Defence, from Book 81, Page 73.

" Let me here be permitted to obſerve, that had the whole Claims and Expectations of the Year been perſiſted in, they would have amounted to near Double the Nabob's Net Revenue, viz.

Current Claims — — —	76,00,000
Chunar Balance, including Donation —	55,00,000
Further Balance, to April 1779 — —	26,00,000
Ditto, April 1780 — —	14,00,000
Major Palmer's Claims — —	82,00,000
	2,53,00,000

Upwards of Two Crores and a Half, beſides Arrears to Troops recalled and Failures above explained, for which the Miniſter raiſed 25 or 26 Lacks more. The Nabob's net Revenue, to my Knowledge, never exceeded a Crore and a Half, but generally fell very ſhort of that Sum (*b*)."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. You ſaid, you had looked at ſome Book this Morning; is that the Book you looked at?
A. Yes, it is.

Q. Does that furniſh you with the Account you gave, that the Nabob's groſs Revenue was Two Crore Twenty-five Lacks?
A. It does.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) What were the Army Donations?
A. A Sum of Money engaged by Sujah Dowlah, the late Vizier, for the Company's Troops employed in the Rohilla Campaign.

Q. Is it diſtinct from the ordinary Pay?
A. Yes.

Q. You were underſtood to ſay, there were Four Lacks of Rupees ſent from Lucknow to Chunar; did you mean to ſay there were Four Lacks ſent, or that there was only One?
A. Only One.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XLV.

(*b*) Vide Appendix, N° XLVI.

Die Mercurij, 30° *Aprilis* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would now proceed to ſubmit to their Conſideration further Evidence reſpecting the Preſent received by Mr. Haſtings at Chunar; namely, Mr. Haſtings's own Account of that Tranſaction; his Acknowledgment of it to the Court of Directors, when, as he himſelf ſtates, it could be no longer concealed; and his Application to the Company to have it allowed to himſelf.

Then Mr. ROBERT HUDSON was called in, and produced a Paper indorſed as follows:

"Letter from Warren Haſtings Eſquire, in Anſwer to the Court's Letter to Bengal, by the Surprize, reſpecting Preſents received by him in Bengal; read in Court 13th Ditto." "Cheltenham, 11th July 1785.

The ſame was delivered to the Counſel for the Defendant, and by them ſhewn to the Defendant, who acknowledged the Signature to be his Hand Writing.

Read, the ſame, as follows:

"William Devaynes Eſquire, Chairman of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

"Sir,

"The Honourable Court of Directors, in their General Letter to Bengal by the Surpriſe, dated the 16th March 1784, were pleaſed to expreſs their Deſire, that I ſhould inform them of the Periods when each Sum of the Preſents mentioned in my Addreſs of the 22d May 1782, was received; what were my Motives for withholding the ſeveral Receipts from the Knowledge of the Council, or of the Court of Directors; and what were my Reaſons for taking Bonds for Part of theſe Sums, and for paying other Sums into the Treaſury as Depoſits on my own Account.

"I have been kindly apprized, that the Information required as above is yet expected from me. I hope that the Circumſtances of my paſt Situation, when conſidered, will plead my Excuſe for having thus long withheld it. The Fact is, that I was not at the Preſidency when the Surpriſe arrived; and when I returned to it, my Time and Attention were ſo entirely engroſſed to the Day of my final Departure from it, by a Variety of other more important Occupations, of which, Sir, I may ſafely appeal to your Teſtimony, grounded on the large Portion contributed by myſelf, of the Volumes which compoſe our Conſultations of that Period, that the Submiſſion, which my Reſpect would have enjoined me to pay to the Command impoſed on me, was loſt to my Recollection, perhaps from the ſtronger Impreſſion which the firſt and diſtant Peruſal of it had left on my Mind, that it was rather intended as a Reprehenſion, for ſomething which had given Offence in my Report of the original Tranſaction, than as expreſſive of any Want of a further Elucidation of it.

"I will now endeavour to reply to the different Queſtions which have been ſtated to me, in as explicit a Manner as I am able. To ſuch Information as I can give, the Honourable Court is fully entitled; and where that ſhall prove defective, I will point out the eaſy Means by which it may be rendered more complete.

"Firſt, I believe I can affirm with Certainty, that the ſeveral Sums mentioned in the Account tranſmitted with my Letter above mentioned, were received at, or within a very few Days of the Dates which are prefixed to them in the Accounts. But as this contains only the groſs Sums, and each of theſe was received in different Payments, though at no great Diſtance of Time,

Time, I cannot therefore assign a greater Degree of Accuracy to the Account. Perhaps the Honourable Court will judge this sufficient for any Purpose to which their Inquiry was directed; but if it should not be so, I will beg leave to refer for a more minute Information, and for the Means of making any Investigation which they may think it proper to direct, respecting the Particulars of this Transaction, to Mr. Larkins your Accountant General, who was privy to every Process of it, and possessed, as I believe, the original Paper which contained the only Account that I ever kept of it. In this each Receipt was, as I recollect, specifically inserted with the Name of the Person by whom it was made; and I shall write to him to desire that he will furnish you with the Paper itself, if it is still in Being, and in his Hands, or with whatever he can distinctly recollect concerning it.

" For my Motives for with-holding the several Receipts from the Knowledge of the Council, or of the Court of Directors, and for taking Bonds for Part of these Sums, and paying others into the Treasury as Deposits on my own Account, I have generally accounted in my Letter to the Honourable the Court of Directors, of the 22d May 1782; namely, that ' I either chose to conceal ' the first Receipts from publick Curiosity, by receiving Bonds for the Amount; or possibly acted ' without any studied Design which my Memory, at that Distance of Time, could verify; and that ' I did not think it worth my Care, to observe the same Means with the rest.' It will not be expected, that I should be able to give a more correct Explanation of my Intentions, after a Lapse of Three Years, having declared at the Time that many Particulars had escaped my Remembrance; neither shall I attempt to add more than the clearer Affirmation of the Facts implied in that Report of them, and such Inferences as necessarily, or with a strong Probability, follow them. I have said, that the Three first Sums of the Account were paid into the Company's Treasury without passing through my Hands. The Second of these was forced into Notice by its Destination and Application to the Expence of a Detachment, which was formed and employed against Mahdajee Scintia, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Carnac, as I particularly apprised the Court of Directors, in my Letter of the 29th December 1780. The other Two were certainly not intended, when I received them, to be made publick, though intended for publick Service, and actually applied to it. The Exigencies of the Government were at that Time my own, and every Pressure upon it rested with its full Weight upon my Mind. Wherever I could find allowable Means of relieving those Wants, I eagerly seized them; but neither could it occur to me as necessary, to state on our Proceedings every little Aid which I could thus procure, nor do I know how I could have stated it, without appearing to court Favour by an Ostentation which I disdained, nor without the Chance of exciting the Jealousy of my Colleagues by the constructive Assertion of a separate and unparticipated Merit derived from the Influence of my Station, to which they might have laid an equal Claim: I should have deemed it particularly dishonourable to receive, for my own Use, Money tendered by Men of a certain Class, from whom I had interdicted the Receipt of Presents to my Inferiors, and bound them by Oath not to receive them: I was therefore more than ordinarily cautious to avoid the Suspicion of it, which would scarcely have failed to light upon me had I suffered the Money to be brought directly to my own House, or to that of any Person known to be in Trust for me; for these Reasons I caused it to be transported immediately to the Treasury. There I well know, Sir, it could not be received without being passed to some Credit, and this could only be done by entering it as a Loan, or as a Deposit. The first was the least liable to Reflection, and therefore I had obviously Recourse to it. Why the Second Sum was intended as a Deposit, I am utterly ignorant. Possibly it was done without any special Direction from me; possibly because it was the simplest Mode of Entry, and therefore preferred, as the Transaction itself did not require Concealment, having been already avowed.

" Although I am firmly persuaded that these were my Sentiments on the Occasion, yet I will not affirm that they were. Though I feel their Impression as the Remains of a Series of Thoughts retained on my Memory, I am not certain that they may not have been produced by subsequent Reflection on the principal Fact, combining with it the probable Motives of it. Of this I am certain, that it was my Design originally to have concealed the Receipt of all the Sums, except the Second, even from the Knowledge of the Court of Directors. They had answered my Purpose of publick Utility; and I had almost totally dismissed them from my Remembrance. But when Fortune threw a Sum in my Way of a Magnitude which could not be concealed, and the peculiar Delicacy of my Situation at the Time in which I received it, made me more circumspect of Appearances, I chose to apprise my Employers of it, which I did hastily and generally; hastily, perhaps, to prevent the Vigilance and Activity of secret Calumny; and generally, because I knew not the exact Amount of the Sum of which I was in the Receipt, but not in the full Possession: I promised to acquaint them with the Result as soon as I should be in Possession of it; and in the Performance of my Promise I thought it consistent with it, to add to the Account all the former Appropriations of the same Kind; my good Genius then suggesting to me, with a Spirit of Caution, which might have spared me the Trouble of this Apology, had I universally attended to it, that if I had suppressed them, and they were afterwards known, I might be asked, what were my Motives for with-holding Part of these Receipts from the Knowledge of the Court of Directors, and informing them of the rest.

" It being my Wish to clear up every Doubt upon this Transaction which either my own Mind could suggest, or which may have been suggested by others; I beg Leave to suppose another

Queſtion, and to ſtate the Terms of it in my Reply, by informing you that the Indorſement on the Bonds was made about the Period of my leaving the Preſidency in the Middle of the Year 1781, in order to guard againſt their becoming a Claim on the Company as Part of my Eſtate, in the Event of my Death occurring in the Courſe of the Service on which I was then entering.

" This, Sir, is the plain Hiſtory of the Tranſaction. I ſhould be aſhamed to requeſt that you would communicate it to the Honourable Court of Directors, whoſe Time is too valuable for the Intruſion of a Subject ſo unintereſting, but that it is become a Point of indiſpenſable Duty; I muſt therefore requeſt the Favour of you to lay it at a convenient Time before them. In addreſſing it to you perſonally, I yield to my own Feelings of the Reſpect which is due to them as a Body, and to the Aſſurances which I derive from your experienced Civilities, that you will kindly overlook the Trouble impoſed by it.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your very humble, and
Moſt obedient Servant,
" Warren Haſtings."

" Cheltenham,
the 11th July 1785.

Then the Witneſs produced Book 82, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, 2d June to 30th Ditto, 1783."

Read, the following Letter to the Governor General, dated Fayzabad, 10th January 1782, and ſigned Nath. Middleton, from a Conſultation of 12th June 1783, beginning at Page 226 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 12th June 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheler,
John M'Pherſon, } Eſquires.
John Stables,

" Letter from Mr. Middleton to Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

" I was honoured with your Letter of the 1ſt inſtant on the Road, as alſo your ſubſequent Commands of the 2d and 3d; to which I ſhall pay the moſt ſubmiſſive Obedience, and at preſent trouble you with no other Obſervations on the Points they contain, excepting a Paragraph in the firſt, to which it is indiſpenſably incumbent on me immediately to reply, leſt an Accuſation it implies, though not abſolutely applied, nor, I am perſuaded, meant to be imputed to me, ſhould, by any Miſrepreſentation or Miſconſtruction, be attempted to be forced upon you againſt me.

" I do not know that any other Gentlemen than Mr. Johnſon and myſelf were employed between you and the Nabob, in the Agreement you concluded with his Excellency at Chunar; we therefore jointly ſubſcribe to the following Atteſtation, which we ſhall be ready at any Time to confirm by a more formal Oath, if deſired:

" We do moſt ſolemnly declare before God, and upon our Honours, That we never have either " of us, in Fact or Idea, received, or been tendered or promiſed, directly or indirectly, any Be- " nefit whatſoever, by any Perſon living, in Conſideration of any one or the Whole of the Articles " ſpecified or contained in the Agreement concluded between you and the Nabob Vizier, of the " 19th September laſt.

" Nath. Middleton,
" R. Johnſon."

" If the above ſolemn Aſſeveration can have Effect in counteracting any Miſrepreſentations which it is poſſible may have been made or ſuggeſted to you on this Subject, we chearfully and voluntarily offer it.

" I have the Honour, &c. &c.

" Fayzabad,
the 10th January 1782.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

" P. S. Your Letter of the 31ſt Ultimo, through your Military Secretary, I can return no Anſwer to, as I am utterly unable to expreſs what I feel and have felt upon it. I encloſe a Copy of it, ſtill willing to indulge a flattering Hope, that upon Re-peruſal it may appear to you more ſevere than my Conſcience tells me my Conduct, in the Inſtance alluded to, has merited.

" I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

" Nath. Middleton." (a)

Then the Witneſs produced a Book, intituled, " Miſcellaneous Letters, ſent 1776 to 1781;" marked with the Letter E.

(a) Vide Appendix, No XLVII.

Read, the following Letter from the ſame:

" To Mr. William Larkins, Accountant General, Fort William.

" Sir,

" In the Abſence of Mr. Middleton, I have the Honour to tranſmit you a Receipt of the Paymaſter of the Second Brigade, dated the 19th inſtant, for Fyzabad 16 Sun Sicca Rupees One Lack eighty-eight thouſand three hundred and eighty-ſeven, Six Annas and Three Pice.

" Fyz^{d} 16 S^{n} S^{a} Rupees 1,88,387 . 6 . 3.

" I have the Honour to be,

Sir,

" Lucknow, Yours, &c.

the 22d Auguſt 1781. (Signed) " J. C. Middleton,

" Act^{g} Col^{r} Viz^{r} Aſſignm^{ts} to the Hon^{ble} Comp^{y}."

Read, alſo, the following Letter from the ſame Book.

" From Mr. Middleton to M^{r}. Roberts.

" To Major William Roberts, commanding the 30th Regiment of Sepoys,

" Lucknow.

" Sir,

" Having received an Order, from the Collector of his Excellency the Vizier's Aſſignments to the Honourable Company, to deliver into your Charge One Lack of Rupees; I herewith do myſelf the Pleaſure to forward you that Sum, in a Tumbril, agreeably to the incloſed Invoice. This Treaſure you will be pleaſed to deliver to the Honourable the Governor General on your Arrival at Chunar.

" I have the Honour to be,

Sir,

" Lucknow, your moſt obedient, humble Servant.

the 30th Auguſt, 1781. (Signed) " J. C. Middleton,

" Aſſ^{t} to the Col^{r} Vizier's Aſſignm^{ts}, &c."

Read, the following Extract from the Governor General's Narrative, before delivered in, beginning at the Appendix, Part II. Page 145, of the Calcutta Edition.

" Num. 127.

" To Edward Wheler, Eſquire.

" Sir,

" I beg Leave to introduce, through you, to the Notice of the Board, an Inſtance of Zeal and Attachment to our Government, which, from the peculiar Circumſtances under which it was exhibited, merits both a Place in our Records, and a publick and warm Acknowledgement.

" It will be remembered, that a principal Object of my Journey to theſe Provinces was to obtain and facilitate an Interview at Banaris with Dewaugur Pundit, the Miniſter of Rajah Moodajee Booſlah, for the Purpoſe of effecting a final Adjuſtment of the political Concerns of our Government, and that of Berar. The Death of Dewaugur Pundit, the News of which reached me Two Days before my Arrival at Banaris, and which I regret with the moſt ſenſible Concern, diſappointed all the Hopes which I had conceived of forming by his Means a ſolid and laſting Alliance with the Court of Berar.

" I was attended in my Journey from Calcutta by Beneram Pundit, the Vakeel of Moodajee Booſla, with his Brother Biſſumber Pundit. The Vakeel, during his long Reſidence with me in that Capacity, had given me conſtant Proofs of a ſincere Diſpoſition to promote the Intereſts of our Government, whilſt he exerted himſelf to advance thoſe of his Maſter.

" When I retreated from Banaris, Beneram Pundit and his Brother, on the firſt Intelligence of my Departure, followed, and, unattended by a ſingle Servant, joined me in the March, reſiſting all my Intreaties, and even Injunctions, to return to Banaris, where their whole Family reſided, and where they might have remained in perfect Eaſe and Security.

" On my Arrival at Chunar I found myſelf in great and irremediable Diſtreſs for Want of Money. The Troops were ſome Four, and others Five Months in Arrears, and as Cheit Sing had the Country on all Sides at his Devotion, I had not the ſmalleſt Proſpect of obtaining Supplies, until the Motion of our Troops from different Quarters ſhould open a Communication. It was with Difficulty that I found Means to raiſe ſo ſmall a Sum as 2,500 Rupees, to diſtribute among the Sepoys for their preſſing Neceſſities. I muſt add, though foreign from my immediate Subject, that the Sepoys bore their Diſtreſſes without expreſſing the leaſt Impatience under them.

" Being accuſtomed, from my Experience of the Intereſt which Beneram Pundit had always taken in the Succeſs of our Affairs, and as a Kind of Acknowledgment of it, to treat him with a greater Freedom of Communication than other Perſons in his Situation, I occaſionally mentioned to him, without any Expectation or Thought of obtaining any Relief from him, the Difficulties under which I laboured for the Want of preſent Subſiſtence. He inſtantly, and with ſome Eagerneſs,

neſs, replied, That his Family at Barlaris were in Poſſeſſion of a Lack of Rupees, collected in Specie, of which he made me the inſtant Offer, propoſing that a Battalion of Sepoys ſhould be ſent to bring it away; his Brother at the ſame Time offering to accompany the Eſcort, and to deliver the Money. I thankfully accepted the Offer, and ſhould have adopted the Mode they recommended for bringing away the Money, had I not been fearful of expoſing their Family to the Vengeance of Cheit Sing; and as my Dewan had been left at Banaris, I hoped by his Means to procure the Treaſure to be tranſported to Chunar, and I received their Orders for the Delivery of it to him. But in this Expedient I was diſappointed, for the Dewan was ſo concealed, that my Letter could not reach him, and Gopaul Doſs, the Banker, through whoſe Agency the intended Plan was to be effected, was about the ſame Time apprehended and carried a Priſoner to Lutteefpoor, where the Rajah reſided; neither could I at that Time deviſe any other Contrivance to avail myſelf of the Aſſiſtance which had been thus generouſly preſſed upon me. When I returned to Banaris, Beneram Pundit renewed the ſame Tender; and although my Diſtreſs for Money was not then equal in any Degree to that which had before prompted him to make it, I agreed to accept it, willing to furniſh an incontrovertible Proof of his Sincerity in the Firſt Offer, and ſtrengthen the Teſtimony which I have herein given of his ſteady Attachment to our Government. The whole Sum, amounting to One Lack of Banaris Sicca Rupees, was received between the 30th of September and 1ſt of October: I have granted to Beneram Pundit a Bond for the ſame, at the uſual Rate of Intereſt, and in the uſual Form, except that it has only my Signature to it. I hope and requeſt that the Board will be pleaſed to confirm it.

" Banaris, " I have the Honour to be, &c.
" 13th October 1781. Warren Haſtings." (a)

Then the Witneſs produced Book 20, intituled, " Bengal Letters, received 10th April 1782 to 13th April 1783."

Read, a Letter to the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable Court of Directors, ſigned Warren Haſtings, and dated Fort William, 22d May 1782.

" To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable Court of Directors.

" Honourable Sirs, Fort William, 22d May 1782.

" In a Letter which I have had the Honour to addreſs you in Duplicate, and of which a Triplicate accompanies this, dated 20 January 1782, I informed you that I had received the Offer of a Sum of Money from the Nabob Vizier and his Miniſters, to the nominal Amount of 10 Lacks of Lucknow Siccas, and that Bills on the Houſe of Gopaul Doſs had been actually given me for the Amount, which I had accepted for the Uſe of the Honourable Company, and I promiſed to account with you for the ſame, as ſoon as it ſhould be in my Power after the whole Sum had come into my Poſſeſſion. This Promiſe I now perform, and deeming it conſiſtent with the Spirit of it, I have added ſuch other Sums as have been occaſionally converted to the Company's Property through my Means, and in conſequence of the like original Deſtination. Of the Second of theſe you have been already adviſed in a Letter, which I had the Honour to addreſs the Honourable Court of Directors, dated 29th November 1780. Both this and the Third Article were paid immediately to the Treaſury, by my Order to the Sub-Treaſurer to receive them on the Company's Account, but never paſſed through my Hands. The Three Sums for which Bonds were granted were in like manner paid to the Company's Treaſury without paſſing through my Hands, but their Appropriation was not ſpecified.

" The Sum of 50,000 Current Rupees was received while I was on my Journey to Benaris, and applied as expreſſed in the Account.

" As to the Manner in which theſe Sums have been expended, the Reference which I have made of it in the accompanying Account to the ſeveral Accounts in which they are credited renders any other Specification of it unneceſſary; beſides that thoſe Accounts either have or will have received a much ſtronger Authentication than any that I could give to mine.

" Why theſe Sums were taken by me; why they were, except the Second, quietly transferred to the Company's Uſe; why Bonds were taken for the Firſt, and not for the Reſt, might, were this Matter to be expoſed to the View of the Publick, furniſh a Variety of Conjectures to which it would be of little Uſe to Reply. Were your Honourable Court to queſtion me upon theſe Points, I would anſwer, that the Sums were taken for the Company's Benefit, at Times in which the Company very much needed them; that I either choſe to conceal the Firſt Receipts from publick Curioſity, by receiving Bonds for the Amount, or poſſibly acted without any ſtudied Deſign which my Memory could at this Diſtance of Time verify; and that I did not think it worth my Care to obſerve the ſame Means with the Reſt. I truſt, Honourable Sirs, to your Breaſts for a candid Interpretation of my Actions, and aſſume the Freedom to add, that I think myſelf on ſuch a Subject, on ſuch an Occaſion, entitled to it.

" I have the Honour to be,
Honourable Sirs,
Your moſt faithful, moſt obedient,
and moſt humble Servant,
Warren Haſtings."

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 226.

Read alſo, from the ſame Book, a Paper, indorſed, "Fort William, 16th December 1782. Letter from Warren Haſtings Eſquire, to the Secret Committee. Received per Lively, 24th May 1783," as follows:

"To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable Court of Directors.

"Honourable Sirs, Fort William, 16th December 1782.

"The Diſpatch of the Lively having been protracted, by various Cauſes, from Time to Time, the accompanying Addreſs, which was originally deſigned and prepared for that Diſpatch (no other Conveyance ſince occurring), has of Courſe been thus long detained. The Delay is of no publick Conſequence; but it has produced a Situation which, with Reſpect to myſelf, I regard as unfortunate; becauſe it expoſes me to the meaneſt Imputation, from the Occaſion which the late Parliamentary Inquiries have ſince furniſhed, but which were unknown when my Letter was written; and written in the neceſſary Conſequence of a Promiſe, made to that Effect in a former Letter to your Honourable Committee, dated 20th January laſt. However, to preclude the Poſſibility of ſuch Reflections from affecting me, I have deſired Mr. Larkins, who was privy to the whole Tranſactions, to affix to the Letter his Affidavit, of the Date in which it was written. I own I feel moſt ſenſibly the Mortification of being reduced to the Neceſſity of uſing ſuch Precautions to guard my Reputation from Diſhonour. If I had, at any Time, poſſeſſed that Degree of Confidence from my immediate Employers, which they never withheld from the meaneſt of my Predeceſſors, I ſhould have diſdained to uſe theſe Attentions. How I have drawn on me a different Treatment, I know not; it is ſufficient that I have not merited it. And in the Courſe of a Service of Thirty-two Years, and Ten of theſe employed in maintaining the Powers, and diſcharging the Duties of the Firſt Office of the Britiſh Government in India, that Honourable Court ought to know whether I poſſeſs the Integrity and Honour which are the firſt Requiſites of ſuch a Station. If I wanted theſe, they have afforded me but too powerful Incentives to ſuppreſs the Information which I now convey to them through you; and to appropriate to my own Uſe the Sums which I have already paſſed to their Credit, by the unworthy, and, pardon me if I add, dangerous Reflections, which they have paſſed upon me, for the firſt Communication of this Kind; and your own Experience will ſuggeſt to you, that there are Perſons who would profit by ſuch a Warning.

"Upon the Whole of theſe Tranſactions, which to you, who are accuſtomed to view Buſineſs in an official and regular Light, may appear unprecedented, if not improper, I have but a few ſhort Remarks to ſuggeſt to your Conſideration.

"If I appear in any unfavourable Light by theſe Tranſactions, I reſign the common and legal Security of thoſe who commit Crimes or Errors. I am ready to anſwer every particular Queſtion that may be put againſt myſelf, upon Honour, or upon Oath.

"The Sources from which theſe Reliefs to the publick Service have come, would never have yielded them to the Company publickly; and the Exigencies of your Service (Exigencies created by the Expoſition of your Affairs, and Faction in your Councils) required thoſe Supplies.

"I could have concealed them, had I had a wrong Motive, from your's and the publick Eye for ever; and I know that the Difficulties to which a Spirit of Injuſtice may ſubject me for my Candour and Avowal, are greater than any poſſible Inconvenience that could have attended the Concealment, except the Diſſatisfaction of my own Mind. Theſe Difficulties are but a few of thoſe which I have ſuffered in your Service. The Applauſe of my own Breaſt is my ſureſt Reward, and was the Support of my Mind in meeting them. Your Applauſe, and that of my Country, are my next Wiſh in Life.

"I have the Honour to be,
Honourable Sirs,
Your moſt faithful, moſt obedient,
And moſt humble Servant,
Warren Haſtings."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That the Paper next about to be read contained an Account of the Produce of this Sum given to Mr. Haſtings by the Nabob.

Read, Extract of an Account, dated Fort William, 22d May 1782, and ſigned Warren Haſtings, from the ſame Book, as follows:

"An Account of Sums received, on the Account of the Honourable Company, by the Governor General, or paid to their Treaſury by his Order, and applied to their Service.

"Produce of the Sum mentioned in the Governor General's Letter to the Honourable Secret Committee, dated 20th January 1782, and credited in the Governor General's Account of Durbar Charges for April 1782,	10,30,275 : 1 : 3

"I William

" I William Larkins do make Oath and ſay, That the Letter and Account to which this Affidavit is affixed, were written by me at the Requeſt of the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, on the 22d May 1782, from rough Draughts, written by himſelf in my Preſence: That the Cover of the Letter was ſealed up by him in my Preſence, and was then intended to have been tranſmitted to England by the Lively, when that Veſſel was firſt ordered for Diſpatch, and that it has remained cloſed until this Day, when it was opened for the expreſs Purpoſe of being accompanied by this Affidavit.

" So help me God.

" Calcutta, 16th December 1782. Wm. Larkins." (*a*)

" Sworn this 16th Day of December 1782,
before me, J. Hyde."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 42, intituled, " Bengal Diſpatches, 1ſt January 1782, to 11th April 1783."

Read, Extract of a General Letter, from the Court of Directors, to the Governor General and Council at Fort William, dated 15th January 1783.

Par. 54. " We have received a Letter from our Governor General, dated, Patna, 20th January 1782; repreſenting, that, while the Nabob Vizier was at Chunar, an Offer of a very conſiderable Sum of Money was made to him, both on the Part of the Nabob and on that of his Miniſters, as a Preſent; which he accepted without Heſitation, being entirely deſtitute both of Means and Credit, whether for our Service, or the Relief of his own Neceſſities. The nominal Sum ſaid to be received, and in Courſe of Payment, amounts, as the Governor General has informed us, to 10 Lacks of Rupees of the Currency of Oude. It is further ſtated, that what has been already received, has been laid out on the publick Service, and that the reſt is to be applied to the ſame Account; and that as ſoon as the Whole is compleated, he will tranſmit to us a faithful Account thereof.

Par. 55. " The Governor General has ſubmitted to our Conſideration, whether we will adjudge this Depoſit to him; but as the Act of Parliament, by which the Governor General and Council were appointed, directs, 'That the Salaries to be allowed to the ſaid Governor General and Council,' as therein mentioned, 'ſhall be in Lieu of all Fees of Office, Perquiſites, Emoluments, and Advan-'tages whatſoever; and that no Fees of Office, Perquiſites, Emoluments, or Advantages what-'ſoever, ſhall be accepted, received, or taken, by ſuch Governor General and Council, or any of 'them, in any Manner, or on any Account or Pretence whatſoever:' And as the ſame Act further directs, 'That no Governor General, or any of the Council, ſhall, directly or indirectly, accept, re-'ceive, or take, of or from any Perſon or Perſons, in any Manner, or on any Account whatſoever, 'any Preſent, Gift, Donation, Gratuity, or Reward, pecuniary or otherwiſe, or any Promiſe or En-'gagement for any Preſent, Gift, Donation, Gratuity, or Reward;' we cannot, were we ſo inclined, decree the Amount of this Preſent to the Governor General. And as it is further enacted, 'That 'any ſuch Preſent, Gift, Gratuity, Donation, or Reward, accepted, taken, or received, ſhall be 'deemed and conſtrued to have been received to and for the ſole Uſe of the Company;' we approve of the Intentions of the Governor General, to appropriate the Whole of the Sum to the Publick Service; and direct, that he do ſtrictly abide by the Act of Parliament in this Caſe made and provided."

(Dated, and ſigned at the End)

" London,
" the 15th January 1783.

" Henry Fletcher.
Nathaniel Smith.
John Harriſon.
Henry Savage.
John Smith.
George Tatem.
Thomas Cheap.
John Roberts.
Joſeph Sparkes.
Jacob Wilkinſon.
Stephen Luſhington.
R. Hall.
George Cuming.
L. Darell.
Jas. Moffatt."

Then the Witneſs produced a Paper indorſed, " Duplicate, Calcutta, 5th Auguſt 1786. Letter from Wm. Larkins Eſquire, Accountant General at Bengal, to the Chairman of the Eaſt India Company. Read in Court 9th March 1787."

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XLVIII.

Read, the following Extract from the ſame.

" To William Devaynes Eſquire Chairman, or to the Chairman for the Time being, of the Honourable the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies.

Par. 17. " The Dates in which this Payment was made to Mr. Haſtings, as well as thoſe made in Part of the Produce of the Preſents enumerated in the Paper No. 2, are ſtated the ſame in the 280th and 281ſt Pages of the Honourable Company's General Journal of 1781-2, as they are brought to account in Mr. Haſtings's private Books; but as neither of the other Sums paſſed through his Hands, theſe contained no ſuch Specification, and conſequently could not enable him to afford the Information with which he has requeſted me to furniſh you; and it is more than probable, that if the Affidavit which I took on 16th December 1782, had not expoſed my Character to the Suſpicion of my being capable of committing one of the baſeſt Treſpaſſes upon the Confidence of Mankind, I ſhould at this Diſtance of Time have been equally unable to have complied with his Requeſt; but after I became acquainted with the Inſinuation ſuggeſted in the Eleventh Report of the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons, I thought it but too probable, that unleſs I were poſſeſſed of the original Memorandums which I had made of theſe Tranſactions, at the Time when I became acquainted with them, I might, at ſome diſtant Period, be unable to prove that I had not deſcended to commit ſo baſe an Action; I have therefore always moſt carefully preſerved every Paper which I poſſeſſed regarding theſe Tranſactions.

" Calcutta, (Signed at the End)
5th Auguſt 1786. Wm. Larkins."

Read, Incloſure in the foregoing.

" N° 2. Duplicate.

" Copy of the Particulars of the Preſents taken from the Nabob Vizier and his Miniſters, and from Nundoodelol; carried to the Honourable Company's Credit, in the Account of the Receipts and Diſburſements of the Governor General, during his Abſence from the Preſidency, on a Viſit to the Northern Provinces, and included in Mr. Haſtings's Account of 22d May 1782.

" From the Nabob to the Governor General — —	6,00,000 : — : —	
* Sic in Orig. Huſſein * Zeza Cawn, and Hyder Beg Cawn, to ditto —	3,50,000 : — : —	
Ditto and ditto, to Mr. Haſtings — —	1,00,000 : — : —	
Lucknow Siccas	10,50,000 : — : —	
Hoon deawun deducted	1,25,205 : 13 : 6	
Lucknow Siccas		9,24,794 : 2 : 6
" Received in the following Species :		
Calcutta Siccas — —	2,76,573 : 12 : —	
Patna Sumvant — —	4,12,528 : 11 : —	
Murſhedabad Bazar Chellawn	43,383 : 15 : 6	
Lucknow Siccas — —	1,92,307 : 12 : —	
		9,24,794 : 2 : 6
Converted into Benaris Siccas, valued at 12 per Cent. + Cr̃s		
2,76,573 : 12 : —		
32,975 : — : — taken for Expences valued as uſual		— — 38,251 : — : —
2,43,598 : 12 + 3 9 3 1 pr Ct.	8,702 : 15 : 3	2,52,301 : 11 : 3
4,12,528 : 11 + — 8 — —	2,062 : 10 : 3	4,14,591 : 5 : 3
43,383 : 15 6 + 1 12 — —	759 : 3 : 6	44,143 : 3 : —
1,92,307 : 12 — 9 2 6 —	17,608 : 3 : —	1,74,699 : 9 : —
Benaris Siccas		8,85,735 : 12 : 6
Batta 12 pr Ct		1,06,288 : 4 : 9
		9,92,024 : 1 : 3
From Nundoodelol — — —	Current Rupees	10,30,275 : 1 : 3
		58,000 : — : —
" A true Copy. Wm. Larkins, 5th Auguſt 1786."	Current Rupees	10,88,275 : 1 : 3 (a)

(a) Vide Appendix, N° XLIX.

Then the Managers for the Commons defired Major Scott might be called in.

MAJOR SCOTT was accordingly called in, and examined as follows:

Q. Whether you did not receive a Letter from Mr. Haftings, mentioning his, Mr. Haftings's, having received a Prefent of Ten Lacks of Rupees from the Nabob, whilft he was at Chunar?

A. I remember it perfectly well.—I think it was in the Month of July 1782, that I received the Letter by the Nancy Packet.

Q. Where was you at that Time?

A. I was in England.

Q. To whom did you deliver that Letter?

A. I thought I was afked, whether I myfelf received that Letter.

Q. Yes: And you were underftood to anfwer, that you received it in July 1782. The Queftion upon that is, Whether you delivered it to any Perfon, and to whom?

A. Not that Letter; but with it I received another Letter, fealed, and directed to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. That Letter I delivered immediately after I had received it, and after I had read Mr. Haftings' Letter, to Sir Henry Fletcher, who was at that Time Chairman of the Court of Directors, and I delivered it to him at the India Houfe.

Q. Did any Duplicate of that Letter, for your Infpection, accompany the Original?

A. I am not quite certain, whether a Copy, for my Infpection, came by that Ship, or whether it came by the next; but of this I am very clear, that I had delivered the original Letter to Sir Henry Fletcher before I had read the Duplicate, not conceiving there was any difcretionary Power lodged in me to withold it, upon any Pretence whatever.

Q. Recollect, if you can, whether or not the Duplicate accompanied the Letter from Mr. Haftings, or followed in another Ship?

A. I really cannot—but I can recollect what will go immediately to the Point. I am fure Mr. Haftings, in his Letter to me, mentioned, that he had received a Prefent from the Nabob, or his Minifter, and that he had fent to the Secret Committee of Directors an Account of the Receipt of that Prefent.—Of that I am clear; and that he had appropriated, or meant to appropriate, that Prefent to the Service of the Company. I think it is more than probable I received an exact Copy of the Letter to the Secret Committee.—I went through a very long Examination upon this Subject before a Committee of the Houfe of Commons; and, though I have not looked at my Evidence, yet I think I ftated, at that Time, that I had delivered the Letter almoft immediately after receiving it, and certainly before I had read the Duplicate of it, if a Duplicate was inclofed to me, which I think there was.

Q. You now think the Duplicate was encloſed to you with the original Letter?

A. I rather think it was.

Q. But you can't fay pofitively whether it came with it, or in a fubfequent Parcel?

A. I cannot. If your Lordfhips will give me Leave to mention—I did underftand the Tenor of my Examination in another Place to be intended to prove, if it could have been proved from my Evidence, that there was a difcretionary Power lodged in me to withhold the Letter or to deliver it, as the State of Parties might be at that Time in this Country: And I can fpeak pofitively, I had no Inftruction from Mr. Haftings, directly or indirectly, to withhold, under any Circumftances, that Letter from the Gentleman to whom it was directed.

Q. Have you that Letter from Mr. Haftings about you?

A. No, I have not. I did not know to what Point I fhould be examined.

Q. Have you it in your Poffeffion?

A. I think it very probable I have. If your Lordfhips think it right I fhould produce a private Letter from Mr. Haftings, in which that Paffage is inferted, I am in Submiffion to your Lordfhips Judgment, whether I fhould produce it or not: I fpeak pofitively to the Fact.

The Managers for the Commons ftated, That if it had not appeared, from the Teftimony of the Witnefs himfelf, that the Letter was upon a Publick Tranfaction, they fhould not have entered upon the Subject.

The Houfe obferved, That till the Witnefs had feen the Letter, the Enquiry did not appear quite right.

The Witnefs proceeded as follows:

I can fo far ftate pofitively, that, as far as pecuniary Tranfactions are concerned, I can have not the fmalleft Objection to produce that, or any other Letter I ever received from Mr. Haftings in my Life.

Q. Did that private Letter to you carry the Explanation further than his Letter to the Court of Directors did, with Reſpect to his Tranſaction either with the Nabob or with his Miniſter?

A. It certainly did not: Speaking from Memory, I think Mr. Haſtings, in his Letter to me, ſaid ſomething about the State of his own Fortune, and that he would not increaſe it by any Means which he could not approve; but left it to the Court of Directors, to determine whether they would adjudge that Preſent ſo received to him, or not.

Q. Do you recollect the Date of that Letter?

A. I think it was dated about the 18th, 20th, or 22d of January 1782, from Patna; and, accompanying it, Mr. Haſtings ſent to the Court of Directors a Narrative of the Inſurrections at Benares, and relative to the Proceedings in Oude. It was the firſt Diſpatch of the Year, except One. A Ship was ſent by Mr. Wheler and Mr. Macpherſon to England—it was the Swallow. I think ſhe ſailed in the Month of January 1782. Mr. Haſtings had deſired that Veſſel to be detained, till his Narrative, and thoſe Letters of which I am ſpeaking, ſhould arrive in Calcutta. But the Council, being anxious to ſend from Bengal the earlieſt Accounts of the Tranſactions in India, and particularly from Madras, where the Ship was to ſtop, the Swallow ſailed before the Narrative and thoſe Letters arrived in Calcutta—and the Nancy Packet, a Snow, was taken up expreſsly for the Purpoſe of bringing them to England; and I think the Nancy Packet arrived in leſs than a Month after the Swallow.—I think ſo.

Q. Whether the Account you mention of theſe Tranſactions was not addreſſed directly to the Board of Directors at Home from Mr. Haſtings?

A. I really do not recollect, but the Record will ſhew it: The Head of the Narrative will ſhew it of courſe.

Q. Did theſe Accounts paſs through you as a Channel of Communication between Mr. Haſtings and the Court of Directors, or did they come to them in the ordinary Mode of Communication?

A. They were brought home under the Charge of Major Fairfax, I think.

Q. You have given an Account of Mr. Haſtings being at the Time at Patna, and giving ſpecial Directions for the Tranſmiſſion of certain Articles of Intelligence, which he meant to communicate to the Court of Directors at Home; and the Queſtion put to you is, Whether that Communication to the Court of Directors was made through you, or in any other Manner?

A. Not through me—but I am not clear whether Major Fairfax was entruſted perſonally to deliver them, or whether they were ſent up by the Ship in the ordinary Courſe.

Q. Was this Part of the Account Mr. Haſtings ſent to you, either by a Letter addreſſed to you, or in any other Manner communicated?

A. If your Lordſhips will give me leave, I will ſtate how I received it. The Benares Narrative, and the other Packets, were ſent to the Court of Directors, I ſuppoſe—I believe ſo. Major Fairfax brought me a Box, containing a Duplicate Copy of the Benares Narrative; and, upon my opening that Box, I found a ſealed Letter, directed to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. That Letter, as ſoon as I received it, and ſaw it, I immediately delivered to Sir Henry Fletcher. Why Mr. Haſtings choſe to incloſe that Letter to me, inſtead of ſending it to the Court of Directors, I really am not competent to give any Information upon.

Q. The Queſtion that was aſked you was, Whether you, in fact, made a Communication of all theſe Circumſtances to the Court of Directors, or to any of the Directors?

A. I cannot directly recollect what paſſed between Sir Henry Fletcher and me. Sir Henry Fletcher is in England, and may anſwer that Queſtion. Perhaps his Memory may be readier upon the Subject than mine; but I think I told him that Letter came incloſed to me from Mr. Haſtings, and that, immediately upon my ſeeing it, I delivered it to him: It was at the India Houſe.

Q. Has Mr. Haſtings ever given you any Reaſon why he choſe to communicate this Tranſaction through you, rather than in any other Manner?

A. He certainly has not; but I beg to obſerve, that Mr. Haſtings publickly notified to the Court of Directors when I arrived in England, that he had appointed me his Agent.

Q. Whether, as his Agent, you were not equally competent to have delivered an Account of the other Tranſactions, as the Account of this Tranſaction?

A. I think I underſtand the Queſtion; but I can perceive ſome Diſtinction. The Benares Narrative, and the Account of the other Tranſactions, came home through the Channel of the Board; and I think that may be a Reaſon why they were ſent in another Manner: But this was from Mr. Haſtings himſelf.

Q. Do you know any Reaſon why Mr. Haſtings diverted the Communication reſpecting this Tranſaction to you from the Channel of the Board, to whom he was bound to communicate all Tranſactions?

A. I really do not know; and my Ideas of a Governor General differ ſo much from thoſe of the Honourable Manager upon this Subject, that I do not conceive he was bound to communicate all Tranſactions to the Board.—I may be in an Error, but that is my Idea.

Q. The Queſtion is, Did Mr. Haſtings ever give you any Reaſon for making this Difference?
A. Not in the leaſt; I believe I ſaid ſo before.

Q. Did you ever read the general Orders of the Company to the Governor General and their Servants?
A. I believe I have read all of them.

Q. Is it upon thoſe Orders you have formed your Idea of the Duty of a Governor General?

The Houſe obſerved, that the Orders themſelves would prove whether the Opinion already given upon this Subject by the Witneſs was right or wrong.

The Witneſs ſaid,

A. I have not the leaſt Objection to anſwering any Queſtions.

Q. Whether you conceive it to be a Part of the Duty of a Governor General to obey the Orders of the Court of Directors?

The Witneſs was aſked, whether he had any Objection to anſwering this Queſtion?

A. I have no Objection to anſwer it.—I conceive it to be the Duty of a Governor General to preſerve, to the Eaſt India Company and to Great Britain, the Empire that is committed to his Charge: And I do conceive it to be the bounden Duty of the Governor General to diſobey ſuch Orders of the Court of Directors, as he ſhall think tend to endanger the Safety of that Empire committed to his Charge; but I alſo conceive that the Governor General, ſo diſobeying the poſitive Orders of the Court of Directors, makes himſelf peculiarly reſponſible to them, and to his Country, for all his Acts.

Q. With reſpect to your own Duty, Whether you conceive it to be the Duty of an Agent to obey all Orders which he receives from the Perſon who appoints him?

A. Whether Mr. Haſtings was miſtaken or not, I will not preſume to ſay; but he certainly did never give me any Thing that could bear the Conſtruction of an Order, as the Honourable Manager puts it.

Q. The Queſtion is, if you have no Objection to anſwer it, as to your general Opinion?
A. Moſt undoubtedly, as applied to any ſealed Letter that ſhould be ſent to me to deliver to any Perſon whatever.

Q. Whether you ever did receive Communications from Mr. Haſtings, reſpecting Money taken in India privately by Mr. Haſtings, which you did not immediately make publick to the Court of Directors?

A. I think I can underſtand the Point to which the Queſtion is intended to go, and will explain it, if your Lordſhips will give me Leave, in a few Words. Mr. Haſtings, in the Month of November 1780, wrote a Letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, I think, in which he told them, he had offered, in the preceding Month of June, the Sum of Two Lacks of Rupees, to defray the Expences of Major Camac's Detachment; he told them that the Money, by whatever Means it came into his Poſſeſſion, was not his own; that he neither could, nor would, have received it, but for their Uſe. In anſwer to this Letter, the Court of Directors wrote to Mr. Haſtings, expreſſing ſome Surprize at the Communication, and withholding their Approbation of the Tranſaction, till they had further Information from him. In a private Letter, which Mr. Haſtings wrote to me very ſoon after the Receipt of that from the Court of Directors, there was a Paſſage, which I read before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons: the Honourable Manager I ſee has the Book before him, and if he will have the Goodneſs to read it, it will be more correct than my Memory.

Q. Give, as near as your preſent Memory will go, an Account of that Tranſaction?
A. As near as my Memory goes, the Words of Mr. Haſtings, writing to me, were, "You may recollect the Two Lacks of Rupees which I received from Cheit Sing:—The Court of Directors were angry," (or ſomething to that Purpoſe, for really I am at a Loſs for the Remainder of the Words) "that I did not inform them of more Particulars."—I am not certain whether theſe are the Expreſſions:—But it is here, and I may give it in a more correct Way from the Paper.

Q. Did you then give the very Words of the Letter, from the Letter, or from your own Memory?
A. I believe the Clerk took it down from the Words of the Letter.

Q. You ſtate Mr. Haſtings to have ſaid, "You may recollect."—When was the firſt Communication made to you, upon the Subject of that Preſent, by Mr. Haſtings?
A. I can ſpeak poſitively, that Mr. Haſtings never did make any Communication to me upon the Subject of that Preſent; and Mr. Haſtings was miſtaken, when he ſaid, "You may recollect;" for I could not recollect what I never had heard.—I certainly had never heard it.

The Managers for the Commons read the following Paſſage to the Witneſs, "You may recollect the Two Lacks of Rupees I received from Cheit Sing, to defray the Expences of Major Camac's Detachment."

Then the Witneſs was aſked;

Q. Do you mean to ſay you never had any previous Communication of that Fact from Mr. Haſtings?

A. I certainly do mean to ſay ſo, fully and completely—and to add this, which Mr. Haſtings might not recollect at a ſucceeding Time, that on the 22d of June 1780, when this happened, I had left Calcutta; I had left Mr. Haſtings's Family, and was proceeding to take the Command of a Battalion of Sepoys at Chunargur; to which Command I had been appointed, by Sir Eyre Coote, a few Days before.

Q. Was this Communication made, whenever it was made, to you, in a private Letter?

A. It was; and I ſhewed General Smith, who was Chairman of the Committee, the greateſt Part of the Letter, at the Time when I gave my Evidence.

Q. At the Time you received that private Letter, was it accompanied with any publick Communication of the Tranſaction which you were to make to the Court of Directors?

A. At the Time I received that private Letter, Mr. Haſtings ſent to the Company that Account of all the Preſents, including 19,50,000 Rupees *. Both came by the ſame Diſpatch.

Q. But did you receive any Account of it, for you to communicate to the Company?

A. None at all; Mr. Haſtings, I ſuppoſe, conceiving that he had ſent a full and ſufficient Account.

Q. The Queſtion that was put to you was, Whether you received privately, from Mr. Haſtings, any Account of that Tranſaction, which you ought to have ſent to the Court of Directors?

A. None; but I believe my Anſwer will not be complete, except I refer again to the Report of that Committee. When I gave my Evidence there, I was particularly aſked, if Mr. Haſtings had told me from whom he received any of the ſeveral Sums compoſing that Nineteen Lacks and a Half? Not recollecting this Paſſage of my Letter, I think my immediate Anſwer was—No—But afterwards, recollecting this Paſſage in the Letter, and I rather think General Smith reminded me of it; upon that I produced the Letter, and the Paſſage was entered.—General Smith had ſeen that Part of the Letter before.

Q. What did you do, upon General Smith's reminding you of it, he having ſeen this Letter?

A. I gave it immediately to the Committee—I had it with me at the Time.

Q. I underſtood you had corrected ſome Account you had given to the Committee before?

A. At this Time I was examined by the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, of which Committee General Smith was Chairman. I was examined, Whether I knew from whom ſuch a Sum, or ſuch a Sum, was received, all component Parts of that Account, which Mr. Haſtings ſent to the Court of Directors? Upon being aſked theſe ſeveral Queſtions, I ſaid, No; not recollecting thoſe particular Paſſages in the Letter. General Smith, to whom I had ſhewn it (and that certainly muſt have been a Proof that I wanted to keep no Secret), reminded me of the Paſſage, he ſitting in the Chair of the Committee at the Time. I took the Letter out of my Pocket, and the Clerk inſerted the Paſſage from it.

Q. By what Means came General Smith firſt to have a Knowledge of that Letter?

A. I believe, from that Part of my Letter; but General Smith himſelf will beſt be able to tell that.

Q. The Queſtion put to you is—How did that Letter firſt come to the Knowledge of General Smith: Upon what Occaſion did you ſhew it him?

A. It happened at a Time, when the Affairs of the Company in India were in a very critical Situation: A Packet had arrived with a Number of Letters, and, amongſt the reſt, this from Mr. Haſtings. I thought it contained Information tending to inſpire us with Hopes, that we ſhould get the better of all our Difficulties; and, I believe, upon that Idea, I ſhewed the Letter, or the greateſt Part of it, to General Smith; and it contained News of the Operations of the War in the Carnatic, and the Meaſures in Bengal.

Q. Do you recollect, at what Time, before this Examination, you ſhewed that Letter to General Smith?

A. I believe not above a Day, or Two, before; becauſe the General and I were in the Habit of meeting there almoſt every Day; he, as Chairman, and I, as a Witneſs before that Committee.

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* See Extract of this Account ſupra, Page 558, at the Bottom; and ſee the whole Account in Appendix, N° XLVIII.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, you ſhewed the Whole of the Letter to General Smith?
A. I certainly mean to ſay no ſuch Thing; for I rather think I did not.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, that General Smith had no previous Knowledge of this particular Tranſaction, reſpecting the Preſent from Cheit Sing, before you communicated it to him?
A. I mean to ſay,—my firm Belief is, he had not; becauſe, in the Eleventh Report, it is ſtated, that the Committee were perfectly unapprized of that, till I told them of it: I think that a good Reaſon for ſuppoſing they did not know it before.

Q. Do you, or do you not, know, that you were the only Perſon, to whom Mr. Haſtings made this Communication, relative to the Preſents from Cheit Sing; and that, in Fact, there was no other Communication.

A. I certainly know that there was another Communication of that Preſent. Mr. Haſtings wrote a Letter to Mr. Sullivan in the Month of Auguſt 1780; it was ſent by a Daniſh Ship; and, in that Letter, he ſtates to Mr. Sullivan, that he had received it from Cheit Sing, and authorized him to make any publick Uſe he pleaſes of the Communication. Mr. Haſtings afterwards communicated to the Court of Directors, by the firſt Engliſh Ship, in November 1780, that he had received Two Lacks of Rupees; that the Money was not his own, and that he only would have received it for their Uſe; but to them he did not ſtate that it was from Cheit Sing he received it; there was that Difference in the Communication.

Q. You have ſaid, Mr. Haſtings communicated to Mr. Sullivan in a private Letter, that this Preſent came from Cheit Sing, and the Intelligence was to be uſed, as he, Mr. Sullivan, pleaſed: Was there any ſimilar Paſſage in the private Letter of Mr. Haſtings to you, that gave you a Liberty to make what Uſe of it you pleaſed?

A. No—It was mentioned collaterally to me: I can ſpeak to that from Memory exactly. Mr. Haſtings in his Letter to me, of which that Paragraph is a Part, complained very loudly of the ill Uſage he had received from the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, in the Strictures they had paſſed upon him, and from the Court of Directors: And he ſtates this as amongſt the Complaints,—that he thinks he has been very ill treated by them: it is mentioned merely by that Kind of Accident. I do not know whether I make myſelf underſtood; but in ſtating a Variety of Particulars, in which he thought himſelf ill treated, he mentions as one, that having received Two Lacks for their Benefit, and appropriating it to their Service, ſuch Strictures ſhould be paſſed upon him.

Q. When he communicated it to you in that Way, did he, or did he not, give you any Directions to make what publick or private Uſe of it you pleaſed?

A. None at all: but I had no Idea of making any Secret of it; I had no Idea that a pecuniary Tranſaction of Mr. Haſtings could or ought to be a Matter of Secrecy.

Q. Have you any Objection to the Production of the Letters?

A. I have not the ſmalleſt Objection to produce them, though they contain Opinions and Obſervations upon Men and upon Meaſures, in that Species of free Communication that there was between Mr. Haſtings and me, which, I believe, no Gentleman would wiſh to lay entirely before the Publick.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That as the Witneſs ſpoke from imperfect Recollection, and which Recollection ſeemed not to tally with his former Evidence, where he likewiſe ſpoke from Recollection of thoſe Letters in Queſtion, they could not but expreſs a Doubt of the Accuracy of ſuch Recollection, and a Wiſh therefore to ſee the Letter.

A. With reſpect to the Production of the Letters I will ſtate the Fact, and the only Reaſon why I ſhould have any Doubt upon the Matter.—In the Month of May 1782, a Reſolution was moved in the Houſe of Commons for the Recall of Mr. Haſtings from the Government of Bengal. This Reſolution was reſiſted in a Court of Proprietors, and that brought on a great Variety of Diſcuſſions, in which I certainly ſpoke my Opinion pretty plainly of ſeveral Gentlemen, and Mr. Haſtings ſpoke his as plainly in Return: And I wiſh to ſubmit, whether that is a Communication proper to be laid before the Houſe, being, as it is, intermixed with the Letter.

The Houſe obſerved, that ſuch Parts of the Letter were certainly not the Object of the preſent Enquiry; but at all Events, it would be impoſſible to purſue the Examination at this Time, as the Witneſs had not the Letter about him.

Then the Witneſs requeſted, that his former Examination, before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, might be read from the Minutes of the Committee, as far as related to the Subject at preſent under Conſideration, that it might appear whether there was any Difference between his Evidence there and that now given by him at the Bar; and that he might explain the ſame, if any ſhould be found.

The

The Managers for the Commons being aſked, Whether they had any Objection? made anſwer, That they had none.

Accordingly the Minute Book of the Committee was ſent for; and, in the mean Time, the Examination of the Witneſs was proceeded in as follows, the Managers firſt aſſerting their Claim to call for the ſaid Letter in future, if they ſhould think proper.

Q. Whether you did not, after theſe Two Tranſactions relative to the Two Preſents, receive other Communications from Mr. Haſtings in India, relative to other Preſents, and other Matters, of Money taken by Mr. Haſtings?

A. No; I never received from Mr. Haſtings any other Accounts than theſe relative to the 19,60,000 Rupees, until the Month of September 1784, when Mr. Haſtings ſent me a Copy of an Account, which he had tranſmitted to the Court of Directors, ſtating a Sum of Money received by him, and the Mode of the Expenditure of that Sum of Money.

Q. The Queſtion put to you is, Whether the Communications you did receive from him were relative to any other Sums than thoſe you mentioned before?

A. None, except the one I have mentioned laſt, which was not included in the Nineteen Lacks: That made me make the Diſtinction.

Q. Was you not made the Channel of Communication between Mr. Larkins in India and the Court of Directors, reſpecting Money taken by Mr. Haſtings?

A. I was; and I will beg Leave to explain that Circumſtance alſo, by taking it up from the Time it originated. I think in the Month of March 1784, nearly about the Time of the Diſſolution of Parliament, a Letter was ſent from the Court of Directors to Mr. Haſtings, deſiring from him an Explanation of the ſeveral Sums that he had received: I think he was deſired to ſtate the Periods when each Sum was received, and his Reaſons for concealing that Receipt from his Council. This Letter arrived in Bengal, as I underſtood, in the Month of September 1784, when Mr. Haſtings was at Lucknow. Mr. Haſtings came down to Calcutta in November 1784, and reſigned the Government of Bengal the 1ſt February 1785. It happened, that he had not adverted to that particular Paragraph from the Court of Directors, before he left Bengal; and, upon his Arrival in England, I mentioned this Omiſſion to him: In Conſequence of that, he wrote a Letter from Cheltenham, to the Court of Directors, mentioning the Circumſtances, anſwering their Queſtions, and telling them, that, if they wanted a full and compleat Account of all the Tranſactions, he referred them to Mr. Larkins, who was acquainted with the Whole of them. I thought that the Court of Directors might be ſatisfied with the Explanation Mr. Haſtings had then given, and that neither they, nor the Board of Commiſſioners, might think it worth their While to enquire any more about it, as they had received all the Money, and it had been expended upon the Company's Account. The Event has proved, that I thought right: But I took the Liberty to mention to Mr. Haſtings, (from believing, in my Conſcience, that he never was concerned in any pecuniary Tranſaction that he would wiſh to conceal); I took the Liberty to mention to him, that he had better, himſelf, write to Mr. Larkins, and deſire he would ſend the Account to this Country, to the Chairman of the Court of Directors. In conſequence of that Letter, which Mr. Haſtings did write, Mr. Larkins ſent Mr. Haſtings a Letter, directed to the Chairman of the Court of Directors; containing the Account, a Part of which was juſt now read (*a*). Mr. Larkins aſſigned to Mr. Haſtings, as a Reaſon for ſending the Account under Cover to him, that, as neither he, nor the Governor General and Council, had received any Orders or Directions, from the Court of Directors, upon this Subject, he thought he could not, with Propriety, addreſs them directly; and therefore had ſent the Letter to Mr. Haſtings, to deliver himſelf. Mr. Haſtings deſired me, as I was going into the City that Day, to give it to Mr. Michie, the Chairman, tho' it was directed to Mr. Devaynes, who had been the Chairman the preceding Year: That is the Reaſon of my delivering the Letter to Mr. Michie as I did.

Q. The Queſtion is, Whether there was any Communication that paſſed through you?
A. That was the only Communication.

Q. But there was no Communication through you?
A. None, except that.

Q. That was the laſt Account of this Preſent ſent over by Mr. Larkins?
A. Yes, dated the 18th Auguſt 1786, I think; that is the Account which has juſt been read.

Q. You have ſaid, that Mr. Haſtings had not adverted, in India, to that Paragraph of the Company's Letter which called for this Account: I deſire to aſk you upon that, whether you do not know, that Mr. Haſtings had promiſed this Account before that Letter written to him by the Court of Directors arrived in India?

A. I certainly recollect, in the Month of December 1782, Mr. Haſtings wrote to the Court of Directors, that if they wanted any farther Explanation, reſpecting the Sums he had received and

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 560.

expended in their Service, he was ready to anſwer to any Queſtion that could be put to him, upon Honour, or upon Oath: That Letter arrived in this Country in July 1783; no Notice was taken of it until the Month of March 1784; and then the Court of Directors wrote to Mr. Haſtings, telling him, they did not mean to doubt his Integrity, but, as he had voluntarily offered to give them an Explanation, they aſked certain Queſtions. The Queſtions were, as I ſtated before; At what Periods he had received the ſeveral Sums: What was his Reaſon for concealing the Receipts from the Council, and taking Bonds for ſome of thoſe Sums, and entering others as Depoſits: I think theſe were the Queſtions. Mr. Haſtings, as he told me, had not adverted to that Paragraph.

Q. The ſingle Queſtion put to you was, Whether Mr. Haſtings had not, anterior to that Letter which he received from the Court of Directors, promiſed to give them an Account: You ſaid, He did—and ſtated the Manner in which he did it?

A. Juſt ſo.

Q. You have ſaid, in your Anſwer to a former Queſtion, that you are certain it never was Mr. Haſtings's Intention to conceal any of theſe Tranſactions, reſpecting this Money taken: I beg a ſhort Paſſage may be read to the Witneſs from Mr. Haſtings's Letter from Cheltenham, which has been read To-day.

Read, Extract of a Letter from Mr. Haſtings to William Devaynes Eſquire, Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors, dated Cheltenham, 11th July 1785, before delivered in.

" Of this I am certain, that it was my Deſign originally to have concealed the Receipt of all the Sums, except the Second, even from the Knowledge of the Court of Directors (*a*)."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Whether you have ſeen that Letter of Mr. Haſtings?

A. I am glad to have an Opportunity of explaining what might otherwiſe have appeared very extraordinary. When I ſtate " concealing," I mean that Mr. Haſtings never intended to receive the Money for his own Benefit; that he never meant to receive Fifty or an Hundred Thouſand Pounds, or even One Rupee, to the Benefit of himſelf.

Q. In your Declaration that Mr. Haſtings never meant to conceal the Preſents he had received, did you mean to ſay, that he never meant to conceal the Fact of receiving them at any Time?

A. It is impoſſible for me to ſtate what Mr. Haſtings intended to do: Mr. Haſtings was at Cheltenham, and I at Tunbridge Wells, at the Time the Letter was written; ſo that I really did not advert to that Paſſage, and cannot tell what Mr. Haſtings's Intentions were at all.

Q. The Queſtion is not about what Mr. Haſtings's Intentions were, but the Senſe of the Expreſſion you made Uſe of, that you were confident Mr. Haſtings never meant to conceal the Receipt of the Preſents: Upon your making Uſe of that Expreſſion, a Paſſage of a Letter written by Mr. Haſtings from Cheltenham, was read to you; and then the Queſtion put to you was, What you meant by that general Expreſſion, that he never meant to conceal Preſents? Do you mean to ſay, that he never meant to conceal the Receipt of Preſents from any Perſon, or at any Time?

A. I conceive Mr. Haſtings to have meant, that the Preſents recorded ſhould appear only in ſo far as they appeared in the General Account, as a Sum of Money carried to the Company's Credit; but he never meant to give any particular Explanation, excepting in ſo far as they ſhould appear upon the Accounts. When he ſtates, that he meant to conceal the Receipts from the Knowledge of the Court of Directors, I fancy he meant that the Tranſaction ſhould no farther appear than it would appear by the Court of Directors finding Five, Six, or whatever the Sum of Lacks of Rupees was, carried to their Credit in the ſeveral Accounts.

Q. When you ſaid you was very confident Mr. Haſtings never meant to conceal the Preſents, did you mean Mr. Haſtings never meant to conceal them for any Time, or from any Perſon?

A. What I meant was, that he did not intend ultimately to benefit himſelf; and every Sum of Money received muſt appear, ſomehow or other, on the Company's Books.

Q. Mr. Haſtings, in his Letter from Cheltenham, ſays, " Of this I am certain, that it was ' my Deſign originally to have concealed the Receipt of all the Sums, except the Second, even ' from the Knowledge of the Court of Directors (*b*)." Now, how were theſe Sums to appear upon the Company's Accounts (as you have ſtated they would), if the Knowledge of them was concealed from the Court of Directors?

A. I mean any particular Explanation. I certainly underſtood it ſo; but I think there is another Part of that ſame Letter which I think will explain it.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 554, Line 18 from the Bottom. (*b*) Vide ſupra, Page ibid.

Q. The Letter proceeds thus: 'They had anſwered my Purpoſe of publick Utility, and I 'had almoſt totally diſmiſſed them from my Remembrance; but when Fortune threw a Sum in 'my Way, of a Magnitude which could not be concealed, and the peculiar Delicacy of my Situa- 'tion, at the Time in which I received it, made me more circumſpect of Appearances, I choſe to 'apprize my Employers of it (*a*).' Whether you do not underſtand by this Paſſage, that Mr. Haſtings would not have diſcloſed the Receipt of that Sum, if he could have concealed it: Take the Two Paſſages together?

The Letter was ſhewn to the Witneſs.

A. Mr. Haſtings, in another Part of this Letter, ſays, 'I have ſaid, that the Three Firſt Sums 'of the Account were paid into the Company's Treaſury, without paſſing through my Hands; the 'Second of theſe' (that is, the Second of the Three Firſt Sums, Cheit Sing's) 'was forced into Notice 'by its Deſtination and Application to the Expence of a Detachment, which was formed and employ- 'ed againſt Mahdajee Scindia, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Carnac, as I particu- 'larly apprized the Court of Directors, in my Letter of the 29th of December 1780. The 'other Two were certainly not intended, when I received them, to be made publick, though in- 'tended for publick Service, and actually applied to it. The Exigencies of the Government 'were at that Time my own, and every Preſſure upon it reſted with its full Weight upon my 'Mind. Wherever I could find allowable Means of relieving thoſe Wants, I eagerly ſeized 'them; but neither could it occur to me as neceſſary to ſtate, on our Proceedings, every little 'Aid which I could thus procure; nor do I know how I could have ſtated it, without appearing 'to court favour, by an Oſtentation which I diſdained, nor without the Chance of exciting the 'Jealouſy of my Colleagues, by the conſtructive Aſſertion of a ſeparate and unparticipated Merit, 'derived from the Influence of my Station, to which they might have laid an equal Claim (*b*).' I conceive, that when Mr. Haſtings talks of concealing, he does not mean to conceal the Receipt of the Money; becauſe it muſt have appeared (except he had appropriated it to his own Uſe, which I am ſure he did not intend to do), either under the Head of Durbar Charges, or as a Depoſit, or Bonds: And I think Mr. Haſtings intended to have entered into no Sort of Explanation with the Court of Directors upon it, but, when he quitted the Service, merely to have delivered up the Bonds, without any further Explanation. Whether I am correct in what his Intention was, I cannot ſay; but that is my Idea.

Q. You have ſaid before, that you did not think he meant to conceal them; which you have explained by ſaying, he meant to apply them to the publick Service; which Application to the publick Service would diſcloſe them: The Queſtion now aſked is, Do you believe that he did not mean to conceal the Fact of the Receipt of the Preſents at the Time the Receipt was had?

A. At the Time the Receipt was had, certainly; but I did not underſtand the Queſtion ſo.

Q. My Meaning was, "for ever." I underſtand you to ſay, that could not have been his Intention, becauſe, though he might have concealed them at the Time, yet, meaning to apply them to publick Purpoſes, you think they muſt have appeared in the Durbar Charges, or under ſome other Head: do I underſtand you correctly?

A. Yes.

Q. Then now explain the following Paſſage, in the Letter from Mr. Haſtings to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 16th December 1782, where, ſpeaking of thoſe Sums, he ſays, "I could have concealed them, had I had a wrong Motive, from "yours and the publick Eye for ever; and I know that the Difficulties to which a Spirit of "Injuſtice may ſubject me for my Candour and Avowal are greater than any poſſible Inconve- "nience that could have attended the Concealment, except the Diſſatisfaction of my own Mind (*c*)." —Whether that does or does not avow a Power to have concealed thoſe Sums for ever from the publick Eye, without any Poſſibility of their being diſcovered, and only under the Diſſatisfaction of his own Mind?

A. When Mr. Haſtings ſtates the Paſſage, "I could have concealed," &c. he means, if I had intended to appropriate to my own Uſe this Sum of Money, I might have done it: I underſtand that to be the Senſe of this Paſſage.

Q. Do you know what Interval there was between Mr. Haſtings's receiving the Preſent of 100,000 l. from the Nabob at Chunar, and his firſt Confeſſion of it, under the Circumſtances ſtated by Mr. Haſtings, that it was of a Magnitude not to be concealed?

A. According to my Conception, Mr. Haſtings diſcloſed it to the Court of Directors by the firſt poſſible Opportunity: No Time was loſt.

Q. When was that?

A. Bills were granted upon the Houſe of Gopaul Doſs for the Money, 10,30,000 current Rupees about the Middle of September 1781; it muſt have been about that Time, becauſe the

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 554, Line 16 from the Bottom.
(*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 554, Line 21.
(*c*) Vide ſupra, Page 558, laſt Paragraph of the Letter.

Nabob

Nabob came the 11th, and quitted Chunar, I believe, the 19th September: theſe Bills were in part received in the Month of January, and the Whole was received in the Month of March.—Before one Half of the Sum had been received, Mr. Haſtings ſent to the Court of Directors an Account of all his Tranſactions at Benares, and reſpecting the Begums; and with that Account he alſo ſent the Particulars of this Preſent; that it had been made in Bills; that Part had been received; that the Part received had been appropriated to the publick Service; and that the Remainder ſhould be appropriated in like Manner as faſt as he ſhould receive it: And according to my Idea, Mr. Haſtings did ſend home that by the earlieſt poſſible Opportunity. I believe I have already mentioned, that Mr. Haſtings' Letters were too late for the Swallow; he had conceived that the Swallow would have waited until his Diſpatches reached Calcutta, but Mr. Wheler and Mr. Macpherſon thought it right to diſpatch that Ship, without waiting till they arrived; and another Veſſel, the Nancy, was taken up, and by that Ship they came.

Q. Do you not know that Mr. Haſtings wrote a great Number of Letters to Mr. Wheler and the Council at Calcutta, during the Interval between his receiving the Preſent, and the Time when he firſt diſcloſed it, in the Letter which paſſed through your Hands?

A. I dare ſay he did; I have no doubt of it.

Q. Do you not know it?

A. I have no Doubt of it; it certainly muſt have been ſo.

Q. Is this Preſent in any Way mentioned or alluded to in any one of thoſe Letters or Communications to the Council?

A. No; nor do I remember it ever was mentioned to the Council till the Intelligence of it was returned back again from England to Bengal.

Q. Do you know whether, when the Communication of this Preſent was made to the Court of Directors, Mr. Haſtings did not apply for the Whole of the Money to be given to himſelf?

A. In the Terms of the Queſtion, I do not think he did. I think he ſubmitted to the Court of Directors, Whether, in Conſideration of his long Services, and having a ſmall Fortune, they would chooſe to adjudge the Depoſit to him. The Court of Directors, who were perfectly competent to act as they pleaſed, choſe to adjudge the Depoſit to themſelves.

Q. Do you or not underſtand that to have been aſking the Court of Directors for the Money?

A. It certainly is to a Degree; it is an Application not exactly as ſtated in the Queſtion; but, to be ſure, it is ſomething very like aſking them for the Money.

Q. You call the Preſent, as Mr. Haſtings himſelf does, a Depoſit. From Mr. Haſtings's Letter, did you not underſtand that the Money had not then been expended at the Date of the Letter from Mr. Haſtings?

A. Certainly not; I underſtand the Word Depoſit to mean, that it ſhould be a Point undetermined, whether the Property ſhould be Mr. Haſtings's, the Court of Directors, or whether, as the Committee were of Opinion, it ſhould be taken in Liquidation of Part of the Nabob's Debt.

The Queſtion is, Whether the Money was not at that Time in Part expended?

A. Certainly, it was received and expended for the Publick Service.

Q. Whether the Preſent was not in Bills upon Gopaul Doſs?

A. It was in Bills, but they had been in Part realized before the 20th of January 1782.

Q. Whether Mr. Haſtings does not ſtate that his Reaſon for accepting the Preſent was to anſwer his then preſſing Exigencies, and to pay the Army?

A. The Letter will ſpeak for itſelf to that Point; I do not think exactly as the Queſtion is put that it does ſo ſtate. It ſtates he accepted it gladly, having no Fund at that Time, for the Payment of his own and the Companies Exigencies.

The Managers for the Commons deſired an Extract from a Letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, ſigned Warren Haſtings, and dated Patna, 20th January 1782, delivered in Yeſterday, might be read (*a*).

Read, the following Extract from the ſame.

"This Donation was not made in Specie, but in Bills, which have been in part only, and tardily realized, being drawn on the Houſe of Gopaul Doſs, who was at the Time a Priſoner in the Hands of Cheit Sing."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs.

Q. How could Mr. Haſtings have employed that Preſent, ſo circumſtanced, to the Payment of the Troops at the Time he received it?

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 544.

A. Undoubtedly

A. Undoubtedly I conceive he could: Gopaul Doſs was only the Firſt Partner in the Houſe; the Confuſion occaſioned by the Inſurrection of Cheit Sing, had, in the Middle of September, begun to ſubſide; and though (not ſpeaking to a Day), at the Moment Mr. Haſtings got the Bills he could not turn them to Caſh undoubtedly, yet with Bills for R^{s} 10,00,000 in his Hands, upon ſuch a Houſe as that of Gopaul Doſs, which I ſuppoſe, is worth near a Million Sterling, there was no doubt but in the Courſe of a ſhort Time a Part of theſe Bills might be received; and as I believe the Troops in the Province of Benares were then Three and Four Months in Arrears, the Produce of theſe Bills, or of ſuch Parts as could be paid, might be very ſeaſonably employed towards our Preſervation in India.

Q. Whether the Houſe of Gopaul Doſs would not as readily have accepted the Security or Drafts of the Company or Governor General, as thoſe of the Nabob?

A. I think it is very likely they would: But I will put it upon what Place Mr. Haſtings could have given the Draft. At that Period, the Treaſury of Calcutta, as appears from the Minutes of Mr. Macpherſon, was empty; and a very conſiderable Remittance had been made to the Coaſt of Coromandel, to Madraſs, where the Army was on the Point of mutinying and diſbanding; and, to complete the Remittance, Mr. Wheler and Mr. Macpherſon had been obliged to ſtretch the Company's Credit as far as it would go; and under thoſe Circumſtances, I think, Rs. 10,30,000, procured from any Man or Men, under any Circumſtances, was performing a very eſſential publick Service. I believe the Company owed Gopaul Doſs 25 or 30 Lacks of Rupees at that Time, for Drafts he had given to General Goddard; they were conſiderably in his Debt at that Time I know.

Q. Whether he would have anſwered Drafts upon the Treaſury of Calcutta, if Mr. Haſtings had made them?

A. I believe, in Confidence he would; that when the Company could pay they would.

Q. Whether the Wants of the Troops of the Eaſt India Company would not have been equally well ſupplied, by receiving this Sum of Ten Lacks, in part Payment of the Nabob's Debt to the Company, as by receiving it as a Preſent to Mr. Haſtings?

A. Moſt undoubtedly and obviouſly.

The Managers for the Commons deſired the Credentials from Mr. Haſtings to the Witneſs, appointing him his Agent, might be read to him.

Read, Extract of a Letter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, ſigned, Warren Haſtings; and dated, Fort William, January 6, 1781; from Book 29, already delivered in; beginning at Page 272 of the ſaid Book.

"To the Chairman of the Court of Directors.

"Sir,

"Having thought proper to appoint an Agent at home, for the Purpoſe of attending to my political Intereſts, and managing all my public Concerns, I take this Opportunity of acquainting you, that I have ſelected Major Scott for this Service, and have furniſhed him with ſuitable Inſtructions; and as this Gentleman is poſſeſſed of every neceſſary Information relative to the State of this Government, he will be ready to communicate with you on all Matters wherein you may think it proper to aſk his Opinion.

"It is material to me to make one Obſervation—that, in my Inſtructions to Major Scott, I have particularly provided, that I will ſuffer no Perſon whatever to perform any Act in my Name, that ſhall be conſtrued to imply a Reſignation of my Authority; proteſting againſt the Exerciſe of ſo dangerous a Power, from its having been aſſumed upon a former Occaſion, without being warranted by my Conſent, or by any previous Inſtructions that could bear the moſt diſtant Tendency to ſuch a Meaſure.

"I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient, and moſt humble Servant,
Warren Haſtings."

Fort William,
January 6th 1781.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. You ſay Mr. Haſtings had no Means of apprizing the Court of Directors, till January 1782, of the Receipt of the Preſent from the Nabob:—Did you receive any Diſpatch over Land from Mr. Haſtings, between the Middle of September 1781, and the Time of the Diſcloſure of this Preſent?

A. Not a Line over Land, nor a Line by the Swallow, nor was a Line received from Mr. Haſtings, by any Gentleman, by the Swallow, nor by the Veſſel which ſailed from Madras, the Nymph.

Q. I underſtand you to ſay, neither over Land, nor by the Swallow?
A. Yes.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they would next prove that Two Ships did ſail, by which Mr. Haſtings might have ſent this Intelligence; the Nymph Sloop in October 1781, and arrived in May 1782; and the Swallow, whoſe Diſpatches are dated the 3d December 1781, and which arrived the 3d June 1782. The Swallow was intended to carry Mr. Haſtings's Diſpatches, but ſhe ſailed before Mr. Haſtings arrived at Calcutta.

Q. Do you know any Thing about the Nymph ſailing?
A. Yes, perfectly well.

Q. Did you receive any Letter by the Nymph?
A. I did not receive a Line either from Mr. Haſtings or any Body elſe; I believe there were not leſs than 50,000 Cavalry in the Carnatic at the Time the Nymph ſailed; and the Chances were Three, Four, or Five to One againſt a Letter reaching us by Land.

Then Mr. Robert Hudſon was again called in, and, in the Preſence of the Witneſs, was aſked;

Q. When did the Nymph ſail, and when did ſhe arrive?
A. Her Diſpatches are dated, Fort William, the 16th October 1781; they were received at the India Houſe the 16th May 1782.
Major Scott. The Nymph, to my certain Knowledge, was diſpatched from Madras.

Q. Was the Nymph in Point of Fact originally diſpatched from Madras?
Mr. Hudſon. The firſt Paragraph of this Letter, by the Nymph, will, I believe, clear it up.

Read, Extract of a General Letter from the Secret Department to the Court of Directors, ſigned Edward Wheler and John Macpherſon, dated Fort William, 16th October 1781, from Book 29, already delivered in.

Par. 1. "We avail ourſelves of the Departure of His Majeſty's Sloop the Nymph for the Coaſt, to addreſs you this Letter; and we have requeſted Sir Edward Hughes to forward it by the firſt proper Conveyance."

Q. How does that clear it up? I take it, by that Paſſage, the Ship was originally diſpatched from Bengal to Madras, and that Sir Edward Hughes received Directions to forward it?
A. It went to Madras for the Chance of the Firſt Diſpatch Sir Edward Hughes ſhould ſend to England; and he did in fact ſend, about taking Trincomale, or ſome other of his Operations.

The above Paſſage was again read.

Q. When did the Swallow arrive?
A. *Mr. Hudſon.* Her Diſpatches were received at the India Houſe the 3d June 1782; they are dated the 29th December 1781; but when ſhe ſailed from Bengal I do not know; I believe in January.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, That the Minutes were come, if the Witneſs wiſhed to have them read.

Then a Book, intituled, "Minutes of the Eaſt India Judicature Committee 1782-3, N° 3," was delivered in.

Read, the following Extract, beginning at Page 19 of the ſaid Book.

"*Martis*, 1 *Julii* 1783.

"At the Eaſt India Judicature Committee;

"General Smith in the Chair.

"Preſent,

Mr. Long, Lord Maitland,
Mr. Burke, Mr. Elves.
Mr. Anneſley,

"Major Scott, attending according to Order, was aſked:

"Have you received any Elucidation from Mr. Haſtings concerning the Sums of Money which he ſays, in his Letter of 22d May 1782, he has credited the Company?
"I have a Letter from Mr. Haſtings, in which he mentions that he has ſent a Letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, mentioning the Sums which he had received and paid into their Treaſury, and deſiring me, provided it ſhould be miſrepreſented to the Publick, to

 publiſh

publiſh the Letters. Mr. Haſtings did not ſend me a Copy of the Letters, but he ſaid he ſuppoſed I ſhould get them at the India Houſe.

" Has he told you from whom he received the Three Lacks of Sicca Rupees, for which he applied for the Company's Bonds, in his Letter of the 5th of January 1781?

" No.

" Whether you, as Agent to Mr. Haſtings, have any Explanation to give relative to the Manner of Acquiſition of theſe Three Lacks of Rupees, or any Circumſtance concerning that Matter?

" No; I have not.

" Have you any Explanation to give to the Committee relative to the 2,38,715 Rupees, which the Governor General paid in Gold into the Company's Depoſit in November 1780, and which was carried to his Credit?

" No; I have not.

" Do you know any Thing of the Receipt of this Money, or from whom it was received?

" No; I do not.

" Do you know from whom Mr. Haſtings received Money on Account of Durbar Charges, for which he was credited on the 30th April 1781, for 2,32,000 Rupees?

" No.

" Do you know any Thing of a further Sum of 58,000 Rupees, entered under the Name of Durbar Charges, and carried to the ſame Credit in April 1782?

" No.

" Have you ever ſhewn any Letters ſince the Receipt of the laſt Advices explaining the Receipt of thoſe Sums, and from whom received?

" No. I had a long Letter from Mr. Haſtings, which I have ſhewn to ſeveral Gentlemen; but there is no Mention of the Receipt of any of thoſe Sums in it. I have ſhewn the Copies of the Governor General's Letters to the Secret Committee, which I obtained from the India Houſe.

" Have you received from the Governor General, or any official Perſon acting under his Orders, any other Elucidation upon this Subject?

" No; I have not.

" Have you got from Mr. Haſtings any Explanation of the Preſent of 10,30,275 Rupees, which is mentioned in the Governor General's Letters to the Secret Committee, of 20th January 1782?

" Nothing but a Copy of that Letter which I received by the Nancy from the Governor General.

" Did you not receive an original Letter from the Governor General to the Secret Committee, requeſting their Permiſſion to accept theſe 10 Lacks?

" Yes, and delivered it to Sir Henry Fletcher.

" Whether, when the Governor General ſent ſo important a Letter, and which was not entered upon the Minutes of the Council in India, he ſent you any Explanation concerning it, or any Inſtructions relative to it?

" I had no Inſtructions but only to deliver it, which I did immediately.

" Whether, after the Delivery of that Packet, you found any Thing in any Letter from Mr. Haſtings, inſtructing you how to proceed on the Delivery of thoſe Letters, or to act in any Circumſtance concerning them?

" No diſcretional Power of any Kind, but to deliver them immediately.

" Whether Mr. Haſtings aſſigned any Reaſon for ſending his Letter of the 20th of January 1782, to the Secret Committee, through you, inſtead of ſending it in the Packet, directed in the uſual Manner?

" No, he did not; the Letter is dated from Patna.

" Would the Governor General being at Patna make any Difference as to the Letter, whether it was tranſmitted through the Court General, or immediately through you?

" No; I do not think it would.

" Does the Receipt of this Preſent of Ten Lacks of Rupees appear upon the Conſultations in India?

" Not that I know of, not having peruſed the Conſultations.

" Have you received any Letter from the Governor General, in which Mention is made of any Preſent received by him from Cheyt Sing, late Rajah of Benares?

" There is a Paragraph in a Letter from Mr. Haſtings to me, dated 7th December 1782, in which he mentions having received Two Lacks of Rupees from Cheyt Sing, which is as follows:

'You may recollect Two Lacks of Rupees that I received from Cheyt Sing, which was ap-
'plied to defray the Charges of Major Carnac's Detachment. The Court of Directors expreſſed
'Diſapprobation of this, and charged me with a Neglect for not telling them from whom I ob-
'tained the Money.'

" Does Mr. Haſtings aſſign his Reaſons for not mentioning to the Court of Directors, or the Secret Committee, his having received that Sum of Money from the Rajah of Benares?

" No.

" At what Time did the Governor General receive theſe Two Lacks of Rupees from Cheyt Sing, Rajah of Benares?

" I really do not know, but I ſhould ſuppoſe it to be previous to the 26th of June 1780, becauſe the Court of Directors appear to have cenſured Mr. Haſtings for not having told them from whom he received the Two Lacks of Rupees, which he had offered to pay for the extra Expences of Colonel Carnac's Detachment.

" As Mr. Haſtings was ſenſible that he laid * under the Diſpleaſure of the Court of Directors, for not telling them for † whom he received that Money, what Reaſon did he give for communicating to you that which he had perſevered in ‡, in not communicating it to the Court of Directors, although called upon by them for that Information?

* Sic in Orig.
† Sic in Orig.
‡ Sic in Orig.

" He has not given any Reaſon to me; but I think he tells the Court of Directors, that he is ready to anſwer any Queſtion that can be put to him, either upon Honour or upon Oath.

" Did not the Court of Directors aſk of the Governor General this very Queſtion?

" I do not know; I never ſaw the Paragraph that they ſent out.

" Did Mr. Haſtings pay the 2 Lacks of Rupees which he received from the Rajah of Benares into the Company's Treaſury?

" I do not know.

" Does it appear any where on the Company's Records, that he had received this Preſent from the Rajah of Benares?

" Not that I know of; I believe not.

" Has he told you that this was the only Sum of Money that he had received from the Rajah of Benares as a Preſent at that or any other Time?

" No.

" Whether Mr. Haſtings has informed you what his Reaſons were, at the Time of his offering to defray the Expences of Lieutenant Colonel Carnac's Detachment from the Preſent which he had received from the Rajah of Benares, to ſtate in his Minute that he would take that Expence upon himſelf.

" No.

" Do you conceive that the Rajah of Benares would have refuſed Aid to the Company, and yet give it as a Preſent to the Governor General?

" Yes, I think he would: he might be induced perhaps to ſuppoſe that Mr. Haſtings, from a pecuniary Conſideration to himſelf, might relax in his Demands for the Company, though I have not the ſmalleſt Reaſon to believe that Mr. Haſtings ever gave him Cauſe to ſuppoſe it.

" Do you conceive that if the Governor General had deſired Cheit Sing to lend the Company 2 Lacks of Rupees, or even a much larger Sum, upon their Bond, that he would have denied ſuch a Requeſt?

" I think he would have evaded it, by pleading his Poverty.

" Do you think that the Company's Influence over him was ſo little, or their Credit ſo bad, that he would have hazarded the Diſpleaſure of the Court General rather than lend them Money upon a Security for Repayment?

" Yes, I think he would; and becauſe I have heard Lieutenant Colonel Upton, and many other Officers, complain of the Diſaffection of Cheyt Sing's People, and his own Unwillingneſs to oblige the Company.

" If Poverty was to be pleaded as an Excuſe, might not that have been pleaded with more Propriety when a Preſent was to be made to the Governor General, than when a Loan was to be made to the Company which was to be repaid?

" Yes, it might; but I look upon the Preſent to have been voluntary on the Part of Cheyt Sing. I think, if Mr. Haſtings had aſked Cheyt Sing to give him Two Lacks of Rupees, he would have pleaded Poverty.

" Do you conſider the Preſent made by Cheyt Sing to the Governor General as made to him, or to the Company?

" I conſider it as made to the Governor General; but I think it became the Property of the Company the Moment he received it.

" If

" If this Money ſo given to the Governor General became the Property of the Company, why did Mr. Haſtings demand Five Lacks more for the Uſe of the Company as an extraordinary Aid for that Year from the Rajah?

" It did not appear to Cheyt Sing that it was to be the Property of the Company: I think it was the Preſſure of the Company's Affairs that made him accept thoſe Two Lacks of Rupees, and enforce the Payment of the Five Lacks during the War.

" Do you conceive that any Power in India, over whom the Britiſh Influence extends, would rather give Two Lacks of Rupees to the Firſt Officer of the Government there, than lend that Sum to the Company upon their Bond?

" I think they would—ſuch are the Prejudices of the People.

" Major Scott withdraws.

" Adjourned till To-morrow."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Is there any Explanation that you wiſh to give, upon the Suggeſtion of the Difference, between the Evidence you have now given at the Bar, and the Evidence you gave before?

A. I really do not conceive that there is any Obſervation I can make, except this; that I had ſhewn the Paragraph of that Letter to General Smith: as the Sums were not particularly diſcriminated, when they were mentioned to me on the firſt Part of my Examination before the Select Committee, I was aſked, Did I know of whom ſuch a Sum, and ſuch a Sum, was received: I anſwered, No; but recollecting that Circumſtance of my Letter, I laid it before the Committee at large, as before I had ſhewn it to General Smith; for the Way by which the Committee came to know that there was a Word about a Preſent from Cheit Sing was from myſelf; I never had a Wiſh to conceal any Thing about the Preſents; I truſt the Matter very ſufficiently explains itſelf.

The Managers for the Commons were aſked, whether there was any Queſtion they wiſhed to put to the Witneſs, by way of explaining it further.

The Managers for the Commons did not put any further Queſtion.

Then the Witneſs acquainted the Houſe, that, upon the Evidence taken the Firſt Day he was examined at the Bar of the Houſe, there was a ſlight Inaccuracy, which he begged Leave to correct; and which he had mentioned to the Clerk upon firſt ſeeing it.

Then the Witneſs proceeded as follows:

A Queſtion was put to me, " What other Perſon, to your Knowledge, had ſeen the Paper called, " The Defence, before its being read in the Houſe of Commons?" The Anſwer taken down is this: " I really cannot ſtate any Gentleman, to my Knowledge, who has ſeen the Whole; but I " can ſtate thoſe who have written Parts of it (*a*)." Then I was deſired to name any Perſons, and, among the reſt, I mentioned Mr. Markham.—From the Manner in which it is taken down, it might be ſuppoſed Mr. Markham wrote Part of the Defence; that is not the Fact; what I meant to ſtate was, that Mr. Markham ſaw a Part of it before it was preſented at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons.

The Counſel for the Defendant deſired Two Paragraphs of a General Letter to the Court of Directors, ſigned Edward Wheler and John M'Pherſon, dated, Fort William, 19th October 1781, and indorſed, " Rec^d p^r Nymph Sloop of War, 16th May 1782," might be read.

Read, the following Extract from Book 29, already delivered in.

Par. 4. " We have likewiſe availed ourſelves of the Return of the Nymph to Fort St. George, to diſpatch a further Supply of Five Lacks of Rupees in Specie, to relieve the preſſing Exigencies of that Preſidency.

5. " We ſtill detain the Swallow, in Hopes of being able to ſend you full and ſatisfactory Information by her of the Meaſures concluded by the Governor General, and ſhall loſe no Time in diſpatching her, as ſoon as we ſhall be poſſeſſed of theſe Materials, which we expect daily."

Q. (*by a Lord.*) I wiſh to give the Witneſs an Opportunity of explaining one Part of his Evidence reſpecting the Nymph.—Have you any Reaſon to ſuppoſe the Diſpatches which have been read are inaccurate, in ſtating the Nymph to have ſailed from Bengal to Madras, on the 19th of October 1781?

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 374.

A. No. I conceive the Fact to be this; that the Nymph was ſent from Madras to Bengal with Letters, earneſtly preſſing the Government of Bengal to ſend Supplies of Caſh, of which they were very much in want: That Mr. Wheler and Mr. Macpherſon took the Opportunity of the Departure of that Ship with Money to ſend a Letter to the Court of Directors, under the Idea that Sir Edward Hughes would find it neceſſary to diſpatch a Veſſel to Government, with Advice of the Operations of the War.—That Sir Edward Hughes, ſome Time after the Receipt of that Letter, did think proper to diſpatch this very Ship the Nymph, which was not ſuppoſed, at the Time ſhe left Bengal, to be bound for Europe.—He diſpatched this very Ship with the Account of the taking of Trinicomale.—I conceive that to be the Fact.

Read, a further Extract of the General Letter to the Court of Directors, ſigned, Edward Wheler and John Macpherſon; and dated, Fort William, October 19th 1781; above produced and delivered in (*a*).

" Fort William, October 16th 1781.

" Honourable Sirs,

Par. 1. " We avail ourſelves of the Departure of His Majeſty's Sloop, the Nymph, for the Coaſt, to addreſs to you this Letter; and we have requeſted Sir Edward Hughes to forward it by the firſt proper Conveyance.

Par. 2. " In a ſhort Time we propoſe to diſpatch the Swallow Packet direct for England; by her we ſhall have the Honour of communicating to you the fulleſt Information regarding your Affairs. We hope we are not too ſanguine, in expecting to tranſmit you then, very ſatisfactory Advices, and ſuch as may effectually relieve you from the Anxiety neceſſarily created, by the Accounts which you muſt have lately received from this Country."

Q. *(by a Lord)*. Was the Letter of January 1782, that was put into a Box addreſſed to you, the ſingle Inſtance of a Communication of Mr. Haſtings, through you, to the Secret Committee?

A. I am not quite certain, but I think it was the only one. I do not ſpeak poſitively.

Q. Was Mr. Haſtings in any general Habit of tranſmitting Letters to the Secret Committee, through you?

A. Mr. Haſtings tranſmitted Letters through me to the King's Miniſters, when he wrote to them; but I think that is the only one, through me, to the Secret Committee.

Q. *(by a Lord.)* In Explanation of that Part of your former Evidence at the Bar of this Houſe, where you ſay, " I really cannot ſtate any Gentleman, to my Knowledge, who has ſeen the Whole, but I can ſtate thoſe who have written Parts of it;" I underſtand you now to ſay, that the Word, *written*, is a Miſtake; and you mean to ſay, " *ſeen* Parts of it?"

A. As applied to Mr. Markham only.

Q. Did Mr. Middleton write any Part of that Defence?

A. No; Mr. Middleton wrote no Part of it: But he furniſhed me with Minutes and Obſervations, which I afterwards drew up, and put into Form.

Q. Whether this Paſſage is a Part of the Defence written by Mr. Halhed, as it ſtood when it was carried by you to Mr. Haſtings, and read to him—Speaking of Cheit Sing, he ſays, " Whether or not I perſonally forgave him, is of no Conſequence: I never ſought to puniſh him, but on publick Grounds; and, had he faithfully diſcharged his Duty to the Company, he would never have heard a Syllable of my Reſentment (*b*);" was this Paſſage read by you to Mr. Haſtings when you carried him the Copy of that Defence, to know whether he approved of it, or not?

A. If that Paſſage is not one of thoſe Paſſages in Mr. Halhed's Hand-writing—(I have not the Defence before me now)—it certainly was; if it is a Part that is in his Hand-writing, it was not.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they ſhould next proceed to trace this Preſent through Gopaul Doſs to the Time the Begums were plundered, and ſhew that Gopaul Doſs was particularly recommended by Mr. Haſtings to Mr. Middleton.

Then Mr. Robert Hudſon being again called, produced a Book marked C, and intituled, " Letters from the Board—1775 to 1782."

Read, a Letter from Mr. Haſtings to Mr. Middleton, dated Benares, 22d December 1781, from the ſaid Book.

" Mr. Nath[l] Middleton, Reſident at the Court of his Excellency the Vizier, Lucknow.

" Sir,

" The Services rendered to the Company by the Houſe of Gopaul Doſs * Hurry Kiſſen Doſs, in their ſeveral Remittances of Caſh to the Weſt of India, and whereſoever elſe they have had

* Sic in Orig.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 571.

(*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 25, Line 17.

Occaſion

Occaſion to ſend Supplies of Money to their Troops; the Punctuality with which the Bills have been always honoured and paid, and the large and extenſive Credit which this Houſe poſſeſſes wherever it has any Dealings, are the ſtrongeſt Reaſons for my wiſhing to give it every Encouragement within the Power of our Government; and I deſire that, in * any Remittances which you may ever have to make on the Company's Account by Bills of Exchange, either to Calcutta or to the Stations of the Army, may be taken from it, whenever offered, if the Rate of them be as moderate and equitable as that of thoſe obtainable from any other Perſon. Gopaul Doſs has a Gomaſtah reſiding at Lucknow.

* Sic in Orig.

" I am,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) Warren Haſtings."

" Benares,
" 22d December 1781.

Then the Witneſs produced a Book marked B, intituled, " Letters to the Board, from 1777 to 1782."

Read, a Letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Haſtings, dated Fayzabad, 15th January 1782, from the ſaid Book.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

" Sir,

" I was duly honoured with your Commands of the 12th and 22d December laſt; the former reſpecting a Seizure which had been made by Khoja Bahar Ally Cawn of ſome Cloths manufactured at Tanda on Account of Gualdaſs and Bolanaut, Merchants of Benares, under Pretext of their being the Property of Ram Laulla, who he had confined on a Charge of Debt; and the latter recommending Gopaul Daſs, in particular Terms, for his Services to our Government, and the Punctuality with which he has acquitted himſelf of all his Engagements and Tranſactions with it. To this, Sir, be aſſured I ſhall pay the moſt attentive Regard, and always give his Houſe that Preference to which it has ſo juſt a Claim, in all Remittances or Money Tranſactions which may paſs through my Office.

" Immediately on my Arrival at Fayzabad, I made a ſtrict Inquiry into the Complaint of the above mentioned Seizure, and finding, from a Variety of Evidence, the Fact preciſely as it had been ſtated to you, I cauſed the Cloths to be releaſed and delivered over to the Gomaſtah of Gual Daſs and Bolanaut, who attended here for that Purpoſe.

" It having alſo been intimated to me that Ram Laulla, a Shroff and Relation of Gopaul Daſs, had been impriſoned by Bahâr Ally Cawn, on Pretences equally vague and unjuſt, which I had Reaſon to believe was the Caſe, from my having failed in my Endeavours to procure his Enlargement near a Twelvemonth ago, although ſolicited on an Offer of the Security of Gopaul Daſs and my own, if deſired, for the Payment of whatever Sum ſhould appear due from him on an Adjuſtment of their Accounts: I determined alſo to take this Opportunity of inquiring into that Matter, and procuring the Man Juſtice; for which Purpoſe, I applied to Bahâr Ally Cawn to ſend him to me, and repeated the Offer of Security which I had before made; he however thought proper to decline or rather evade Compliance with my Demand; and to teſtify his Reſentment at the Application made for my Interference, he inſtantly doubled the Guard on his Priſoner, diſpatched an Eſcort to bring his Family from Tanda, and by every Means in his Power encreaſed the Rigour of his Confinement. In this Situation he remained until the Day after the Seizure of Bahar and Jowar Ally Cawn, when he was brought to me by my own People loaded with Irons, which I had immediately taken off, and ſetting him at large, have deſired him to deliver me a Statement of his Account with Bahâr Ally Cawn, which I ſhall take Care to ſee equitably adjuſted.

" I have the Honour to be with, &c. &c. &c.
(Signed) Nath. Middleton."

" Fayzabad,
the 15th January 1782.

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, the following Letter from Mr. Nathaniel Middleton to Mr. Haſtings, dated Lucknow, 21ſt Feb. 1782.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

" Sir,

" It appearing by a Letter received from your Accomptant General, dated 23d Auguſt 1781, that the Nabob's Debt to the Honourable Company, agreeable to his Statement, exceeds the Amount at which it ſtands in my Office, owing to Entries made in the Account at the Preſidency, never before communicated to this Station; I have deemed it expedient, although unauthorized by the Sanction of your Orders, to avail myſelf of Aſſets nearly equal to that Exceſs, and ſhall retain them while the Accounts go through the Examination of the Nabob's Officers, for which Purpoſe they have been delivered to them; and as ſoon as they have finiſhed and given me their Report upon them, which they aſſure me ſhall be in a very few Days, I ſhall do myſelf the Honour to lay it before you, in order to obtain your final Inſtructions for the Liquidation.

" I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,
Sir, your's, &c.
(Signed) Nath. Middleton."

" Lucknow,
the 21ſt Feb. 1782.

Then

Then the Witneſs produced a Book, marked E, intituled, "Miſcellaneous Letters, 1776 to 1781."

Read, the following Letter from Mr. Middleton to Major Palmer, dated Lucknow, 29th October 1781, from the ſame Book.

"To Major William Palmer, Military Secretary to the Honourable the Governor General.

"Sir,

"I have received the Honour of your Letter of the 24th inſtant, ſignifying to me the Governor General's Commands, that I ſhould order Eſcorts for ſuch Treaſure, as the Gomaſtah of Gopaul Doſs may have to tranſport from Lucknow to Benares, from Time to Time, for the publick Service; which you will be pleaſed to aſſure the Governor, ſhall be punctually obeyed.

"Lucknow,
the 29th October, 1781.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient, humble Servant (*a*)."

The Witneſs produced Book 85, intituled, "Bengal Secret Council, 3d February to 1ſt April 1783."

Read, Extract of a Letter to Mr. Haſtings, ſigned Nath. Middleton, and dated 23 October 1782, from the Appendix to a Conſultation of the 3d March 1783, beginning at Page 356 of the ſame Book.

"Fort William, 3d March 1783.

"At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident;
Lietenant General Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief;
Edward Wheler
John Macpherſon } Eſquires.
John Stables

Secret Dept. Monday, 3d March.

"Extract from Mr. Middleton's Letter, dated 23d October 1782.

"I muſt beg Leave to refer you to my Correſpondence with the Honourable the Governor General, for a full Account of the Origin and Nature of my Tranſactions with the Begums at Fayzabad; and the Letters which have paſſed between me and the Officers who have ſeverally commanded there, will ſhew you the Progreſs and preſent State of that Buſineſs. The Balance due from the Bow Begum, upon her Agreement, made in January laſt, after allowing her Credit for the trifling Articles lately ſent here by Major Gilpin, will be about Five Lacks, which I apprehend may be realized, if you deem it expedient to continue the Reſtraints which have been impoſed for that Purpoſe: She had, indeed, given Major Gilpin the moſt ſatisfactory Aſſurances of an immediate Liquidation of this long depending Account, in which, I believe, ſhe was ſincere; but, probably, from an Expectation of a Change of Meaſures, upon my Removal, ſhe has lately retracted thoſe Aſſurances, and now declares her Determination to make no further Payments whatever, but upon the Certainty of her Jaghires being reſtored to her; which I could give her no Hopes of, as the Propriety of its Reſumption has been ſanctified by the Approbation of the Honourable the Governor General; who further expreſsly enjoins me, in his Inſtructions of the 27th January, to exert my Influence with the Nabob, to prevent the Concluſion of any final Settlement between him and the Begums, until I ſhould be furniſhed with Inſtructions from him or the Board on that Head. Not having, ſince the above Date, received any Directions from the Board, or the Governor General, relative to the Begums, I know not what may be their Wiſhes in regard to them; but I thought it, at all Events, my Duty, conformably to the Spirit of the Orders I had received, to retain Poſſeſſion of the Killa at Fayzabad, and the Perſons of the Bow Begum's Two principal Eunuchs, until the Sum ſhe had ſtipulated to pay was fully liquidated, or the Honourable Board ſhould notify their further Pleaſure: And in this State, Sir, I commit the Buſineſs to your future Directions, expreſſing my ſincere Wiſh, that you may find Means to effect the Recovery of this Balance; which, among other Balances, originally conſtituted a Part of the Securities made over to Gopaul Doſs, for the Repayment of his Advance to the Vizier for the Company's Uſe, and ſhould, I apprehend, if poſſible, be realized for Almaſs Ally Cawn, who has employed his own Credit upon the Faith of thoſe Funds for the immediate Satisfaction of Gopaul Doſs's Debt."

Then the Managers for the Commons informed the Houſe, That the Evidence about to be produced related to the Treaty of Chunar, and requeſted the Houſe would recollect, that in the Anſwer put in by Mr. Haſtings at the Bar, he ſtates, in Contradiction to all his former Statements upon that Subject, That upon the 19th of September, when he ſigned the Treaty, he was apprized of all the Circumſtances which he pretends ever to have known againſt the Begums.

(*a*) N. B. No Signature.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Firſt Letter about to be read was a Letter to Mr. Wheler, to whom Mr. Haſtings communicated all the Tranſactions he had learned reſpecting Oude, or reſpecting the Diſaffection of any Perſons he had come to the Knowledge of againſt Government; and begged the Houſe would obſerve, that in this Letter, dated 18th of September 1781, Mr. Haſtings makes no Mention whatever of having any Suſpicions even of the Begums being diſaffected to our Government.

Read, the following Extract, from Part 2d of the Appendix to the Narrative of the Inſurrections at Benares, beginning at Page 115 of the ſame Book.

" Num. 90.

" To Edward Wheler Eſquire.

" Sir,

" My laſt was the 11th. The Forces now aſſembled are the 6th, 7th, 19th, 30th, and 35th Regiments, Lieutenant Polhill's Regiment of the Body Guard, Two Companies of European Grenadiers and Light Infantry, Thirty Artillery Men, and the Rangers, and 600 of the Nabob's Horſe. Major Popham marched on the 16th; one Diviſion to Pateeta, another with Major Crabb to the Back of the Lutteefpoor. I do not expect any thing deciſive ſo ſoon as I wiſh; there muſt be Delays, and I feel them ſorely; but I thank God that I am myſelf a Witneſs of the Evils, Wants, and Errors of our Service, though I have been nearly the Victim of them, ſince it has furniſhed me with the Means, though ſlow, of correcting them. The Province of Oude has catched the Contagion; but I ſhall diſmiſs the Nabob in a few Days, and doubt not but his Troubles will be ſoon quelled. I give my ſole Attention to the preſent Object, which accompliſhed, every other will follow. Major Crawford muſt be near; I expect him hourly. Believe no Report. I have not yet received one Letter from you.

" Chunar, 18th September 1781. I am, &c.

" Warren Haſtings." (a)

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they ſhould next read the Articles of the Treaty which related particularly to the Begums, with Mr. Haſtings's Obſervations upon them.

Read, the following Extract from The Appendix to the Benares Narrative, beginning at Page 1 of the ſame.

" Num. 1. A.

" Letter to the Governor General and Council, dated the 29th of November 1781, reſpecting the Governor General's Agreement with the Vizier.

" To Edward Wheler and John Macpherſon, Eſquires, Members of the Council of Fort William.

" Gentlemen,

" I muſt have Recourſe to your Indulgence, on the Occaſion of every Report of Importance, for the Delay in tranſmitting it. Many are the Cauſes of theſe Delays, which I need not enumerate, as I am myſelf the principal Sufferer by them: Indeed I am almoſt tempted to ſay, that I find a Sufficiency for the Occupation of each Day in the Evil thereof, and in a Thouſand little Occurrences, leſs known in a regular Proceſs of Buſineſs, which exact their Share of Attention, and paſs without any ſubſtantial Effect. It was for this principal Reaſon, that I have again ſhifted my Reſidence from Banaris to this Place, where I ſhall hope for more Leiſure to bring up a long Arrears of Buſineſs, than it would have been poſſible for me to have cleared if I had continued there.

" I have now to inform you of my Tranſactions with the Nabob Vizeer, during his ſhort Stay at Chunar: Theſe are compriſed in the incloſed Papers, viz.

N° 1. Articles of Agreement concluded with the Nabob Vizeer.
1. A and B. Explanation of the above Articles.
2. Agreement of the Nabob Vizeer.
3. Reaſons for the above Agreement.
4. My Inſtructions to the Reſident.
5. Orders iſſued in conſequence of the Agreement (b)."

Read, alſo, the following Extract, beginning at Page 2 of the ſame.

" To the Copy of the Articles of Agreement, N° 1. I have added the Papers N° 1. A, B, C. which will fully explain my Reaſons for the ſeveral Articles; and to theſe I beg Leave to refer you.

(a) Vide ſupra, Page 209.

(b) Vide ſupra, Page 138.

you. Upon the Whole, generally, I have only to obſerve further, that the Agreement was drawn up from a Series of Requiſitions preſented to me by the Nabob, to whom I was happy in the Occaſion of making ſuch a Return for the uncommon Inſtance of Fidelity and Attachment which he had recently ſhewn to our Government, by an inſtant and unqualified Aſſent to each Article. This was done verbally in his Preſence. And in like Manner I requeſted and obtained his Acquieſcence in the ſhort Condition which followed mine. I conſidered the Subjects of his Requeſts as eſſential to the Reputation of our Government, and no leſs to our Intereſt than his; and if the Reſident performs his Duty in the Execution of my Inſtructions, the Nabob's Part of the Engagement, by a ſingular Inverſion of their Purpoſes, in both Inſtances, will prove of ſtill greater Benefit to him than to our Government, on whoſe Behalf it was exacted.

" I have the Honour to be,
with the greateſt Eſteem,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
Warren Haſtings."

" Chunar,
29th November 1781.

" Num. 1. B.

" Copy of the Agreement concluded by the Governor General with the Vizeer, on the 19th of September 1781.

" The Nabob Vizeer ul Mummalick Aſſoff ud Dowlah Aſſoff Jah Yeheyah Khan Behader, having repeatedly and urgently repreſented, that he is unable to ſupport the Expences of the temporary Brigade, Cavalry, and Engliſh Officers, with their Battalions, as well as other Gentlemen, who are now paid by him under the Denomination of Sebundy, &c. &c. and having made ſundry Requeſts to that and other Purpoſes; and as the Conſtancy and Firmneſs of his Alliance with the Company entitle him to every Conſideration and Relief that may depend upon us; I Warren Haſtings Governor General, Imaud ud Dowlah Jelladit Jung Behader, &c. &c. on Behalf of the Governor General and Council, have agreed to the under-mentioned Articles, this 19th Day of September, in the Year of our Lord 1781, correſponding to the laſt Day of Ramzan 1195 of the Hidjeree.

" 1ſt. That the temporary Brigade, and Three Regiments of Cavalry, be no longer charged to the Nabob's Account for the Year Fuſſelee 1189, excepting a Term of Two and an Half Months, which is required for their paſſing the Nabob's Boundaries; and for which, together with all former Arrears, their uſual Pay and Allowances are to be made good: Alſo the Engliſh Officers, with their Sebundy Battalions, and other Gentlemen, excepting the Reſident's Office, now upon the Nabob's Liſt, be no longer at his Charge for the Year 1189; the Arrears being paid up with the Addition of Two Months Allowances. The true Meaning of this being, that no more Troops be paid for by the Nabob than the Number of European Infantry, Artillery, and Sepoys agreed for, under the Title of One Brigade, with the late Nabob Shujah ud Dowlah, now paid for at the Rate of 2,60,000 Rupees per Month; to which is now to be added, One Regiment of Sepoys of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, expreſsly allowed for the Purpoſe of protecting the Office, Treaſury, and Perſon of the Reſident at Lucknow; the Pay and Allowances of which are to commence from the 1ſt of Aughun next, at the Rate of Rupees 25,000 per Month. The Regiment to be relieved every Three Months. The Brigade to be ſtationed or moved wherever the Nabob ſhall direct, in the Mode preſcribed in the former Treaty with the Nabob Vizeer deceaſed. And finally, That whenever the Nabob Vizeer ſhall require a further Aid of Troops from the Company, the Pay and Allowances ſhall commence from the Day of their paſſing the Carumnaſſa. Alſo, ſhould the Aſſiſtance of the Nabob's Troops be required by the Company, their Pay and Allowances, as may then be agreed upon, * be allowed during the Time they may ſerve.

* Sic in Orig.

" 2d. That as great Diſtreſs has ariſen to the Nabob's Government from the Military Power and Dominion aſſumed by the Jagheerdars, he be permitted to reſume ſuch as he may find neceſſary, with a Reſerve, that all ſuch for the Amount of whoſe Jagheers the Company are Guarantees, ſhall, in the caſe of the Reſumption of their Lands, be paid the Amount of their net Collections, through the Reſident, in ready Money.

" 3d. That as Fyz-Ooalla Khan has, by his Breach of Treaty, forfeited the Protection of the Engliſh Government, and cauſes, by his Continuance in his preſent independent State, great Alarm and Detriment to the Nabob, he be permitted, when Time ſhall ſuit, to reſume his Lands, and pay him in Money, through the Reſident, the Amount ſtipulated by Treaty, after deducting the Amount and Charges of the Troops he ſtands engaged to furniſh by Treaty; which Amount ſhall be paſſed to the Account of the Company during the Continuance of the preſent War.

" 4th. That no Engliſh Reſident be appointed to Furruckabad, and the preſent one recalled.

" 5th. That the Treaties made between the Engliſh and the Nabob Shujah ud Dowlah be ratified between the preſent Parties, as far as may be conſiſtent with the above-written Articles; and that no Officers, Troops, or others, be put upon the Nabob's Eſtabliſhment, excluſive of thoſe herein ſtipulated.

" Warren Haſtings (*a*)."

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 138, & ſeq.

Read,

Read alſo, the following Extract, from Page 8 of the ſame.

" Num. 1. C.

" Minute of the Governor General explanatory of his Agreement with the Vizeer.

"Par. 2. The Miſchiefs to which the Nabob is expoſed, from permitting a Number of rich independent Eſtates, ſupporting a Body of military Tenants, to be maintained in the Heart of the Country, are of the ſame Nature which we have recently experienced from the enormous Wealth and Influence of Rajah Cheit Sing; and, in fact, the Nabob did experience them alſo, and at the ſame Time, and from the ſame Cauſes.

" The Jagheers, poſſeſſed by the Begums, have enabled them to give frequent Diſturbance to the Nabob's Government; and, it can be well atteſted, that they principally excited and ſupported the late Commotions in Gooruckpoor, &c. in Concert with Cheit Sing, and that they carried their Inveteracy to the Nabob and the Engliſh Nation ſo far, as to aim at our utter Extirpation. By a Deſpotiſm ſo malignant, and a Conduct ſo offenſive, and even dangerous to our Exiſtence, as have been manifeſted by the Begums, without the ſmalleſt Injury or Provocation on our Parts, they have forfeited all Claim to that Protection which we afforded them, in exacting from the Nabob, at the Time that Mr. Briſtow aſſiſted him in obtaining 30 Lacks of Rupees from them, a Promiſe to our Government, that thoſe Ladies ſhould enjoy full Poſſeſſion of their Jagheers unmoleſted. We have a Right to withdraw this Protection when they are no longer worthy of it, and to provide againſt their Machinations, by a Conceſſion of that Pledge which afforded them the Means of injuring and diſtreſſing us.

" The Begums will ſuffer no actual Loſs by the Reſumptions of the Jagheers, except of an Influence which they have invariably employed to the moſt pernicious Purpoſes, againſt one State which had conferred, and another which ſecured and protected them; ſince it is ſtipulated, that they ſhall receive the Amount of the net Collections of them, in Money, by the Hands of our Reſident.

" Theſe Arguments will apply to the Situation of all the other Jagheerdars, though they may not to their actual Conduct or Diſpoſitions; but as we are neither engaged for their Poſſeſſions, nor have any immediate Connection with them, the Nabob ſhould be left to the Exerciſe of his own Authority and Pleaſure reſpecting them (*a*)."

Read alſo, the following Extract, beginning at Page 11 of the ſame.

" Num. 1. D.

" Copy of the Agreement made by the Vizeer with the Governor General.

" Having on my Behalf agreed to the Requiſitions of the Nabob Vizeer, without Diminution or Reſerve, I muſt now repeat the Requeſt, which I before verbally made to him, that he will be pleaſed to attend to ſuch Propoſals as I ſhall have to make to him; and to theſe I expect his Aſſent the more readily, as they have for their ultimate Object his Intereſt alone, that of the Company being no further concerned than in the Influence which they will eventually have in the Payment of the Debt due from the Nabob to the Company. I therefore recommend to him to reduce the great Number of his Sebundy and other Troops to regular and compleat Eſtabliſhments; not to be paid by Aſſignments of Revenue, but in Money from the Treaſury; and their Number not to exceed the certain Means of paying them. But as this may be difficult, without making a Separation of the Nabob's public and private Funds, I further recommend, that he receive into his private Purſe no more than a fixed Monthly Sum for the Expences of his Perſon and Houſehold; and that the Remainder of the net Collections be left in a public Treaſury, under the Management of his public Miniſters, and the Inſpection of the Reſident, for the Diſcharge of his Military and Civil Diſburſements.

" This Advice is not meant to affect the Aſſignments actually made, and which muſt be annually renewed for the Payment of the paſt Debt, and the current Demands of the Company.

" Signed and ſealed by the Nabob, accepting and promiſing to conform to the above Advice (*b*)."

Read alſo, the following Extract, beginning at Page 16 of the ſame.

" Num. 1. F.

" Second Minute of the Governor General, containing his Anſwers to poſſible Objections to be made againſt the ſeveral Parts of his Agreement with the Vizeer."

" Few Objections can be made to the Second Article. It may be ſuggeſted, 1ſt, that it will excite Clamour and Diſcontent, which in the preſent

" 2d. No Effects of any additional Clamour and Diſcontent, excited by the Reſumption of the Jagheers, could exceed thoſe of their actual Defection;

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 141.

(*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 142.

preſent Time may be dangerous; and 2dly, that it will be, in a principal Inſtance, a Breach of our Faith, which is pledged to guarantee a Treaty concluded, through the Means of Mr. Briſtow, between the Nabob Vizeer and the Nabob Allea Begum, his Mother; in which it is ſtipulated, that no ſubſequent Claim ſhould be made on her Property, or Invaſion of her Rights.

Read alſo, the following Extract, beginning at Page 18 of the ſame.

" Num. 1. G.

" Letter of Inſtructions from the Governor General to the Reſident at the Vizeer's Court.

" To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at the Court of the Nabob Vizeer.

" Sir,

" Having on the 19th inſtant entered into certain Engagements with the Nabob Vizeer, tending to relieve his Finances of a Burthen they were no longer able to ſuſtain, with ſundry other Clauſes, the Execution of which is intruſted to you, I herewith incloſe an authentic Copy of the ſame, for your Guidance. The Nabob, on his Behalf, has ſubſcribed and ſealed an Agreement in your Preſence, and in the Preſence of Mr. Richard Johnſon and Hyder Beg Khan, reſpecting the better Adminiſtration of his Affairs; of which I alſo tranſmit you an authentic Copy.

" To theſe Papers, and to the Points conſequently and neceſſarily dependent on them, I think it neceſſary to add the following Inſtructions, to which I require your moſt implicit Obedience.

" I need ſcarcely inform you, that my chief Object in my Negociations with the Nabob has been to induce and aſſiſt him to bring his Government and Finances into ſuch Regularity, as to prevent his Alliance from being a Clog inſtead of an Aid to the Company, and to enable him to diſcharge his Debt in the ſhorteſt Time poſſible. To this End, the moſt eſſential Point is to limit and ſeparate his perſonal Diſburſements from the public Accounts. They muſt not, in their total annual Amount, exceed what he has received in any of the laſt Three Years. This Amount, in Twelve equal Parts, ſhould be paid him monthly out of the Firſt Receipts, and the Remainder of the net Collections placed ſeparately in a public Treaſury, from whence his Public Military and Civil Eſtabliſhment muſt be paid, under the ſole Management and Controul of the Miniſters, with your Concurrence. It is of courſe to be underſtood that this has no Connection, and is in no Shape to interfere with the Company's Aſſignments, and the Collections upon them, which are to be conducted as uſual: And as by the Addition of the Jagheer Lands, with their Revenues, to the Nabob's regular Collections, his Income will, or ought to be conſiderably increaſed, I ſhall expect that the Whole of the Exceſs be appropriated to the Diſcharge of the Nabob's Debt to the Company.

" After ſettling the Amount of the perſonal Diſburſements of the Nabob Vizeer and his Houſehold, the next Point that will require your Exertions towards the general Arrangement of the public Charges, is to reform the eſtabliſhed Muttaiena Troops, reducing them into One eſtabliſhed Corps for the whole Service. If this Corps ſhould be brought to conſiſt wholly of Cavalry, it would beſt anſwer mutual Benefit; leaving no Infantry in the Nabob's Service but what may be neceſſary for his Body Guard; and to ſupply the Deficiency, ſhould any occur from ſuch Arrangement, our Infantry may be employed where Infantry are wanted.

" The Corps reformed and eſtabliſhed, their Pay muſt be iſſued from the public Treaſury. No Aſſignments to be in future granted them, and thoſe already iſſued to be recalled. To complete this, all Numbers above what the real Service may require, or the actual net Receipts may be adequate to the full Payment of, muſt be diſbanded as faſt as their Arrears can be paid off.

" The Nabob will ſelect and appoint his own Commanders; but if he ſhould nominate improper Perſons, ſuch as Men commonly known by the Name of Orderlies, or others deriving their Influence from them, or of known Diſaffection to our Government, you are in ſuch Caſe to remonſtrate againſt it; and if the Vizeer ſhall perſiſt in his Choice, you are peremptorily, and in my Name, to oppoſe it, as a Breach of his Agreement.

" For the Management of the Collections, the Miniſters, with your Concurrence, are to chooſe all Aumils and Collectors, and in their Choice to be guided by the Reſponſibility, good Reputation, and known Ability of the Perſons they elect, that Charges may, as far as poſſible, be avoided.

" Much is to be ſaid, though little may now ſuit, upon the Subject of the Diſtribution of Juſtice in the Nabob's Dominions. For the preſent, I limit myſelf to direct you to urge the Nabob to endeavour gradually, if it cannot be done at once, to eſtabliſh Courts of Adaulut throughout his Diſtricts; the Darogahs, Mowlavies, and other Officers of which muſt be ſelected, as in the Caſe of the Aumils, by the Miniſters, with your Concurrence. The Want of theſe Courts is equally hurtful to the Revenue, Government, and Reputation of the Nabob.

(a) Vide ſupra, Page 145.

« In conſequence of the Diſturbances which the rebellious Example of Rajah Cheit Sing has cauſed in the Nabob Vizeer's Country, I have inſtructed Colonel Morgan to aſſiſt you on the Requiſition of the Vizeer, communicated by you to him, or at your own ſingle Application, if any Caſe of Emergency ſhould make it needful, with ſuch Detachments as may be neceſſary, excluſive of the Regiment of Sepoys which is ſtipulated to remain with you at Lucknow. This Power you are not to exerciſe but in Caſes of the moſt urgent and manifeſt Neceſſity. It is directed, that the Regiment ordered for the immediate Protection of your Office and Perſon at Lucknow, ſhall be relieved every Three Months, and during its Stay there ſhall act ſolely and excluſively under your Orders.

« It is finally my poſitive Order, that you do not permit any Britiſh Subject, or others claiming the Name and Protection of the Company, to reſide at Lucknow, or within any Part of the Dominions of the Nabob Vizeer, except the Officers and Soldiers of the Army acting in their Duty, and ſuch Perſons as are officially appointed to remain there. And that to ſuch as are now at Lucknow, or in any other Part of his Dominions, not falling within the Deſcription of the above Exception, you give due Notice in Writing, that they quit the Country, allowing them a reaſonable Time, not exceeding Three Months, to ſettle their Affairs; and in caſe of their Refuſal, you are to inform the Nabob thereof, that he may uſe his own Authority to compel them to depart.

« I am, Sir,

« Chunar, Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
23d September 1781. Warren Haſtings (*a*)."

Read alſo, the following Extract, from Page 2 of the ſame.

« I have alluded to the general Reaſons which have prevented me from tranſmitting the Reports of my Proceedings to the Board with Punctuality. I am obliged to add a ſpecial Cauſe for the preſent Inſtance, which is, that the Reſident having carried with him all the authentic Papers relating to this Buſineſs to Lucknow, I have ſince waited both for them and for the preceding Eſtimates, which are yet incomplete, though ſufficient for general Elucidation (*b*)."

Then the Witneſs produced Book 82, intituled, « Bengal Secret Council, 2d June, 30 Ditto 1783."

Read, a Letter to Mr. Haſtings, ſigned Nath. Middleton, and dated Lucknow, 22d December 1781, from the Appendix to a Conſultation of 12th June 1783, beginning at Page 131 of the ſame Book.

« Fort William, 12th June 1783.

« At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.
John Stables,

« Appendix to Conſultation 12th June 1783.

« To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

« Sir,

« I have been honoured with the Receipt of your Letter of the 19th inſtant, and, in Obedience to your Commands, ſhall forward to you, by the firſt ſafe Opportunity, your Agreement with the Nabob Vizier, together with ſuch other authentic Papers as are connected with it, and have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,

Sir, your moſt obedient, &c. &c.
« Lucknow, (Signed) « Nathaniel Middleton,
22d December 1781. « Reſident at the Vizier's Court."

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 146. (*b*) Vide ſupra, P. 138.

Die Jovis, 1° *Maij* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor informed the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

Then it was moved, that Major JOHN SCOTT be called in; and being called in, he was examined as follows.

Q. You was aſked Yeſterday, whether any other Letter than the Letter ſo much in Queſtion, addreſſed to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, was ever incloſed to you by Mr. Haſtings; to which you made Anſwer, There was not. I wiſh you to explain how it happened, that that Letter was incloſed to you, inſtead of being ſent to the Court of Directors?

A. I had it not in my Power, when I had the Honour to be before your Lordſhips Yeſterday, to ſtate any Reaſon why it was ſo ſent; but I have ſince ſeen a Gentleman, who was Secretary to the Council at that Time.

The Managers for the Commons obſerved, that from what had fallen from the Witneſs, it appeared the Evidence he was going to give, was the Hearſay of a Perſon he had ſeen; and ſubmitted to the Houſe, whether it was regular for the Witneſs to give ſuch an Anſwer.

The Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Have you any Account to give of your own Knowledge?

A. No; I have no farther Account to give than that I underſtood the Letter had been ſent to the Secretary to forward; by an Accident it was not forwarded by him; I have no Knowledge of my own about it.

The Houſe obſerved, it was of no conſequence what the Witneſs underſtood; the only Matter of Conſequence being, that the Letter was there.

Q. Do you know of any Duplicate of that Letter having been ſent, and to whom?

A. Yes, a Duplicate of that Letter was ſent, and ſent not through me, but directly to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, through the uſual Channel. I underſtand that that Duplicate has been in uſe with the Court of Directors, and not the Original, which was, I believe, left before the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons.

Q. (*from the Managers*). When was that Duplicate ſent?

A. I cannot exactly ſay; but it can be proved, exactly to a Day, by the Records at the India Houſe.

Q. How do you know that that Duplicate was ſent?

A. If

A. If it is proper to ſtate—I had it from Mr. Hudſon, the Gentleman who attends from the India Houſe; who told me it was at the India Houſe.

Q. Do you know when it was ſent?
A. I rather think, by the earlieſt Opportunity after the Nancy.

Q. (*by a Lord*). Do you know on what Day Major Fairfax delivered the Box to you?
A. I do not know the exact Day; it was one Day in July 1782; it was the Day he arrived at the India Houſe.

Q. (*by the Managers*). Whether, as the Agent of Mr. Haſtings, you had, at any Time, Communication with him by Expreſſes over Land?

A. Yes; I wrote repeatedly and regularly to Mr. Haſtings over Land, and received Letters from him; but I never received a Letter from Mr. Haſtings, except a Diſpatch came at the ſame Time to the Company. I wröte to him, I believe, once a Fortnight over Land.

Q. At what Time did this Species of Communication commence between you and Mr. Haſtings, and when did it ceaſe?

A. I ſent a Gentleman Expreſs to Bengal, a few Days after the Reſolution paſſed the Houſe of Commons for the Recal of Mr. Haſtings; I ſent another Gentleman Expreſs to Bengal, after the Court of Proprietors had recommended it to the Court of Directors, not to carry that Reſolution of the Houſe of Commons into Execution. I ſent Mr. Haſtings, by Way of Conſtantinople, an Account of the Death of the Marquis of Rockingham; and that the Marquis of Lanſdown was at the Head of the Treaſury.

Q. The Object of the Queſtion is a General One: How long you continued in the Habit of correſponding in the Manner you mentioned before, by Expreſſes backward and forward over Land, with Mr. Haſtings?

A. From the Month of May 1782 to the Month of May 1785, I believe; a Month before Mr. Haſtings came to England, not being certain he would come that Year.

Q. When did you come over yourſelf?
A. I arrived in England in December 1781.

Q. And you began that Kind of Correſpondence in the May following?
A. Yes.

Q. And continued it during the whole Time of his being reſident there?
A. Yes.

Q. Do you mean, by Correſpondence, to ſay, that you received Anſwers in the ſame regular Way that you ſent Expreſſes over Land; whether the Correſpondence was as regular on one Side as on the other?

A. I believe I have already ſaid, by no Means; I never received a Letter from Mr. Haſtings, except a Letter was ſent to the Company at the ſame Time.

Q. What might be the Expence of theſe Communications ſent by you, or paid by you on the Account of Mr. Haſtings in this Buſineſs?

A. I don't exactly recollect the Sum, but I think between Six and Seven thouſand Pounds. I don't ſpeak quite correctly. The great Expence was from the Gentlemen who went over. There were Three Expreſſes ſent by Gentlemen, and their Expences of courſe are always very high—and the others are expenſive too—going by Arabs acroſs the Deſert. I think between Six and Seven thouſand Pounds.

Q. Who paid that Expence?
A. Mr. Haſtings himſelf.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That the laſt Letter of Correſpondence between Mr. Haſtings and the Council at Calcutta, which was ſubmitted to the Houſe, was addreſſed to Mr. Wheler, and dated the 18th of September, upon the Day previous to the ſigning of the Treaty of Chunar; and that they ſhould now produce the Correſpondence between Mr. Haſtings and Mr. Wheler, after the ſigning of the Treaty of Chunar, down to the very Day upon which Mr. Haſtings determined to ſeize the Treaſures of the Begums, to ſhew that Mr. Haſtings there details minutely all Reports—all Circumſtances—all material Tranſactions whatever that came to his Knowledge, and never once mentions the leaſt Hint or Inſinuation againſt the Begums.

Read,

Read, Extract from Appendix to the Narrative of the Inſurrection at Benares, beginning at Page 120 of the ſaid Appendix.

" Num. 98.

" To Edward Wheler Eſquire.

" Sir,

" I moſt heartily congratulate you on the Succeſs of our Arms in the Conqueſt of Pateeta; for the Particulars of which I refer you to the incloſed Letter from Major Popham. I underſtand that large Reinforcements, both from Lutteefpoor and Ramnagur, oppoſed him in the Field. It was intended to attack both Pateeta and Lutteefpoor at the ſame Time; and the former, by an inſtant Aſſault. Major Crabb, with a ſtrong Detachment, appointed for the latter Service, marched on the Night of the 15th by a large, and, as it has ſince appeared, ſcarce practicable Circuit, towards a Paſs which lies behind, or to the South of Lutteefpoor. A Letter received this Morning mentions his Arrival on the Plain which adjoins to the Paſs, after a March of Three Days inſtead of One, as was expected. It is the Road to Bidjeygur, and ſaid to be the Repoſitory of all the Rajah's Ammunition. Major Popham marched at Two of the ſame Night; nor did he reach his Ground with his whole Line until Ten, and then found the Place too ſtrong to attempt it, without a regular Approach and battering Cannon. It fell at Six this Morning. I regard this Victory as a deciſive Turn of our publick Influence; but the greateſt Proportion of my Joy is derived from the Conſideration that it was gained with little Bloodſhed; an Advantage which I attribute, as I expected it, to the ſuperior Skill and known Compoſure, nor leſs Humanity, of Major Popham. Major Crawford arrived here Yeſterday Morning much haraſſed, but without Loſs or Impediment on his Way.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

Warren Haſtings *(a)*."

" Chunargur,
" 20th September 1781.

Read, Extract from the ſame Book, beginning at Page 120 of the ſame.

" Num. 104.

" To Edward Wheler Eſquire.

" Sir,

" On the 20th, Major Crabb defeated and routed a Body of the Enemy on the Plain above the Paſs of Suckroot: Their Loſs was 150 Men and 3 Guns, and much Ammunition; our's ſmall. The Rajah that Evening fled from Lutteefpoor; his Men followed his Example; and Yeſterday at Noon Major Crabb took Poſſeſſion, the Place being totally deſerted. I was Yeſterday in Major Popham's Camp, and viſited the Fort of Pateeta and its Intrenchment. They are both contemptible; but, in their actual State, abſolutely impregnable againſt an Attack, had they made any Reſiſtance. The Fort, though ſmall, is of Stone, with 4 Towers; a parallel Rampart and Towers, and a Ditch of great Depth ſurrounding theſe, and the Town itſelf guarded by an Intrenchment extending far beyond it; and the Space between Hills, Rocks, and Jungle, almoſt impenetrable. At One o'Clock we had the Satisfaction to receive, by a regular Salute of 21 Guns, the inſtant Information of the Poſſeſſion of Lutteefpoor by Major Crabb. I have taken upon me to grant a Brevet Commiſſion of Major to Captain Lane, who commanded the Grenadiers of the Army, and performed diſtinguiſhed Service. I this Inſtant receive an authentic Confirmation of the above Intelligence from Major Crabb.

" I am, Sir, &c.

Warren Haſtings *(b)*."

" Chunargur,
" 22d September 1781."

Then Mr. Robert Hudſon was again called, and produced Book 36, intituled, " Bengal Secret Conſultations, from 2d July to 10th December 1781."

Read, Extract from a Conſultation of 18th October 1781, beginning at Page 650 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 18th October 1781.

" At a Council; Preſent,
Edward Wheler, and
John M'Pherſon, } Eſquires.

The Honourable the Governor General abſent on a Viſit to the Northern Provinces.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Service at Fort St. George.

(a) Vide ſupra, Page 212.

(b) Vide ſupra, Page 215.

" Letter

" Letter from Mr. Haſtings to Mr. Wheler.

" Sir,

" I have had the Honour to inform you, in various and ſucceſſive Letters, of my Tranſactions, and of the Occurrences which have befallen me ſince my Departure from Calcutta, and eſpecially ſince my Arrival at this Place, on the 14th of laſt Month. It is my Intention to employ the firſt Hours of my Leiſure in drawing up a detached Narrative of the latter for your Information. In the mean Time I ſhall continue to adviſe you, from Time to Time, of ſuch Circumſtances of Moment as occur in the Courſe of daily Buſineſs, both for your Information and for the Means of obtaining your Sentiments upon them for any Aſſiſtance and Guidance. I deem it a Misfortune that not one of your Letters, written with the Knowledge of the late Troubles, have reached me; and I much fear that many of mine may have miſcarried, for which Reaſon I ſhall cauſe to be tranſcribed Copies of all written ſince 16th of laſt Month, and ſhall tranſmit them to you.

" Leſt my Letters adviſing you of our late Succeſſes ſhould have been intercepted, I think it proper to repeat in this the Subſtance of them.

" The Arrival of the Detachment from Cawnpore under Major Crabb, of 10th inſtant, and Major Robertſon, 13th, enable Major Popham to take the Field with a conſiderable Force. It was publickly expected that his firſt Attempt would be made upon Ramnagur; but ſuch Information having been given of the State of the Two Fortreſſes of Lutteefpoor and Pateeta, as ſeemed to promiſe the certain and immediate Reduction of thoſe Places, he accordingly formed his Army into Two Detachments, one commanded by Major Crabb, conſiſting of 1ſt Battalion of 6th Regiment, the 7th Regiment, the Battalion of the Nabob's Body-guard, commanded by Lieutenant Polhill, with Six 6 Pounders, and One 5½ Inch Howitzers; and the other under his own Command, conſiſting of 19th, 30th, and 35th Regiments, Two Companies of European Infantry, the Corps of Rangers, and about 30 Artillery, with Six 6 Pounders, Two 8½ Inch Howitzers, and an 8 Inch Mortar. The Firſt Detachment marched on the Night of 15th, by a large Circuit through almoſt impracticable Ways. But the Spirit of the Officers and Men ſurmounted every Difficulty. In Places where the Guns could not be drawn by Bullocks, the Sepoys lifted them up the Rocks; and at length, in the Morning of the 20th, they arrived at the Heights, lying behind and above the Fort of Lutteefpoor, at a Place called Lora, which commands a Paſs deſcending to Lutteefpoor, and reported inacceſſible againſt Oppoſition, but from above. The profound Secreſy with which this Expedition was undertaken, and to which the Security of the Enemy in a Region ſo little frequented not a little contributed, prevented any Oppoſition to our Troops in the difficult Parts of their Route. Their Firſt Movement only, but neither their Strength nor their Deſtination, was known, till their very near Approach. At Lora they met a Body of 2000 of the Enemy, which they defeated and diſperſed, with little Loſs on our Side, but on theirs of 200 Men killed on the Spot. The next Morning they took Poſſeſſion of the Paſs, and of the Fort of Lutteefpoor, which they found evacuated.

" In the mean Time, Major Popham marched with his Part of the Forces, on the Morning of the 16th, to Pateeta, a Place inconſiderable in itſelf, being a fortified Stone Houſe, within a very high Rampart and a Ditch of very great Depth, and the Town, which is of great Extent, ſurrounded by Entrenchments. Theſe being all obſcured from Obſervation by Trees and thick Buſhes, he judged it not adviſeable to attempt an immediate Aſſault upon the Place, which fortunately proved the Cauſe of concurrent Succeſs in both Enterpriſes, almoſt in the ſame Inſtant of Time; for in the Morning of 20th, he ſtormed and took Pateeta, at the ſame Time defeating and diſperſing Two Bodies of the Enemy that made an Attempt on his Camp. And on the ſame Day, and in the ſame Hour, Major Crabb fought and gained the Battle of Lora, which was the immediate and eventual Cauſe of the Capture of Lutteefpoor.

" The News of theſe combined Succeſſes alarmed the Rajah to ſuch a Degree, that he inſtantly fled, by a diſtant Route over the Hills, from Lutteefpoor, which, till that Time, had been his capital Reſidence, regaining the Road to Bidjeygur, the only direct Way to it being through the Paſs abovementioned.

" The Conſternation of his Followers was ſo great, and its Contagion ſo rapid, that, in a few Hours, the Fort or Palace of Ramnagur, and the Fortreſs of Lutteefgur, were wholly abandoned and evacuated.

" Major Balfour marched on 22d, and took Poſſeſſion of Ramnagur.

" On the Morning of 25th, I parted from the Nabob, who ſet out on that Afternoon on his Return to his Capital. It is but Juſtice to the Nabob to declare, that on the firſt Intelligence of theſe Troubles, notwithſtanding my repeated and preſſing Injunctions to return to Lucknow, he proſecuted his March to Benares, with only a few Companies of Sepoys and 100 Horſe at that Time attending him; and has, in every other Inſtance, given the ſtrongeſt Proofs of his Fidelity and Attachment. In the Evening I departed from Chunar, and on the next Morning arrived at Ramnagur. My Stay there being unneceſſary, and it having been repreſented to me, that my Preſence at Benares would be a Means of quieting the Minds of the Inhabitants, I accordingly returned hither Yeſterday Morning, and had the Happineſs to find the City reſtored to a State of perfect Order and Tranquillity.

" I have iſſued Proclamations, offering Pardon to all who ſhall quietly return to their Obedience, excepting the Perſons of Cheyt Sing and his Brother Sujan Sing, whom their late rebellious Conduct, and their Rancour manifeſted to our Nation, in the deliberate Murder of many of our Soldiers, and even unarmed Paſſengers, who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands, have precluded from every Title to Lenity.

" The Perſons ſtanding next in the Line of Inheritance of the Zemindary, were Ranny Golaub Koower, the Widow of Rajah Bulwant Sing, their Daughter married to Rajah Durbijey Sing, and Bauboo Myipharain, their Grandſon by the Two latter. By the Concurrence of the Two firſt Parties, and in conſequence of a written Acknowledgement made by the Ranny, of the Right of her Grandſon, Mayipnarain, I have nominated him to the Succeſſion of the Rauge; and I have appointed the Morning of To morrow for his Inveſtiture.

" I have forborne any particular Comments in this Place, reſerving them where they will be more properly introduced for my detailed Narrative; yet I cannot ſuppreſs, without a Violence to my own Feelings, the Teſtimony which is due, eſpecially from me, to the unexampled Zeal and publick Spirit of all our Officers, and the wonderful Activity with which theſe Qualities were diſplayed on the late Occaſion. I have already acknowledged the early Exertions which were made by Colonel Blair during my former ſhort calamitous Reſidence at Benares. Of Major Popham, I cannot ſay ſufficient to expreſs my Senſe of his Services. Though my Letters were every where intercepted, Colonel Morgan, with a Deciſion and Solicitude that reflect equal Credit on his Character, detached Major Crabb with his Party to my Aſſiſtance on the Firſt and inſtant Rumour of my Situation. Colonel Sir J. Cuming, with the like Alacrity, obeyed the Order of his March to Cawpore, as did Colonel Ahmuty, in the immediate Diſpatch of Major Crawford and the Troop of Cavalry. The ſame Spirit animated every Officer of every Corps, and infuſed itſelf into the Men under their Command, with an Effect ſo far exceeding the common Occurrences of human Affairs, that in the complete Space of One Month, this great and valuable Province, which had been unexpectedly and wholly loſt, was in Subſtance wholly recovered to the Britiſh Empire.

" I have the Honour, &c.
Warren Haſtings. *(a)*"

" Benares,
" 29th September 1781.

" Signed at the End,
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon."

Read, Extract of Appendix to the Narrative of the Inſurrection at Benares, beginning at Page 144 of the ſame.

" Num. 125.

" To Edward Wheler Eſquire.

" Sir,

" My Continuance in this Quarter, and the Events which have happened, have given me an Opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Situation of the Troops beyond the Provinces; and I am concerned to ſay, that in their Equipment they are extremely defective, particularly in ſmall Arms and Accoutrements; the laſt Supplies ſent from Fort William to Chunar are entirely expended; the Indents from the Board upon the Magazine there having exceeded the whole Quantity originally ſupplied. Major Popham's Detachment is indeed amply furniſhed; but thoſe under Colonels Cumming and Muir are very deficient. I have not been informed of the Condition of Colonel Morgan's Brigade, but am afraid it is not much ſuperior to that of the others.

" I cannot aſcertain the preciſe Quantity of Arms and Artillery which may be required, nor is it material; but the Neceſſity of having in Store at Chunar ſuch a Supply as may be equal to the Demands of any probable Service on this Side of the Caramnaſſa is evident, and the immediate Want of them is preſſing: I therefore earneſtly intreat your immediate Orders for tranſporting ſuch a Proportion of ſmall Arms and Accoutrements, and of Field Artillery, 12 and 6 Pounders, as may be adapted to this Service, and can be ſpared from Fort William and the Provinces, by Water, before the Swelling of the River ſubſides.

" Banaris,
7th October 1781.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.
Warren Haſtings *(b)*."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Appendix, beginning at Page 145.

" Num. 127.

" To Edward Wheler Eſquire.

" Sir,

" I beg Leave to introduce, through you, to the Notice of the Board, an Inſtance of Zeal and

(a) Vide Appendix, N° L.

(b) Vide ſupra, P. 225.

Attach-

Attachment to our Government, which, from the peculiar Circumſtances under which it was exhibited, merits both a Place in our Records, and a publick and warm Acknowledgment.

" It will be remembered, that a principal Object of my Journey to theſe Provinces was to obtain and facilitate an Interview at Banaris with Dewaugur Pundit, the Miniſter of Rajah Moodajee Booſlah, for the Purpoſe of effecting a final Adjuſtment of the political Concerns of our Government, and that of Berar. The Death of Dewaugur Pundit, the News of which reached me Two Days before my Arrival at Banaris, and which I regret with the moſt ſenſible Concern, diſappointed all the Hopes which I had conceived of forming by his Means a ſolid and laſting Alliance with the Court of Berar.

" I was attended in my Journey from Calcutta by Beneram Pundit, the Vakeel of Moodajee Booſla, with his Brother Biſſumber Pundit. The Vakeel, during his long Reſidence with me in that Capacity, had given me conſtant Proofs of a ſincere Diſpoſition to promote the Intereſts of our Government, whilſt he exerted himſelf to advance thoſe of his Maſter.

" When I retreated from Banaris, Beneram Pundit and his Brother, on the firſt Intelligence of my Departure, followed, and, unattended by a ſingle Servant, joined me in the March, reſiſting all my Intreaties, and even Injunctions, to return to Banaris, where their whole Family reſided, and where they might have remained in perfect Eaſe and Security.

" On my Arrival at Chunar, I found myſelf in great and irremediable Diſtreſs for want of Money. The Troops were ſome Four, and others Five Months in Arrears, and as Cheit Sing had the Country on all Sides at his Devotion, I had not the ſmalleſt Proſpect of obtaining Supplies, until the Motion of our Troops from different Quarters ſhould open a Communication. It was with Difficulty that I found Means to raiſe ſo ſmall a Sum as 2500 Rupees, to diſtribute among the Sepoys for their preſſing Neceſſities. I muſt add, though foreign from my immediate Subject, that the Sepoys bore their Diſtreſſes without expreſſing the leaſt Impatience under them.

" Being accuſtomed, from my Experience of the Intereſt which Beneram Pundit had always taken in the Succeſs of our Affairs, and as a Kind of Acknowledgment of it, to treat him with a greater Freedom of Communication than other Perſons in his Situation, I occaſionally mentioned to him, without any Expectation or Thought of obtaining any Relief from him, the Difficulties under which I laboured for Want of preſent Subſiſtence. He inſtantly, and with ſome Eagerneſs, replied, That his Family at Banaris were in Poſſeſſion of a Lack of Rupees, collected in Specie, of which he made me the inſtant Offer, propoſing that a Battalion of Sepoys ſhould be ſent to bring it away; his Brother at the ſame Time offering to accompany the Eſcort, and to deliver the Money. I thankfully accepted the Offer, and ſhould have adopted the Mode they recommended for bringing away the Money, had I not been fearful of expoſing their Family to the Vengeance of Cheit Sing; and as my Dewan had been left at Banaris, I hoped by his Means to procure the Treaſure to be tranſported to Chunar, and I received their Orders for the Delivery of it to him. But in this Expedient I was diſappointed, for the Dewan was ſo concealed, that my Letter could not reach him, and Gopaul Doſs, the Banker, through whoſe Agency the intended Plan was to be effected, was about the ſame Time apprehended and carried a Priſoner to Lutteefpoor, where the Rajah reſided; neither could I at that Time deviſe any other Contrivance to avail myſelf of the Aſſiſtance which had been thus generouſly preſſed upon me. When I returned to Banaris, Beneram Pundit renewed the ſame Tender; and although my Diſtreſs for Money was not then equal in any Degree to that which had before prompted him to make it, I agreed to accept it, willing to furniſh an incontrovertible Proof of his Sincerity in the Firſt Offer, and ſtrengthen the Teſtimony which I have herein given of his ſteady Attachment to our Government. The whole Sum, amounting to One Lack of Banaris Sicca Rupees, was received between the 30th of September and the 1ſt of October: I have granted to Beneram Pundit a Bond for the ſame, at the uſual Rate of Intereſt, and in the uſual Form, except that it has only my Signature to it. I hope and requeſt that the Board will be pleaſed to confirm it.

" Banaris,
13th October 1781.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
Warren Haſtings (*a*)."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Appendix, beginning at Page 20.

" Num. 2. A.

" Letter to the Governor General and Council, dated the 1ſt of November 1781, reſpecting the Eſtabliſhment of Police and Courts of Judicature in the Town of Banaris.

" To Edward Wheler and John Macpherſon Eſquires, Members of the Council of Fort William.

" Gentlemen,

" Having thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh Courts of Judicature for the Protection of the Perſons and Property of the Inhabitants of the Town of Banaris, I now do myſelf the Honour to lay be-

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 226.

fore

fore you a Copy of the Plan on which theſe Courts are formed. I ſhall proceed to ſubmit to you the Reaſons which have given riſe to this Plan, and flatter myſelf that they will induce you to honour it with your Concurrence and Approbation.

" The Town of Banaris has long been deficient in all thoſe Regulations which in populous Places are neceſſary for the Preſervation of Peace and good Order, and the Protection of the Property and Perſons of the Inhabitants. Whilſt, however, the Sovereignty over it was retained by the Nabob of Oude, ſome Appearance of publick Juſtice was ſtill preſerved, and the Awe of a deſpotic Prince produced Reſtraints on the Minds and Actions of Individuals, which bore a Reſemblance, however faint, to the Effects of more regular and perfect Inſtitutions. But theſe Reſtraints ceaſed with the Cauſe which produced them. By the Treaty made with the Nabob Aſſof ud-Dowlah, on the 21ſt of May 1775, the Sovereignty of Banaris was ceded to the Company, and ſoon after the Cutwallee, or Superintendance of Police, was formally made over by us to the late Rajah. From this Period the Appearance of publick Juſtice was gradually effaced, until at laſt, without any Syſtem of Police, any Courts of Judicature, or any Awe of the ſovereign Power, the Inhabitants of Banaris were guilty of Enormities and Crimes which reflected the greateſt Diſgrace on the Government to which they were ſubject. The Relations and Dependants of the Rajah, or the Merchants whoſe Credit was uſeful in the Payment of the Revenue, might violate the Rights of their Fellow Citizens with Impunity; and the ſacred Character of a Bramin, or the high Rank of the Offender, were Conſiderations which ſtamped a Pardon on the moſt flagitious Crimes.

" Such was the State in which I found the civil Government of the Town when I arrived at Banaris. All Ranks of People joined in their Repreſentations of the Neceſſity of Reformation; and this appeared the more neceſſary from a Conſideration of the Circumſtances which are peculiar to Banaris. Its Temples are held in particular Veneration by the Profeſſors of the Hindoo Religion, who flock to them on occaſional Pilgrimages from the moſt remote Parts of Hindoſtan; and many who have acquired independent Fortunes, retire to cloſe their Days in a Place ſo eminently eſteemed for its Sanctity. It may therefore rather be conſidered as the Seat of the Hindoo Religion, than the Capital of a Province. But its Inhabitants are not compoſed of Hindoos only; the former Wealth which flowed into it from the Offerings of Pilgrims, as well as from the Tranſactions of Exchange, for which its central Situation is peculiarly adapted, has alſo attracted Numbers of Mahomedans, who ſtill continue to reſide in it with their Families. Amongſt ſuch a Mixture of Perſons, moſtly without Employment, of different Countries, and of different Sects and Religions, it is obvious that every Defect of Civil Government muſt be productive of more than ordinary Evils; and theſe Evils are propagated in all Quarters of India, to the Diſcredit of our Government, and to the Hindrance and Diſcouragement of thoſe who, under more favourable Circumſtances, might wiſh to repair with their Wealth to Banaris.

" For theſe Reaſons, after my Return from Chunar, when I began to ſettle the Affairs of this Province, the Reformation of the Civil Government of the Town of Banaris was one of the firſt Objects to which I thought it neceſſary to turn my Attention. The Plan which I have formed is now ſubmitted to your Conſideration. You will obſerve, that I have eſtabliſhed Three diſtinct Departments for the Police, and the Civil and Criminal Juriſdiction; and I have put the Whole under the Regulation and Controul of One Chief Magiſtrate, who is to be ſubject to the immediate Orders of the Board. It was at firſt my Intention to have included alſo under his Authority the Collection of the Revenues and Cuſtoms of the Town; but I found that this would give great Diſcontent to the new Rajah, and might perhaps hurt his Influence in the Management of the Revenues of the reſt of the Province; I have therefore left it out; at the ſame Time I am ſenſible that it is a Defect which may occaſion ſome Inconveniencies, from the claſhing of the Authorities of the Rajah and the Chief Magiſtrate.

" The Perſon whom I have choſen to fill the important Station of the Chief Magiſtrate, is Allee Ibrahim Khan, a Man who has long been perſonally known to myſelf, and I believe to many Individuals of our Government, and whoſe Character for Moderation, Diſintereſtedneſs, and good Senſe, will bear the Teſt of the ſtricteſt Enquiry. On his good Conduct muſt doubtleſs, in a great Meaſure, depend the Succeſs of a Plan which is to take Effect at ſo remote a Diſtance from the Seat of our Government; and it is chiefly from the Reliance which I have in him perſonally, that I have ventured to delegate a Degree of Authority to him, which it would perhaps be unſafe to veſt in a Perſon of a leſs eſtabliſhed Character.

" In forming the Eſtabliſhment, I have calculated the Allowances of the Chief Magiſtrate and his Officers in Proportion to the Importance and Degree of Truſt annexed to their ſeveral Employments; and I have fixed them at ſuch Rates, as will ſet them above the Neceſſity, and I hope the Temptation, of having Recourſe for a Subſiſtence to the Practices of Corruption.

" I have the Honour to be,

" Banaris, 1ſt November 1781. Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

Warren Haſtings (*a*)."

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 147.

Read,

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Appendix, beginning at Page 56.

" NUM. 4. D.

" Copy of a Letter to the Governor General and Council, dated the 25th of November 1781, reſpecting the Appointment of Meſſrs. Anderſon and Chapman.

" To Edward Wheler, and John M'Pherſon, Eſqrs. Members of the Council of Fort William.

" Gentlemen,

" I have the Honour to tranſmit to you Copies of my Inſtructions ſeverally delivered to Mr. Anderſon and Mr. Chapman; the former deputed to Mahdajee Sindia, and the latter to Naugpoor. Both are ſo conſonant to your Wiſhes, and to the Commands of our Honourable Superiors, that they will need no Comment or Explanation; unleſs it ſhall appear, that the Miſſion of Mr. Chapman is rather oſtenſible than real, little being given him in Charge, but to preſerve the Friendſhip unimpaired between the Government to which he is deputed and ours. In effect, the Advantages propoſed by it are rather contingent, than ſuch as could be preſcribed as determined Objects; an Attention was neceſſary to an ancient and approved Friend of our Government, on the Occaſion of our availing ourſelves of a different Influence. I have judged it neceſſary to provide for a new Channel of Correſpondence with that Government itſelf, having loſt that on which I had hitherto placed a confident and effectual Reliance, in the Dewan Dewaugur Pundit. But my principal Hope from this Deputation is, that it may prove the Means of quickening the Concluſion of the Peace with the Marattah State, by making it an Object of Competition to the Two moſt powerful Members of it. It is not the profeſſed Object of Mr. Chapman's publick Credentials, and therefore not liable to any juſt Grounds of Jealouſy in Mahdajee Sindia; but from my Experience of the general Tenor of the Policy of the late Dewan, which the Veneration paid to his Judgement, eſpecially by the Rajah himſelf, will continue to make the Rule of the preſent Adminiſtration, or whatever may decidedly ſucceed to his, I have no Doubt that either the Rajah will endeavour to counteract our Endeavours to obtain a Peace, that we may ultimately have Recourſe to him for effecting it; or that he will himſelf precipitate it, if he ſees it likely to be accompliſhed by another, that he may have the ſole Merit of it, and preſerve his Conſequence with both Parties, by having been the ſucceſsful Mediator between us. You will obſerve, that I have ſufficiently guarded Mr. Chapman's Inſtructions againſt the Poſſibility of their claſhing with Mr. Anderſon's.

" I am certain that Mr. Chapman will think it no Degradation to act under the Controul of Mr. Anderſon, for whoſe Abilities he entertains a very high and deſerved Reſpect.

" Mr. Anderſon left Banaris, to proceed on his Deputation, on the 5th of this Month, and Mr. Chapman on the 17th: The former accompanied by his Brother, Lieutenant Anderſon, whom I appointed his Aſſiſtant, granting him the Allowance uſually annexed to ſuch Office; and by Tuffuzzul Hooſſain Khan, a Native of the firſt Abilities in Indoſtan, who had been employed by me under Major Palmer, during his Deputation to the Ranah of Ghode, and had rendered material Services to our Government, and who I knew would be very uſeful to Mr. Anderſon in his Negociations, from the Character which he bears throughout the Country for his Integrity and Knowledge: His Salary I fixed at a Thouſand Rupees per Month. Mr. Chapman is accompanied by Mr. John White, whom I have appointed his Aſſiſtant, with the ſame Allowance that is given to Lieutenant Anderſon; and as the Service on which he is employed is merely temporary, I ſhould hope that the Offices which he holds in Calcutta will not be conſidered as vacated by this Appointment. Mr. Anderſon is authorized by me to draw the ſame Allowances that were given Colonel Upton, when appointed to the Court of Poona; and Mr. Chapman the ſame that are given to Mr. Anderſon.

" I requeſt the Board will be pleaſed to communicate to Mr. Anderſon any Orders which they have lately ſent, or may hereafter ſend, to Brigadier General Goddard, that may be neceſſary for his Information, or any Inſtructions given to our Reſident at the Court of Hydrabad, reſpecting the Nazim's Mediation of Peace between us and the Marattahs, that the whole Subject may be completely before him.

" Colonel Muir having been unable yet to furniſh me with the Particulars of the late Negociation with Mahdajee Sindia, by reaſon, as his laſt Letters mention, of the dangerous and continued Sickneſs of Captain Ford, to whom he had committed the Execution of that Buſineſs; and having tranſmitted to me the Perſian Copy of the Treaty, I have the Honour to forward the ſame for your preſent Information.

" Chunar,
25th of November 1781.

" I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.
Warren Haſtings (*a*)."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they would next read another Letter to prove that the Defendant was conſtantly in the Habit of writing to the Council.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 178.

Read,

Read, a Letter to the Governor General and Council at Calcutta, ſigned Warren Haſtings, and dated Benares, 22d October 1781, from a Conſultation of 5th November 1781, in Book 36, already delivered in, beginning at Page 722 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, 5th November 1781.

Secret Dept. Monday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
Edward Wheler, and
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.

The Governor General abſent on a Viſit to the Northern Provinces.

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Service at Fort St. George.

" Read, the following Letter and Incloſures from the Governor General.

" To Edward Wheler Eſquire,
" &c. &c. &c. Council, Fort William.

" Gentlemen,

" I have received from the Secretary at the Preſidency the following Papers, tranſmitted to me by the Directions of Mr. Wheler, and have Pleaſure in making my Acknowledgements to Mr. Wheler for a Communication of them to me.

" Copy of a Letter from the Admiralty to the Board, dated 3d July.

" Ditto of the Board's Reply to ditto, dated 24th September.

" Ditto of a Letter from Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote to the Select Committee at Fort St. George, dated 6th July.

" Copy of a Letter from the Preſident and Council at Fort St. George to the Governor General and Council, dated 29th July.

" Ditto of a Letter from the Preſident and Select Committee at Fort St. George to ditto, dated 30th July.

" Ditto of a Letter from Sir Eyre Coote to the Board, dated 30th July.

" Ditto of a Letter written by the Board to Mr. Turing on the 24th September.

" Ditto of a Letter from the Preſident and Select Committee at Bombay, dated 3d July, with Two Incloſures.

" Ditto of a Letter from Brigadier General Goddard, dated 5th July, with Three Incloſures.

" Copies of Letters from the Board to the Preſident and Select Committee at Bombay, and to Brigadier General Goddard, dated 24th September.

" I have great Pleaſure in adding to the Proceedings of the Board during my Abſence from it, whatever Strength may be afforded them by my general, and, I believe I may ſay, literal Approbation of their Orders upon the ſeveral Subjects of this Correſpondence; and in offering the Remarks which I deſire their Permiſſion to make on them, I am chiefly influenced by the Motive of giving them further Weight, by the Addition of ſuch Reaſons in ſupport of them as have come to my ſeparate Knowledge ſince I left Calcutta, and could not have been before the Board, when the Letters to which they reply were under their Conſideration.

" I entirely approve of the Meaſure propoſed to the Admiral, in the Board's Letter of the 24th Ultimo, for preſerving a free and open Communication between Bengal and the Ports on the Coaſt, during the next Northern Monſoon. I have the ſame Conviction of its Neceſſity, which the Board have, for the Reaſons they have expreſſed, and deem it the moſt uſeful Service to the Company on which the Fleet, or a Part of it, can be employed. If any Objection ſhould prevail with the Admiral againſt ſtationing it in the Road of Balaſore, Perſons converſant in the Navigation of theſe Seas (and of ſuch there are many Gentlemen at the Preſidency willing, and at all Times ready, to afford us the Aid of their Opinions upon theſe Subjects when deſired), could eaſily point out ſome Place contiguous to it, where Ships might lie with more Convenience, and their Services be as effectual as in the Road of Balaſore. I remember to have heard that at Coringa there is a good Road for Ships to lie in. The Situation is certainly convenient; but whether it will admit Ships of ſuch Depth in the Water as his Majeſty's large Ships of War, is a Queſtion which I am not ſufficiently Maſter of the Subject to determine.

" I have read with Satisfaction Sir Eyre Coote's Letter to the Board, of the 30th July, even thoſe Parts of it which contain an implied Cenſure of our Meaſures. The Language of it differs widely from the Terms of that of which we had ſo much Reaſon to complain of in his Letter of the 1ſt March. It is liberal, and ſuch as becomes a Man of Character and Station. I am now fixed in an Opinion which I have before entertained, if not expreſſed to the Board, that the Ground of his unpleaſant Differences with us, as apparent in the Courſe of his Correſpondence from the Time of his Arrival upon the Coaſt, is the Formation of the Military Regulations which we paſſed in the Beginning of this Year, and which he ſeems to think were framed from Motives of perſonal Hoſtility to him, and without a ſufficient Reaſon, purpoſely to overſet thoſe we had paſſed at his Recommendation in Auguſt 1779. Although I cannot ſuppoſe ſuch an Idea to exiſt with the Honourable the Court of Directors, or that they can attribute ſuch Motives

to our Actions, ſince it does not appear in what Way they can affect either his Reputation or Intereſt, if regarded in a vindictive Light, and are too intereſting to our own Credit in the Conſequence, to have been undertaken without a ſtrong Conviction of their Neceſſity: Yet, as the Reaſons for the Meaſure may not have been compleatly before them, or may be lightly remembered when theſe Strictures upon them are read, I muſt beg the Board's Permiſſion to repeat in this Place, what I have before declared on our Records, and what is ſufficiently apparent to any one who will give an impartial Conſideration to the Subject; that theſe Regulations were framed to anſwer an immediate Exigency of the publick Service, and were reſolved upon in a State of Affairs, very different from that which exiſted when I gave my Conſent to paſſing thoſe which were recommended, in 1779, by Sir Eyre Coote. The Board will recollect, that when we reſolved to detach the Forces under Colonel Pearſe to the Coaſt of Coromandel, the Meaſure was founded on a particular Requeſt, made to us by the General himſelf, before he took his Departure from Bengal; and that, at the ſame Time that we well knew how ſerviceable ſuch a Reinforcement would be to his Operations on the Coaſt, the Dangers with which our own Provinces were threatened by the Neighbourhood of the Berar Army to their Borders; the Effects which the Fear of Invaſion might naturally be ſuppoſed to have upon the Minds of the timid People of Bengal; and, above all, the Conſequences that might be expected to ariſe from the Intrigues of Hyder's Agents with the Country Powers, conſiderably aſſiſted by his great Succeſs in the Carnatic; ſo large a Force could ill be ſpared from the Protection of the Company's Poſſeſſions in this Part of India. It was at the ſame Time, I believe, within the
* Sic in Orig. private Knowledge of the Members of * Board, that even our reduced Force was not actually ſuch as it appeared on the Returns; I mean to ſay, that, had we required inſtant Service for the Numbers which ſtood on the Returns, we ſhould have been greatly diſappointed—ſuch was the Practice of the Service, founded upon a very reproachful Cuſtom; and all our Efforts, in the Trial of various and repeated Expedients to ſuppreſs it, had hitherto proved ineffectual. In ſuch a Situation, it became not only abſolutely neceſſary, that new Levies ſhould be raiſed to ſupply the Loſs which we ſhould ſuffer from the March of Colonel Pearſe's Detachment to the Coaſt but that the nominal Strength of our Forces ſhould alſo be its real one. Regulations were accordingly propoſed by Brigadier General Stibbert, and reſolved on by us, to effect ſo deſirable an End: An Increaſe of Numbers adequate to the Loſs of Colonel Pearſe's Detachment was to take Place, and the Subaltern Officers of the ſeveral Companies of the Battalions, were ſeparately intruſted with the Pay and Muſter of their Corps, and, by the Duties preſcribed to them, were made, as far as the Good of the Services would allow, without intruding upon the Authority neceſſarily veſted in the Commanding Officers, a Check upon their Captains. More was yet thought politick and expedient: At the ſame Time that we reſolved upon Meaſures for maintaining a large Force fit for Duty whenever called on, and upon which we could always depend, we determined to increaſe the Number of our Battalions to a Thouſand Men; this Body was called a Regiment, and the Regiment divided into two Battalions of 500 Men in each. This Diminution of Strength in each Battalion, as it ſtood on the former Eſtabliſhment, if known, would appear of little Moment in the Eyes of the Country Powers, and an Augmentation of the Numbers of our Battalions would impreſs them with the Awe of an increaſed Army. Having admitted no private Advantage whatever, and ſomething more than the common Pay of the Rank of Captain being thought due to the Officers commanding ſo large a Corps as a Regiment of 1000 Men, we reſolved on a general Promotion, giving the Commands of the Regiments to Majors, and by affording them the Pay of that Rank, and ſome other Advantages, placing them above the Neceſſity or Deſire of taking Profits which we wiſhed to annul. I will add for myſelf, that I was influenced in giving my Concurrence in this Meaſure (and I believe Mr. Wheler was ſo likewiſe) by a Deſire of ſhewing ſome Diſtinction to a Number of deſerving Men, whoſe Exertions for the Publick Service might ſoon become peculiarly neceſſary, and who would naturally feel a greater Zeal to do Credit to their Profeſſion, when they found themſelves placed in higher and more reſponſible Situations, than if they continued undiſtinguiſhed in lower ones. This Alteration in our Eſtabliſhment, ſeparately conſidered, would of courſe be attended with ſome Increaſe of Charge; but it makes a Part only of a general Regulation, which provides a large Augmentation of Force, yet makes the Expence of the whole Army leſs than it was upon its former Footing. In aſſerting this, I am warranted by the Eſtimates delivered in to us by General Stibbert, on the 26th December laſt, when the new Regulations were under Conſideration.

" The new Regulations being in Force before Colonel Pearſe's Detachment went away, it, with the reſt of our Army, was modelled by them; it partook, with it, of the ſame general Benefit, as to nominal Strength, and indeed received ſome Increaſe of its former Numbers; for, to make the Arrangement good, we added ſome Companies, and ſent to the General's Aſſiſtance a Detachment of Five Regiments of 1000 Men, inſtead of Six Battalions of 800. If the Officers on the Madraſs Eſtabliſhment have been Sufferers by an Arrangement which the publick Service of this Country has made neceſſary, I will not cenſure them for complaining; but I muſt attribute the Cauſe to the Meaſure of breaking our Detachment, and dividing it among the Sepoy Corps of the Madraſs Eſtabliſhment, which, however neceſſary in the Judgement of the Commander in Chief, I recollect to be contrary to the Inſtructions of this Government, communicated to him when the Detachment moved from our Provinces.

" I obſerve that Sir Eyre Coote remarks on the Staff allowed to a Major of Colonel Pearſe's Detachment, and thenceforth thinks it fit to reflect on the unneceſſary Expence which we have

permitted

permitted to be incurred in the Charge of that Corps. The only Major of Colonel Pearſe's Detachment that had a Staff was Major Edmondſon, expreſsly appointed Second in command of it: It has been always uſual, I believe, for the Second in Command of ſo large a Force to have the Staff which was allowed to Major Edmondſon; but it was not intended, nor was it neceſſary, that it ſhould be continued to him longer than he held that Station, and therefore when he no more was Second in Command, as would be the Caſe when a Junction was effected between the Detachment and the Main Army, he of courſe would loſe the Rights and Properties of the Office.

"I beg Leave to aſſure the Board of my entire Concurrence in their Reply of the 24th September to General Goddard's Letter of the 5th of July, and in that written by the Select Committee of the ſame Date. I have the Honour to tranſmit to them two Letters from General Goddard, bearing Date the 11th June and 6th Auguſt, which I received at Chunargur, and have not been till lately able to tranſmit to them, on Account of the great Inſecurity of the Conveyance: To theſe I have yet made no Reply, and none is now neceſſary from me, ſince the Sentiments of the Board, entirely conformable to my own, have already been expreſſed to him upon the moſt material Points of them; and, as to the Reſt, the Board are much better able to judge, than I can be at this Diſtance from the Preſidency, how far the Plan propoſed by General Goddard, in his Letter of the 11th of June, or that ſubſequently propoſed by the Preſident and Select Committee of Bombay, of which no Intimation has yet been ſent me, for ſupplying the Troops on the Malabar Coaſt with Proviſions, can be complied with, without affecting the more eſſential Claims of the Army under Sir Eyre Coote, and the Settlement at Fort St. George.

"I have been ſorry to obſerve, on a Peruſal of General Goddard's Letter to the Board of 6th Auguſt, that the General had miſtaken the Senſe and Meaning of our Orders of the 11th of June, reſpecting a Peace with the Maratta State; I judge ſo from my preſent Recollection of them, for I have not a Copy with me.—In a Minute, which the General has delivered at a Meeting of the Select Committee, and extracted in his Letter to us, he aſſerts, that one of the Events, in which the Powers which we had granted him were to be exerciſed, was the Deputation of Dewagur Pundit Moodajee Dewan to Poona, for the Purpoſe of mediating between this Government and the Marattas; whereas I believe that our Inſtructions to the General, not only provided for the Deputation of Dewagur Pundit to Poona, but of any one elſe who might be appointed to go there by the Court of Nagpoor.

"I have already expreſſed my Approbation of the Orders ſent to Bombay, and to Brigadier General Goddard, on the 24th September, againſt a Plan of offenſive Operations, and an Augmentation of the Military Eſtabliſhment on that Coaſt. The Reaſoning in favour of an Increaſe of their Army, is doubtleſs overſet, by their own Confeſſion of Inability to maintain what they have already, and we are unable to ſupply them. I have not yet ſeen the Plan of offenſive Operations recommended, but I am generally againſt it, not being able to diſcover to what uſeful Object it can tend, be it what it may. This Government has no Object but a Peace; we have acquired all that we ſought for when we were forced into the War, and we have offered a large Part of that Whole to effect a Peace. But I am influenced by ſtill further Reaſons for oppoſing of the Orders ſent to Brigadier General Goddard; and theſe I ſhall now recite; firſt making an Apology to the Board for not having before given them publick Information of the Facts on which they were grounded. I alluded to them diſtantly in an official Letter which I wrote Mr. Wheler from Chunar; but from a Fear of its being intercepted, it was expreſſed with ſo much Caution, that I fear may not exactly have been underſtood. In a private Letter, which I have ſince written to Mr. Wheler, I have been more explicit; and ſhall be obliged to him if he will be pleaſed to lay before the Board, and record upon their Proceedings, ſuch Part of it as relates to the Subject.

"I was made to underſtand by a Letter which I received from Colonel Muir, and by diſtant Advances made to me after my Firſt Arrival at this Place, that Madajee Scindia was very deſirous of a Peace. His Wiſhes coinciding with thoſe of our Government, I ſent Orders to Colonel Muir to negociate, and full Powers to conclude a ſeparate Peace with him, accompanied by Inſtructions for the Colonel's Guidance in fixing the Conditions of it. As theſe appear to be the Orders on which a Treaty has ſince been prepared, I tranſmit a Copy of them encloſed for the Information of the Board, together with a Copy of my Credentials to Colonel Muir: They were both drawn up to go in the ſmalleſt Compaſs poſſible, on Account of the Danger to the Paſſage of our Letters at that Period. Soon after I had diſpatched theſe Orders, and before they could reach Colonel Muir, I received from him a Communication of his Correſpondence with Scindia, with reſpect to the Conditions of a Peace, and was happy to find by it, that the Conditions to which Scindia would agree, were, except in very trivial Inſtances, the ſame which I had empowered Colonel Muir to yield.

"I have the Honour to tranſmit encloſed to the Board a Tranſlation of the Propoſal made to Colonel Muir by Scindia's Dewan, on the Part of his Maſter, a Copy of my Replies, and a Letter which I wrote to Colonel Muir on the 11th Ultimo.

"A Truce had been reſpectively agreed on between the Two Commanders, and my Inſtructions to Colonel Muir fortunately reached him before the limited Period of it was expired. I have been for ſome Time in hourly Expectation of hearing that the Treaty was concluded, having had the

Satisfaction

Satisfaction to learn from Colonel Muir, that neither the Arts of Cheit Sing, nor the worſt State of our Affairs in this Country, even the moſt exaggerated Account of them, appear to have affected the amicable Diſpoſition of the Maratta Chief. But as it will afford the Board Pleaſure to know what Progreſs Colonel Muir has made, I have the Honour to ſubjoin an Extract of the laſt Letter which I received from him, under Date the 6th inſtant: "The Treaty is at laſt fairly made out, "and this Day tranſmitted to Scindia for his Approbation. To-morrow it will be returned; and,

* Sic in Orig.

to
"if approved, Captain Ford will be diſpatched for * to his Camp to ſee the Signature and Seal "affixed; after which Interview I ſhall be able to write you fully on every Part of the im- "portant Charge entruſted to my Management." To this Information I beg the Board's Permiſſion to add an Extract of a private Letter from Colonel Muir's Camp, of yet a later Date. Seſſai, dated, 11th October 1781. "The Treaty is ready, and Ford is to ſet out this Morning for "the Maratta Camp, to have it executed by the Pateel, as he has already approved of the Articles "in it."

"The Board will obſerve in Scindia's Propoſals for a ſeparate Peace, that he has promiſed his Interpoſition at Poona for effecting a general Peace with the Maratta State; and as in ſuch Event it will be neceſſary to take ſome further Steps for ſecuring Succeſs to ſo deſirable an Object, I ſhall ſoon have Occaſion to addreſs the Board again on this important Subject.

"I have the Honour to be, with great Eſteem,
"Benares, Gentlemen,
the 22d October 1781. Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
Warren Haſtings.

"P. S. Since the above Letter was copied fair, I have received the Copy of a Minute delivered to the Board by Mr. Wheler on the 4th of laſt Month; and beg Leave to offer my Acknowledgments and Thanks to that Gentleman, for the honourable Teſtimony which he has afforded in it of his Approbation of my Conduct on the Occaſion to which it alludes.

"W. H. (a)".

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next prove that Mr. Haſtings pleaded Want of Time for not having once informed the Board of the extraordinary Circumſtance of the Diſaffection and Rebellion of the Begums: That he, during all that Time, correſponded with them upon every other Subject; and that in his Narrative he dated Letters as if they had been written at the Time dated—particularly, a Letter of the 9th of November 1781; whereas the Narrative was not finiſhed profeſſedly till the 31ſt of December 1781, and not ſent till the 20th of January following.

Read, the following Extract from a Conſultation of 12th November 1781, from Book 36, already delivered in, beginning at Page 775 of the ſaid Book.

"Fort William, the 12th November 1781.

Secret Dept. Monday.

"At a Council; Preſent,
Edward Wheler, and
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.
The Governor General abſent on a Viſit to the Northern Provinces.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Service at Fort St. George.

"Read, the following Letter and Encloſure from the Governor General:

"Gentlemen,

"I loſe not an Inſtant in tranſmitting to you a Copy of a Letter which I have received from Colonel Muir, conveying to me the agreeable Account of his having concluded a Peace with Madajee Sindia, and in congratulating you moſt heartily on this happy Event. I had the Honour of acquainting the Board, in my Letter of the 22d inſtant, with the Advances which had been made by the Pateel for a Treaty with us, and with the Orders which I had ſent to Colonel Muir to enter into it, and ſhall very ſoon do myſelf the Pleaſure of writing to you again particularly on the Subject, and of tranſmitting to you the Treaty which has been concluded, together with the Explanations promiſed in Colonel Muir's Letter, as ſoon as I receive them.

"I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Regard and Eſteem, &c.
"Benares,
29th October 1781. (Signed)
Warren Haſtings (b)."

(a) Vide Appendix, N° LI. (b) Vide Appendix, N° LII.

Read,

Read alſo, from the ſame Book, Extract of a Conſultation of 19th November 1781, beginning at Page 801 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, 19th November 1781.

" At a Council; Preſent,
Edward Wheler, and
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.

Secret Dept. Monday.

The Governor General abſent on a Viſit to the Northern Provinces.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote K. B. abſent on Service at Fort St. George.

Read, the following Letter from the Governor General:

" Gentlemen,

" I loſe no Time in informing you, that I have this Day, after much Difficulty, concluded the Settlement of this Zemindary for the fixed and perpetual annual Jumma of Forty Lacks of Rupees, payable in monthly Inſtalments of 2,92,727 : 4 : 6 : 1 for each of the firſt Eleven Months of the Year, and Eight Lacks for the laſt or the Month of Bhaudan, with a Remiſſion of 6,66,666 : 8. being the Amount of Two Months Collections eſtimated in equal Diviſions for the current Year.

" I will prepare and forward to you, with all poſſible Expedition, Copies and Tranſlations of all the Papers relating to this Tranſaction.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.
(Signed) Warren Haſtings,
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon."

" Benaris,
5th November 1781.

The Witneſs produced Book 83, intituled, " Bengal Secret Council, from 2d January to 25th March 1782."

Read, the following Extract of Conſultation of 2d January 1782, beginning at Page 69 of the ſaid Book.

" Fort William, the 2d of January 1782.

" At a Council; Preſent,
Edward Wheler and
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.

The Governor General abſent on a Viſit to the Northern Provinces.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Service at Fort Saint George.

" Received Three Letters, as follows, from the Governor General.

" Gentlemen,

" I have the Honour to acknowledge my Receipt of your Letter of the 5th of laſt Month: It confirms to me the Pleaſure which I have received from the ſtrongeſt Expreſſions of your Confidence in my Zeal and Exertions for the publick Service, and makes me happy by your Approbation of the Meaſures which I had adopted and communicated to you for the early Suppreſſion of the Troubles in this Zemindary. I have completed the Narrative of my Proceedings to this Time, from that of my firſt Arrival at Benares, and ſhall do myſelf the Honour of tranſmitting it to the Board as ſoon as it is copied fair; but this, I fear, will be a Work of ſome Days, as the Papers are of conſiderable Length, and I have but few Aſſiſtants with me.

" You do me the Honour of deſiring my Opinion ' how the Government of Bombay ſhould ' be directed to act, in caſe General Meadows arrives there with the Troops under his Command; ' and whether, as General Meadows can have no direct Authority from the Company to act with ' their Troops, this Government ſhould not ſend him a ſpecial Authority.'

" In Reply to this Queſtion, I beg Leave to ſubmit to you my Opinion—That our Authority over the Company's other Preſidencies is merely negative; that even that negative Power is confined to Treaties of Alliance, and to reſtrain them from making War; and that although we may always recommend to them in what Manner to diſpoſe of the Troops ordered for their Service, we have no Right of appointing a Commander over any but our own Part of them: That General Meadows, being an Officer in His Majeſty's Service, has probably received general, though perhaps not ſpecial, Powers from His Majeſty, and ſimilar Powers from the Eaſt India Company, to act with their Forces, in the Event of his coming to India; but that, if he has not received ſuch Powers, it is particularly the Province of Sir Eyre Coote, who holds the Commiſſion of Commander in Chief, as well over the King's Troops in India as thoſe of the Company, to delegate them to him; and that, if it belonged to our Government to grant ſuch Authority, I muſt declare my Opinion, without meaning to derogate in the leaſt from the Merits of General Meadows, that the Services rendered to the Company by Brigadier General Goddard, and his local Know-

ledge

ledge and Reputation, would entitle him to our Preference in the Command of any Forces employed in the Weſtern Coaſt: Indeed I fear that our Influence will ſuffer by his Removal.

" The Exigencies of the Service, when the Reinforcement ſhall arrive, will beſt dictate to the Preſidency of Bombay in what Manner it ſhould be employed.—In the deſired Event of a Concluſion of the War with the Maratta State, and, if the Troops could be ſpared from the Purpoſes of Defence, I ſhould think it will be the Opinion of the Commander in Chief, that it might be uſefully employed with General Goddard's Detachment in an Invaſion of the Territories of Hyder Ally Cawn.

" Benares,
the 11th December 1781.

" I have the Honour, &c.
(Signed) " Warren Haſtings."

" Gentlemen,

" I have received your Letter of the 22d Ultimo, accompanied by the Copy of a Letter to the Board from the Commander in Chief, on the Diſtribution to be made of the Forces in Conſequence of the Peace with Mahdagee Sindia, and the Termination of the Troubles in this Zemindary.

" I agree entirely with General Stibbert in his Opinion of the Expediency of an Addition in Artillery to the Garriſon of Fort William, and of Native Infantry for the Benefit and Security of the Provinces; and as there is not any Appearance at preſent of Hoſtilities in the Duab, or any Part of the Nabob's Dominions, I have limited the Number of Troops for the immediate Protection and Security of his Country, to the Strength ſtipulated in the Subſidiary Treaty with the late Vizier, and my late Agreement with the preſent, allowing Four Regiments of Native Infantry to be equivalent to Six Battalions of the old Eſtabliſhment. An additional Regiment of Sepoys, attached to the Station of Cawnpore, is allowed for the Service of Lucknow, according to my late Agreement with the Nabob.

" I have ordered Five Regiments of Sepoys to be ſtationed at Chunargur for the Service of the Garriſon, and for ſecuring Peace and Order until you ſhall either confirm that Arrangement, or make ſuch Alterations in it as you ſhall think proper in this Zemindarry, upon which the Collection of the Revenue eſſentially depends.

" I would propoſe, that Four Regiments of Sepoys, and a Proportion of Goolundaaz for the Artillery, ſhould be the eſtabliſhed Force for this Service; but as the Diſtricts of Jaunpore and Gauzepoor are expoſed to the Depredations of lawleſs Zemindars in their Neighbourhood, who infeſt and plunder them whenever the Troops are withdrawn, it will be neceſſary to ſtation Detachments in them, until thoſe Zemindars are ſeized or diſabled from giving any further Moleſtation.

" The Remainder of the Troops of every Denomination beyond the Provinces, I have ordered immediately to Dinapoor, under the Command of Sir John Cumming, to whom I requeſt the Board will ſend their Orders for the final Diſtribution of the Corps which he conducts into the Provinces.

" As the Station of Dinapoor is of great Importance to the Security and Proſperity of one of our own principal Provinces, commodious for ſupplying Reinforcements to either the Upper or Lower Stations of the Army, and affords plentiful and cheap Supplies of Grain and other Proviſions to the Troops, with Returns beneficial to the publick Revenue, I beg Leave to offer to the Board's Conſideration, and the Commander in Chief, the Propriety of cantoning there Five Regiments of Sepoys, the Cavalry, and a Proportion of Artillery.

" The General has recommended that One Regiment of Cavalry ſhould be ſtationed there: I think it will be attended with conſiderable Benefit to the Service, and to the Country, to keep the whole Corps within the Provinces. It has been ſtationed at too remote a Diſtance for that Inſpection which is neceſſary to the Economy of new and untried Eſtabliſhments.

" I am entirely of Opinion with the Commander in Chief, that the Deficiencies of our European Corps is Matter of very ſerious Conſideration, particularly that of the Artillery, upon which Branch of the Military Service our Operations moſt materially depend for Succeſs. The Scantineſs and Uncertainty of Recruits from Europe affords but little Proſpect of completing the European Corps to their preſent Eſtabliſhment. In a Time of general Hoſtility it would be inexcuſable to truſt to Chance for our Supplies, when a certain Expedient can be found. All the Officers with whom I have converſed have given Teſtimony in favour of the Practicability and Advantages of training the Natives to the Artillery Service, and that the Experiment which was made, in raiſing the late Corps of Golundaaz ſucceeded beyond Expectation. I am happy to find this Teſtimony confirmed and ſtrengthened by the Opinion and Recommendation of General Stibbert.

" I have heard but one Objection made to ſuch a Corps, viz. the Danger of its becoming uſeful to an Enemy, by the great Encouragement which would be given to the Goolandaaz to deſert our Service, when perfect in their Diſcipline. This Objection is equally applicable to the other native Corps; but Experience, the beſt Teſt, has not given any Sanction to it. One European Officer, well inſtructed in the Theory and Practice of that Service, would afford more Improvements to our Enemies, in that Branch of Military Knowledge, than Ten Battalions of Golandaaz trained in our Service.

" I do

" I do not mean to anſwer or diſapprove the Regulations eſtabliſhed by Sir Eyre Coote; but as they cannot be effected, and as our Situation abſolutely requires that the Defects in our Military Service ſhould be ſupplied in the beſt Manner in our Power, I hope the Board will take into their immediate Conſideration the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Goolundaaz Corps upon the late Plan, or ſuch other as General Stibbert ſhall adviſe.

" My Situation in the late Commotions here has given me an Opportunity of obſerving further Defects in the preſent Regulations of our Army. The taking from the Sepoys Corps the Artillery formerly attached to them, is attended with Delays on every Occaſion of ſudden Service, productive of Diſappointment, and hazarding Danger and Diſgrace. The native Infantry have a Confidence in, and an Attachment to, their Artillery, which have the beſt Effects on their Conduct in Action. The Country, covered with Forts of various Extent and Strength, renders the Uſe of Ordnance of ſome Kind almoſt indiſpenſable in every Expedition; and it is well known how deſperate a Reſiſtance is generally made by the Garriſons of the Country Forts, when aſſaulted only with ſmall Arms.

" The Regiment commanded by Major Roberts could not have joined me with the ſeaſonable Supply of Money from Lucknow, if he had not obtained Two Pieces of Artillery from the Nabob's Arſenal, and Major Crawford's Regiment from Dinapoor effected his Junction with great Difficulty; and after great Delay for the Want of proper Ordnance, although he was furniſhed with Two ſmall Field Pieces from Buxar, without them his Junction would ſcarcely have been practicable.

" Another Circumſtance I have obſerved, which, although apparently of little Moment, is not unattended with ſubſtantial Conſequences. This is the Effect which has been produced upon the Minds of our Sepoys, by taking the Colours from every Company, and allowing only Two to a Regiment. This is regarded by the Sepoys as an unmerited Degradation, who made the Preſervation of them a Point of Honour. Even Prejudices ſhould be indulged where they are innocent; but the Attachment of the Sepoys to their Colours appears to be convertible to very beneficial Military Purpoſes. The ſame Obſervation may be applied to the Guns, and with a Force proportioned to their ſuperior Utility. I will treſpaſs for a Moment on the Patience of the Board, to relate an Incident which ſtrongly impreſſed me with an Opinion of the Propriety of making the Artillery as inſeparable from the Sepoys Corps as their ſmall Arms. In the Year 1777, when the Stations of the Army were to be relieved, I propoſed that all the Artillery ſhould remain unmoved, and left to be attached to the ſucceeding Corps at the reſpective Stations. Colonel Hugh Grant, who then commanded the Second Brigade, repreſented to me that the Sepoys had ſo ſtrong an Attachment to their Cannon, and to thoſe particular Pieces which had been poſted to their Battalions, that it would be a Cauſe of much Diſcontent even to exchange it; and he aſſured me that it was the Practice of the Sepoys, on their Days of religious Feſtivals, to decorate the Guns with Wreaths of Flowers, and pay a Kind of Adoration to them.

" By late Intelligence which I have received through various Channels, the Conduct of Mahdajee Scindia does not appear ſtrictly compatible with the Spirit of his Engagements in the late Treaty with us. I have therefore directed Colonel Morgan to ſuſpend the Orders for the March of the Troops into the Provinces, until he ſhall receive Aſſurances from Mr. Anderſon of Scindia's faithful Adherence to the Conditions of the Treaty, and of the Peace made with him being firmly eſtabliſhed.

" Benares, " I have the Honour, &c.
15th December 1781. Warren Haſtings."

" Gentlemen,

" I have the Honour to lay before you Copies of Letters which I have lately received from Mr. Anderſon and Colonel Muir, and of my Inſtructions to Mr. Anderſon, written in Reply to his Two Letters; alſo Copies of Letters written to and received from Madajee Scindia, which will acquaint you with the preſent State of the Negociation depending between the Company and that Chief.

" Benares, " I have the Honour, &c.
13th December 1781. Warren Haſtings."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, They would next produce a Letter from Mr. Haſtings to the Board at Calcutta, dated the 25th of December 1781, in which, for the Firſt Time, the Defendant mentioned the Rebellion and Treaſon of the Begums, on Account of which he had withdrawn the Company's Guarantee, upon the 19th of September preceding.

Read, alſo, from Book 83 already delivered in, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 14th January 1782, beginning at Page 179 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 14th January 1782.

" At a Council; Present,

Edward Wheler, and
John M'Pherson, } Esquires.

The Governor General absent on a Visit to the Northern Provinces.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote absent on Service at Fort Saint George.

" Received the following Letters from the Governor General.

" Gentlemen,

" I have the Honour to transmit to you Copies of a Letter from Mr. Middleton, of my Answer thereto, and of my Instructions to Colonel Morgan in Consequence.

" An early and proper Exertion of our Military Force will effectually support the Authority of the Vizier, and in all Probability prevent any dangerous Combination amongst the Jagherdars, which their Wealth and numerous Dependants might otherwise enable them to form for resisting the Resumption of their Jagheers.

" In exceeding the Number of Troops expressly demanded on this Occasion by the Vizier, I have consulted only his Security and Advantage; and I am convinced, from my own Information of the State of his Country, as well as from Mr. Middleton's Representation, that it is but anticipating a further Requisition, which if deferred until the refractory and disaffected Persons shall become formidable, will be attended with great Hazard and proportionate Expence to the Vizier.

" The Nabob having experienced from me so ready an Attention to relieve him from the constant Expence of the temporary Brigade, cannot think it unreasonable that the Subsidy for the occasional Force now to be employed for his internal Security, should be liberal and adapted to the Circumstances under which we furnish it, as well as including its actual Disbursements. It is on this Principle that I shall estimate it, after having ascertained as precisely as possible the fixed and contingent Expences.

" Upon these Grounds, I hope that I shall meet with the Approbation of the Board in the Steps which I have taken.

" The Detachment under Major Popham being sickly, and the Services for which it is formed completely executed, I have ordered it to be dissolved, and the Troops composing it to be put under the Command of Colonel Blair, for the Protection of this Country, until the final Arrangement for this Duty shall be settled by the Board.

" Benares, " I have the Honour to be, &c.
25th December 1781. (Signed) Warren Hastings."

Enclosed in the Gov. Gen. Letter of the 25th December.

" Sir,

" The Nabob Vizier having appointed an Aumil to take Charge of the Begum's Jagheers, she had, it appears, prepared a large Body of Troops, with a supposed Design to resist him. A violent and threatening Letter, which I have just received from the Begum, would seem to leave no Doubt of her Intentions to support the already declared Licentiousness of her Servants in opposing the Nabob's Orders; I have therefore been obliged to join my Solicitations to the Vizier's for obtaining a Regiment from Colonel Morgan, to support the Aumil in the Execution of his Excellency's Commands; and I may add, that unless my Judgment far misleads me, we shall be in Want of still further Aid, before the Measure of resuming the Jagheers shall be fully established, and the Country restored to that State of Tranquillity and Subordination which it enjoyed before the Contagion spread by Cheyt Sing's Machinations.

" I enclose Copy of my Letter to Colonel Morgan, and have the Honour to be, &c.

" Lucknow, (Signed) Nathaniel Middleton,
19th December 1781. Resident at the Court of the Vizier (a)."

" A true Copy, signed E. Hay, Sub Secretary to the Honourable Board."

Read, Extract of Appendix to the Narrative of the Insurrection at Benaris, beginning at Page 1 of the same.

" Num. 1. A.

" Letter to the Governor General and Council, dated the 29th of November 1781, respecting the Governor General's Agreement with the Vizier.

" To Edward Wheler and John Macpherson, Esquires, Members of the Council of Fort William.

" Gentlemen,

" I must have Recourse to your Indulgence, on the Occasion of every Report of Importance, for the Delay in transmitting it. Many are the Causes of these Delays, which I need not enumerate, as I am myself the principal Sufferer by them. Indeed, I am almost tempted to say, that I find a Sufficiency for the Occupation of each Day in the Evil thereof, and in a Thousand little

(a) Vide Appendix, N° LIII.

Occurrences,

Occurrences, leſs known in a regular Proceſs of Buſineſs, which exact their Share of Attention, and paſs without any ſubſtantial Effect. It was for this principal Reaſon, that I have again ſhifted my Reſidence from Benaris to this Place, where I ſhall hope for more Leiſure to bring up a long Arrears of Buſineſs, than it would have been poſſible for me to have cleared had I continued there.

" I have now to inform you of my Tranſactions with the Nabob Vizeer, during his ſhort Stay at Chunar (*a*).

(Signed at the End)
" Warren Haſtings."

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next read a ſhort Letter from the Defendant to the Board at Calcutta, dated the 31ſt December 1781, when the Defendant was ſuppoſed to have ſent the Banares Narrative, and which included, for the Firſt Time, the Letter of the 29th November, laſt produced.

Read, a Letter to the Council at Fort William, ſigned Warren Haſtings, dated Banares, the 31ſt December 1781, and prefixed to the Narrative of the Inſurrection at Banares.

" To Edward Wheler and John M^cPherſon Eſquires, Members of the Council of Fort William.

" Gentlemen,

" I have now the Honour to ſend you the Narrative, which I promiſed in my Letter of the 18th October, of the Tranſactions and Events which paſſed during the Courſe of the late Inſurrection of this Province. I had begun it at the Time of the Date which is prefixed to it; but the buſy Scenes which followed, both while I was at Chunar, and after my Return to Banaris, hindered me from proſecuting it till a few Days before the Date which I have ſubjoined to it. I did not chuſe to alter the Introduction, although written at ſuch a Diſtance of Time from that in which the Body of the Work was executed, and even from the Exiſtence of the Events which are recorded in the latter, becauſe I found it not eaſy to give it a new Form, without a total Omiſſion of what had been already produced, while my Mind was animated by the recent and actual Scenes in which it was engaged, to an anxious and moſt feeling Solicitude, not more for the Iſſue of the impending Conteſt, than for its Conſequences on my own Reputation. In the Conſciouſneſs of the Rectitude of my Intentions, I had allowed myſelf to uſe an Appeal, the moſt ſolemn and moſt ſacred that could bind my Relation to Truth, or impreſs the Conviction of it on the Hearts of others; nor could I, conſiſtently with my own Senſe of its Obligation, withdraw it, or coldly place it after the Narrative already written, and written under the Check which I had impoſed upon it. I know not whether I ſhall be clearly underſtood: If I am not, yet let this Endeavour to explain a ſeeming Impropriety in the Conſtruction of this Performance be accepted for its Apology.

" I have only to add my Hope, that as I have received the moſt cordial Support in the paſt Events from you, my reſpectable and moſt reſpected Aſſociates in the Adminiſtration, and as it has been my unvaried Study to prevent your ſuffering any Embarraſſment from them, my Conduct in them may alſo receive its Firſt Reward in the Teſtimony of your Approbation.

" I have the Honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient, and moſt faithful Servant,
" Warren Haſtings (*b*)."

" Banaris,
31ſt December 1781.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next proceed to ſhew the Progreſs of the Proceedings againſt the Begums, the Origin of the Plot, the Manner in which it was conducted, and the Manner in which it was executed before the Council had any regular Information upon that Subject; for this Purpoſe they deſired Mr. Middleton might be called in again.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON Eſquire was called in, and examined as follows:

Q. Whether you was preſent at the ſigning of the Treaty of Chunar?
A. I was.

Q. Who were preſent beſides yourſelf at the ſigning of that Treaty?
A. Mr. Johnſon and the Nabob's Miniſter.

Q. Which of them?
A. I think both Huſſein Reza Cawn and Hyder Beg Cawn.

Q. And the Nabob of courſe?
A. He put his Seal to it, and was preſent.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 138. (*b*) Vide ſupra, P. 109.

Q. Was

Q. Was you employed in negociating that Treaty?

A. Not particularly; I believe I had ſome Converſation with the Nabob upon the Subject, and with his Miniſter. Mr. Haſtings was in daily Communications with the Nabob, and of courſe negociated all the Conditions of the Treaty himſelf.

Q. Am I to underſtand then that there was no ſeparate Negociation reſpecting that Treaty, or any Part of it, carried on between you and the Nabob?

A. I had ſeveral Converſations with the Nabob upon the Articles of the Treaty at different Times.

Q. The Queſtion put to you was, Whether you had any ſeparate Communication with the Nabob?

A. I have ſaid, I had.

Q. What do you mean by a ſeparate Communication with the Nabob?

A. Converſations with the Nabob, to which Mr. Haſtings was not privy.

Q. Whether this Treaty, or thoſe Treaties rather, as diſtinguiſhed by Mr. Haſtings, the one containing the Contract on the Part of the Company, the other the Contract on the Part of the Nabob, were One Deed, or Two ſeparate Inſtruments?

A. They were ſeparate Papers.

Q. When you ſpeak of Converſations to which Mr. Haſtings was not privy, do you mean that the Converſations you had with the Nabob were never communicated to Mr. Haſtings?

A. I believe, not at the Time.

Q. Nor held by his Directions?

A. No.

Q. Where were thoſe Converſations, ſo ſeparate as you have deſcribed them, held?

A. In different Places: The Nabob was encamped on the Side of the River, oppoſite Chunar.

Q. Were they all during the Time of his being in the Province of Benares?

A. Yes.

Q. At different Periods during that Time?

A. Yes, they were at different Periods during that Time, but all within the Compaſs of Time the Nabob was in the Province of Benares. The Nabob attended Mr. Haſtings occaſionally at Chunar, acroſs the River, from his Tents; I conſtantly attended him in his Viſits to Mr. Haſtings, from the other Side of the River, where I alſo reſided at the Time; and had frequent Communications with him there at his Tent, as well as at Chunar.

Q. Whether the Nabob expreſſed any Degree of Reluctance, and what, at executing his Part of the Treaty?

A. He did expreſs Reluctance; he made Objections to ſigning his Part of the Treaty.

Q. Did you endeavour to remove thoſe Objections by any, and what Arguments?

A. I did endeavour to remove thoſe Objections by ſuch Arguments as occurred to me, the principal of which was, to endeavour to aſſure his Excellency, that the Treaty was meant chiefly for his Benefit, and that the main Object of it was only to ſecure his Debt to the Eaſt India Company: That accompliſhed, I did not apprehend the Treaty was meant to be rigidly carried into Execution.

Q. What was the Nature of his Objections?

A. He thought he had made too great Conceſſions to Mr. Haſtings.

Q. In what Particulars?

A. In giving him too great an Authority in his Country.

Q. Was it upon the Faith of this Aſſurance only, that the Nabob was induced to ſign this Treaty?

A. I have Reaſon to believe, that the Nabob was principally influenced to give up his Objections, in Conſequence of the Arguments I held with him.

Q. Where was this particular Converſation, in which you gave him theſe Aſſurances, held with the Nabob?

A. It was not in one Converſation, but in many that I had with him upon the Subject of the Treaty.

Q. Whether thoſe Converſations were held with the Nabob, in his Tent on the other Side of the River, or in the Preſence of Mr. Haſtings?

A. They were not held in Preſence of Mr. Haſtings: I recollect to have had a pretty long Converſation with the Nabob, upon the Subject of the Treaty, the very Day he executed it; to the beſt of my Recollection, it was held in Mr. Haſtings's Room at Chunar; Mr. Haſtings was preſent, but it was not in his Hearing.

Q. Was

Q. Was Mr. Haſtings preſent?
A. Mr. Haſtings was in the Room; there was other Company with him.

Q. What leads you to aſcertain, that a Converſation held in his Room, and while he was preſent, was not in his Hearing?
A. I recollect very well retiring to a diſtant Part of the Room, with the Nabob and his Miniſter, where this Converſation was held; Mr. Haſtings having other Company with him at the Time in the Room.

Q. Do you recollect who the other Company were?
A. I do not particularly; they were Natives.

Q. Was the Treaty ſigned upon that Day when that Converſation was held?
A. It was ſigned upon that Day.

Q. How near to the Time of ſigning the Treaty did this Converſation in fact paſs?
A. I cannot exactly charge my Memory; perhaps an Hour or ſo, I don't imagine it could be more.

Q. Were the ſame Perſons preſent at ſigning the Treaty, who were preſent at this Converſation?
A. They were; Mr. Johnſon, and the Nabob's two Miniſters.

Q. Was the Treaty ſigned in the ſame Room where the Converſation was held?
A. It was.

Q. Were thoſe other Perſons you ſpoke of, the Natives about Mr. Haſtings, preſent at the Time the Treaty was ſigned?
A. I do not recollect; moſt probably ſome of them were.

Q. Was it at this Meeting, do you think, that the Nabob made the Offer of a Preſent of £100,000 to Mr. Haſtings?
A. I have nothing to guide me in giving an Opinion upon that Subject; I really do not know.

Q. Was you preſent when that Offer was made?
A. No, I was not.

Q. Might not the Nabob, in another Corner of the Room, have made Mr. Haſtings this Preſent of £100,000, while you and the Miniſters were negotiating this principal Article of the Treaty? Was it impoſſible for him to have made that Offer to Mr. Haſtings, at that Time, without your obſerving it?
A. I apprehend it is poſſible, but not very probable; as, to the beſt of my Recollection, the Miniſters were engaged during the whole Time I was in Converſation with the Nabob: they were Parties to the Converſation.

Q. Are you poſitive that you have no Recollection of the Perſons who were engaging Mr. Haſtings' Attention at the Time: Can you name the Perſons who were in the Room beſides the Nabob and the Two Miniſters that you have ſpoke of, yourſelf, Mr. Johnſon, and Mr. Haſtings?
A. I cannot recollect their Names: one Perſon preſent, I think, was Beneram Pundit, the Vackeel of the Berar Rajah.

Q. But you recollect no other Perſon's Name?
A. I do not.

Q. Can you recollect the Number of Perſons who were preſent?
A. I cannot: there were ſeveral, probably ſeveral of the Nabob's own Attendants; thoſe that came into the Room with the Nabob himſelf.

Q. What was your Motive for with-holding from Mr. Haſtings' Knowledge that which was the principal Inducement to the Nabob to ſign the Treaty?
A. I had no particular Motive; I conceived I was doing a Service to both Parties, in removing Objections to the ſigning of the Treaty; and I certainly did think (whether I was wrong or not, your Lordſhips will judge) that the main, the principal, and indeed the only Object of that Treaty, was to ſecure the Payment of the Company's Debt from the Nabob.

Q. Do you recollect whether it was, or was not, one of your Arguments to the Nabob to perſuade him to enter into the Treaty, that it was neceſſary Mr. Haſtings ſhould have ſomething to ſhew on his Side for the Conceſſions he had made in favour of the Nabob?
A. I believe that was one of the Arguments I uſed.

Q. Upon what Ground did you think Mr. Haſtings wanted that ſomething to ſhew?
A. I do not know that Mr. Haſtings required it; but it did appear to me neceſſary that ſomething ſhould be ſhewn.

Q. Upon what Ground did you think it neceſſary that ſomething ſhould be ſhewn?

A. As

A As great Conceſſions were made to the Nabob, I thought it right, on that Ground, that there ſhould be ſomething to ſhew on his Part; a great Portion of the Company's Troops were withdrawn from the Nabob's Service, ſome Eſtabliſhments under Britiſh Officers were alſo by the ſame Treaty aboliſhed.

Q. Were there any other Grounds for that Sort of Neceſſity you thought there was, for Mr. Haſtings to have ſomething to ſhew, as a Foundation for making the Conceſſions?

A. I do not recollect any other.

Here the Two laſt Queſtions and Anſwers were read over by the Clerk.

Q. Did you not afterwards declare to Mr. Haſtings, that you was ready to aſſert that the withdrawing thoſe Troops was an Advantage to the Company, and not a Detriment?

A. I cannot ſay whether I have ever ſaid ſo to Mr. Haſtings, or not; but my Opinion is ſo certainly, that it was an Advantage to the Company, and no Detriment; and for this Reaſon, becauſe the Nabob was abſolutely unable to pay them.

Q. Then, upon what Grounds was it that you thought that, Matter of Conceſſion, which was an Advantage to the Nabob?

A. It had that Appearance upon the Face of the Proceedings: the Reality might not be underſtood.

Q. Whether this Engagement on the Part of the Nabob, which you thought it neceſſary Mr. Haſtings ſhould have to ſhew, was that Part of the Engagement which was not to be fully and literally executed: the Part which you gave him Hopes would not be rigorouſly exacted?

A. Certainly.

Q. Whether if you had known of the Preſent of 100,000 l. then given to Mr. Haſtings, you would not have been able to have accounted for the Conceſſions made to the Nabob, without exacting from the Nabob any Treaty to ſhew?

A. As this appears to me Matter of Opinion only—I wiſh to know whether I am to ſpeak to it?

Q. Is there any Fact you know of that leads you to form any Opinion upon the Subject?

A. No.

Q. When did you firſt communicate to Mr. Haſtings that you had uſed theſe Arguments to induce the Nabob to ſign the Treaty?

A. I believe that will appear upon the Record.—If your Lordſhips will give me Leave, I will refer to the Letter. I do not recollect exactly the Date of it.

Q. Did you ever communicate it to Mr. Haſtings, otherwiſe than by the Letter, not in Converſation?

A. Certainly never.

Q. You never communicated it in Converſation to Mr. Haſtings?

A. No.

Q. What is the Date of that Letter?

A. The 30th December.

Q. That was after you left Chunar?

A. Yes.

Q. How long did you remain at Chunar after the Treaty was executed?

A. I left it, I believe, on the very next Day.

Q. Then you left it on the 20th of September?

A. I believe it muſt have been on the 20th of September.

Q. Did you ſee Mr. Haſtings between the Time you was preſent with him in the Room, when that Treaty was executed, and the Time of your leaving Chunar?

A. Yes: I did certainly.

Q. The ſame Day, or the next Day?

A. Both, I apprehend. With reſpect to the next Day, I cannot be quite certain. I rather think I did.

Q. What leads you to be certain that, during the Converſation you might have with him, either that Day or the next, you did not mention thoſe Aſſurances you had given the Nabob?

A. I think I ſhould have remembered it if I had mentioned it to him.

Q. What is the Date of that Letter?

A. It is dated the 30th December 1781.

Q. Was that the firſt Letter you wrote to Mr. Haſtings after you left Chunar?

A. No; I wrote him many Letters.

Q. But the firſt you remember in which you made any Communication of that Sort to Mr. Haſtings?
A. Yes.

Q. Upon what Occaſion did you make this Communication at laſt; what was your Inducement to make it then; do you recollect it?
A. Yes; it was in conſequence of ſome Complaints of Mr. Haſtings, of the tardy Execution of the Treaty.

Q. Did you not, after that Communication, receive Mr. Haſtings's peremptory Orders to carry the Treaty literally and fully into Effect?
A. Mr. Haſtings's Letter upon that Subject is upon Record. I hope your Lordſhips will permit me to refer to it.

Q. Did you receive any other Orders, than what are contained in that Letter?
A. I believe not; no other Orders than what are contained in the Letter upon Record.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, there were not private Letters from you to Mr. Haſtings, and from Mr. Haſtings to you, upon this Subject, which are not upon Record, and to which you paid equal Attention?
A. I believe there are no Letters from Mr. Haſtings, or from myſelf, relative to that Treaty, which are not upon Record.

Q. Did you not write private as well as publick Letters to Mr. Haſtings, during the Whole of that Tranſaction relative to the Begums?
A. Yes.

Q. Did you not receive Anſwers in the ſame Manner?
A. Yes.

Q. Where are Mr. Haſtings's private Letters upon Record; upon what Record; and where to be ſeen?
A. Upon the Records before this Court.

Q. The Queſtion was, whether, beſides thoſe Letters that are put upon Record, there were not ſome private Letters, which paſſed between Mr. Haſtings and you upon this Subject, that are not upon Record?
A. I believe not.
Q. You mean there are none ſuch?
A. Not upon the Subject of the Begums.
Q. What do you mean by being upon Record?
A. I have ſeen them in ſeveral Books; I was reading ſeveral of them in the Room, before I was called to the Bar.

Q. Do you recollect what Sort of Book it was you read them in; was it a printed Book?
A. Yes; it was a printed Book.

Q. Then, I underſtand in general, in your Language, you call that a Record which contains the Tranſmiſſion of the Correſpondence between the Reſident at Oude, for Example, and the Government at Calcutta?
A. Yes.

Q. Theſe were not put upon the Record in that Senſe of the Word: were they?
A. They were recorded by Mr. Haſtings in Calcutta.

Q. Upon what Occaſion?
A. I believe it was upon the Occaſion of the Charges made againſt me by the Governor General and Council. I believe, upon that Occaſion, theſe Letters were recorded.

Q. What was the Date of that Charge made againſt you?
A. I cannot charge my Memory with the particular Date, but it will appear from the Charge itſelf.

The Council for the Defendant acquainted the Houſe it was upon the 12th of June 1783.

Q. They were not put upon Record till then; and they were put upon Record on that Occaſion.
A. Yes.

Q. Have you ſeen your Letter Book? Do you know whether theſe Letters appear upon your own Letter Book?
A. No, they do not.

Q. How

Q. How came they not to appear upon thoſe Letter Books?
A. I never put upon Record any private Letter of Mr. Haſtings.

Q. What are thoſe Letter Books? What are they the Records of?
A. My official Correſpondence with the Government.

Q. Kept in the Office?
A. Yes, in the Office.

Q. So that they are what you call of Record?
A. Yes, the Record of my official Correſpondence with Mr. Haſtings and the Government.

Q. And you did not put theſe Letters upon thoſe Books?
A. I did not put any private Letter whatever upon thoſe Books.

Q. Did thoſe Letters relate to any Thing but public Matters——the Matters of your Miſſion?

A. I received Letters from Mr. Haſtings, from the firſt of my Appointment at Lucknow, in which publick Matters were occaſionally mixed with private Matters: The Letters that I now allude to, as having been recorded by Mr. Haſtings, ſeem to me to relate wholly to publick Matters.

Q. Had you not a Correſpondence with Sir Elijah Impey relative to the Tranſactions concerning the Begums?
A. I had.

Q. Does that Correſpondence appear upon any Record; and what?
A. It does not appear upon any Record that I know of, excepting when it was delivered by Sir Elijah Impey to the Honourable the Committee of the Houſe of Commons.

Q. Did you place any Part of that Correſpondence upon your own official Books?
A. No, certainly not.

Q. Whether Mr. Haſtings did not give you Copies of the Treaty of Chunar, or of either Part of it, before he left Chunar with the Nabob?

A. I am not quite clear whether he gave me a Copy, or not; I carried away with me the Originals of both Treaties: I have no Doubt he did give me Copies, though I do not immediately recollect it: The Originals were carried by me to Lucknow.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings give you the Originals of the Treaty, without keeping a Copy himſelf?
A. I underſtood Mr. Haſtings had no Copy of the Treaty, till I ſent it from Lucknow.

Q. Do you know how you came to have the Originals at all?
A. No; it was in the Hurry of ſetting out the next Day; they were mixed amongſt my other Papers, and I did not find out my Miſtake till I arrived at Lucknow, as I had no Opportunity of examining my Papers till I arrived there.

Q. Then do you or not know whether any Copy was preſerved by Mr. Haſtings?
A. I rather think not; I do not know for Certainty; but I rather think he had no Copy of it till afterwards when I ſent it from Lucknow.

Q. The Treaty having been ſigned on the 19th, and you leaving Chunar on the 20th, how came it ſo mixed up with your Papers that you could not readily find it; by what Accident was it, if it was an Accident?

A. I do not know by what Accident it came to be mixed with my Papers, but, in the Hurry of marching, I had no Opportunity of looking at my Papers till I arrived at Lucknow.

Q. Did you put your Papers together yourſelf, upon your Departure to Lucknow?
A. I rather think, Mr. Johnſon, who was my principal Aſſiſtant, put up the Papers.

Q. When did you firſt diſcover that you had that Original Treaty with you?
A. Very ſoon after my Arrival at Lucknow.

Q. How long was it before you ſent Mr. Haſtings a Copy of that Treaty?
A. My Letter upon that Subject will, I believe, aſcertain the Date.

Q. That was the firſt Time that you did?
A. Yes; I firſt ſent him Copies of the Treaties, and afterwards the Originals.

Q. When did you ſend the Original Treaty?
A. It muſt have been either the End of November or Beginning of December, I think; and I ſent them under the Charge of Colonel Hannay.

Q. Do you know whether that Letter appears upon Record?
A. I do not know whether it does or not; but I recollect very well ſending them by Colonel Hannay.

Q. Do you recollect to have received Letters from Mr. Haſtings, between the Time of ſending the Copies and the Originals, declaring to you, that he could not ſend his Narrative of the Tranſactions reſpecting the Begums to Calcutta, on Account of thoſe Treaties being abſent from him?

A. I recollect receiving a Letter from Mr. Haſtings, not exactly to that Purport, but declaring that he was prevented from ſending his Narrative, for Want of ſome of the Papers I had carried with me to Lucknow. I rather apprehend that meant, ſome of the Papers of the Eſtabliſhment, and other Papers that had been delivered to him at the Time the Treaty was in Negociation.

Q. Are the Letters upon Record the only Application you received from Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject?

A. I believe all the Letters I received from Mr. Haſtings upon that Subject are upon Record.

Q. Was it an authentic and atteſted Copy of the Treaty that you ſent to Mr. Haſtings, whenever you did ſend it?

A. I don't remember that it was any otherwiſe authenticated, than under my own Signature, declaring it to be a true Copy.

Q. Was the Application for the Original ſubſequent to your having ſent him a Copy?

A. Yes.

Q. For what Purpoſe, then, was the Original neceſſary when he had a Copy?

A. I did not underſtand he wanted the Treaty, but the Papers connected with the Treaty.

Q. Was there any other Reaſon why Mr. Haſtings ſhould apply to you for the Original, after having had an authenticated Copy?

A. I don't know any other Reaſon than that the Original was a Record of Office, which properly belonged to him.

Q. Before you ſent the Original, did you leave an authentic atteſted Copy of the Treaty in your Office at Lucknow?

A. It was authenticated under my own Signature as a true Copy.

Q. Was it left in your Office?

A. I have no Doubt of it.

Q. But you do not particularly remember the Circumſtance?

A. I do not particularly remember the Circumſtance, but I have no Doubt of it.

Q. Do you know what became of the Original Treaty after you ſent it?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Did you ever hear from Mr. Haſtings what became of it?

A. No; I never recollect hearing from Mr. Haſtings what he did with it; nor do I recollect ever having had an Acknowledgement from Mr. Haſtings that he had received it.

Q. You ſaid you ſent it by Colonel Hannay; did you, or did you not, wait for that Sort of Conveyance, in order to ſend it down?

A. Colonel Hannay was the firſt ſafe Opportunity that I recollect to have occurred, after Mr. Haſtings had called upon me for it.

Q. What was the Opportunity by which you ſent the Copy?

A. By the common Dawk or Poſt.

Q. Then you did not think the Opportunity by which you ſent the Copy ſafe enough for the Original?

A. No, certainly.

Q. Did you ever take any Notice to Mr. Haſtings, of his not having given you an Acknowledgment of the Receipt of that Original Treaty?

A. I did not: I took it for granted he had received it, as Colonel Hannay, who carried the Treaty, arrived ſafe at Chunar.

Q. Did you call upon him for any Acknowledgment?

A. I did not.

Q. Did you think it extraordinary, that you ſhould not have ſuch an Acknowledgment ſent?

A. No, I cannot ſay I did.

Q. Did Colonel Hannay return to Lucknow?

A. No, he did not return at that Time; but I think he returned afterwards; but I am not quite certain.

Q. Had you any Reaſon to know, of the Nabob or his Miniſter, while at Chunar, having made any Communication to Mr. Haſtings of that Part of your Converſation which was the Inducement with the Nabob to ſign the Treaty?

A. I do not know that they did, or that they did not.

Q. Had

Q. Had you any Converſation with Mr. Haſtings upon that Subject?
A. No, I had not. I have already ſtated that I had no Communication with Mr. Haſtings upon that Subject.

Q. Or did you converſe with the Nabob or his Miniſters afterwards upon that Subject?
A. It is very poſſible I might; I rather think I did.

Q. Did the Nabob or his Miniſter afterwards converſe with you upon the Subject of theſe Aſſurances you had given them?
A. I rather think I had Converſation upon that Subject.

Q. Was it Part of that Converſation, that it had been communicated to Mr. Haſtings?
A. No; it certainly was not: And I have no Reaſon to believe it was ever communicated to Mr. Haſtings, till my Letter upon the Subject communicated the Information to him.

Q. Are you poſitive, and have a perfect Recollection, that neither the Nabob, or his Miniſters, ever ſpoke to you, upon the Subject of thoſe Aſſurances having been communicated to Mr. Haſtings?
A. Certainly I am as clear as it is poſſible to be upon a Matter at ſuch a Diſtance of Time; I have ſpoken rather doubtfully of having had Converſation with the Nabob and his Miniſters upon the Subject; but I have no Doubt I had, becauſe I was in Converſation with them every Day upon what paſſed at Chunar; and no doubt that was a Part of the Converſation. But I am poſitive I had no Converſation with them about it, as having been communicated to Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Whether, while you and the Nabob were at Chunar, the Communication between Chunar and Lucknow was cut off?
A. The Communication was very difficult; I cannot ſay it was entirely cut off, but it was very much obſtructed, and it was with great Uncertainty that any Letters could be conveyed to or from Lucknow; I mean the common Mode of Communication by the Poſt; there certainly were Means of Communication, which I myſelf had Occaſion to employ, by diſpatching private Perſons with Letters, backwards and forwards.

Q. The Queſtion is, Whether that Species of Communication was perfectly free and open, or in any Degree embarraſſed and obſtructed?
A. It certainly was very difficult; for I have been obliged to make very large Conſiderations to thoſe that carried Letters; they conſidered it as a Service at the Riſque of their Lives, and inſiſted upon being paid accordingly.

Q. What Letters from Lucknow did you receive while you was at Chunar?
A. I do not recollect all the Letters I received; I received ſeveral from Lucknow, and other Places in the Province of Oude.

Q. Have you any Letters which you received, while you was at Chunar, from the Province of Oude?
A. It is impoſſible I can ſay whether I have or not, in a Multiplicity of Papers; it is very probable I may. I recollect to have received ſeveral Letters from Colonel Hannay, but I have none of them, becauſe every one of Colonel Hannay's Letters were delivered up to him at Lucknow, to refreſh his Memory, upon making his Affidavit before Sir Elijah Impey, and it did not occur to me to get them back from him.

Q. Have you ſeen any of the other Letters lately?
A. No, I have not.

Q. Are any of thoſe Letters which you received, while you were at Chunar, from Lucknow put upon any Thing you call a Record, either your own official Book, or the Books of the Government at Calcutta?
A. I do not know that they are.

Q. Upon your Return from Chunar to Lucknow, did you or did you not find Letters from Colonel Hannay addreſſed to you at Lucknow?
A. Yes, I believe I did.

Q. Did you deliver up theſe Letters alſo to Colonel Hannay to refreſh his Memory?
A. I delivered every Letter of Colonel Hannay's I could find, and I have no Doubt theſe were among the Letters I delivered up to him.

Q. Do you remember when it was, that you delivered theſe Letters to Colonel Hannay?
A. I do not recollect exactly the Time, but it was upon that Occaſion when he was called upon to make his Depoſition before Sir Elijah Impey.

Q. Did you not make Uſe of all the Information you received in thoſe Letters of Colonel Hannay's, in a Letter from you to Mr. Haſtings, previous to your delivering up this Correſpondence?
A. I did.

Q. Can you diſtinguiſh the Letters from which you collected that Information?
A. I believe the Dates of the Letters will appear; I extracted ſuch Parts of them as I thought were to the Purpoſe, or were of Conſequence to myſelf.

Q. So that your Letter to Mr. Haſtings purports to contain Extracts of the Letters and the Dates.
A. Yes; and I believe the Dates are aſcertained.

Q. Did you return with the Nabob from Chunar to Lucknow?
A. I did; the Nabob went round by Fyzabad; I left Chunar with the Nabob, but we ſeparated upon the Road; I went ſtrait to Lucknow, and he round by way of Fyzabad.

Q. Did Hyder Beg Khan go with you or with the Nabob?
A. To the beſt of my Recollection he went with me, ſtrait to Lucknow; I am pretty certain he did.

Q. In what Manner was the Nabob attended when he left you upon the Road?
A. He went with no great Attendance; he travelled as expeditiouſly as he poſſibly could, with his uſual Guard of Horſe, but no other that I recollect.

Q. Whether you underſtood that on the 19th September, when Mr. Haſtings ſigned the Treaty of Chunar, he then poſſeſſed full and complete Information of all the Circumſtances which were afterwards alledged againſt the Begums?
A. No; I apprehend he did not; it was impoſſible he could.

Q. Why was it ſtipulated in that Treaty that the Begums ſhould have an Equivalent for the Reſumption of their Jaghires?
A. I cannot ſay what might have been Mr. Haſtings's Reaſon for that Stipulation.

Q. Do you know upon what Grounds, either on the Side of Mr. Haſtings, or of the Nabob, it was, that that Stipulation was made?
A. No: I do not.

Q. Have you ever heard any Explanation of it from Mr. Haſtings?
A. I cannot ſay that I have.

Q. At the Time of the Execution of the Treaty of Chunar, was you apprized of the Treaty with the Begums, to which the Engliſh were Guarantees?
A. Certainly.

Q. Did you think that a Reaſon?
A. That might have been the Reaſon: I will not pretend to ſay it was.

Q. Did you think it an extraordinary Circumſtance that ſuch an Equivalent ſhould be ſtipulated upon the Reſumption of the Jaghires?
A. No; I did not.

Q. Had you any Converſation with the Nabob upon that Subject?
A. I cannot fix any Converſation in my Memory upon that Part of the Subject; but I have no Doubt but I converſed with him frequently upon the whole Subject.

Q. Had you no particular Converſation with the Nabob, or his Miniſters, reſpecting the Begums, at that Time?
A. It is very probable I had, but I cannot poſitively ſay: It was certainly very probable.

Q. Then I am to underſtand, that it was not a Matter of ſuch Importance, as to have left an Impreſſion of it upon your Mind?
A. I cannot ſay that it made an Impreſſion on my Memory, more than any other Parts of the Treaty; it certainly did not make any particular Impreſſion upon my Memory.

Q. Did you keep any Memorandums of the ſeveral Converſations and other Proceedings that you had upon that Treaty?
A. No.

Q. Had you any Converſation with Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject of the Begums, or of the Condition they were to be left in?
A. I do not recollect any particular Converſation farther than that they were to have a full Equivalent; it was to be made fully up to them by ready Money paid them.

Q. Had you any particular Converſation with the Nabob, while you continued on the Road, before you parted, reſpecting the Begums?
A. Not particularly, that I recollect.

Q. (*Croſs examined.*) You have ſaid Mr. Haſtings could not have obtained full and compleat Information upon the Subject of the Begums Behaviour in the Province; do you not know that, before you left Chunar, Mr. Haſtings had a conſiderable Quantity of Information upon that Subject?
A. I underſtood he had ſome Information upon the Subject, but to what Extent I cannot ſay.

Q. Do you recollect to have communicated to Mr. Haſtings, any Information upon the Subject of the Begums Behaviour at the Time you was at Chunar?

A. I certainly communicated all the Information I received, and ſome Letters of Colonel Hannay's, which I received at Chunar, I certainly communicated to Mr. Haſtings.

Q. What other Information had you received, at the Time you was at Chunar, upon that Subject?

A. I do not recollect that I received any other particular Information; I certainly had heard many general Reports.

Q. General Reports of what?

A. Of the Conduct of the Begums, in aſſiſting the Rebellion of the Rajah Cheit Sing.

Q. Were thoſe general Reports communicated by you to Mr. Haſtings?

A. The Reports were very general. I do not recollect that I made any particular Communication to Mr. Haſtings; he, moſt undoubtedly, had the ſame Opportunity of hearing them that I had.

Q. Do you, or do you not, remember, whether thoſe Reports, and the other Intelligence you had gotten of the Behaviour of the Begums, were Part of the Subject of your Converſations with Mr. Haſtings?

A. I do not particularly recollect it, though it undoubtedly was; it certainly muſt have been; it was the common Report of the Place, and of every Body, during my Reſidence at Chunar.

Q. What was the Subject of that Report?

A. That they had encouraged the Revolt of Rajah Cheit Sing; and that they had even aſſiſted him in raiſing Troops.

Q. Was it Part of the Report, that they had aſſiſted, or had any Share in the Diſturbances in Goruckpore?

A. I believe the Letters of Colonel Hannay ſpeak to that Subject: I do not recollect, at this Time, that I had any Information reſpecting the Part they had taken in thoſe Diſturbances.

Q. Was it a prevalent Report, while you was at Chunar, that the Begums had taken an active Part in the Diſturbances?

A. It was.

Q. Had you any Reaſon, and what, to doubt the Truth of that Report?

A. No; I had no Reaſon to doubt the Truth of it.

Q. Did you yourſelf believe the Truth of thoſe Reports?

A. I thought them very probable.

Q. Were they acted upon at the Time?

A. I believe not.

Q. Had you, upon further Inquiry, Reaſon to believe that the Begums had been active in thoſe Diſturbances?

A. Certainly, I did believe it perfectly.

Q. Can you ſpecify any particular Acts, in which they were concerned?

A. I underſtood, from the Information of Colonel Hannay and others, that Troops had actually been ſent from Fyzabad to Benares, by the Begums' Eunuchs, or through their Aſſiſtance, to the Support of Rajah Cheit Sing.

Q. By whom were thoſe Troops levied and paid?

A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay.

Q. Did the ſame Report, which informed you they had been ſent to Benares, inform you they had been levied and paid by the Begums?

A. I believe it did: It was the Report, that Money had been advanced by the Begums to thoſe Troops.

Q. What Number of Troops were ſpecified, in that Report, to be ſent by the Begums from Fyzabad?

A. I think a Thouſand Men at one Time.

Q. Do you know what Number of Troops the Begums had at any Time in their Pay?

A. It is impoſſible to ſay with any Preciſion; their Jaghires were very extenſive, and in different Places; and they had large Bodies of Troops, employed for the Collection of their Revenues, in all thoſe Jaghires.

Q. As near as you can recollect, how many did the Number amount to, in the ſeveral Jaghires in which they were employed?

A. My Anſwer to that muſt be very doubtful: I ſhould ſuppoſe, they might altogether be able to muſter Ten Thouſand Men.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know what Force the Begums retained about themſelves at Fyzabad, where their Reſidence was, not immediately employed in the Collection of their Jaghires?
A. In general they did not keep many Troops at Fyzabad, I believe.

Q. Do you know how many; did they keep any?
A. Some; but not more than was neceſſary for the Guard of their Palace and their Perſons.

Q. What might that Number be?
A. It might be a Thouſand Men.

Q. Do you know what Number of Troops they had about Fyzabad, in the Months of Auguſt, September, and October 1781; or the greateſt Number they had at that Time?
A. I cannot ſay that I know. At the Time we went to Fyzabad to ſeize upon the Begums Treaſure, they had about 5000 Men in the Town.

Q. When was that?
A. In January 1782; but I cannot tell what Number they had in Auguſt, September, and October 1781.

Q. But had they any extraordinary Number, above the Thouſand Men you ſtated?
A. I do not know that they had.

Q. You have ſaid the Communication between Chunar and Lucknow was much obſtructed, at the Time you was at Chunar—ſtate what was the Occaſion of that Obſtruction?
A. The general Diſorder throughout the Country.

Q. What Sort of Diſorder are you ſpeaking of?
A. Inſurrections.

Q. By whom?
A. Inſurrections by the Natives of the Country, by the Zemindars; and alſo in Cheit Sing's Country, of courſe, by the Dependents of the Rajah; in the Province of Oude, by the Inſurrection of the Zemindars; and in the Province of Benares, by the Adherents of Rajah Cheit Sing.

Q. Do you know the Cauſe of the Inſurrection of the Zemindars in the Province of Oude?
A. I cannot ſay I know it of my own Knowledge: The Report was, that they had been encouraged to it by Rajah Cheit Sing; that they had received Promiſes of Sums of Money: But I ſpeak from Report, not from any Knowledge I had of the Fact.

Q. Do you know a Perſon of the Name of Shumſheer Khan?
A. I have heard of ſuch a Perſon.

Q. What was his Situation?
A. He was Phouſdar or Governor of Tanda, a Place in the Begums Jaghire.

Q. Was he an Officer under them, or under the Nabob?
A. Under the Begums.

Q. Was he employed in the Collection of their Revenue, or to manage their Concerns in that Diſtrict?
A. I underſtood him to be placed there to collect their Revenues.

Q. Was Shumſheer Khan an adopted Son of one of the Begums Miniſters?
A. I underſtood he was; he had been originally the Slave, and was afterwards adopted as the Son, of Bahar Ali Khan.

Q. Do you know of any Acts of Hoſtility committed by Shumſheer Khan, againſt any Britiſh Officer, during the Time of thoſe Diſturbances?
A. I know it only from the Information of Captain Gordon.

Q. Did you tranſmit that Information to Mr. Haſtings?
A. I think the firſt Information of the Tranſaction to which this alludes, was received at Chunar before I left it; and of courſe communicated to Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Was that any Part of the Reaſons alluded to by you in your Letter of the 17th September 1781, where you ſay, 'When I had laſt the Honour of ſeeing you, I more than once urged my 'Reaſons for thinking that the Rebellion of Rajah Cheit Sing was but a Part of a larger and 'more extenſive Plan, which was, by the good Fortune of your Arrival, prematurely brought 'forward before all the Parties to it were united and properly prepared for Action (*a*)"?
A. I have no Doubt it was.

The Managers for the Commons informed the Houſe, that this Letter was miſprinted in the Calcutta Narrative, the 17 September for the 17 October, as appeared by the Original.

(*a*) Vide Narrative of the Inſurrection at Banaris, Calcutta Edit. Appendix, Part 1. P. 64,—& ſupra, P. 182.

Q. Are

Q. Are the ſeveral Facts ſuggeſted and the Information contained in this Letter true, to the beſt of your Knowledge?

A. I certainly believed them, or I ſhould not have tranſmitted them to Mr. Haſtings.

Q. How far is Tanda, the Situation of the Begums Jaghire, from Fyzabad?

A. I cannot ſpeak with any Preciſion; I ſhould imagine about 28 or 30 Miles, but I ſpeak without any poſitive Information upon the Matter.

Q. From your Knowledge of the Situation of Shumſheer Khan, and his Dependance upon the Begums, do you believe he would have engaged in any Act of Hoſtility againſt the Engliſh Intereſt, unleſs he had been authorized and encouraged in it by the Begums?

A. I ſhould apprehend, ſpeaking from Opinion, that he would not have ventured upon ſuch a Step, as I ſuppoſe he did take, without being aſſured of the Protection of the Begums.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* Is that your Opinion now?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. *(by the Counſel.)* What was your Opinion at the Time; and did you intimate to Mr. Haſtings, that your Belief was, that the Begums had uſed every Means in their Power, to promote and encourage the Rebellion of Rajah Cheit Sing?

A. I believe I have ſtated my Opinion to be ſuch, in the Letter juſt now alluded to?

Q. Was it your Opinion?

A. Certainly.

Q. Did you communicate that Opinion to Mr. Haſtings?

A. It is the Opinion communicated to Mr. Haſtings in the Letter.

Q. Is that your Opinion now?

A. It certainly is.

Q. Was that the prevalent Opinion in the Country?

A. I believe it was the univerſal Opinion.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Witneſs having, upon the Croſs Examination (*a*), ſpoken of Reports relative to the Conduct of the Begums, concerning which he had had Converſation with Mr. Haſtings, and having, upon his Examination in Chief, ſworn that he never had any Converſation with Mr. Haſtings reſpecting the Begums, of ſuch Importance as to leave any Impreſſion upon his Memory, they deſired the Examination in Chief of the Witneſs, as to that Point, might be read.

The ſame was read by the Clerk, as follows:

Q. "Had you no particular Converſation reſpecting the Begums with the Nabob, or his Miniſters, at that Time?

A. It is very probable I had; but I cannot poſitively ſay; it was certainly very probable.

Q. Then, am I to underſtand it was not upon any Matter of ſuch Importance as to have left an Impreſſion upon your Mind of it?

A. I cannot ſay it made an Impreſſion upon my Memory more than any other Part of the Treaty; certainly it did not make any particular Impreſſion.

Q. Did you keep any Memorandum of the ſeveral Converſations and other Proceedings which you had upon that Treaty?

A. No.

Q. Had you any Converſation with Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject of the Begums, or the Condition they were to be left in?

A. I do not recollect any particular Converſation, farther than that they were to have a full Equivalent; it was to be made fully up to them by ready Money paid them.

Q. Had you any particular Converſation with the Nabob, when you continued upon the Road with him, before you parted, reſpecting the Begums?

A. Not particularly, that I recollect."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. (*by the Managers.*) You have ſaid, you did not think it extraordinary that an Equivalent ſhould be ſtipulated for the Begums Jaghires: If you believed this Report of the Begums Behaviour, why did you not think that extraordinary?

A. The Reports, though general, were certainly not proved, and could not therefore, I conceive, be made an Objection againſt giving an Equivalent for what was taken away from them at this Time.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 110.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether thoſe Reports of Diſaffection and Hoſtility, from whatever Quarter they came, were not equally pointed againſt the Nabob and againſt Saadit Ali Khan his Brother?
A. Some of them were certainly.

Q. Whether all the Reports you heard relative to the Begums, and their Indiſpoſition, did not apply, without any Exception, both to the Nabob and to the Nabob's Brother?
A. I believe they were only contained in the Informations of Colonel Hannay and thoſe Officers that were with him; I do not recollect that it was any Part of the general Report.

Q. Do you, or do you not remember, whether the Information which Colonel Hannay ſent you, applied as well to the Nabob and the Nabob's Brother, as to the Begums?
A. It certainly did imply ſome Suſpicions of the Nabob and his Brother Saadit Ali, as well as of the Begums?

Q. The Queſtion is, Whether it applied as fully to the Nabob and his Brother, as to the Begums?
A. I believe not ſo fully; but I beg to refer to the Letters themſelves.

Q. Concerning the other Informations and Reports you mentioned, whether they did not all apply as well to the Nabob and his Brother as to the Begums?
A. I do not think they did; I do not believe they did.

Q. Have you ever read the Affidavits that were taken before Sir Elijah Impey?
A. I have read ſome, and probably all of them at different Times; but I cannot ſay I recollect the Contents of them at this Diſtance of Time.

Q. Do you recollect whether there is any One of thoſe Affidavits, that does not ſtate Reports equally ſtrong againſt the Nabob and his Brother, as againſt the Begums?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to this Queſtion, as going to the Witneſs's Recollection of what another Perſon wrote, on a Subject in which the Witneſs was not at all concerned.

Q. Did you, or did you not, receive a Letter from Capt. M'Donald while you was at Chunar?
A. I do recollect a Letter being received; it was not immediately from Capt. M'Donald; but it had been ſeized by ſome Party of Rajah Cheit Sing, and carried to him; it was an intercepted Letter.

Q. From whom, and to whom?
A. It was from Capt. M'Donald directed to myſelf, it was intercepted by ſome Party of Rajah Cheit Sing's, and carried to the Rajah, from thence it was ſent to me by an Engliſh Gentleman, a Jew, that happened to be along with Cheit Sing.

Q. It was ſent you to Chunar?
A. It was; I received it at Chunar?

Q. Was that Letter from Capt. M'Donald, in Point of Date, the firſt Information that you received upon the Subject of the Indiſpoſition of the Begums?
A. I cannot ſay whether it was the firſt or not, or whether ſome of Colonel Hannay's might not have been prior to it.

The Managers for the Commons deſired the Letter might be read to the Witneſs.

Read, the following Extract from the Appendix, Part 2, to the Benares Narrative, Num. 95, beginning at Page 117 of the ſame.

" My dear Nat.

" In ſuch critical Times as theſe, every Man has a Right to relate what he hears: A Friend ſhould and may do it without Impropriety; therefore, before Hannay leaves the Neighbourhood of Fyzabad, I write you my News and Opinion, leſt hereafter our Communication be cut off. There is certainly Villainy abroad. The Nabob, 'tis ſaid, ſet out well inclined to our Intereſt, but, ſince, he and Saadut Ally have come to a proper Underſtanding. The latter wrote him, he was wrong to give us any Aſſiſtance; that ſuch another Opportunity might never offer of ſtriking off the Yoke; as yet he need only ſtand neuter himſelf, and, under Pretence of aſſembling his Zemeedars to attack Cheit Sing, privately direct them to obſtruct the Junction of our Forces by every poſſible Means. The Begums gave the ſame Advice, and Promiſe of Money. *This*, Cheit Sing has already diſburſed, to a great Amount. This Plan was the Cauſe of Gordon's Diſaſter; being attacked in the Nabob's Country, while he thought himſelf amongſt Friends. My Information is from ſome Zemeedars, who I have had it in my Power to be kind to. Alſo, it is the publick Talk of Fyzabad, where my People are daily inſulted. Likewiſe Zalim (who is with 2000 Men on the other Side, and means to croſs in the Morning) boaſts that he will ſoon do for us, as the Nabob will ſend Hannay no Aſſiſtance, that he is ſure of, nor will any of the Collectors pay more Money; we ſhall, therefore, ſhortly have none to pay our Troops with—while they have Plenty. Hannay is now about Two Coſs below

Ry Ghaut, on the Oude Side, with only Two Companies, Two Guns, and (I believe) ſome diſaffected Horſe. I have written him preſſingly to croſs to this Place, for ſhould Zalim be over before him, I ſhall be hemmed up in a ſmall Fort with One Hundred and Fifty Sepoys, when Zalim will take Care Hannay does not get over to relieve me; perhaps, while attempting to paſs the Gogra, be attacked by the People of the Begums, with the Zemeedars ſet on by her. In ſuch an Event, he could not poſſibly eſcape Deſtruction: My Wauſſelaut would ſoon be ſettled after ſuch an Accident. I am apt to think this Marattah Treaty is only a Fetch to gain Time, until the Rains are over for certain, as their Horſe could not act during that Seaſon. Look to yourſelf, Nat. you may be in the Nabob's Power. Mr. Haſtings ſhould not leave Chunar, until there be Force very ſufficient at Hand, both to check his Excellency, and do for Cheit Sing, leſt he get into a worſe Scrape. A very few Days will determine it one way or other, with Regard to us Rulers over theſe. You may think me humming, but it is more than Odds we never, never meet again. God proſper You, and pray take Care, &c.

"Amore,
9th September 1781.

"Yours, &c.
J. Macdonald (*a*)."

Q. Do you remember this Letter?
A. I do.

Q. Did you communicate this Letter to Mr. Haſtings?
A. I delivered the Letter to him.

Q. Where?
A. At Chunar.

Q. Do you not know that Mr. Haſtings received numerous Intimations and Cautions againſt the Nabob Vizier?
A. I believe he did receive ſome.

Q. Can you tell whether they were or were not numerous?
A. I cannot tell.

Q. Did you believe the Reports, as applied to the Vizier and Saadit Ali, as well as to the Begums?
A. I certainly did not believe them, as they applied to the Vizier, with whom I happened to be at the Time; but, with reſpect to Saadit, I cannot ſpeak with the ſame Certainty.

Q. Do you believe them at this Moment, with reſpect to Saadit Ali?
A. I can only ſpeak from what is upon the Records: Mr. Haſtings acquits Saadit Ali of any Views of that kind; I cannot now form any Opinion of them.

Q. Whether thoſe general Reports, concerning the Begums, did not aſſert, that the Objects of the Begums were, as well to dethrone the Nabob, as to extirpate or injure the Engliſh?
A. I think they were, to the beſt of my Recollection.

Q. But as to the Point of dethroning him?
A. I cannot ſay ſo generally as that, but they were hoſtile to him.

Q. Whether upon your Oath you have not ſo ſtated it?
A. I do not recollect that I have.

Q. Did you not think it an extraordinary Circumſtance that the Nabob ſhould go with ſo ſmall an Attendance through Fyzabad, which was the Head Quarters of the Rebels, at the very Moment the Rebellion exiſted?
A. The Nabob's Guard at this Time was about 2000 Horſe, and I underſtood at this Time that the Diſorders of the Country had a good deal ſubſided.

Q. Whether you did, or not, think it extraordinary he ſhould go with a Guard of 2000 Horſe, under the Circumſtances you have repreſented the Country to have been in, or to have been reported, at leaſt, to be in?
A. No, I did not think it extraordinary; 2000 Horſe I ſhould think ſufficient to have repelled any Force that might be diſpoſed to obſtruct him.

Q. You ſaid the Nabob parted with you to travel as faſt as he could, round by Fyzabad, with thoſe Horſe; did you underſtand the Nabob to go to pay a Viſit to his Mother, or to ſuppreſs an Inſurrection?
A. To pay a Viſit, I underſtood.

Q. Did you remonſtrate to the Nabob upon the Danger of paying a friendly Viſit at that Time?
A. No, certainly not.

Q. Whether you did not make an Affidavit before Sir Elijah Impey?
A. I did.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 211.

Q. Does

Q. Does not that Affidavit purport to contain the Whole of the Truth which you knew reſpecting the Begums?

A. Every Thing that I know of my own Knowledge certainly.

Q. When did you ſee Colonel Hannay, after the Affair of Shumſheer Cawn's ſuppoſed ill Conduct to Captain Gordon?

A. About Two Months afterwards, to the beſt of my Recollection; the Accident to Captain Gordon happened in September, and I think I ſaw Colonel Hannay in November.

Q. Was that before Sir Elijah Impey arrived at Lucknow?

A. About that Time.

Q. Do you remember the Arrival of Sir Elijah Impey?

A. Yes.

Q. Was your Converſation with Colonel Hannay, reſpecting Captain Gordon's Affair, at the Time you delivered him up the Letters?

A. I believe it was about that Time.

Q. What Circumſtance did Colonel Hannay relate to you reſpecting Captain Gordon's Situation, and his Eſcape upon that Occaſion?

A. I cannot ſay I recollect particularly the Converſation Colonel Hannay had, further than relating the Accident he had met with, and the narrow Eſcape that he had had: He mentioned, at the ſame Time, that he had had ſome Correſpondence with the Begums upon the Subject.

Q. Did he not inform you of the Purport of that Correſpondence between him and the Begum?

A. Not in particular; he only informed me in general, that it was an amicable Correſpondence.

Q. Did you not learn from it that the Begums had in Fact reſcued Captain Gordon from the Situation he was in at Tanda?

A. I underſtood from Colonel Hannay, that the Begums had reſcued Captain Gordon, and ſent him under a protecting Guard to Colonel Hannay.

Q. Did you not depoſe upon Oath, before Sir Elijah Impey, every Circumſtance that you knew againſt the Begums?

A. I apprehend I did; I knew very little, of my own Knowledge, reſpecting the Begums, as I happened to be, during the Time of the Troubles, with Mr. Haſtings at Chunar. I aſſerted very little upon my own Knowledge.

Q. But you aſſerted all that you did know of your own Knowledge?

A. Yes.

Q. Does not that Affidavit contain alſo Aſſertions of Hearſay which came to your Knowledge?

A. I would wiſh the Affidavit to be read; I cannot ſay I can recollect, at this Time, what I did ſay then.

Then the following Paſſage of the Witneſs's Affidavit was read to him, from the Appendix to the Benares Narrative, Num. 9. A. (*a*)

'That he heard, at the Time, and believed, and does ſtill believe, that much Encouragement, and ſome actual Aid, in the raiſing of Troops, was given Rajah Cheyt Sing, by Bahar Ali Cawn, and Jewar Ali Cawn, the Two principal Eunuchs and Counſellors of the Vizier's Mother, at Fyzabad; and that their Conduct, as well as that of their Dependants, during the Continuance of the Diſturbances at Benares, manifeſted a ſtrong Diſaffection to the Engliſh.'

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Do you mean to ſay, you did intend to comprize in that Affidavit not only all that you knew of your perſonal Knowledge, but all that you had heard from Report?

A. Yes, in general all I had heard upon the Subject.

Q. Why then did not you depoſe to this Hiſtory that you heard from Colonel Hannay, of the Begums having delivered Captain Gordon, and ſent him under a protecting Guard?

A. The Reaſon I did not was, becauſe at the Time Colonel Hannay gave me this Hiſtory, he mentioned a Circumſtance that gave me Reaſon to pay very little Attention to what the Begums did; which was, that he conſidered Captain Gordon to be entirely at the Mercy ofthe Begums, and he thought it a Piece of Policy to temporize with the Begums, and to write them friendly Letters; and to thoſe Letters he did impute at the Time the Safety of Colonel Gordon.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 255, 6th Line from the Bottom.

Q. Was

Q. Was that the whole Reaſon you had, for not inſerting the Particulars of that Hiſtory in your Affidavit?

A. It was: I had not ſeen the Letters that paſſed between Colonel Hannay and the Begums; it was only mentioned generally by Colonel Hannay.

Q. Whatever the Begums Motives were, was not you in fact apprized that Shumſheer Cawn, inſtead of being encouraged by the Begums to diſtreſs Captain Gordon, had in fact ſaved and protected him under their Orders?

A. As far as I informed your Lordſhips, I certainly was; at the ſame Time I was not apprized that the Begums had taken any Notice of the Behaviour of Shumſheer Cawn, as it was repreſented by Captain Gordon, but that he was continued there in his Office the ſame as he was before.

Q. I underſtand you to ſay that you were then appriſed that the Begums had taken no Notice of the Behaviour of Sumſhire Cawn?

A. I was appriſed that they had not taken Notice of his Behaviour, but continued him in his Office.

Q. Was you not appriſed that the Begums upon the Firſt Intimation from Colonel Hannay that Captain Gordon was in any Danger, had ſent an Eſcort of Troops to reſcue him from that Danger?

A. I heard thatthey had.

Q. At that Time you were appriſed of it?

A. I was.

Q. Was you not appriſed that Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon, after Captain Gordon was in Safety with Colonel Hannay, had written a Letter of Thanks and Gratitude to the Begum and her Miniſters?

A. I was certainly appriſed, from what Colonel Hannay had ſaid, that he had written Letters to the Begums upon that Subject: I do not recollect that I heard, that Captain Gordon had written Letters upon that Subject.

Q. Was you appriſed of a Letter from Captain Gordon to the Begum in the following Words?

" A Copy of an Addreſs from Mr. Gordon to the Begum.

" Begum Saib, of exalted Dignity and Generoſity, whom God preſerve.

" After preſenting the uſual Profeſſions of Servitude, &c. in the cuſtomary Manner, my Addreſs is permitted.

" Your gracious Letter, in Anſwer to the Petition of your Servants from Goondah, exalted me. From the Contents, I am become unſpeakably impreſſed with the Honour it conferred. May the Almighty protect that Royal Purity, and beſtow Happineſs, Increaſe of Wealth, and Proſperity!

" The Welfare of your Servant is entirely owing to your Favour and Benevolence.

" A few Days have elapſed ſince I arrived at Goondah, with the Colonel Saib.

" This is preſented for your Highneſs's Information. I cheriſh Hopes from your Generoſity, that, conſidering me in the Light of One of your Servants, always continue to exalt and honour me with your gracious Letters.

" May the Sun of Proſperity continually ſhine."

Q. Was you apprized of Captain Gordon's having written this Letter, after he arrived in Safety to Colonel Hannay?

A. Not till I ſaw the Letter.

Q. Did you ſee the Letter at the Time?

A. Not at the Time.

Q. Do you remember when you firſt ſaw it?

A. It was towards the End of the Year 1782 that I firſt ſaw the Letter.

Q. Upon what Principle did you think yourſelf juſtified, when you were ſwearing to all you knew reſpecting the Begums, to conceal the Circumſtance you now confeſſed?

A. I have informed your Lordſhips what induced me to give it very little Credit, which was the Explanation given me by Colonel Hannay at the Time, of the Motives for his writing friendly Letters to the Begum.

Q. Whether Shumſheer Cawn was not afterwards delivered up to you by the Begums?

A. He was delivered up to the Nabob.

Q. After the Storming of Fyzabad?

A. Yes.

Q. Was

Q. Was he delivered to you, or to the Nabob?
A. He was delivered up to the Nabob certainly; but I believe he was afterwards delivered over by the Nabob to my Guard.

Q. What Charge did you then prefer againſt him, or what Means did you take to diſcover the Truth of his Conduct at Tanda?
A. At that Time, none.

Q. Was not Shumſhire Cawn almoſt immediately releaſed after he was put under your Care?
A. Very ſoon after he was put into my Care. I left Lucknow, and went on Leave of Abſence from Lucknow; and I left Mr. Johnſon in Charge of my Office, and during my Abſence he was releaſed.

Q. How long was it after the Time he was firſt committed to your Care?
A. About a Month, I believe.

Q. Was any Examination taken, or Means uſed, to diſcover the Truth of Shumſhire Cawn's Conduct?
A. No, not by me; not at all.

Q. Do you know of any being taken in your Office by Mr. Johnſon, or any Body elſe?
A. No, I do not.

Q. Where was Mr. Scott's Factory?
A. At Tanda.

Q. Where did Captain Gordon reſide while he was at Tanda?
A. I don't know; probably in Mr. Scott's Factory: But I cannot ſay.

Q. Had not Mr. Scott the Monopoly of Cloths in thoſe Provinces?
A. He carried on a conſiderable Trade there; I cannot ſay he had a Monopoly.

Q. Do you know what Monopoly means?
A. Yes.

Q. Had he the excluſive Right of trading there?
A. No, not at this Time.

Q. Had he a great Manufactory there?
A. Yes, he had.

Q. Had you any Complaint, during the Whole of the Troubles of that Time, that Shumſhire Cawn, or any other Perſon upon the Part of the Begums, had diſturbed Mr. Scott, or any other Perſons, or their Servants or Workmen, or any Engliſhman there ſettled?
A. I do not recollect that I had.

Q. Did not the Begum herſelf deliver up Shumſhire Cawn, expreſſing her Aſtoniſhment, that any ſuch Report ſhould prevail to his Diſadvantage?
A. I do not recollect that ſhe did.

Q. Did not the Begum ſend Copies of the Correſpondence between her and Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon to you, juſt previous to the delivering him up?
A. No; I do not recollect ſhe did.

Q. Do you ſay, you do not recollect it?
A. Not at that Time; about a Twelvemonth afterwards, they were brought by Major Gilpin.

Q. When Sir Elijah Impey was taking Depoſitions at Lucknow reſpecting this Affair at Tanda, did they call upon Mr. Scott to give any Information upon the Subject?
A. I really do not know whether he was, or that he was not: His Affidavit, I imagine, will appear, if he was called upon.

Q. Do you know whether he was or was not called upon?
A. I do not.

Q. Did not Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon make Depoſitions before Sir Elijah Impey?
A. They did.

Q. Did either of them mention the Circumſtance of the Begum's having reſcued Captain Gordon?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to the Queſtion.

Q. Was not Captain Gordon a Military Collector under Colonel Hannay?
A. He was one of the Officers under Colonel Hannay. I will not take upon myſelf to ſay in what Manner Colonel Hannay employed him.

Q. Was

Q. Was Colonel Hannay a Military Collector?
A. He was.

Q. Do you know, what the Danger that Captain Gordon fell into was owing to?
A. No, I do not: Captain Gordon has ſtated the Whole in a very long Letter.

Q. Do you know any Thing of it, beſides what is contained in that Letter?
A. No, I do not.

Q. (*by the Counſel.*) Do you know where Captain Gordon is at preſent?
A. I believe, in London; I ſaw him a few Days ago.

Q. Do you not know whether he is come from abroad on Purpoſe to give Evidence here?
A. I underſtand he is come from abroad for that Purpoſe, if he ſhould be called upon.

Q. Do you know what Degree of Danger Captain Gordon was in when the Begums protected him?

A. I did not underſtand he was under any Reſtraint; he remained at Tanda till they ſent the Eſcort to take him away.

Q. Whether the Force that had been under the Command of Captain Gordon had been diſperſed by Means of Shumſheer Khan and his People, before the Begum ſent to deliver him?
A. I know no more of that Tranſaction than what is recorded by Captain Gordon himſelf.

Q. *(by a Lord.)* Whether you preſerved or deſtroyed thoſe private Letters which you received from Time to Time from Mr. Haſtings, and which you have ſtated to relate to publick Buſineſs, in Whole or in Part?

A. I cannot ſay I preſerved them in Whole: I may have ſome of them; I have no doubt but I have ſome of them.

Q. Did you or did you not take and preſerve Copies of your Anſwers to thoſe private Letters?
A. Not entirely; of ſome undoubtedly I did.

Q. What is become of thoſe Copies?
A. I have ſome of them undoubtedly; I cannot ſay that I have complete Copies of them.

Q. Did you communicate the Circumſtance of Shumſheer Khan's not being animadverted upon by the Begums, as a Circumſtance that you gave Credit to in Proof of their Diſaffection?
A. No; I do not recollect that I made any Communication of it.

Q. If I underſtand you right, you ſay the Treaty of Chunar was in Two Parts; One diſtinctly the Conceſſions made by Mr. Haſtings, the other Part diſtinctly the Conceſſions made by the Nabob; were there Counterparts of both thoſe two Parts of the Agreement executed by the reſpective Parties?
A. Not that I know of.

Q. Were both thoſe Parts put by Accident among your Papers when you went to Lucknow?
A. They were; both of them.

Q. Then the Nabob had no original Part?
A. The Original, upon his Part, was delivered to the Nabob.

Q. How many Inſtruments were ſigned on one Side, or on the other, at the Time of the Treaty of Chunar, on the 19th of September?
A. Two.

Q. A Part, and a Counterpart?
A. Yes.

Q. Both thoſe you had in your Poſſeſſion?
A. Yes.

Q. Then what do you mean by ſaying the Nabob had the Original?
A. The Nabob had the Part the Governor General had ſigned.

Q. Then you could not have both in your Poſſeſſion?
A. For a Time I had.

Q. When was that other delivered to the Nabob?
A. The very next Day, I believe.

Q. Whether there were Duplicates of theſe Two Parts executed by Mr. Haſtings and the Nabob?
A. I believe not.

Q. Then did you carry to Lucknow the two Parts, the Part containing the Conceſſions to Mr. Haſtings, and the Part containing the Conceſſions to the Nabob?
A. I carried all the Papers relating to that Treaty.

Q. If

Q. If you were in Poſſeſſion of both thoſe Parts of the Agreement, of which there were no Duplicates executed, could the Nabob be in Poſſeſſion of either Part in the mean Time?

A. It was delivered to him as ſoon as it could be after its Execution.

Q. Where was it delivered to him?

A. I cannot ſay whether at Chunar, or the next Day when I joined him on the other Side of the River; but it certainly was delivered to him and in his Poſſeſſion, where I ſaw it frequently afterwards.

Q. I have underſtood you that both theſe Parts were found in your Poſſeſſion when you went to Lucknow?

A. No, not when I went to Lucknow.

Q. When did you find thoſe Parts in your Poſſeſſion; you are underſtood to have ſaid this,—that there were two Inſtruments ſigned, one by the Nabob, of the Contracts that he made in favour of the Company, and the other by Mr. Haſtings, of the Contracts that the Company made in favour of the Nabob: You are underſtood alſo to have ſaid, there were no Duplicates of thoſe Inſtruments executed, and that both thoſe original Inſtruments were carried by you to Lucknow?

A. Yes.

Q. Then the Nabob could not poſſibly have it?

A. I cannot ſay when it was delivered to the Nabob; but that it was delivered is certain, for it is in his Poſſeſſion now.

Q. Do you know when he was firſt put in Poſſeſſion of it?

A. I cannot ſay.

Q. What was it you delivered to Colonel Hannay to carry to Mr. Haſtings?

A. The Part of the Treaty that pledged the Nabob to certain Conditions.

Q. One Part of the Treaty only?

A. One Part of the Treaty only.

Q. Then what became of the other Part which you did not tranſmit by Colonel Hannay?

A. That Part was lodged with the Nabob certainly.

Q. I underſtand you to have ſaid, that you told the Nabob, and the Nabob's two Miniſters, that his the Nabob's Part of the Engagement was not to be literally fulfilled, and that Mr. Haſtings ſhould have ſomething to ſhew: Did you or did you not at that Time give the Nabob to underſtand that you gave ſuch Aſſurances on the Part of Mr. Haſtings, or that ſuch Aſſurances were not given on the Part of Mr. Haſtings; which was it?

A. I wiſhed him to underſtand that I ſpoke only according to my own Belief of the Tenor and Object of the Treaty; I certainly did not tell him that I had any Authority from Mr. Haſtings, nor do I believe he thought I had.

Q. Whether the Nabob, or either of his Miniſters, did or did not expreſs or intimate a Wiſh that Mr. Haſtings, who was then in the Room, ſhould confirm the Aſſurances you gave them in the Manner you did?

A. I do not recollect they did.

Q. Are you poſitive whether you ever had or had not from Mr. Haſtings either ſpecial or general Inſtructions or Permiſſion to make any Aſſurance of the Kind you have mentioned; or do you mean we ſhould underſtand that you gave thoſe Aſſurances entirely unauthoriſed by Mr. Haſtings?

A. I do not believe Mr. Haſtings ever did give me any Authority whatever for communicating ſuch Aſſurances: I communicated them only, as founded on my own Belief of what was the Object and the principal Aim of the Treaty, namely, the Recovery of the Company's Debt from the Nabob: I ſtated it ſo to the Nabob.

Q. Whether that Belief was founded upon any Converſation with Mr. Haſtings, reſpecting the Object of the Treaty?

A. I have no Doubt but it was; and even Mr. Haſtings's Inſtructions, I believe, will ſerve to confirm that Belief.

Q. Then when you gave thoſe Aſſurances to the Nabob, you thought you were giving Aſſurances conformable to Mr. Haſtings's Intention, with reſpect to the Execution of the Treaty?

A. I certainly did conceive I was.

Q. (*By the Managers.*) When you communicated to Mr. Haſtings this Argument, which you had uſed with the Nabob to prevail upon him to execute the Treaty, did Mr. Haſtings in any Manner diſavow it, or in any reſpect rebuke you, for having ſo pledged him to the Nabob?

A. Mr. Haſtings's Letter, in Anſwer to mine, is upon Record; I hope your Lordſhips will permit me to refer to the Letter itſelf.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings, in any other Way than by that Letter, hold that ſort of Converſation with you?

A. No; in no other Way than by that Letter, and the other Letters that are upon Record.

Q. When

Q. When the Nabob found that this Treaty was to be literally and fully carried into Execution, did he or did he not remind you of the Converſation he had with you, and your giving him Hopes that that would not happen?

A. He did.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Whether the Nabob would have executed that Treaty but under the Inducement of the Promiſe you made him in that Converſation: Was that his Inducement?

A. His principal Inducement: With reſpect to the Queſtion now put, I dare ſay the Nabob would not have executed the Treaty without ſome ſuch Aſſurances as I gave him, without further Reference to Mr. Haſtings. What Aſſurances he might have given him, I cannot ſay.

The Counſel for the Defendant deſired the Second Article of the Treaty of Chunar might be ſhewn to the Witneſs.

The ſame was accordingly ſhewn to him; and he was aſked,

Q. Do you remember whether that Article was wholly the Nabob's own Propoſition?

A. I underſtood the Whole of the Propoſitions were entirely the Nabob's.

Q. Whether the Nabob's Complaints were or were not confined to this Article of the Treaty reſpecting the Reſumption of the Jaghires?

A. They were made upon that Occaſion, and I believe were confined, as far as I recollect, to the Subject of reſuming the Jaghires.

Q. Can you or not recollect, whether Part of that Objection did not expreſsly point to the Reſumption of his Mother's Jaghires?

A. It is very poſſible it might; it was the moſt conſiderable, and the firſt Jaghire that was brought under Diſcuſſion.

Then the Second Article (*a*) of the Treaty of Chunar was read, as follows:

"Art. 2. That, as great Diſtreſs has ariſen to the Nabob's Government from the Military Power and Dominion aſſumed by the Jagheerders, he be permitted to reſume ſuch as he may find neceſſary; with a Reſerve, that all ſuch for the Amount of whoſe Jagheers the Company are Guarantees, ſhall, in caſe of the Reſumption of their Lands, be paid the Amount of their net Collections, through the Reſident, in ready Money."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. (*By the Managers*). Whether the Ground of the Nabob's Complaint was not, that Mr. Haſtings endeavoured to compel him to reſume ſuch Jaghires as he, Mr. Haſtings, and not the Nabob, thought proper?

A. It was, that Mr. Haſtings compelled him to make a general Reſumption, inſtead of making it particular.

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired a Paſſage might be read from Mr. Haſtings's Defence at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons.

Read, the following Extract from the MS. beginning at Page 237 of the ſame.

"When the Nabob ſo earneſtly deſired my Sanction for the Reſumption of the Jaghires, he certainly had in View only the Begums, and a few others of Magnitude, which he conſidered protected either by the Guarantee or Favour of the Company: He could not be ſuppoſed to aſk my Sanction to the Reſumption of Grants in which the Company's Faith was by no Means concerned; but being aware that his Excellency intended a partial Reſumption, reſerving the Jaghires for his particular Favourites, who, from their Character and Conduct, ought to be the firſt proſcribed, I determined to defeat the Deſign, by adviſing him to make the Reſumption general; and he engaged to follow my Advice. The Conſequence of this, his Excellency did not, at that Time, advert to; but when he diſcovered, that by the Spirit of the Agreement, and my determined Adherence to it, he was precluded from ſhewing any Partiality; and moreover, that the Produce of the Jagheers, when reſumed, inſtead of coming immediately into his Poſſeſſion, was to be appropriated to the Liquidation of his Debt to the Company, for which I expreſsly ſtipulated, he became indifferent, and even apparently averſe to the Reſumption."

Q. (*by the Counſel.*) Whether the Point of the Nabob's Complaint was not to the Reſumption of the Jaghires of his Orderlies, and not thoſe of the Begums?

A. Not particularly; I do not recollect he expreſſed any in particular; but it was my Opinion it related to the Jaghires of thoſe Orderlies.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 141.

Q. (*by*

Q. (*by the Managers.*) Whether in that Converſation he did or did not expreſsly object to the Reſumption of his Mother's Jaghires?

A. I believe he objected to the Meaſure altogether.

Q. Can you or not recollect whether Part of that Objection did not expreſsly point to the Reſumption of his Mother's Jaghires?

A. It is very poſſible it might; that was the moſt conſiderable and the Firſt Jaghire that was brought under Diſcuſſion.

Q. Did he, or did he not; or do you recollect any Thing about it?

A. I recollect his Objection was general; poſſibly the Objection was made upon the Propoſal to reſume the Begum's Jaghires.

Q. (*by a Lord.*) Upon Recollection, whether it was pointed to the Reſumption of his Mother's Jaghire?

A. I believe I have ſaid, that it was propoſed to reſume the Mother's Jaghire; that was the principal one, and upon that it aroſe.

Q. (*by the Managers.*) Whether Captain Gordon did not apply for £. 3000, or ſome other great Sum of Money, on account of the Loſs of his Baggage, by the Means of Shumſheer Khan?

A. I recollect he did make a Claim of that Sort.

Q. Was that Claim allowed?

A. It was.

Q. (*by a Lord.*) I think you ſaid the Nabob was very reluctant to ſign the Treaty of Chunar; how could he be reluctant to ſign the Treaty, if every Article of it was propoſed by himſelf?

A. The Nabob's Reluctance was to ſigning his Part; thoſe Parts Mr. Haſtings ſigned had been of the Nabob's own propoſing.

Q. (*by the Managers.*) Was you preſent at the Time when the Nabob made the Propoſal for reſuming the Jaghires?

A. I was preſent when the Nabob delivered his Requiſitions to Mr. Haſtings, upon which the Treaty was formed.

Q. Was you preſent at the Time when he firſt delivered that Treaty, or made any original Propoſition upon the Subject?

A. I was preſent when the firſt Propoſitions were delivered in Writing to Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Whether you was preſent at the firſt Propoſition made by the Nabob for the Reſumption of the Jaghires, whether in Writing or not?

A. I have before informed your Lordſhips, that I was preſent when the firſt Propoſition was made, which was in Writing.

Q. Do you know that that was the firſt Propoſition made?

A. I have Reaſon to believe it was; I have no Doubt but it was.

Q. When you ſupplied Inſtructions for making Mr. Haſtings's Defence, had you peruſed the Affidavits which were taken at Lucknow, and the Allegations of Mr. Haſtings upon that Subject, in his Narrative of this Tranſaction?

A. I cannot ſay I had juſt at that Time: I have no Doubt, in a Courſe of Years, I have peruſed all the Affidavits, as well as the whole Narrative.

Q. Was you preſent on the 11th or 12th September, in the firſt Conference between Mr. Haſtings and the Nabob, upon the Nabob's coming from Lucknow to Chunar?

A. I believe I was preſent at the firſt Meeting they had.

Q. Were you preſent at all?

A. I don't believe I was at all.

Q. When you informed Mr. Haſtings of the Nabob's Objection to the Reſumption of the Jaghires, did he, in Anſwer, appeal to your own perſonal Knowledge, of the Propoſition being originally made by the Nabob?

A. I muſt beg to refer your Lordſhips to the Letter Mr. Haſtings wrote upon that Subject.

Q. Beſides that Letter, did he ever make ſuch Repreſentation?

A. No.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Martis, 6° Maij 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe they would now proceed to lay before them the firſt Traces they could diſcover of the Conſpiracy formed againſt the Princeſſes of Oude, and the firſt Determination of Mr. Haſtings to accuſe them, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of their Treaſures; preparatory to which, they would ſhew the avowed Motives upon which Mr. Haſtings ſet out from Calcutta.

Read, the following Extract of the Benaris Narrative, Calcutta Edition, beginning at Page 12 of the ſame.

" I will ſuppoſe for a Moment that I have erred, that I have acted with an unwarranted Rigour towards Cheit Sing, and even with Injuſtice. Let my Motive be conſulted. I left Calcutta impreſſed with the Belief, that extraordinary Means were neceſſary, and thoſe exerted with a ſtrong Hand, to preſerve the Company's Intereſts from ſinking under the accumulated Weight which oppreſſed them. I ſaw a political Neceſſity for curbing the overgrown Power of a great Member of their Dominion, and making it contribute to the Relief of their preſſing Exigencies (*a*)."

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, P. 7.

" It was reported, that he had inherited a vaſt Maſs of Wealth from his Father Bulwant Sing, which he had ſecured in the Two ſtrong Fortreſſes of Bidjeygur and Lutteefpoor, and made yearly Additions to it (*b*)."

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, P. 45.

" It is credibly affirmed, that he inherited from his Father, Bulwant Sing, a complete Crore of Rupees; to which, it is believed, that he made conſiderable Additions (*c*)."

Read, from Book 17, already delivered in, Extract of a Letter from the Governor General to Major Popham, ſigned Warren Haſtings, and dated Chunar, 14th November 1781, beginning at Page 24 of the ſaid Book.

" The Subject on which I am now to write is a very diſagreeable and painful One to me, but indiſpenſable. I have received Information which, though private, is certainly authentic, that you have already diſtributed One Dividend of the Treaſure found in Bidjii Gur, amongſt the Officers and Troops on the Spot. If this be true, I am very ſorry for it, as, on many Conſiderations, it appears to me that ſuch Diſtribution is premature. I apprehend that it is a Propoſition not to be diſputed, that every Thing acquired by the Arms of a State belongs to the State which employed thoſe Arms. By Charters and Acts of Parliament, the ſole Right to all Conqueſts or Captures made by the Company's Arms were veſted in the Company. It was however my Intention to have uſed my utmoſt Authority and Influence to have obtained for the Troops engaged in the Service againſt Cheit Sing, the whole Booty which might be found in Bidjygur and other Places. I regarded it as the due Reward of their Services, and Recompence of their Sufferings, but I never meant that they ſhould ſeize it and ſcramble for it. Beſides, if the actual Right was in the Army, at a Time like this, when the Exigencies of the Company are ſo great, ſurely they might have expected to have benefited by the immediate Uſe of it as a Loan. I had, I muſt own,

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(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 514, Par. 3.
(*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 112, Line 20.
(*c*) Vide ſupra, Page 127, Line 23.

ſuch

ſuch Confidence in your Diſcretion, that I did expect, if the Treaſure found in the Fort ſhould prove very conſiderable, you would not have proceeded to any Diſtribution of it, until you had reported the Amount to the Board, and obtained their Sanction for appropriating it to the Troops, or at leaſt that you would have repreſented it to me, as I am ſo near you.

[Signed at the End]

" Warren Haſtings (*a*)."

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired Sir Elijah Impey might be called in.

Accordingly Sir ELIJAH IMPEY was again called, and examined as follows:

Q. What Time did you ſee Mr. Haſtings after the Troubles of Benares?

A. I believe it was the latter End of October, or the Beginning of November. I am not quite ſure whether it was not late in November; the Date I am not certain of.

Q. Was it after or before the Capture of Bidjeygur?

A. Before the Capture of Bidjeygur.

Q. Where was it you ſaw Mr. Haſtings?

A. At Benares.

Q. Did you receive Inſtructions from Mr. Haſtings at that Time, relative to Depoſitions which were to be taken by you at Lucknow?

A. I do not know I ever received any Inſtructions whatever from Mr. Haſtings, about taking Affidavits.

Q. Did you receive a Letter at that Time from Mr. Haſtings, which you was to deliver to Mr. Middleton?

A. Not upon my firſt going to Benares; I believe a Week at leaſt had intervened, and I was at Chunar when I received a Copy of a Letter, which I was to carry to Mr. Middleton, the Governor having before ſent an original Letter to him.

Q. I underſtand you received this Letter at Chunar, a Week after you had been with Mr. Haſtings?

A. I believe thereabouts; I cannot be preciſe as to the Time; it might be more, it might be leſs than a Week; but I had been ſome Days with Mr. Haſtings.

Q. And at Chunar?

A. At Chunar.

Q. Was it a Duplicate of a Letter?

A. It was a Duplicate of a Letter, merely that I might know what Mr. Haſtings had written to Mr. Middleton.

Q. Do you recollect whether this was after the Capture of Bidjeygur?

A. I believe this was after the Capture of Bidjeygur; I think it was, as well as I can recollect. I was with Mr. Haſtings before the Capture of Bidjeygur; but I believe this was ſubſequent to the Capture of Bidjeygur. I arrived at Lucknow, I think, the 25th of November. I believe I was Four Days going, and I received the Letter the Day before I ſet out from Chunar; ſo that if the Date of the Capture of Bidjeygur can be fixed, that will aſcertain whether it was before or after the Capture of Bidjeygur.

Q. Then you received it about the 20th of November?

A. I fancy thereabouts; I kept no Memorandum, and therefore I am not accurate as to the Date.

Q. Was it the Day after the Letter to Major Popham was ſent?

A. The Letter had been before ſent by Mr. Haſtings; I believe the Date of the Letter to Mr. Middleton will not aſcertain the Time I received the Copy.

Q. Did you receive no Notes nor written Inſtructions from Mr. Haſtings beſides that Letter?

A. I had very ſhort Memorandums beſides that Letter, but not with reſpect to the Affidavits. They had no Relation whatever to the Affidavits.

Q. Do you mean to ſay you had no Converſation with Mr. Haſtings reſpecting thoſe Affidavits which were to be taken at Lucknow?

A. I do not mean to ſay I had no Converſation: I ſaid I had no Notes of any Thing relative to taking the Affidavits; I had Converſations with Mr. Haſtings upon that Subject.

Q. Did you ſettle the Form of a Caption for thoſe Affidavits encloſed in a Letter to Mr. Middleton?

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 284, Par. the laſt.

Q. The

A. The Form of the Caption which I ſettled was this: Such a Perſon depoſed before Sir Elijah Impey; that is, the Whole of the Caption, or Words to that Effect: That I ſuppoſe to be meant by the Caption of the Affidavits.

Q. Was that ſent in a Letter to Mr. Middleton?

A. I believe it was ſent in a Letter to Mr. Middleton, becauſe the Copy of the Letter that I had, acquainted Mr. Middleton it had been ſo ſent.

Q. Had you not Inſtructions reſpecting the Manner in which the Affidavits or Depoſitions of the native Witneſſes were to be taken?

A. None that I recollect; I rather gave Inſtructions for taking the Affidavits, than received them.

Q. In ſettling the Caption of theſe Affidavits, were theſe Words ſuggeſted by you, that they were taken before Sir Elijah Impey Knight, &c. Chief Juſtice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal?

A. I believe they were. If that is the Caption of the Affidavits, I have no Doubt it is the Caption that was ſettled by me.

Q. Did you conſider your Juriſdiction as extending to the Province of Oude?

A. Undoubtedly not.

Q. Upon what Circumſtance did you think it a juſtifiable Meaſure for you to proceed to Lucknow to take thoſe Depoſitions?

A. I had no Idea it was an unjuſtifiable Meaſure; when it is pointed out to me how it is unjuſtifiable I will endeavour to give an Anſwer to the Queſtion.

Q. What induced you to go to Lucknow upon this Buſineſs?

A. Mr. Haſtings was about writing a Narrative of the Proceedings at Banares; I did it for the Purpoſe of authenticating to the Engliſh Nation the Facts in the Banares Narrative. I thought from my Situation, though my Juriſdiction did not extend to the Provinces, that Affidavits taken by me would have a greater Weight than Affidavits taken by any common Perſon: I thought it my Duty, both to give all the Aſſiſtance I could to the Governor General, the Perſon charged with the Engliſh Affairs, and likewiſe, as far as I could, to authenticate to the Engliſh Nation what the Situation of thoſe Affairs was; whether that is juſtifiable, or unjuſtifiable, I muſt ſubmit to the Determination of the Lords.

Q. Did the Object of your Journey to Lucknow relate only to Matters of Juſtification of paſt Events, or to lay a Ground for future Proceedings?

A. It was to authenticate paſt Events, without any View of Juſtification; it had nothing in my Mind to do with future Meaſures.

Q. What was the Subject of thoſe ſhort Notes or Memorandums which you ſay you received from Mr. Haſtings?

A. It regarded Fyzoola Cawn: and a Gentleman of the Name of Bathurſt: there was a Memorandum of a Communication that I was to make to Mr. Middleton, of what had paſſed in Converſation between Mr. Haſtings and me, relative to the Begums: that is as much as I can remember of it; but they had nothing to do with the Affidavits.

Q. Have you thoſe Memorandums?

A. I have not the Memorandums. I had a Summons from the Houſe of Commons, which I attended, and was ordered to bring all my Papers relative to the Article of Mr. Haſtings concerning the Begums, which I then produced to the Houſe of Commons: I have no Papers but what I there produced. I produced before the Houſe of Commons two ſhort Memorandums which had been delivered to me by Mr. Middleton; thoſe I believe were in anſwer to the ſhort Memorandums I carried with me to Lucknow. The Houſe of Commons thought they were not material, and delivered them back—I believe I have them now, and am ready to deliver them, if they can give any Information.

Q. You have ſaid, that one of thoſe Notes or Memorandums related to the Begums—what do you mean by related to the Begums?

A. It related to a Converſation I had with Mr. Haſtings, relative to the ſeizing of the Treaſures of the Begums.

Q. Was not that a Meaſure to be done?

A. That was a Meaſure upon which I underſtood the Nabob Vizier was to be conſulted.

Q. Did you conſider that as a future Meaſure, or as a Matter of Juſtification?

A. Undoubtedly a future Meaſure; and as far as that goes, theſe Memorandums had a Relation to future Meaſures.

Q. Then your Journey to Lucknow did relate to future Meaſures, and not ſolely to the Juſtification of the Paſt?

A. When

A. When I ſpoke of what related to future Meaſures, I meant the Affidavits; and I believe the Queſtion put to me was, whether the Affidavits related to future Meaſures; my Anſwer was meant to relate to the Affidavits, not to my Journey; my Journey undoubtedly had to do with future Meaſures; it was the chief Object of my Journey to Lucknow.

Q. As the chief Object of your Journey related to the Meaſure againſt the Begums, whether the Affidavits did not alſo relate to the Begums, and whether they were not alſo a Ground of future Proceedings—was your chief Object relative to the Begums?

A. Not the Begums only, but other Matters relative to the Treaty of Chunar. The Purport of my Intention to take the Affidavits, was ſimply to authenticate the Facts relative to the Benares Revolution. What the Affidavits contained I did not know; nor do I know at preſent, for I have never read them.

Q. I underſtood you to have ſaid, the "chief" Object of your Journey did relate to the Meaſure of ſeizing the Begums Treaſures?

Here the Evidence was read over by the Clerk, from Page 623, Line 22, ſupra.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Was the chief Object of your Journey future Meaſures?

A. If I may be permitted, I will acquaint the Houſe of the Whole of my Object, and the Cauſe of my Journey to Lucknow.

Q. Have you any Doubt about your having made that Anſwer?

A. What Anſwer?

Q. That the chief Object of your Journey was future Meaſures?

A. Of my Journey to Lucknow, undoubtedly it was.

Q. Proceed with the Explanation of the Object of your Journey to Lucknow.

A. Mr. Haſtings had acquainted me, that he was at that Time writing a Narrative of the Proceedings of the Revolution at Benares; he acquainted me with the main Circumſtances. I then told him, that, as he was a Party ſo much engaged in the Event, and the Diſpoſition of thoſe in Power at that Time in England, was not favourable to him, I doubted whether his ſingle Narrative would gain compleat Credit to the Facts which he aſſerted; I therefore adviſed him to authenticate thoſe Facts as ſtrongly as he poſſibly could. The only Means of doing it that ſuggeſted themſelves to me were, the having them verified by Affidavit. He then aſked how it was to be done, and demanded of me whether I would take ſuch Affidavits; to which I aſſented. It was at firſt propoſed, that I ſhould proceed to Illahabad, as a central Place to which the ſeveral Witneſſes might more eaſily come to me, to make their ſeveral Affidavits; but, in the Courſe of that Converſation, Mr. Haſtings having deſcribed the Begums as being in actual Rebellion, I told Mr. Haſtings that, if that was the Fact, I thought their Intervention was an Offence to the Government of the Nabob, and that he had a moſt undoubted Right of ſeizing the Treaſure of thoſe Perſons, who were employing them againſt his State. Mr. Haſtings had told me, that he thought the Welfare of the Country committed to his Charge, and his own Reputation, depended upon the Treaty of Chunar being carried ſtrictly into Execution; that he was apprehenſive the Mildneſs of Mr. Middleton's Temper would prevent him from urging the Nabob effectually to carry it into Execution; he therefore propoſed to me, inſtead of going to Illahabad, where it was firſt intended, that I ſhould go to Lucknow; and, beſides taking the Affidavits, I was to acquaint Mr. Middleton with the Converſation that had paſſed between Mr. Haſtings and me, with regard to the Begums, and urge him to ſee the Treaty of Chunar carried into Execution. That was the Occaſion of my going to Lucknow. To Lucknow I ſhould not have gone merely for the Purpoſe of taking the Affidavits; for that Purpoſe I ſhould have proceeded no further than Illahabad.

Q. Was the ſeizing of the Treaſures of the Begums any Part of the Treaty of Chunar?

A. I believe not.

Q. What Communication did you make to Mr. Middleton, reſpecting the ſeizing of the Treaſure of the Begums?

A. I related to Mr. Middleton the Converſation I had with Mr. Haſtings, and acquainted him that Mr. Haſtings was inclined to that Meaſure, and I believe deſired he would conſult the Nabob upon it.—My communicating of the Converſation between Mr. Haſtings and me was with an Intent that Mr. Middleton ſhould conſult the Nabob upon it.

Q. Did you communicate to Mr. Middleton it was Mr. Haſtings's Pleaſure, that they ſhould ſeize the Treaſure of the Begums?

A. By no Means in ſuch Terms: I did what I had undertaken to do, which was to relate to Mr. Middleton what had paſſed between Mr. Haſtings and me, for the Purpoſe of his conſulting the Nabob upon the Subject; but gave no Directions from Mr. Haſtings, that it was his Will it ſhould be ſo.

Q. Whether you was not examined before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons?
A. I was.

Q. Whether you recollect the Subſtance of your Anſwer to this Queſtion. In a Letter of the 6th of December 1781, from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Haſtings, there is this Sentence; "Your Plea-"ſure reſpecting the Begums I have learnt from Sir Elijah Impey, and the Meaſure heretofore "propoſed will ſoon follow the Reſumption of the Jaghires:" to whom do theſe Words, "heretofore "propoſed," refer?—Do you recollect the Subſtance of your Anſwer to the Houſe of Commons?
A. I really do not.

Q. Do you recollect whether your Anſwer was, "By hearing the Letter read, I referred to a Propoſal by Mr. Haſtings through me to Mr. Middleton?"
A. I certainly do remember that Anſwer; but I believe, if the Whole of my Evidence is taken together, it will appear I gave it there the ſame as I do now; that I related to Mr. Middleton what had paſſed between Mr. Haſtings and me, and that Mr. Haſtings ſeemed to aſſent to the Propoſition, that it was right the Begums Treaſure ſhould be ſeized; but I carried no Directions from Mr. Haſtings, that it was his Will to have it ſo done.

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to this Mode of Examination.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they had not waived their Right to examine the Witneſſes they called to what they had ſaid in another Place.

The Witneſs deſired the Anſwer might ſtand.

Q. Did you underſtand that you conveyed more than Mr. Haſtings's Conſent to the Nabob's reſuming of the Jaghires, namely, that you underſtood it was the Intention of Mr. Haſtings that Mr. Middleton ſhould recommend it to the Nabob as a Meaſure?
A. I ſtill think that it was Mr. Haſtings's Intention that it ſhould be recommended to the Nabob as a Meaſure, and that I meant by, his conſulting the Nabob upon the Subject: I do not make uſe of the ſame Words, but to exactly the ſame Purpoſe; I ſhould have conſidered the mere conſulting the Nabob upon the Subject, if it was not the Intention of Mr. Haſtings to recommend it, as merely nugatory.

Q. Are we to underſtand that you communicated to Mr. Middleton, in the Shape of a Converſation, or otherwiſe, that it was the Pleaſure of Mr. Haſtings, that he, Mr. Middleton, ſhould recommend this Anſwer to the Nabob?
A. I certainly meant to convey that Idea.

Q. Do you, or do you not, remember the Words that were uſed; whether the Words were, to conſult the Nabob upon the Subject, or to recommend to the Nabob the Meaſure?
A. I really do not; I underſtood it to be a Propoſal, and a Recommendation to the Nabob, undoubtedly.

The laſt Queſtion and Anſwer were read over by the Clerk.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Was it a Part of the Communication, that the Meaſure of ſeizing the Begum's Treaſure ſhould afterwards come in the Shape of an original Propoſal from the Nabob?
A. Certainly not; I would not have undertaken ſuch a Commiſſion.

Q. When did you hold that Converſation with Mr. Middleton, in Conſequence of this Direction from Mr. Haſtings?
A. I was met by a very large Party, that encamped about Twenty Miles on this Side of Lucknow, between Illahabad and Lucknow; and I proceeded in Mr. Middleton's Chariot to Lucknow: The next Morning, in that Chariot, in my Way to Lucknow, I made this Communication.

Q. How ſoon after this Communication of Mr. Haſtings's Pleaſure, that the Begum's Treaſure ſhould be ſeized, did you begin to take Affidavits and Depoſitions?
A. I went to Lucknow for the Purpoſe of taking the Affidavits, and as ſoon as any Body came to make an Affidavit, I took it immediately: I believe I diſpatched the Buſineſs as faſt as I could, to get away from it.
Q. Did not you underſtand what the Subject was, which thoſe People were depoſing to?
A. Some of them I did: By Converſation with Engliſh Gentlemen, I knew what they depoſed; what the Natives depoſed, I did not know.

Q. Who was it that told the Perſons who were making the Depoſitions, what it was they were to depoſe to, or about?
A. Nothing was told in my Preſence. I believe every Affidavit I took was drawn before I ſaw it. I believe Mr. Middleton, in conſequence of a Letter Mr. Haſtings wrote to him, had com-

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municated the Subject Matter of what they were to depoſe to: I obſerved by that Letter it was either to refute or aſcertain the Facts relative to the Benares Buſineſs.

Q. You ſay, you believe Mr. Middleton did that?

A. I believe he did; I apprehend Mr. Middleton did, becauſe the Governor General had ſent a Letter to Mr. Middleton on the Subject before; and I do not know he wrote to any Body elſe. If that Letter was read, it would aſcertain very clearly what was Mr. Haſtings's Intention with regard to taking the Affidavits.

Q. In what Manner were the Deponents brought before you?

A. I do not know they were brought at all; they appeared to me to come voluntarily: I do not know there was any Body who depoſed that could properly be ſaid to be brought, if, by the Word "brought," is meant Compulſion.

Q. The Queſtion is only in what Manner they came; you was in the Room?

A. Part of the Affidavits taken at Lucknow, I believe, were taken in the Houſe in which I lodged; in the Houſe of a Colonel Martin: Other Parts were taken in the Tent of Colonel Hannay, with whom I had dined; after Dinner I took the Affidavits of Colonel Hannay and ſome other Engliſh Gentlemen that were there.

Q. Were the Affidavits read to you, or by you, before they were ſworn to?

A. They were neither read to me, or by me, when they were ſworn to, or ſince.

Q. Were they read to the Deponents that were ſworn?

A. They were all brought by the People themſelves who ſwore them.

Q. And not read in your Preſence?

A. Not read in my Preſence.

Q. What Reaſon have you to know thoſe Affidavits were ever read by, or to, the Perſons who ſwore them?

A. Several of the Perſons, I am ſure, brought the Papers themſelves: I could not apprehend that the People who brought them had not read them.

Q. But you do not know they were read?

A. When I ſay I don't know they were read,—a great Multitude of Affidavits were taken. I remember one that was taken in French. I remember that being read, by the Circumſtance of its being a French Affidavit; ſome of them might be read, but I don't recollect particularly that any were; I took them in the ordinary Courſe in which I have ever taken Affidavits.

Q. You ſay a great Multitude of Affidavits were taken; what Number did you take at Lucknow?

A. I cannot form the moſt diſtant Gueſs. When I ſpeak of Affidavits taken at Lucknow, I mean all the Affidavits which I took relative to this Subject; I do not believe there were a great Number taken at Lucknow, as well as I can recollect; but they are in the Appendix, I underſtand, to Mr. Haſtings's Narrative, and by that it will appear what were taken at Lucknow, and what were taken at other Places. I cannot pretend to charge my Memory with it: If the Gentlemen will let me have the Book before me from which they examine, I then ſhall, from that, gueſs tolerably well what the Number was; but in a Tranſaction ſo many Years ago, if the Gentlemen Managers examine me from a Book, and expect my Memory to tally with that Book, they have a better Opinion of my Memory than I have of it myſelf; and indeed I am more cautious in my anſwering in that Manner to the Book, becauſe in my Examination before the Commons, I was led to anſwer the Gentlemen that examined, they putting the Queſtions to me that made me think the Facts were as they ought to have been, from the Queſtions put to me: I eſtimated in that Manner; for Inſtance, I was examined in the Houſe of Commons whether there was any Interpreter ſworn at the Time of taking the Affidavits at Lucknow; my Anſwer was, that I did not abſolutely remember an Interpreter being ſworn, but that I had no Doubt an Interpreter was ſworn, becauſe I was ſure I ſhould not have taken the Affidavits except he had been ſworn: The Gentleman who had the Book in his Hand knew very well that no Interpreter was ſworn, becauſe the Affidavits in fact were not interpreted: I was miſled by the Form of the Queſtion to make an Anſwer in that Manner; and ſo I may again.

Q. Do you recollect in whoſe Houſe the French Affidavit was taken?

A. As to the Affidavit, whether it was taken in French, or was tranſlated into Engliſh, I cannot tell; but a Frenchman made the Depoſition at Chunar; poſſibly the Affidavit is not in French: if I had the Book before me, I could certainly tell whether it was or was not.

Q. Whether ſome of the Perſons who depoſed before you, did not ſet their Mark, inſtead of any Signature, to their Depoſitions?

A. I have no Recollection of it, but it very probably was ſo; very few of the Natives, of the common People, do write.

Q. Had you any Reaſon to know that thoſe Perſons who could not write could read?
A. I do not know.

Q. Had you any Reaſon to ſuppoſe it?
A. I had no Reaſon to ſuppoſe that they could or that they could not.

Q. When you found they could not write, why did you not call for their Depoſitions to be read and explained to them in your Preſence, before you ſuffered them to ſwear?
A. I took them as I ſhould any Affidavits in my judicial Capacity; if brought to me by my Clerk or thoſe in whom I had Confidence, I ſhould certainly take the Affidavit without doing it.

Q. Whether you mean to aſſert that you have no Knowledge whatever of the Matter, and the Purport of theſe Affidavits, whether in Engliſh or in the native Language?
A. I mean to be underſtood, that I underſtood the Affidavits which were taken at Lucknow were upon the Subject-matter on which Mr. Haſtings had written to Mr. Middleton; but I mean likewiſe to be underſtood, that I did not know, nor do I now know, what any particular Affidavit contained.

Q. Had you any Converſation with Mr. Middleton reſpecting theſe Affidavits at the Time?
A. I very probably had; it is natural I ſhould; but I have not the leaſt Recollection whether I had or not.

Q. Had you not a Copy of Mr. Haſtings's Letter to Mr. Middleton at that Time?
A. I have ſaid that I had.

Q. Did you read that Letter?
A. I have read that Letter.

Q. Did you obſerve in it, that as to certain Perſons who were to depoſe upon Oath before you, Mr. Middleton is directed "to obtain ſuch Evidence as can be required relative to thoſe Points, "whether ſuch Evidence ſhall aſcertain, or refute, or qualify their Reality (*a*)."
A. I believe there was ſuch a Paſſage in the Letter.

Q. Do you remember that Paſſage?
A. Yes, I do remember it.

Q. By what Means was you to know whether theſe Affidavits tended to aſcertain, refute, or qualify the Reality of thoſe Points, if you was totally ignorant of the Contents of the Affidavits?
A. I do not know they were Inſtructions to Mr. Middleton; they were no Inſtructions to me.

Q. For what Purpoſe was the Copy of that Letter put into your Hands?
A. That I might know what Inſtructions Mr. Haſtings had given to Mr. Middleton, from whence I was to expect, that no Affidavits, no Depoſitions, would be offered to me, but what related to thoſe Matters.

Q. What do you mean by thoſe Matters?
A. The Matters contained in the Letter written to Mr. Middleton; I was by that Means to know what was the Nature of the Affidavits that were to be taken before me.

Q. Did you not conſider the Letter as a Guide, and Inſtruction for your Conduct?
A. By no Means, I never had the leaſt Idea of it.

Q. Did you not conſider the Letter as informing Mr. Middleton of the Object of your Miſſion to Lucknow?
A. I certainly did; I have ſaid ſo.

Q. Does the Letter ſtate any other Object beſides the taking of the Depoſitions reſpecting the ſuſpected Conduct of the Begums?
A. I really cannot tell; for that Purpoſe I muſt beg Leave to refer to the Letter; I rather believe it does, but I cannot ſay I recollect.

Q. Did you make any Inquiry or any Examination of any Sort reſpecting the Conduct of the Begums, further than receiving thoſe Affidavits?
A. I made myſelf no Party to the Buſineſs; I underſtood myſelf to be a mere Inſtrument to verify Facts; I made no Examination whatever.

Q. While you was at Lucknow did you make any Examination or Inquiry, to ſatisfy your own Mind, with reſpect to the Innocence or Guilt of the Begums?
A. I remember One Circumſtance, if it may be called an Examination, that having proſecuted my Journey through Illahabad, I had a Deſire, for the Purpoſe of ſeeing the Country, to return to Chunar through Fyzabad: I was told by every Body there I could not take that Route, becauſe the Country was not quieted from the Rebellion of the Begums: I do not know that I made any particular Examination; when I was at Chunar I underſtood it to be a Fact as clearly aſcertained as I believe it was in London, in the Year 1745, that there was a Rebellion in the North.

(*a*) Vide infra, Page 630.

Q. Did

Q. Did Fyzabad lie in your Road from Lucknow to Benares?

A. If I returned by Illahabad it did not; but that Part of the Country which I went through is I believe the moſt diſagreeable Tract in the whole Country of Oude; I had a Deſire, being in thoſe Parts, to ſee more of the Country; it certainly would have been a larger Circuit to have returned by the Way of Fyzabad, but I believe it is by no Means an uncommon Route.

Q. Did you ſee the Nabob while you was at Lucknow?

A. I did.

Q. Had you any Converſation with the Nabob, or his Miniſters, reſpecting this Rebellion of the Begums?

A. Not a Word.

Q. Did you abſtain from ever mentioning that Circumſtance to either of them, from any Motive of Delicacy, or from what Motive?

A. I do not know that I did abſtain from it from any Motive of Delicacy; but I at preſent think I ſhould do it, if I were now in that Country, under the ſame Circumſtances.

Q. Were not thoſe Perſons who were brought to depoſe before you, brought as Perſons who were to confirm the Accuſations againſt the Begums?

A. They were not ſo introduced to me; whether it related particularly to the Begums or to the Tranſactions at Benares, I did not know.

Q. Was not the Object for which you was ſent to Lucknow, to obtain Evidence, either to confirm or to refute the Charge againſt the Begums?

A. I underſtood the Object of my going to Lucknow, ſo far as it related to the Affidavits, to be merely for the Purpoſe of verifying the Facts which were ſtated, or were to be ſtated, as Mr. Haſtings was then writing his Benares Narrative; not particularly for the Purpoſe of vindicating or impeaching the Begums.

Q. Have you not acknowledged to have read Mr. Haſtings's Inſtructions, in which it was expreſsly ſtated, the Object of your Journey was to obtain Evidence, whether it was intended to refute or confirm the Charges againſt the Begums?

A. I ſhould be extremely glad if the Letter itſelf was read; for I am now examined in the Dark. I ſtill believe, when the Letter is read, it will not be found to relate to the Begums only.

Q. The Queſtion is not, whether it was confined to the Begums only; but whether it was to collect ſuch Evidence as ſhould aſcertain or refute, or qualify, the Reality? You have now repeated, that you conſidered the Object of your Journey was the Affidavits to be taken, as a Means of Juſtification of what was to be written in Mr. Haſtings's Narrative, or what you call Facts to be eſtabliſhed; and then you ſtate, that the Ground of ſeizing the Treaſures was not the only Object: Now Mr. Haſtings had not, in November, given an Account of the Tranſactions; for, till the January following, he had not written that Account; therefore, at that Time at leaſt, it was not meant to be ſo ſtated?

A. I now underſtand the Tendency of the Queſtion, and am able to give a direct Anſwer; and that is, that the Affidavits were not taken by me with any View whatever to juſtify the Meaſure of ſeizing the Treaſures of the Begums; they were not taken with the leaſt View towards juſtifying the ſeizing of the Treaſures of the Begums.

Q. How do you know with what View they were taken, when you never told the Deponents what they were to depoſe to, nor ever read to them the Affidavits?

A. I do not ſpeak to the View with which the Witneſſes depoſed, but to the View with which I took the Affidavits; and, if it is as I take it, to the View which I underſtood Mr. Haſtings had in having them taken; that View now, upon my Oath, I poſitively deny.

Q. Then do you remember this Paſſage in the Copy of the Letter, which contained the Inſtructions you received: "Theſe are Facts of ſuch Moment to the Publick Service, and ſo neceſſary "both to the Means which may be required for our future Preſervation, and to the Juſtification "of what has paſſed, and to what may be done to the ſame End, that I think it proper they "ſhould be verified in the moſt authentic and ſacred Manner (*a*)." Is not that Paſſage in the Letter?

A. I take it for granted it is in the Letter, as the Honourable Manager reads it from the Letter; and ſomething to that Purpoſe I recollect.

Q. Then were not thoſe Affidavits to be the Ground of what was to be done to the ſame End; what did you underſtand from that Paſſage?

A. I did not underſtand that Paſſage to be pointed, that they were meant as a Juſtification of the ſeizing of the Begums Treaſures; I did not then underſtand it, nor do I now underſtand it ſo. The Letter will be before your Lordſhips.

(*a*) Vide the Letter infra, Page 630.

Q. Did

Q. Did you ever communicate to the Begums, or any Perſons upon their Parts, the Purpoſe and Object of your Journey to Lucknow?

A. I never did, nor did it ever enter into my Mind to do ſo.

Q. Then by what Means were they to have an Opportunity of refuting the Charges againſt them?

A. I did not underſtand theſe to be Charges made againſt them, which they would have been, if they had been for a Juſtification of ſeizing their Treaſures. I underſtood it merely to be, as I have ſaid before, to authenticate the Facts in Mr. Haſtings's Narrative, and I had no Idea there was any Occaſion for them to have an Opportunity of refuting them: I was not trying a Queſtion upon Affidavits, I had no Authority to do it, nor ſhould I ever have undertaken ſo to do; theſe were Affidavits meant to be ſent to England, and to be uſed only in England, and therefore could have nothing to do with the Juſtification of ſeizing the Treaſures of the Begums upon the Spot, in any judicial Proceeding there, or as Information to the Nabob.

Q. Then am I now to underſtand, that the Object of your Journey was merely to gather Matter of Accuſation in Defence of Mr. Haſtings, and not any Matter of Exculpation of the Begums?

A. I deſire to be underſtood as going to aſcertain the Facts in Mr. Haſtings's Narrative, not for the Purpoſe of any Defence of him, and certainly with no Intention to collect Matter of Exculpation reſpecting the Begums, whom I did not underſtand I went to charge.

Q. You have ſtated, that you adviſed Mr. Haſtings, and thought it material, that he ſhould have Affidavits to aſcertain the Facts relative to the Benares Inſurrection; why did not you think it equally material he ſhould have the ſame Sort of Teſtimony, to aſcertain the Facts relative to the ſuppoſed Rebellion of the Begums?

A. I underſtood from Mr. Haſtings, that the Account of the Rebellion of the Begums was to form a Part of his Narrative; I therefore did think it was neceſſary Mr. Haſtings ſhould authenticate that Rebellion as well as any other Fact. I hope I have not ſaid, that I did not think it was neceſſary for Mr. Haſtings, if he had aſſerted it as a Fact, in the Benares Narrative, that the Begums were in Rebellion, that he ſhould not get the Facts verified as to that Point.

Q. Then you was aware of the Object of the Affidavits?

A. I was aware of the general Tendency, and of that Fact amongſt the reſt.

Q. I underſtand you then to ſay, you was aware that the general Tendency of the Affidavit was, to confirm the Suſpicions or Accuſations againſt the Begums?

A. I did not mean that; nor did I ſay that the general Tendency was to authenticate the Facts in Mr. Haſtings's Narrative, and this Fact amongſt the reſt; that it was not the only or the principal Fact, but was one Fact amongſt many.

Q. Have you read the Narrative?

A. I have not.

Q. Then how do you know what is contained in the Narrative?

A. Becauſe Mr. Haſtings had given me an Account of what paſſed at Benares, and I believed that his Narrative would compriſe what he had told me in Converſation. Mr. Haſtings, after he had written his Narrative, gave me a Copy of it; a Gentleman of the Name of Charters, borrowed it of me the next Day, and I never ſaw it afterwards.

Q. Was not the Narrative publiſhed at Calcutta?

A. I believe it was not publiſhed; it was printed at Calcutta, I believe for Mr. Haſtings's Uſe; I do not believe they were put to Sale; they might have been, but I do not know.

Q. Whether Mr. Haſtings ſhewed you any Part of the Papers which he was writing, afterwards called his Narrative, when you ſaw him at Chunar?

A. I think I recollect Mr. Haſtings having the Papers before him, but I do not recollect his having read any to me, or put the Papers into my Hands.

Q. Did you underſtand from Mr. Haſtings, that the Accuſation againſt the Begums of Rebellion, was a Part of that Narrative?

A. At the Time he was talking of writing his Narrative, in the ſame Converſation he mentioned to me the Begums being in Rebellion; I do not recollect his ſpecifically ſaying that was Part of his Narrative, but I expected it to be Part of it, as it was conſequential of the Benares Inſurrection.

Q. I aſk as to the Fact, How did Mr. Haſtings ſtate it to you? you ſay you underſtood thoſe Affidavits to be taken to juſtify the Matters contained in the Narrative, did you underſtand the Narrative contained an Account of the Rebellion of the Begums, as well as an Account of the Benares Inſurrection?

A. That Narrative was not then completed; I did underſtand it would be included in the Narrative; and I now do not know whether it is or is not?

Q. Whether

Q. Whether this Accuſation, which you conceived was to be a Part of the Narrative, was ſo to ſtand in the Narrative, be the Event what it would, of your Journey to Lucknow?

A. No; I expected it would be in the Narrative, and till I was now informed, it was not, I thought, it had been there.

Q. If it was not to depend upon the Information that you was to receive at Lucknow, what did you comprehend or underſtand by that Part of Mr. Haſtings's Inſtructions to Mr. Middleton, that you was to take the Evidence, whether it tended to refute or eſtabliſh the Charges againſt them?

A. If I had the Letter put into my Hand, and was ſuffered to read the Whole of the Letter, I would put ſuch a Conſtruction upon it as ſtrikes me at preſent; but I really do not know what Conſtruction to put upon a Part of the Letter, without knowing the Whole, without ſeeing the Context. I believe it is neceſſary for me to read the Letter to your Lordſhips, and then I believe your Lordſhips will be able to put as good a Conſtruction upon it as I can.

The Letter was ſhewn to the Witneſs, after which he proceeded as follows:

A. I find the Letter turns out to be as I ſuſpected it was; it is not confined to the Affairs of the Begums only.

Then the Letter was delivered in, and read by the Clerk as follows:

"To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Lucknow.

"Sir, "Chunar, 15th Nov. 1781.

"In your Letter, dated the 17th Oct. I find it generally aſſerted, by Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, in the Extracts quoted from his Letters, and confirmed by yourſelf, that, during the late Revolt of this Province, Levies, both of Horſe and Foot, were openly made at Fyzabad, both by the Begums and by Cheyt Sing's Agents, in his Name and for hs Uſe; that theſe Levies were diſpatched to Benaris, publickly as his, One Party of 1000 Horſe and Foot, under the Command of Shake Cawn: That Jewar Ally Cawn, in the Chowk of Fyzabad, aſked every Man who bore the Appearance of a Soldier, Why he went not to Cheyt Sing for Service: That Futteh Sah, Ghunooroy, and Ajeet Mul, had croſſed to Majowley, urged to that Step by Cheyt Sing, who had ſupplied them with Money, and promiſed them great Sums, if they would but put the whole Country into Confuſion: That the principal Zemindars had all Certificates under the Seal of Cheyt Sing, that he would ſupply them with whatever Money they might require for ſubſiſting all the Troops they could raiſe; that it was the general Belief of every Man in that Part of the Country, that it was a concerted Plan for the Extirpation of the Engliſh; that the whole Country, from Goonda to Maujee, and from Fyzabad to the Benaris Diſtrict, and acroſs from the Gogra to the Ganges, was in the utmoſt Ferment; that if we met with a Check at Benaris, every Man in the Country was ready to fall on our ſcattered Parties: That the Inſurrection was not partial, but generally ſpread throughout the Whole; and if he (Colonel H.) might truſt to his Information, it was already begun, and would ſoon rage as violently in Shahjehanpoor Rohilcund, Cora, and the Doaub.

"Theſe are Facts of ſuch Moment to the publick Service, and ſo neceſſary both to the Means which may be required for our future Preſervation, and to the Juſtification of what has paſſed, and to what may be done to the ſame End, that I think it proper that they ſhould be verified in the moſt authentick and ſacred Manner; I muſt therefore requeſt and require of you, in my Name, to call upon Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, Major Macdonald, Captain Williams, and Lieutenant Gordon, and every other Perſon who may have a perſonal Knowledge or Underſtanding of theſe Facts, or of any others relating to the Rebellion of Cheyt Sing, and its Connections in the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier, ſeverally to depoſe all that they know and believe concerning the ſame, either on Oath before Sir Elijah Impey, who will inſtantly viſit Lucknow chiefly with this Intention, or that they repair to me at this Place for the ſame Purpoſe.

"Reſpecting the Levies made at Fyzabad, the March of Shake Cawn, with a Force declared for the Service of Cheyt Sing, the publick Invitations of Jewar Ally Cawn, the Certificates under the Seal of Cheyt Sing in the Poſſeſſion of the Zemindars of Goroocpoor and Barraich; his Letters to the Begums or their Miniſters; the Plan concerted for the Extirpation of the Engliſh, I muſt earneſtly recommend it to you to obtain ſuch Evidence as can be * required reſpecting each of theſe Points, whether ſuch Evidence ſhall aſcertain or refute, or qualify their Reality; and, if it be poſſible, to gain Poſſeſſion of the original Letters and Certificates, ſaid to have been written by Cheyt Sing as aboveſaid.

* Sic in Orig.

"You will be careful to aſcertain the Dates and Places of Facts, and the Names and Places and Perſons in the Depoſitions taken, that their Evidence may not be defective or ambiguous from the Want of Preciſion.

† Sic in Orig.

"Reſpecting the Murders ſaid ſaid † to have been committed at Goopeegunge, I have already written to you, and now ſend you a Duplicate of my Letter on that Subject.

"I alſo ſend you the Form of a Caption or Introduction to each Depoſition, of which you will be pleaſed to furniſh Copies to each of the Engliſh Gentlemen, who ſhall have Occaſion for the

Uſe

Uſe of them. The Depoſitions of the native Witneſſes muſt be written in the Language which they underſtood, and muſt be verified on Oath, and ſigned; or if they ſhall object to the Oath as contrary to their religious Tenets, they muſt be required to ſubſcribe ſuch a ſolemn Atteſtation as ſhall be equivalent to the Sanction of an Oath, and add your Signatures to it.

" I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
Warren Haſtings."

Then the Witneſs proceeded as follows:

A. I am deſired to give my Conſtruction of this Paſſage, " Whether ſuch Evidence ſhall aſcertain, or refute, or qualify their Reality:" I underſtand by that, the Reality of all the Facts contained in the firſt Paragraph of the Letter, and it is not entirely confined to the Reality of the Rebellion of the Begums. I was aſked another Queſtion as to theſe Words, " theſe are Facts of ſuch Moment to the publick Service, and ſo neceſſary both to the Means which may be required for our future Preſervation, and to the Juſtification of what has paſſed, and to what may be done to the ſame End, that I think it proper that they ſhould be verified in the moſt authentick and ſacred Manner." I do not underſtand that Paſſage to relate merely to the Seizure of the Treaſures of the Begums, but to ſuch Precautions as ſhould be taken againſt Dangers that might ariſe from the Facts related in the preceding Paragraph, of which that Fact relating to the Begums is only one.

Q. The Queſtion is not, whether it related to all the Facts—but how you was to aſcertain or refute thoſe Charges, unleſs by Inquiry, or knowing the Objects to which the People were to depoſe?

A. I did not underſtand it to be my Buſineſs to refute or aſcertain.—The Honourable Manager refers to the Letter of Inſtructions to Mr. Middleton, who was to produce the Affidavits to refute or aſcertain: My Purpoſe was only to give a Sanction to thoſe Affidavits, let them contain what they would.

Q. You ſay, you do not know who drew any of thoſe Affidavits?

A. I certainly do not at preſent. It is not impoſſible I might at that Time have known; but I have not at preſent the leaſt Recollection that I then did. I have nothing to trace in my Memory from which I ſhould know who drew the Affidavits.

Q. Who introduced to you the Witneſſes that were to depoſe?

A. I believe that moſt of the Witneſſes were introduced by Mr. Middleton or Mr. Johnſon; as well as I can recollect, I had with me no Moonſhy, that is, an Interpreter, nor any Servant who could act in that Capacity.

Q. Then, when any Witneſs was brought to you, without further Queſtions you received the Paper from him, to the Truth of which that Witneſs ſwore?

A. That was, I believe, in general the Manner in which the Affidavits were taken, that Mr. Middleton, or ſome Gentleman on whom I could rely, brought the Perſon who wanted to make that Affidavit before me, and the Paper, and I took the Affidavit.

Q. What did you do with the Affidavits after you had got them all?

A. I believe I delivered them to Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Where did you deliver them to him; was it at Lucknow?

A. As well as I recollect, I took the Affidavits into my Cuſtody, and delivered them afterwards to Mr. Haſtings. When the Affidavits were made, I believe I bundled them up and laid them by, and when I went to Chunar I delivered them to Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Did you leave any Copies of them at Lucknow with Mr. Middleton?

A. I certainly left no Copies behind of the Affidavits; whether Mr. Middleton had taken Copies before or after, I do not know. I did no Act of leaving Copies behind; if Copies were left, I do not at preſent recollect the Circumſtance; I am pretty ſure I was not applied to for any Copy. I believe, according to the Courſe of the Country, according to their Manner, there never is an original Paper without a Copy. I believe they always make firſt a fair Draft, from whence they make the Original; but there are Gentlemen that have been in that Country, who know it better, but I believe that is the conſtant Manner of the Natives; ſo that there moſt probably were Copies left behind.

Q. Did Mr. Middleton ever expreſs himſelf to you as having ever made any material Diſcovery by theſe Affidavits?

A. I do not recollect ſuch a Circumſtance.

Q. Did either Colonel Hannay, or Captain Gordon, expreſs themſelves to that Purpoſe?

A. I believe not: In point of Fact, I believe all the Facts, or moſt of them, were known before, and that theſe Facts already known were authenticated by Affidavit. That I believe to be the Fact.

Q. Did

Q. Did Hyder Beg the Nabob's Miniſter make any Depoſition before you?
A. I believe he did; but I cannot now ſpeak poſitively, whether he did or not. I think he did, and I think he did not ſwear it; as far as I can recollect he did not ſwear it: The Muſſelmen of a certain Rank do not chuſe to ſwear.

Q. Had you any Converſation with the Nabob's Miniſter Hyder Beg, reſpecting this Rebellion of the Begums?
A. I do not recollect I had; I rather think I had not; and I believe I have before ſaid ſo.

Q. How came you, when you had been taking the Depoſitions, the main Object of which related to the Begums, never to mention the Subject to the Nabob, or to his Miniſters?
A. I had no Doubt that both the Nabob and his Miniſters knew the Fact of my taking Affidavits: With reſpect to the Nabob, I ſhould have thought it indecent to have moved a Converſation upon that Subject, unleſs he had himſelf firſt began it; with reſpect to the Miniſter, I thought if he had choſen to converſe with me upon the Subject, he would have done it: It was no Part of my Buſineſs to examine at all into the Subject; the main Purpoſe was, as I have ſaid over and over again, to authenticate ſuch Facts as the ſeveral Parties choſe to depoſe before me. I certainly made no Inquiry. I made myſelf no Party to the Buſineſs.

Q. Did the Nabob, or any of his Miniſters, never expreſs any Deſire to know the Object of your Journey to Lucknow?
A. No; and according to the Etiquette of the Manners of thoſe People, they certainly never would have made any ſuch Inquiry; they would have thought it indecent to have aſked me any ſuch Queſtion.

Q. How came you to think it not to be material, to inform them the Object of your Journey related to ſo ſerious a Rebellion as you relate to have exiſted?
A. The Object of my Journey was not ſimply that; the Object of my Journey, as I before ſaid, was to urge Mr. Middleton to the Execution of the Treaty of Chunar; through Mr. Middleton, that was communicated to the Nabob and his Miniſters; they did not converſe with me upon the Subject, and I did not think it fit to converſe with them, nor had I any Miſſion to the Nabob or his Miniſters; and the Viſits paid by me to the Nabob and his Miniſters, and by the Nabob and his Miniſters to me, were Viſits only of Ceremony, not of Buſineſs.

Q. Had you, upon your Return to Benares, any, and what, Converſation with Mr. Haſtings, reſpecting the Contents of his Affidavits?
A. I do not know that I had any Converſation with Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject. I delivered to him the Affidavits, and told him, I had taken them as he deſired, or ſomething to that Purpoſe: Upon the Subject Matter of the Affidavits, I am pretty confident I had no Converſation with him.

Q. Whether you did not think it extraordinary, Mr. Haſtings, who ſent you to collect Evidence to refute or aſcertain theſe Charges, ſhould never have ſpoken to you upon the Accompliſhment of your Object?
A. I do not think it at all extraordinary; becauſe if Mr. Haſtings had converſed with me upon the Subject, all I could have told him would have been, that there were the Affidavits, and what they contained I could not tell; poſſibly ſuch a Converſation might have paſſed; but I certainly could not give Mr. Haſtings, at that Time, or at this Time, any Information what thoſe Affidavits contained, whether they did or did not anſwer his Purpoſe, and I for that Reaſon did not think it extraordinary: If I had been to collect the Matter, and to ſegregate it for the Purpoſe of Mr. Haſtings's Juſtification, I ſhould have thought it extraordinary, if Mr. Haſtings had not inquired how I had done it; but as I went ſimply to give a Sanction to the Affidavits, and as the Affidavits had that Sanction, I did not think it at all extraordinary, that Mr. Haſtings ſhould make no Inquiry about them.

Q. Did you hear, when you came back, that the Rebellion at Fyzabad was over, or ſtill exiſted?
A. I cannot charge my Memory, whether I had any Converſation upon the Subject or not: I believe the Rebellion was over; but the Country was not at that Time quiet; becauſe, when I was at Lucknow, I was informed it was not. After I came down to Chunar with the Affidavits, I left Mr. Haſtings within a Day or Two, if not the next Day; very ſoon after I came down to Chunar; I do not recollect having any Converſation upon the Matter with Mr. Haſtings.

Q. You had no Converſation upon the other Rebellion?
A. I do not recollect that I had.

Q. How did you go attended to Lucknow?
A. Is the Queſtion meant to relate to my own Servants, or to the Attendants that met me upon the Road.

Q. Not to thoſe that met you—how did you go from Chunar?

A. I went attended by a Surgeon, a Mr. Murchiſon, and I had one principal Servant with me; and I do not know whether I had above Two or Three others, who are called Hircarrahs; I am not quite ſure whether I had them or not. I went with a very few People indeed. I went with great Expedition, travelling Night and Day.

Q. How came you to paſs through a Country that was in a State of Rebellion, with ſuch few Attendants?

A. I did not go through a Country that was in a State of Rebellion; I went through a Country as ſtill as from here to Brentford, perfectly quiet.

Q. How near to Fyzabad did you paſs?

A. It will appear upon the Map, I believe, a very conſiderable Diſtance indeed, as I apprehend; I do not believe I was ever within Fifty Miles of Fyzabad, or a great Deal more; I believe the Diſtance to be a great Deal more.

Q. Then what did you mean by ſaying Fyzabad was not much out of the Way?

A. What I meant to ſay was this; I was to proceed from Illahabad to Lucknow; it undoubtedly was very much out of my Way; but there is another Road, which is not uncommon, though much about, from Lucknow to Fyzabad, going no Part of the Road that I went to Lucknow.

Q. Through what Place did you mean to go in order to go by Fyzabad?

A. I cannot give an Itinerary, but I was told it was much further about, though a much pleaſanter Country, from Lucknow to Chunar by Fyzabad, than by Illahabad; it may probably be Fifty or Sixty Miles, or more, out of my Way; but I choſe to go that Way to ſee a Country which I might never have an Opportunity of ſeeing again. If I am doubted upon ſo trifling a Buſineſs as this, there are Gentlemen here that know the Fact that I did propoſe to go that Way, and the Anſwer I received.

Q. Where did you propoſe it?

A. At Lucknow, and I believe likewiſe at Chunar; at both Places, I believe. I certainly did wiſh to go that Way originally when I ſet out from Chunar: I was told I could not take that Route, for the Country was in Rebellion when I was at Chunar. I went to Lucknow; I was gone Three Days, and then I returned again to Chunar. I hope I have ſaid nothing to contradict my being at both Places.

Q. You before ſtated you was at Lucknow, and propoſed to return by Fyzabad; and it ſeemed an extraordinary Circumſtance, that as this Rebellion was of ſuch Notoriety, it ſhould never have come to your Knowledge, or you would not have propoſed to go through the Head Quarters of Rebellion: Now, you recollect you made the ſame Propoſition at Lucknow, how long was you at Lucknow that you ſuppoſed the Rebellion was quieted?

A. It is upon no freſh Recollection; I knew of the Circumſtance at the Time when I was giving my Evidence; but I was not examined as to both Places; if I had been, I ſhould have given the Anſwer I have, and I hope the Honourable Manager will refrain from throwing out Reflections againſt my Teſtimony when there is no Cauſe; my Recollection is not refreſhed; and it is the more extraordinary, that the Honourable Managers ſhould chuſe to fling out thoſe Reflections upon me, becauſe they know I ſtand in thoſe Circumſtances, that if I choſe it I might decline giving any Anſwer at all. I was not examined upon my former Examination to both Places, or otherwiſe I ſhould have given the ſame Evidence.

Q. You have ſtated, the Rebellion of the Begums to have been a Matter of as much Notoriety as the Rebellion in 1745 in London; and ſo ſtating it, you ſay, you propoſed going through Fyzabad, when you was told that it was dangerous going that Way; that you did not go there, but to Lucknow, and, after ſtaying only Three Days there, propoſed to return by Fyzabad: How do you account for that?

A. I will account for it: When I ſpoke of the Rebellion, talked of at Chunar as a Matter of as much Notoriety as the Rebellion in 1745, I talked not of an exiſting Rebellion at that Time, but of a Rebellion that had exiſted in conſequence of the Troubles in Benares. I underſtood at that Time that the Rebellion, ſuch as it was, was quelled, but that the Country was not quieted; and I believe I can give your Lordſhips further Satisfaction that this muſt have been my Meaning, becauſe I delivered in a Letter to the Houſe of Commons, dated the 6th of October, which I received from Mr. Haſtings, who then mentioned the Troubles that had been at Fyzabad; and, in that Letter, he ſays, "he hopes the Nabob, by going through Fyzabad, will quiet thoſe Troubles," ſo it was the Rebellion that was paſt: The Honourable Managers are in Poſſeſſion of that Letter, and therefore muſt have known that I did not mean a Rebellion actually exiſting.

Q. There is no Objection to your correcting your former Anſwer; but you undoubtedly did ſtate, that you underſtood at Lucknow that the Rebellion then exiſted?

A. If my Evidence is ſo, I ſhould be glad to be corrected: If I did, it was not my Intention: It could not poſſibly be my Intention. I ſhould be glad to be corrected.

Then the following Queſtion and Anſwer were read over to the Witneſs:

Q. While you was at Lucknow, did you make any Examination or Enquiry to ſatisfy your own Mind, with reſpect to the Innocence or Guilt of the Begums?

A. I remember one Circumſtance, if it may be called an Examination, that, having proſecuted my Journey through Illihabad, I had a Deſire, for the Purpoſe of ſeeing the Country, to return to Chunar through Fyzabad. I was told by every Body there I could not take that Route, becauſe the Country was not quieted from the Rebellion of the Begums: I do not know that I made any particular Examination; when I was at Chunar I underſtood it to be a Fact, as clearly aſcertained as, I believe, it was in London, in the Year 1745, that there was a Rebellion in the North.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Am I now to underſtand you, that Mr. Haſtings did not ſtate to you, when you left Chunar, that the Begums were then in actual Rebellion?

A. I do not recollect he told me ſo.

Q. Whether, in your Examination before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, you did not make this Anſwer:—"When he communicated to me in Calcutta his Intentions with Regard to "Cheit Sing, I declined giving an Opinion at all, becauſe I could not take upon me a ſufficient "Knowledge of the Laws of the Country to adviſe whether that Act was legal or not. But with "regard to the Begums, I told him, if the Fact he ſtated were true, namely, that the Begums were "in actual Rebellion, I conſidered it to be neceſſary to the Exiſtence of the Government of the "Nabob Vizier, that he ſhould have the Power of taking from his Subjects in Rebellion thoſe "Treaſures which enabled them to ſupport their Rebellion."

A. I certainly do remember it; but I do not know, that that ties it up to the Begums being then in actual Rebellion, becauſe I take the Doctrine to be as true, that after a Rebellion has ceaſed, the Prince of the Country might as lawfully take thoſe Treaſures which had enabled the Perſons to ſupport the Rebellion; I certainly, whatever the Expreſſion may be, never did underſtand, at the Time I was at Lucknow, that the Begums were then in actual Rebellion, becauſe I had then almoſt poſitive Evidence to the contrary; and the Reports were that they had been in Rebellion, Mr. Haſtings' Letter of the 6th of October ſaying, he expected the Nabob's Journey through Fyzabad would quiet that Country, at that Time I conceived that the Rebellion had ceaſed, though not the Conſequences.

Q. When did you underſtand the Rebellion to have ceaſed, and how?

A. I do not know the preciſe Time when the Rebellion ceaſed, nor do I know how it ceaſed; but I apprehend it to have ceaſed on the Turn in Favour of the Engliſh Army.

Q. Did you ever hear of any Battle fought, or any Troops marching againſt the Begums, or of any Blows ſtruck in this Rebellion any where?

A. No, I never did: but I have heard, by Report, that they raiſed Troops for Cheit Sing.

Q. Did you hear by Report, that, at the Time they were accuſed of being in Rebellion, they had preſerved a Britiſh Officer and his Detachment?

A. I have heard it, but when, I cannot tell; I rather believe I did not hear it while I was at Chunar, but I am not ſure.

Q. Did you hear it at Lucknow?

A. I am not ſure whether I did or not, it is very probable I might hear it at Chunar; at the ſame Time, with the Conſtruction put upon the Act, I did not conceive it to be an amicable Act to the Engliſh.

Q. What was the Conſtruction you heard put upon it?

A. That it was done merely for the Purpoſe of temporizing.

Q. Did you not think it extraordinary, that Colonel Hannay, or Captain Gordon, ſhould have made no mention of it in their Depoſitions?

A. Till I heard, by the Evidence delivered at this Bar, that they had not made mention of it in their Affidavit, I did not know the Fact; and ſuch an Opinion (if I had any Opinion upon the Subject) muſt have been gathered within theſe Two or Three Days, and from exactly the ſame Materials that your Lordſhips have before you.

Q. Did you ever, directly or indirectly, diſcourſe with Mr. Middleton, Colonel Hannay, or Captain Gordon, upon the Subject Matter of their Affidavits?

A. To the beſt of my Recollection, I never had any Converſation with them upon the Subject; but it is not impoſſible but I ſhould, for, as well as I can remember, the Affidavits of Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon were taken in the Tent of Colonel Hannay, who gave a large Entertainment to me and the Gentlemen at Lucknow; it is very probable, at Dinner, there might have been ſuch Converſation, but I never had any private Converſation with them upon the Subject; I might have heard them, in common Converſation, mention what the Matter of their Affidavits were. The Honourable Managers ſeem totally to go upon different Principles from what I do: I acted merely

as

as an Inſtrument to authenticate the Affidavits, I did not at all concern myſelf with the Subject Matter of them.

Q. Did you give any further Advice upon the Subject to Mr. Haſtings, after your Return to Chunar?

A. I do not recollect that I did; all the Advice I could give upon the Subject, I believe I had before given, when I adviſed the Affidavits to be taken upon the Subject; I do not recollect having given any further Advice.

Q. Had you no further Communication with Mr. Haſtings after your Return, reſpecting the Seizure of the Treaſure?

A. I believe no further Communication with Mr. Haſtings, than having acquainted him with what paſſed between Mr. Middleton and me, and having a Communication of a Letter or two that Mr. Middleton wrote to me upon the Subject, which I communicated to Mr. Haſtings; I think no other. Mr. Haſtings was at Chunar, I believe I might almoſt ſay without a Secretary. Mr. Anderſon, his confidential Agent, at that Time was gone to Scindia's Camp; Mr. Sullivan, his private Secretary, had left him, and returned into the Province of Bahar. I believe at that Time Mr. Haſtings had no very confidential Friend nor private Secretary with him. Mr. Davy, who afterwards became his confidential Secretary, had not been introduced to him, at that Time, a Week. Major Davy came up with me when I went to Benares, and I myſelf introduced him to Mr. Haſtings: He came from Lord Macartney, from Madraſs: Under thoſe Circumſtances, and my having Converſation with Mr. Middleton with regard to the Buſineſs of the Chunar Treaty and the Begums, Mr. Haſtings deſired me to write to Mr. Middleton, which I did.

Q. Was not Mr. Hay with Mr. Haſtings there?
A. I believe not; I do not recollect.

Q. Was not Major Palmer?

A. I think not. I doubt whether I ſaw Major Palmer during any Part of the Time I was there; and as to Mr. Hay, I did not underſtand him, if he was there, to have been the confidential Secretary of Mr. Haſtings. I believe he was in the publick Office as Secretary; but I believe he was not a particular confidential Perſon of Mr. Haſtings. I am pretty ſure Mr. Hay was not there.

Q. Did you not continue to correſpond with Mr. Middleton upon the Subject of the Begums till January following, or February.

A. I believe I did, and very probably further.

Q. Did you communicate all the Letters you received from Mr. Middleton upon the Subject to Mr. Haſtings?

A. I certainly did.

Q. Did you write Anſwers to Mr. Middleton by Mr. Haſtings's Directions?

A. I wrote nothing to Mr. Middleton upon the Subject, which I did not underſtand to be dictated by Mr. Haſtings. I do not know that I wrote them when Mr. Haſtings was preſent; but I wrote what I underſtood to be the Matter Mr. Haſtings wiſhed to have communicated to Mr. Middleton.

Q. What do you mean by this Paſſage, in a Letter dated the 1ſt of December 1781, from Chunargur: "What we talked of concerning the Begums he highly approves, and would have 'himſelf adviſed. He wiſhes it to be done immediately. I need not mention the Neceſſity of 'taking Care that the Money be applied to the Company's Uſe."—Do you remember this Paſſage?

A. I do.

Q. What was the Object of it?

A. The Object of that Paſſage I take to be the ſeizing of the Treaſures of the Begums.

Q. Did you not underſtand that when the Nabob conſented to the ſeizing of the Treaſure, it was as an Alternative in Lieu of ſeizing the Jaghires?

A. I have not the leaſt Recollection of ſuch an Alternative.

Q. Was it upon account of the ſuppoſed Rebellion of the Begums, that the Treaſures were to be ſeized.

A. I underſtood ſo.

Q. When did you firſt hear of any Attempt made to reſume the Jaghires?
A. I cannot aſcertain the Dates and Times; I have no Memorandum concerning it.

Q. Do you remember this Paſſage in a Letter from Mr. Middleton to you, dated Lucknow the 19th of December 1781.—"I think the Oppoſition the Begum has given to the Meaſure of "reſuming the Jaghire, which as far as it concerns her, bears not the Shadow of Exception, as ſhe

"is

" is to receive the Value in ready Money, will be a full Juſtification of the further Demands his " Excellency has to make upon her."—Do you know any thing of that Paſſage?

A. I believe there is ſuch a Paſſage in a Letter from Mr. Middleton to me.

Q. Do you not ſee, it is here admitted, that the Ground of ſeizing the Treaſures was the ſuppoſed Reſiſtance to giving up the Jaghires, when ſhe was to be no Sufferer by it, and there was no mention of a Rebellion?

A. In the Paſſage read there is certainly no mention of any Rebellion, and from that Paſſage it would certainly ſo appear; but that is Mr. Middleton's Senſe, and not mine.

Q. Then, did you underſtand that Mr. Middleton was ignorant of the Rebellion when he was at Lucknow?

A. I apprehend not, becauſe Mr. Middleton had mentioned the Rebellion to me, but I apprehend by this, Mr. Middleton was pointing out Two Cauſes for ſeizing the Treaſures, a Cauſe in Addition to the Rebellion.

Q. Whether you did not think the Rebellion a ſufficient Juſtification by itſelf for ſeizing the Treaſures, without any Second Cauſe?

A. I did not think the Second Cauſe had any Thing to do with it, I thought only of the Rebellion.

Q. Did you not, in Point of Fact, know there had been no Attempt to reſume the Jagheers, and conſequently no Reſiſtance to it, on the 19th of December?

A. I knew nothing but what I received by Information from Mr. Middleton; I thought his Letters contained the Truth, and that there had been an Attempt to reſume the Jagheers; if there was not that Attempt to reſume the Jagheers, I now learn it for the Firſt Time.

Q. Had you a regular Communication from Mr. Middleton reſpecting the Progreſs of the Tranſaction of ſeizing the Treaſures?

A. I believe Mr. Middleton did give me a regular Communication of the Progreſs of it, but I cannot be anſwerable for the Truth of it.

Then the following Letter from Mr. Middleton to Sir Elijah Impey, ſigned Nathaniel Middleton, was delivered in and read.

" Dear Sir Elijah, " Fazabad, the 25th January 1782.

" I have the Satisfaction to inform you that we have at Length ſo far attained the great Object of our Expedition to this Place, as to commence on the Receipt of Money, of which in the Courſe of this Day we have got about Six Lacks. I know not yet what Amount we ſhall actually realize, but I think I may ſafely venture to pronounce it will be equal to the Liquidation of the Company's Balance. It has been at once the moſt important and the moſt difficult Point of Duty which has ever occurred in my Office, and the Anxiety, the Hopes, and Fears, which have alternately agitated my Mind cannot be deſcribed or conceived but by thoſe who have been Witneſs to what has paſſed in the Courſe of this long Conteſt. The Miniſters have ſupported me nobly throughout the Buſineſs, and deſerve much Commendation; without the ſhrewd Diſcernment, and Knowledge of the Fineſſe and Tricks of the Country, which Hyder Beg Cawn poſſeſſes, I believe we ſhould have ſucceeded but indifferently; for I ſoon found that no real Advantage was to be obtained by proceeding at once to violent Extremities with the Begum, and that ſhe was only to be attacked through the Medium of her confidential Servants, who it required conſiderable Addreſs to get hold of; however, we at laſt effected it, and by uſing ſome few Severities with them we at Length came at the ſecret Hoards of this old Lady. I will write you more Particulars hereafter.

" I am ſorry to inform you my little Boy ſtill continues in a very precarious Way, though ſomewhat better than when I had laſt the Honour to addreſs you.

" My Reſpects to Lady Impey, and believe me with great Regard,
My dear Sir Elijah,
Your faithful, obliged, and
moſt affectionate humble Servant,
" Nathaniel Middleton."

" Sir E. Impey.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. From your Knowledge of the Whole of theſe Circumſtances, and your Communication with Mr. Middleton at Lucknow, to what did you attribute the Anxiety, Hopes, and Fears, which Mr. Middleton ſays had alternately agitated his Mind?

A. I can know it no otherwiſe than from what Mr. Middleton relates in this Letter. I take it thoſe Anxieties, Hopes, and Fears, had ariſen from his not being ſure he ſhould effectually ſeize the Treaſure.

Q. What did Mr. Middleton mean by theſe Words, " The Miniſters have ſupported me nobly throughout the Buſineſs?"

A. I

A. I think in ſome Part of Mr. Middleton's Correſpondence he had ſaid, the Nabob himſelf had been, averſe to the Meaſure, after having undertaken it, and the Miniſters had upheld Mr. Middleton in it; but I know nothing of it but from the Letters.

Q. Againſt the Will of the Nabob?
A. That I believe was againſt the Will of the Nabob.

Q. Do you not know yourſelf, that the Nabob was averſe to the Meaſure?
A. I certainly did not know that he was averſe to the Meaſure; and I ſhould rather have thought otherwiſe, and that at any Time, without any Pretence of Rebellion, he would have been glad to ſeize the Treaſures of the Begums: That was my Opinion. When I firſt went to Calcutta, or very ſoon afterwards, there was a large Quantity of the Effects of the Begums at Sale in the Settlement, which had been ſeized by the Nabob; and, as I then underſtood, if the Engliſh Government had not interfered, he would at that Time have ſeized the Whole of the Treaſures of the Begums; but I think it is right for me likewiſe to ſay, from whom I had that Intelligence: That Intelligence I had from Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Did you ever require any Explanation from Mr. Middleton of theſe Paſſages?
A. I believe never; I thoroughly underſtood them, and therefore did not require an Explanation.

Q. You have ſtated, that you had no Knowledge yourſelf that the Meaſure of reſuming the Jagheers had not been attempted, at the Time they reſolved to ſeize the Treaſures; the Reſiſtance to the reſuming of the Jagheers was mentioned in one Place as a Second Cauſe, and Ground for ſeizing the Treaſures; how do you underſtand the following Paſſage in a Letter from Mr. Middleton to you, dated Lucknow, the 5th December 1781: "The Meaſure reſpecting the Begums, "and the Reſumption of the Jagheers, will be inſtantly adopted. The latter has only been ſuſ-"pended for the Governor's Sentiments on the former, as the Jagheers of the Begums and their "Dependants are the moſt conſiderable, and to have attacked them, without being prepared at the "ſame Time to enter immediately on the Execution of the grand Deſign, would have been doing "Things by Halves, and poſſibly have defeated our Expectations." Now, what did you underſtand to be the grand Deſign?

A. I certainly underſtood the grand Deſign to be the ſeizing of the Begums Treaſures, and, from this Letter now read to me, I do collect that they had not before attempted to ſeize the Jagheers.

Q. Then, the Account of the ſuppoſed Reſiſtance to reſuming the Jagheers could have been no Ground for ſeizing the Treaſures?
A. Undoubtedly not, if there had been no Attack upon the Jagheers. Mr. Middleton may explain it, I cannot: Thoſe Letters were delivered in to the Houſe of Commons Twelve Months ago: It is ſo many Years ſince I received them I certainly do not carry the Contents of them in my Mind.

Q. There is another Paſſage:—"Do not, my dear Sir Elijah Impey, ſuffer this Delay to "be urged or conſidered as an Imputation of Blame upon me: I entered on the Buſineſs "the very Day after you left me, and went ſo far as to look upon the Matter as finally agreed "upon, the actual Execution only ſuſpended, until I could receive either yours or the Governor's "Sentiments upon the further Propoſal, which is certainly of far greater Conſequence than the "Reſumption of the Jagheers, as it will do at one Stroke, if we are not all groſsly miſtaken, "what the Jagheers will be at leaſt Two Years in doing." What did you underſtand was to be done at one Stroke?
A. I underſtood that to be the ſeizing of the Treaſures of the Begums; and Mr. Middleton repreſents that it would raiſe a greater Sum: It is impoſſible for me to do otherwiſe than refer to the Letters, becauſe it could not be a Matter within my Knowledge.

Q. Are you now convinced, that the ſuppoſed Oppoſition to the Reſumption of the Jagheers was not any Cauſe of ſeizing the Treaſures; were the Treaſures ſeized on Account of the Rebellion?
A. Till I hear how Mr. Middleton explains that, I certainly cannot be convinced upon the Subject; if I was to know no more than I read from this Letter, I ſhould think there had been no Attempt to ſeize the Jagheers.

The Houſe informed the Managers for the Commons, that the Opinion of the Witneſs, upon a Matter not within his own Knowledge, was no Evidence.

Q. What, to your Knowledge, were the Grounds of ſeizing the Treaſures, beſides what you collected from your Correſpondence with Mr. Middleton?
A. I never knew of any other Grounds for ſeizing the Treaſures; I certainly had read this in Mr. Middleton's Letter; but a real Ground for ſeizing the Treaſures, juſtifiable in my Mind, I never knew, except the Circumſtance of the Rebellion.

Q. Do

Q. Do you mean a Rebellion before you ſaw Mr. Haſtings at Chunar, or a Rebellion ſubſequent to that Time?

A. I do not call the Reſiſtance to ſeizing the Jaghires, if there were ſuch, a Rebellion; I mean the Rebellion at the Time I ſaw Mr. Haſtings. When I ſpeak of Rebellion, I do not mean the Reſiſtance to ſeizing the Jagheers.

Q. Did you underſtand, from Mr. Haſtings, and from the Communication you had with him upon the Subject, that that was the Ground and Cauſe of the ſeizing of the Treaſures?

A. I certainly did.

Read, from Book 29, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Letter from the Board at Calcutta to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 11th February 1782.

"Fort William, 11th February 1782.

"Par. 7. The juſt Grounds of Suſpicion which had been given to the Nabob, by the Begum and other principal Jaghyrdars in his Country, by the Symptoms of Diſaffection, and even Treachery diſplayed in their Conduct, made it an Object of ſerious Conſideration with him to take the firſt Opportunity which ſhould offer, conſiſtent with Juſtice, to diſpoſſeſs them of the Means of becoming injurious to his Authority; and the Neceſſities of his Government requiring extraordinary Aid, he reſolved to take this Occaſion of depriving them of thoſe extenſive Jaghyrs, which enabled them to become troubleſome, by the Revenues which they yielded, and the Number of Dependents neceſſarily retained for their Collection and Defence, and to reſume the Lands, allowing Penſions to the Jaghyrdars, in Lieu of the Revenues.

"Par. 8. As the Reſident at Lucknow had been made Guarantee to an Agreement, formerly executed between the Nabob and the Begum, in which he had engaged for a ſpecific Sum of Money, to deſiſt from all further Claims upon her, it was neceſſary for him to acquire the Sanction of this Government to his Intentions, before he could carry them into Execution, which the Infidelity of the Begum gave but too much Reaſon to grant. You will find this Meaſure provided for in the new Treaty (*a*), concluded with the Nabob by the Governor General, at Chunar, on the 19th September laſt.

"(*a*) Vide Nº. 1 & 2 of the firſt Part of the Appendix to the Governor General's Narrative."

"Par. 9. On the Firſt Attempt made by the Nabob to carry this Plan into Execution againſt the Begum, ſhe determined to reſiſt his Authority, and raiſed a Revolt by the Means of her Eunuchs, Jewer Ally Cawn and Behar Ally Cawn, who had collected a Force of about 5000 Men in Order to ſet the Nabob at Defiance. Notice of this Second Inſurrection having been tranſmitted by the Reſident, without Loſs of Time, to the Governor General at Banares, he immediately ordered a large Detachment to march from Campore, and the Nabob reſolved to go in Perſon to Fyzabad; on his Arrival there, by the Aſſiſtance of our Troops, he took Poſſeſſion of the Kella; and the Eunuchs, ſeeing it would be in vain to make a ſtand when ſuperior Forces were expected, ſurrendered themſelves Priſoners to the Nabob, and their Followers diſperſed.

"Par. 10. In Order to puniſh the Begum for this daring ill Conduct, and to put it out of her Power to apply the Treaſures which ſhe had amaſſed, to the Purpoſe of raiſing further Commotions in the Country, the Nabob reſolved to ſeize her Wealth, which by the Mahomedan Laws he was intituled to, as an Inheritance from his Father, who in the latter Years of his Life had committed his Treaſury wholly to her Charge, and it had remained with her after his Death.

(Signed at the End.)

Warren Haſtings.
Ed. Wheler.
John Macpherſon (*a*)."

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Whether this Account, of your own certain Knowledge, is not wholly falſe?

A. I know this, that the Reaſon aſſigned to me for ſeizing the Treaſures, was the Rebellion of the Begums; whether any other Cauſes mixed in Mr. Haſtings's Mind, I cannot tell, but he did not communicate more to me.

Q. Did you not carry Mr. Haſtings's Pleaſure, reſpecting the Seizing of the Treaſures, in November 1782, to Lucknow?

A. I certainly did.

Q. Then, could any Thing that happened in January, have been the Reaſon for the Determination of Mr. Haſtings, which you carried to Lucknow in November?

A. No; certainly not.

Q. Whether you did not ſay, in your Opinion, the Rebellion was the only juſtifiable Cauſe of the Seizure of the Begums Treaſure, or ſomething to that Effect?

A. It certainly appears to me ſo at preſent.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, Nº LIV.

Q. Then, if the Rebellion appeared to be the only juſtifiable Cauſe of ſeizing thoſe Treaſures, how came you to be indifferent about the Subject Matter of the Affidavits, which were to eſtabliſh and authenticate that Fact of the Rebellion, ſo much ſo as not to have read them, or cauſed them to be read to you?

A. I had no more Indifference to thoſe Affidavits, nor had I any more Cauſe to look at thoſe Affidavits, than any Affidavits that ſhould be taken before me in a judicial Capacity—and I believe ſome of your Lordſhips know it is not cuſtomary for the Perſon who authenticates an Affidavit to examine into the Contents of it—Had I been, as I ſaid before, to ſegregate Matter for Mr. Haſtings's Defence, or to accuſe the Begums, I undoubtedly ought to have ſeen what the Matters of the Affidavits were; but as I went only for the Purpoſe of giving my Signature, and tendering the Oath to the Perſon who made the Affidavit, I did not conceive myſelf then, nor do I now conceive myſelf, (and I am now upon Oath) in the leaſt intereſted whether the Matter of theſe Affidavits was true or falſe, or whether they were, or were not, relevant to Mr. Haſtings's Narrative.

Q. The Queſtion was not, whether you had any perſonal Intereſt in it, but whether you acted in a judicial Character, or in the Character of Mr. Haſtings's confidential Secretary, Friend, and Adviſer, in the Article of taking the Affidavits?

A. I certainly had no Pretence to act in a judicial Capacity; I did act as the Adviſer of Mr. Haſtings; but I muſt diſtinguiſh the Caſe, from the Act of taking the Affidavits: In the Act of taking the Affidavits, I was not the Adviſer of Mr. Haſtings, I was then the ſimple Inſtrument to authenticate them.

Q. In what Character was you the ſimple Inſtrument of authenticating the Affidavits?

A. In no official Character whatever, but as a Man known to bear a great Office, and therefore it was ſuppoſed my taking the Affidavits would give a Weight to them.

Q. Whether or no you conceive that a Man in a great Office giving an Atteſtation to Affidavits, which he never read, and which were never read to him, would give any Weight to any Juſtification?

A. I think it would give a Weight to the only Effect that I wiſhed to have the Weight given; namely, to the Fact that thoſe Affidavits had been ſworn: That was all I meant to authenticate—the Fact of ſwearing.

Q. Whether you did not adviſe the taking of thoſe Affidavits?

A. I have ſaid before that I did.

Q. For what End or Purpoſe did you deſire them to be taken?

A. I have ſaid before, and, if it is deſired, I will repeat it again: It was for the Purpoſe of authenticating the Fact of the Narrative which Mr. Haſtings was then writing.

Q. Did you not adviſe ſuch Meaſures to be taken, upon the Suppoſition of the Fact of that Rebellion?

A. If the Queſtion means the taking of the Affidavits, I certainly did not do it upon the Idea of the Rebellion exiſting, but ſimply to authenticate the Facts in Mr. Haſtings's Narrative. If the Queſtion means the Advice, if that is to be called Advice, which I delivered to Mr. Haſtings, as my Opinion concerning the ſeizing the Treaſure, that undoubtedly was upon Account of the Rebellion.

Q. Whether, when a Meaſure of ſuch Conſequence to the Publick, and to Mr. Haſtings's Fame and Character, was recommended by you, you did not think ſuch a Matter as his Juſtification required ſomething elſe, than the Atteſtation of a mere Fact, that ſome Affidavits were ſworn?

A. I apprehended the Facts that would be ſworn in the Affidavits were material, and that they would be material; and that it was material the Fact of their having been ſworn ſhould be aſcertained. If I had ſuppoſed that the Affidavits contained nothing to the Purpoſe, moſt undoubtedly the mere Fact of having ſworn the Affidavits would have been of no Conſequence; that depended upon the Subject Matter of the Affidavits.

Q. Did it not appear to you, to be your Duty, in the Office you had voluntarily undertaken, to take care that the Affidavits were not nugatory?

A. I believe I have anſwered, at leaſt Ten Times, to the Subſtance of that Queſtion already. I moſt undoubtedly did not think it any Part of my Province; I never undertook it ſo: It is a Miſ-ſtatement to ſay I undertook that.

Q. Then, if you did not undertake to ſee whether the Affidavits were nugatory or relevant, upon what Ground did you adviſe Mr. Haſtings to place them in a Defence, which was to juſtify his Conduct to the People of this Country?

A. I will again ſtate to your Lordſhips what I ſaid before, which was, that Mr. Haſtings was writing a Narrative of Facts; that in the Diſpoſition of the People of England, I doubted

whether they would give Credit merely from his writing them: I therefore adviſed, that the Facts, whether material or immaterial, ſhould be authenticated by Affidavit.

Q. Did you adviſe him to place them in this Narrative?
A. I did adviſe that they ſhould be annexed to his Narrative.

Q. Do you mean to aſſert that you were indifferent, whether they were applicable to that Narrative or not, or whether they might not tend to hurt him, as well as to ſerve him?

A. I thought, and verily believed, that Mr. Haſtings, in his Narrative, meant to conform to Truth, and that Truth I wanted to be authenticated, whether it made for or againſt him; or, in Mr. Haſtings's own Words, in his Letter to Mr. Middleton, whether they realiſed or refuted the Fact.

Q. Do you conſider Mr. Haſtings's Narrative to be a mere Narrative, ſtating Facts with an Indifference as to the Effect of them, or as a Juſtification and an Apology for Mr. Haſtings?

A. I moſt undoubtedly underſtood that Mr. Haſtings was writing a Narrative which he intended for an Apology.

Q. Whether you was not examined to the following Effect in the Houſe of Commons, and whether you did not give the following Anſwer?

Then the Minutes of a Committee of the Houſe of Commons were delivered in. Read, the following Extract, beginning at Page 26 of the ſame.

"*Jovis*, 1° *Februarii* 1787.

"In a Letter, of the 6th December 1781, Page 3, from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Haſtings, there is this Sentence, 'Your Pleaſure reſpecting the Begums I have learned from Sir Elijah, and 'the Meaſure heretofore propoſed will ſoon follow the Reſumption of the Jaghiers.' To whom do the Words 'heretofore propoſed' refer?

"By hearing the Letter read, I refer it to a Propoſal made by Mr. Haſtings, through me, to Mr. Middleton.

"What was the Nature of the Propoſal?

"I take it to allude to what I have before mentioned, the Intention of Mr. Haſtings to have the Effects of the Begums confiſcated on Account of their Rebellion.

"Do you mean, by ſaying Mr. Haſtings intended to have the Begum's Effects confiſcated, that it was to grant his, Mr. Haſtings's, Conſent to the Nabob's doing it?

"I underſtood more; I underſtood it was Mr. Haſtings's Intention Mr. Middleton ſhould recommend it to the Nabob as a Meaſure."

Read, alſo, the following Extract, beginning at Page 28 of the ſaid Minutes.

"Did Mr. Middleton inform you the Begums were then actually in Rebellion?

"I will not take upon me preciſely to ſay that he informed me that the Begums were then in actual Rebellion; but that they informed me the Route by Fyzabad was unſafe on account of the State of the Country in conſequence of their Rebellion, which, to my Object of returning, was the ſame Thing.

"Did you often ſee the Nabob Vizier?

"I think I ſaw him Three or Four Times.

"Did you ever converſe with the Nabob on the Object of your Journey to Lucknow?

"There were ſeveral Objects of my Journey to Lucknow; I cannot ſay I never mentioned any of them, but I do not recollect that I did; and I am ſure I never converſed with him on the Subject of the Begums. Mr. Haſtings had never deſired me, and I ſhould have thought it impertinent and indelicate.

"Then the Nabob never mentioned to you that his Parents were in actual Rebellion againſt him?

"He certainly never did; but it is not to be inferred from thence that they were not, as we had no Converſation upon the State of the Country, of the Treaty of Benaris, or any of the preceding Tranſactions.

"Did you ever inform the Nabob that you had taken Depoſitions, while at his Court, tending to accuſe his Mother and Grandmother?

"I did not; but the Nabob muſt have known, becauſe his Miniſter made a Depoſition; I had no Doubt it was well known to the Nabob.

"What Miniſter?

"Hyder Beg Cawn.

" When did Hyder Beg Cawn make that Depoſition?

" I have not the leaſt Recollection; I believe it to have been in a Tent at Colonel Hannay's Quarters, or it might have been in the Houſe of Major Martin, where I lodged; but within the Court of the Nabob, I never took a Depoſition. I am inclined, upon Recollection, to think it was at Major Martin's.

" What became of that Depoſition?

" I do not recollect any Thing particular of that Depoſition, but believe it went with the reſt.

" Are you ſure that Depoſition ever mentioned the Begum's Name, or contains the leaſt Alluſion to it?

" I am by no Means ſure of it, for I never read it or heard it; I was not taking Depoſitions merely againſt the Begums; I do not know whether one of the Depoſitions went to the Begums; and if I had informed the Nabob, I was about taking Depoſitions againſt the Begums, I might, for what I know, have informed him falſe; for I did not know the Fact.

" Then, what do you mean by ſaying, you are convinced that the Nabob knew his Mother and Grandmother were accuſed—becauſe the Miniſter had made a Depoſition declaring it, at the ſame Time that you are wholly ignorant of the Contents of all the Depoſitions?

" If upon my Evidence I have ſaid ſo, I am glad the Queſtion has given me an Opportunity of explaining it; for I meant no ſuch Thing.—I aſk Pardon for not having obſerved the Queſtion was narrowed to Depoſitions againſt the Begums: I underſtood it went to taking Depoſitions generally."

Read, alſo, the following Extract, from Page 31 of the ſaid Minutes.

" On what Ground are you ſo confident that thoſe Depoſitions are in Print; and that the Dates, Names, and Places, are upon them; you never having read them?

" Becauſe I ſaw the Captions and Signatures of all the Affidavits, and the Dates.

" Did you never hear them read to you?

" I do not recollect that I did; ſome may have been read to me, but it was not the Courſe to read them; I took them as Juſtices of the Peace in England take Affidavits.

" Are you ſure that a conſiderable Number of them, were not deliberately read to you?

" I am by no Means ſure; very probably they were; at this Diſtance of Time I cannot recollect. I only mean, that I did not requeſt them to be read to me; if they choſe to read them to me, I probably heard them.

" Then, if they were read to you, and you heard them, muſt you not have been miſtaken in declaring, that you never had any Knowledge of the Contents of them?

" I acknowledge the Concluſion; but I have no Remembrance whether any of them were read to me; and I am ſure I do not know the Contents of them.

" Do you recollect whether or not, when the Depoſitions were in the Perſian or Hindoo Language, that they were tranſlated by Major Davy, ſigned in Engliſh, and the Contents explained to the Deponents?

" Very poſſibly it may be ſo, but I have not the leaſt Recollection of the Fact; the Explanation of the Contents might have been in my Preſence, or not; if it was expreſſed to be done in my Preſence, it undoubtedly was ſo.

" Whether you have ſet your Name to an Affidavit, purporting to be ſworn before you, the Contents being firſt explained to the Deponent, without the Contents having been explained in your Preſence?

" It requires a Knowledge of both Languages, to know whether an Interpreter explains right or no; without that Knowledge, the Interpreter muſt be credited, and I have no Doubt may; I am ſure the Interpreter was ſworn, and in that Caſe I ſhould ſo have ſigned it.

" Do you mean, you would have ſigned ſuch a Depoſition, without requiring the Interpreter to explain the Depoſition to the Deponent, at the Time he made the Affidavit?

" Certainly, upon aſking the ſworn Interpreter, whether he had interpreted the Contents truly.

" Do you think that it was a neceſſary Precaution, when a Native of the Country was to ſwear to a Depoſition, drawn up in Engliſh, that it ſhould have been interpreted to the Deponent in his own Language?

" I do.

" Was Major Davy with you at Lucknow?

" He was not.

" Who was the Interpreter upon that Occaſion?

" I do not know; but it was a ſworn Interpreter.

" Do you know his Name?

" I do not.

" Who recommended him?
" At this Diſtance of Time, I do not know; but I was ſatisfied at the Time.

" Are you abſolutely certain that he was ſuch a ſworn Interpreter?
" I am as poſitive as I can be of any common official Act. Although this was not an official Act, yet it was in the Nature of an official Act, that I would not have done it without a ſworn Interpreter, that being a Matter of Courſe.

" You having recollected the Atteſtation which you ſigned to one of the Depoſitions read to you, which there ſtates, that the Contents had been ſworn before you, the Contents being explained to the Deponent by the Interpreter, whoſe Name you do not recollect; do you recollect to have ſeen any ſuch Atteſtations to the Depoſitions you took at Lucknow?
" I have no Recollection whatſoever.

" You having ſtated that if, in the Depoſitions taken before you after your Return from Lucknow, there appears an Atteſtation, that the Contents had been firſt explained to the Deponent; do you not admit, that a ſimilar Atteſtation would have appeared, upon the Depoſitions taken at Lucknow, if the ſame Meaſures had been purſued there with reſpect to thoſe Depoſitions?
" If it had been ſo written on the Depoſitions, it certainly would ſo have appeared.

" But if the Fact had exiſted, that the Depoſitions had been ſo explained, would it not have ſo appeared?
" It ſhould have ſo appeared, and it is inaccurate, if it does not.

" Do you recollect yourſelf to have ſworn any Interpreter at Lucknow?
" I do not recollect it, but I have no doubt but I did.

" And you know no Reaſon, but attribute it to Inaccuracy, that the Depoſitions taken at Lucknow have no Atteſtation that they were firſt explained to the native Deponents, and that all the Depoſitions of the ſame Nature, taken upon your Return, have ſuch Atteſtations; and you do not remember the Name of the Interpreter, nor who recommended him?
" I did not know the Fact, and, if it is ſo, I attribute it to Inaccuracy; and I do not know the Name of the Interpreter. I hope the Committee will make Allowance for the Want of Remembrance of Tranſactions at ſuch a Diſtance of Time. There is another Thing, thoſe that are in Print are Copies; the Originals might have Atteſtations; I do not know that they have."

A. Before the Honourable Managers put any Queſtion to me—as Part of the Evidence given before the Houſe of Commons, has been given clearly for the Purpoſe of ſhewing I was inconſiſtent in that Evidence—I hope your Lordſhips will give me an Opportunity to explain that Inconſiſtency. Mr. Sheridan, one of the Honourable Managers, examined me from a Book in his Hand; he aſked me ſeveral Queſtions with reſpect to an Interpreter being ſworn at Lucknow; conceiving that Mr. Sheridan could not aſk me that Queſtion, unleſs the Subject Matter of the Examination required that there ſhould have been an Interpreter, I was miſled to ſay, that there was an Interpreter. I was then examined with reſpect to the Affidavits and Memorandums, and whether the Matters contained upon the Affidavits had been read to the Witneſſes, and then a Number of Queſtions put upon that. When I went home, imagining the Book I was examined from was the Report which contained Mr. Haſtings's Narrative, I found that there was no Affidavit taken at Lucknow which required an Interpreter, that there was not a ſingle Affidavit interpreted at Lucknow, that I took the Affidavits in Perſian, or in the Country Language, and they were ſubſequently tranſlated by Mr. Davy, a ſworn Interpreter. Under the Idea that I had an Interpreter, and that there might have been an Explanation of the Affidavits, which were to be taken in a Language that the Witneſs did not underſtand, I moſt undoubtedly ſaid I thought ſo, at the ſame Time denying that I remembered the Fact; but that I ſaid ſo, becauſe I knew it would be the Courſe of taking the Affidavits, and I am ſure I ſhould not have taken them out of the Courſe; it would have been the Courſe if the Affidavits had been tranſlated, but it could not be of Courſe, when I merely authenticated the Papers which the Witneſſes brought, by giving the Oath, and taking their Signature. This I thought neceſſary to explain to your Lordſhips, for when that is underſtood, there will appear to be no Inconſiſtency in my Evidence. This I endeavoured to explain to the Houſe of Commons; I have now by me a Paper which I delivered to Mr. Dempſter, for that Purpoſe, the very next Day: I underſtood there was no Neceſſity for my attending, and therefore I was not in the Lobby of the Houſe of Commons, or near it: I was called for there, but, as I did not appear, no Notice was taken of that Paper. I believe theſe are the Facts. I certainly delivered my Evidence in full Confidence, that the Gentleman who examined me did not intend to miſlead me; I do not accuſe that Gentleman with an Intention to miſlead me, but he undoubtedly miſled me.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs;

Q. What Book was that which you looked into, when you found this Explanation, reſpecting Affidavits not requiring an Interpreter?

A. It

A. It was one of the Reports of the Committee I looked into, for the Purpoſe of ſeeing whether I did uſe an Interpreter or not, as I found the Queſtion preſſed ſo much: I thought I had made a Miſtake, and I looked into it to correct that Miſtake, and to ſee in what Language the Affidavits were taken; it turned out I did not uſe an Interpreter, and that it was at a ſubſequent Time that they were tranſlated by Mr. Davy.

Q. What Report was it?

A. I do not know the Name of the Report, but it is the Report in which Mr. Haſtings's Narrative is ſet out.

Q. Then it was into Mr. Haſtings's Narrative that you looked?

A. I did not look into Mr. Haſtings's Narrative; I ſee I am ſuppoſed to have made a Miſtake: I have made no Miſtake; it was not neceſſary for me to read Mr. Haſtings's Narrative, or the Affidavits, for the Purpoſe. I neither read the one nor the other; I only looked to ſee whether I did or did not uſe an Interpreter at that Time. I ſhall not be caught in a Falſity.

Q. It does not appear then that you have looked ſo far into the Narrative, placed in the Appendix of the Second Report, as to ſatisfy yourſelf with reſpect to the Titles of the Affidavits, and the Fact whether there were an Interpreter preſent or not. Some of the Affidavits are tranſlated by Major Davy, a ſworn Interpreter. To ſatisfy yourſelf of that Fact, you muſt have had your Eye over thoſe Affidavits?

A. As far as Truth, to the utmoſt Extremity, I will admit: I hope nothing will be taken by Inference that goes beyond it. I did for that Purpoſe, and for that Purpoſe only, examine that Report. I did not at that Time look into Mr. Haſtings's Narrative; I did not read the Affidavits; I looked only to the Caption of the Affidavits, and the Dates of the Affidavits; and I cautiouſly avoided doing it, for this Reaſon; as I was to be examined, I would not intermix a ſubſequent Knowledge of Facts with an antecedent Knowledge of Facts, that I might not be puzzled when I came to be examined, by confounding the Times when I acquired the Knowledge; therefore I cautiouſly avoided looking into them, that my Mind might not be impreſſed with Facts, without knowing at what Time I came to the Knowledge of them.

Q. Do you mean you looked at the Top and the Bottom of the Affidavits, and cautiouſly avoided reading any Part?

A. I cautiouſly avoided reading any Part of them; I might caſually ſee ſome Lines, but I had no premeditated Purpoſe of reading them. My premeditated Purpoſe was to avoid looking into them, and, if I am to be examined again, I ſhall do exactly the ſame Thing, and for the ſame Reaſon.

Q. You have ſtated in an Anſwer lately, that you found certain of thoſe Affidavits did not require any Interpreter: How could you find that they required no ſuch Atteſtation, without having caſt your Eye upon the Matter of the Affidavits?

A. I take it, the Matter of the Affidavits had nothing to do with the Subject. If it was an Affidavit that I ſaw, ſubſequently tranſlated by Major Davy, I knew I could not have uſed an Interpreter at Lucknow: If the Affidavits were made by Engliſh Gentlemen, I knew I wanted no Interpreter, becauſe they were Engliſh.

Q. Was it upon this ſubſequent Examination of any Parts of the Affidavits (for I do not know how otherwiſe to deſcribe it) that you diſcovered that Hyder Beg had not ſworn?

A. I have not diſcovered that Hyder Beg was not ſworn; I rather ſuppoſe, from his Rank, he did not ſwear; he poſſibly may have ſworn: What I ſaid was, that Natives of high Rank decline ſwearing; and he is a Native of high Rank.

Q. The Paſſage is this: "The Account of what I have heard, and of what I ſaw, I have "truly and faithfully related. I ſwear by the Almighty, that I have truly wrote, without dimi-"niſhing or Addition, all that I heard, and all that I ſaw, and nothing but the Truth. Signed "Hyder Beg. That which is written is true: Sealed with his Seal."—Did you think yourſelf bound to abſtain from caſting your Eye upon the Paſſage when you looked at the Book?

A. I certainly did not think myſelf bound to abſtain from looking upon that or any other Paſſage; but, in the Terms the Paſſage has been read, I ſtill think Hyder Beg did not ſwear; becauſe it is only the Aſſeveration of Hyder Beg, and there is no Atteſtation that an Oath was taken. I ſtill think he did not ſwear; that is, that the Koran was not put upon his Head, in the formal Manner in which Witneſſes do ſwear; but I do not mean to ſpeak accurately to the Fact. I rather believe he did not, becauſe, being a Man of ſo high Rank, I rather think he would have avoided it.

Q. Did you, in looking at theſe Affidavits, obſerve whether Hyder Beg's Depoſition was tranſlated, or not?

A. I have no Kind of Recollection of looking at Hyder Beg's Affidavit; I take it for granted he ſwore in Perſian, and therefore it was tranſlated.

Q. Am I to underſtand, that you acquired no Knowledge of the Contents of any of thoſe Affidavits, from that ſubſequent Inſpection you made of the Appendix to the Report of the Houſe of Commons?

A. I think I may take upon myſelf ſafely to ſwear, that I acquired none. I will not ſay, that, in caſting my Eye over, and looking at the Top and Bottom of the Affidavits, and the Atteſtations and Captions, that ſomething might not have caught my Eye.

Q. Have you any Memory of any Thing that did?

A. I have not the leaſt Memory of it; I have gathered much more of the Contents of thoſe Affidavits ſince my attending at this Houſe, than I did before. I have learnt, from an Honourable Gentleman, that Hyder Beg ſaid nothing with reſpect to the Begums, but, before, I thought he had.

Q. Why did you think Hyder Beg had ſaid any Thing about the Begums before?

A. Becauſe I ſuppoſe it would be in his Knowledge, and therefore I ſuppoſe he would give an Account of what he knew.

Q. Do you then admit, that as this Rebellion, if it had exiſted, muſt have been in Hyder Beg's Knowledge, Hyder Beg's Depoſition containing no Account of it, muſt be a ſtrong Proof there was no ſuch Rebellion?

A. I am no Party to the Cauſe: I hope I ſtand an indifferent Witneſs before the Houſe. I do not mean to admit or deny it. If ſuch a Concluſion ariſes in your Lordſhips Mind, you will judge from the Affidavits. Whether it aroſe in my Mind or no, I do not aſſume enough to think it would guide your Lordſhips Determination.

Q. Did you conſider the Perſons whoſe Affidavits you took, were atteſting or ſwearing to theſe Affidavits, as expreſſive of the whole Truth, and all they knew upon the Subject?

A. I had no Reaſon to think otherwiſe; Perſons coming voluntarily to depoſe before me, I ſhould ſuppoſe would depoſe the Truth. Any Body can determine juſt as well as I can upon that Subject.

Q. Whether you had by Law Power to adminiſter an Oath in the Province of Oude?

A. I have anſwered before ſeveral Times, that undoubtedly my Juriſdiction did not extend there; that I had no legal Authority to adminiſter an Oath there is moſt certain: but I know that many Affidavits are taken by thoſe who have not legal Juriſdiction to adminiſter Oaths, in Matters, but not in Cauſes. A very high Authority has told me he has done it.

Q. I ſhould wiſh to know who the Authority is?

A. Out of Decency and Reſpect to the Perſon who told me ſo, a very high Magiſtrate, I doubt whether I ought to mention his Name; but if the Houſe think it is neceſſary to mention his Name, if that will be an Apology for me to the Noble Lord, the Magiſtrate, I have no Kind of Difficulty to name him; but this I aſſert, it is One of the higheſt Authorities in this Kingdom.

Q. (*Croſs examined.*) Whether the ſeveral Perſons who made the Affidavits were ſworn by you in any, and what Form?

A. The Engliſh Gentlemen were ſworn in the Manner that Affidavits are taken in England. The Mahometans, or if there were any native Hindoos, I believe they were ſworn according to what I underſtand to be the ſolemneſt Manner in which Hindoos or Muſſulmen can ſwear.

Q. Was the Queſtion put to them, whether the Contents of their Affidavits were true?

A. Either that, or ſomething to the Effect, certainly.

Q. You have ſpoke to the Notoriety of the Report of the Rebellion of the Begums, whether any Circumſtance came to your Knowledge afterwards, to induce you to diſbelieve that Report?

A. Yes, I have; and that is, that the Houſe of Commons have entertained another Opinion, and, poſſibly, have better Evidence than I have: no other Reaſon.

Q. Whether you can inform the Houſe, whether the Treaſures of Sujah ul Dowlah kept in the Zenana, became upon his Death the Property of his Succeſſor, or his Widow, or any other Perſon, by the Law of that Country?

A. I know nothing at all of that Subject, or whoſe Property it was: I do not take upon me to know any Thing of any Laws of the Country.

Then a Letter was ſhewn to the Witneſs; and the following Queſtion was put to him.

Q. You have been aſked, with reſpect to that Letter bearing Date the 19th of December 1781: is that a Letter you received from Mr. Middleton?

A. Yes; I believe it to be one of the Letters I delivered in to the Houſe of Commons, as having received from Mr. Middleton.

Then

Then the following Extract was read from the ſame:

" My dear Sir Elijah, " Lucknow, the 19th December 1781.

" I accept the Compromiſe Mr. Haſtings has offered me in reſpect to Mr. Cator, and have this Day informed him ſo. It is poſſible, as we both know the Governor is not very punctual in anſwering, or even reading Letters, that a Line from you, reminding him of the Converſation you had with him on this Subject, and preſſing his Compliance may be neceſſary; and I muſt further rely upon you, my dear Sir, to get Mr. Collinſon nominated Cator's Succeſſor at Dacca, as on that Event reſt his Hopes of getting rid of an expenſive Houſe he has there, which, excluſive of his perſonal Regard for Collinſon, I can take upon me to aſſure you is all the Intereſt he has in wiſhing him to obtain the Appointment. We have ſtrange Reports here of the Diſpoſition of our Friends Colleagues below, which might alarm a more credulous Man than I am; but I am determined to give no Ear to them until they come to me from better Authority. A Hint from you, my dear Sir, on your Arrival at the Preſidency, how Matters are going on, will be very ſatisfactory and uſeful. You may be aſſured that any Thing of this Sort you may do me the Honour to communicate in Confidence ſhall never go further. Your Friendſhip and good Offices in this particular Line, are of the greater Conſequence to me, as I have no Perſon about the Governor from whom I can expect uſeful Information, or whoſe Communications I could receive without Suſpicion.

" I think we ſhall yet have ſome active Service in fully eſtabliſhing the Meaſure of reſuming the Jagheers. The Begum has oppoſed the Aumil that was ſent to take Charge of hers, and vows Vengeance, not only againſt him and the Nabob, but againſt the whole Country, if her Jagheer is touched. Her own Words to me and the Miniſter are pretty expreſſive of her Diſpoſition. 'If my Jagheer is touched, the whole Country ſhall go with it.' She has a Number of Men in Arms, which has obliged the Nabob to call for the Aſſiſtance of another Regiment from Cawnpore. His Excellency proceeds to Fyzabad to ſettle other Matters on the 27th Inſtant; the Mohurrum, he pleads, prevents his going ſooner. I think the Oppoſition the Begum has given to the Meaſure of reſuming the Jagheer, which, as far as it concerns her, bears not the Shadow of Exception, as ſhe is to receive the Value in ready Money, will be a full Juſtification of the future Demands his Excellency has to make upon her. With ſuch a Diſpoſition as ſhe has betrayed, it would be the Exceſs of Folly to leave her in Poſſeſſion of the Means of gratifying it."

Then the following Extract of a Letter from the Board at Calcutta to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 11th February 1782, was read from Book 29, already delivered in.

" Honourable Sirs, Fort William, 11th February 1782.

" Par. 1. In our laſt Letter from this Department by the Swallow Packet, dated 29th December 1781, we informed you of the Detention of that Veſſel, for the Purpoſe of carrying home a complete Narrative of the Governor General's Proceedings while at Benares and Chunar, which we daily expected to receive from him. However, as the Length of this Paper, and the great Number of References annexed to it, made it impoſſible to ſend them down ſooner than he did, and we found it would require a long While to copy them after their Arrival, we determined to diſpatch the Swallow without them, judging that you would be impatient to hear from us on the Reſtoration of Peace in the Diſtricts of Benares, and to receive the lateſt Accounts from Madras of the Situation of Affairs in the Carnatic.

" 2. We determined, at the ſame Time, to diſpatch the Nancy Snow, Captain Hiffernan, with theſe Reports as ſoon as they could be prepared, and we have now the Pleaſure to tranſmit them to you, a ſeparate Number in this Packet.

" 3. The above Papers contain ſuch a full Account of all Tranſactions of the Governor General upon this Service, together with his Motives and Reaſonings upon them, that we think it would be ſuperfluous to add any Thing of our own, but to recommend them to your attentive Peruſal.

" 4. By theſe it will appear, that the Treachery and Intrigues of Cheyt Sing, ſupported by the Diſaffection and reſtleſs Diſpoſition of the Bhow Begum, Mother to the Nabob of Oude, at Fyzabad, produced Inſurrections in that Country, which till lately we were unapprized of, on account of the Communications between that Place and Benares being wholly cut off.

" 5. At the ſame Time that the firſt Information of theſe Diſturbances reached us, we were happy to hear that they had been quelled by the Accounts received there of the ſucceſsful Efforts of our Troops in Benares, and the March of Two Regiments from Cawnpore to the Relief of Colonel Hannay, whoſe Sepoys gave evident Proofs by their Deſertion that they had been tampered with, and he, with moſt of his Officers, were in great Danger of their Lives, a Detachment under Lieutenant Gordon having been actually attacked and cut off, and the Reſt of the Corps being ſurrounded by the Rabble levied under Sanction of the Begum, avowedly for the Service of Rajah Cheyt Sing.

" 6. The Circumſtance of theſe Levies is further corroborated by various Reports from Fyzabad, and by the Liſt of Cheyt Sing's Forces delivered to the Governor General at Chunar, in which

the Troops, ſaid to be come from Lucknow, which formed a Part of his Strength, muſt evidently be the ſame (ſince they agree in Number) with thoſe which Colonel Hannay declares to have been raiſed, and ſent to him from Fyzabad.

(Signed at the End)

Warren Haſtings,
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon."

Q. *(from a Lord.)* To what Age does a Man continue a Minor by the Laws of Hindoſtan?
A. There are different Periods for the Hindoos and the Muſſulmen; I could not give ſuch an Anſwer upon Oath without reſorting to Memorandums to aſcertain it.

Q. Do you recollect whether they continue Minors to the Age of Twenty-one, or nearly to what Age?
A. I believe it is at an earlier Age they come to Majority.

Q. Do you know who was the Perſon mentioned in one of the Affidavits, called Rajah Muſtapha Khan?
A. I have not the leaſt Recollection of him at preſent; I might poſſibly at the Time know him, but I do not now recollect the Name.

Q. Do you recollect a Perſon deſcribed as the Rajah of Gwallior?
A. I do not.

Q. Do you recollect a Perſon who is called the Rajah Guggat Sing.
A. I have not the leaſt Recollection of him.

Q. When you took the ſolemn Declaration of the Rannee Golaub Kooer, where was that taken?
A. I believe the Queſtion means, taking the Affidavit of the Mother of Cheit Sing: That was taken at a Place called Ramnagur.

Q. When you ſpoke about the Rebellion, which was as notorious in that Country, as the Rebellion in Scotland was notorious in London in the Year 1745, did you mean to ſpeak of the Rebellion of Cheit Sing, or of the Rebellion of the Begums?
A. What I meant to ſay was this, that it was as much in Converſation, as a notorious Fact, that there was a Rebellion of the Begums, as that there was a Rebellion in 1745. I ſpoke of it as notorious from Report. I do not take upon myſelf to know any of the Facts, to prove that there was a Rebellion.

Q. Whether you recollect the Day, or nearly the Day, when you left Chunar to go to Lucknow?
A. I arrived at Lucknow, I think, the 25th of November; I remember I left Chunar upon a Saturday, and that I was detained the Sunday and the greater Part of Monday in the Neighbourhood of Illihabad at a Major Clarke's, for the Want of Bearers to go forward. I then went forward, and, as well as I can recollect, I was Two Nights between Illihabad and Lucknow. The Dates I have not.

Q. You have ſaid, that the Fact of Swearing was all you meant to authenticate?
A. Certainly.

Q. Do I underſtand you to mean by that Expreſſion, the Fact of Swearing as to the Subſtance of the Affidavit?
A. The Fact of Swearing, that that Affidavit delivered to me was true.

Q. You have ſaid, that before any Perſon was ſworn before you (I am ſpeaking of any Native) he was aſked, whether the Subſtance was true?
A. I was aſked that Queſtion, whether that was not put to them; I believe my Anſwer was, either that, or ſomething to that Effect.

Q. Who had you with you, that underſtood the Hindoſtan Language?
A. I underſtand the Hindoſtan Language, much more than for ſuch a Purpoſe; both Hindoſtan and Perſian, much more than for that Purpoſe.

Q. What additional or greater Weight do you think was given to an Oath, ſimply taken by you, and tendered in the Manner you have deſcribed, than there would have been, if taken by any other Perſon capable of adminiſtring an Oath?
A. I do not know any Perſon that was capable of adminiſtring an Oath. My Idea was, that though I was beyond my Juriſdiction, yet, as I was a public, well-known Character, it would not be doubted, if I authenticated the Fact of the Affidavits having been ſworn to; that it would gain Credit; and had Mr. Haſtings diſpatched any of the Natives, I ſhould have thought it might bring an Imputation and a Doubt, upon the Veracity and Authenticity of the Affidavits.

Q. Am

Q. Am I to underſtand, that, if you had not undertaken this Journey to Lucknow, no other Method could have been adopted, to have taken theſe Affidavits in an equally ſufficient Manner, as they were taken before you?

A. I thought that my taking them would have given more Weight: They certainly might have been taken before other Perſons; your Lordſhips will judge, whether that would have given them more or leſs Weight; according to my Apprehenſion, my taking them did give greater Weight to the Fact of their having been taken.

Q. Am I to underſtand, that it was the principal Object of your Journey into the Country?

A. It certainly was not the principal Object of my going to Lucknow; for had it been only for taking Affidavits, I ſhould not have proceeded to Lucknow; but it was the principal Object of my taking a Journey at all.

Q. Would an Equivalent have been granted for the Jaghires to the Begums, or any Terms kept with them, when the Treaty of Chunar was ſigned, if Mr. Haſtings had believed them to be in an actual State of Rebellion?

A. I never heard Mr. Haſtings ſay any Thing upon that Subject.

Q. What is the Diſtance between Chunar and Calcutta?

A. I think they reckon it to Patna about Four Hundred Miles, and I ſhould ſuppoſe, I ſpeak from Gueſs, that Chunar might be One Hundred and Fifty or Two Hundred Miles from Patna.

Q. How long was you in taking that Journey from Calcutta to Chunar?

A. From Calcutta to Chunar, I did not take my Journey direct. The Occaſion of my leaving Calcutta was this. The Governor General and Council had requeſted me to viſit the Stations where the Courts of Juſtice are kept. For that Purpoſe I ſet out from Calcutta. When I had got to Mongheer, in my Way to Patna, One of the Stations I was to viſit, I there received a ſhort Note from Mr. Haſtings, and a long Letter from Mr. Sullivan his Secretary. Mr. Haſtings, in his ſhort Note, acquainted me there had been a Revolution at Benares; but he was in ſuch Agitation, he could not write the Particulars, but referred me to Mr. Sullivan for them; and requeſted I would, as ſoon as poſſibly I could, after the Troubles were ſubſided, ſo as I might travel ſafely, come to him at Benares. I went to Patna, and the Troubles of the Country made my Miſſion to that Place, with reſpect to the Adawlut, the Courts of Juſtice, totally abortive. I then ſtaid, I believe, Four or Five Days. All the Engliſh in the Country were much alarmed, and were near quitting Patna. I was apprehenſive my quitting Patna, immediately upon coming there, would ſpread the Alarm more. I therefore remained at Patna, to give a Confidence to the People, longer than I ſhould have done if I had conſulted my own Safety. I then returned to Baglepore, at which Place I received ſeveral Letters from Mr. Haſtings, who was then confined in the Fort of Chunar. He ſent many of them by ſecret Meſſengers, ſome incloſed in Quills. The laſt Letter I received from Mr. Haſtings informed me that the Country was quiet, and preſſed me to come up; and every Letter I received from Mr. Haſtings was more and more preſſing to me to come up, on Account, as I underſtood, of the Exigencies in which he then was. During the Time that I reſided in Calcutta, as I held a very high Office, I did not think my Duties to the State always ſatisfied, ſimply by the Execution of my Office. If I could ſerve the State any otherwiſe, I thought it my Duty to do it; and there are many and many Inſtances in which I have done it. This is One of thoſe Caſes which I thought called upon me, and for that Reaſon I attended Mr. Haſtings at Benares, conceiving the Difficulty he was in was the Reaſon of his calling me there, to conſult with me what he ſhould do. That was the Occaſion of my going up to Benares, and that was the Occaſion of being a long Time upon my Journey; and though it is thrown out as degrading to me, bearing the Office of Chief Juſtice of Calcutta, that I condeſcended to be the private Secretary and Amanuenſis of Mr. Haſtings, acting from the Impreſſions I did, I felt it very differently: I felt that, in the Situation I was in, it was a Duty incumbent on me to give every Aſſiſtance I could to Mr. Haſtings, and every Aſſiſtance to the State: And with that View I attended Mr. Haſtings; with that View I went to Lucknow; with that View I took the Affidavits; and with that View I gave the Opinion I did to Mr. Haſtings: That this is not a ſolitary Action of mine, if the Annals of the Eaſt India Company are examined, will be ſeen upon them; it will be found, that in many Inſtances, and in One in particular, in which the Houſe of Commons thought that I took a particular Reſponſibility upon myſelf, I was not afraid of that Reſponſibility, when I knew I did Service to my Country.

Q. Did you hear of thoſe Troubles at Benares firſt at Calcutta?

A. I did not: I left Calcutta ſoon after Mr. Haſtings left it. I ſay ſoon; it may be a Fortnight, Three Weeks, or a Month.

Q. How far is Mongheer from Patna?

A. Mongheer from Patna, I take to be about Fourſcore Miles.

Q. I wiſh to know your Reaſon for giving the Advice you did, after taking the Affidavits: Did you conceive it to be your Duty?

A. I did not conceive it to be my Duty.

Q. Acting in the Capacity of Mr. Haſtings's Adviſer and Inſtrument, you have declared your Opinion, that the Rebellion was the only juſtifiable Ground for ſeizing their Treaſures; to ſuggeſt which to Mr. Middleton, was one of the Objects of your Journey to Lucknow?

A. I did not ſay, I acted as an Inſtrument to Mr. Haſtings.

Q. But you acted as his Adviſer?

A. I certainly did.

Q. Did you conſider it as material to you, to know the Contents of the Affidavits that were taken for the Purpoſe of verifying the Rebellion, and to judge of the Propriety of the Advice you had given, or were afterwards to give, reſpecting the Rebellion.

A. I did not. I gave my Advice hypothetically, that if the Facts are ſo, the Conſequences follow. I did not aſſume to know the Facts; I would not have taken upon myſelf the Reſponſibility of ſaying, theſe Facts are ſo, and draw the Conſequences too.

Q. *(from a Lord)*. Whether you adviſed Mr. Haſtings to obtain Affidavits, for the Purpoſe of enabling him to ſegregate ſuch only as ſhould anſwer his Purpoſe.

A. No, I did not; it was for the Purpoſe of aſcertaining the Facts in his Narrative. My Advice was generally for him to get Affidavits to authenticate the Facts; what Uſe Mr. Haſtings would make of them afterwards I was not anſwerable for: I meant he ſhould take Affidavits of the Facts, and annex them to his Narrative.

Q. Whether you have any Means of aſcertaining, whether all the Affidavits you took are publiſhed in Mr. Haſtings's Narrative; and whether all the Contents of ſuch as are annexed to the Narrative are fully given?

A. None at all; I thought Mr. Haſtings a Man of Veracity, and that he would publiſh the Whole.

Q. In the Advice you gave Mr. Haſtings, how did you intend the Publick ſhould be ſatisfied that the Affidavits were publiſhed as they were taken?

A. I thought the Publick would give that Credit to Mr. Haſtings that he had publiſhed the Affidavits as they were brought; Credit muſt be given ſomewhere; if no Credit whatever is to be given, I do not know how any Facts can be authenticated.

Q. Whether it would not have contributed more to authenticate the Facts to the Publick, if you yourſelf had examined into the Facts, and added the Weight of your Character and Situation to the Examination?

A. No, I think not; becauſe I think it would have been a very extraordinary Tranſaction; and that I ſhould have acquired more Imputation upon myſelf than Authenticity to the Affidavits.

Q. Whether you think Mr. Middleton could not have done exactly what you did by going there?

A. I do; but Mr. Middleton was Mr. Haſtings's confidential Agent; and I ſhould doubt much whether the ſame Credit would be given to Affidavits, which he might have given his Sanction to, as would be given to Affidavits to which I gave my Sanction.

Q. Did you know, at the Time you took thoſe Affidavits, whether there was any Idea of a Proſecution commenced or intended by the Houſe of Commons againſt Mr. Haſtings?

A. As to the Idea of a Proſecution, certainly not; I thought the Revolution of Benares ſo extraordinary an Event, that it would probably be very ſtrictly inquired into; with reſpect to the Affair of the Begums, I thought it ſo clear, that no Inquiry whatſoever would be made into it.

Q. Had you at that Time heard of any Inquiry likely to be made into Mr. Haſtings's Conduct in India?

A. I am not quite ſure whether I heard it then, or whether I heard it ſoon after my Return to Calcutta; but certainly, ſomething very near the Time, it was known in India that there would be an Inquiry into the Conduct of Mr. Haſtings.

Q. If that was the Caſe, was it not particularly prudent for Mr. Haſtings, under thoſe Circumſtances, to take every legal Method to prove the Rectitude of his Conduct?

A. That Idea was very ſtrongly impreſſed upon my Mind.

Q. *(by a Lord)* Whether you declared that the Idea of ſeizing the Treaſure of the Begums originated with you, and was not a Meaſure propoſed by Mr. Haſtings to you, for your Opinion, before the Buſineſs; or, on the contrary, whether the Meaſure was ſuggeſted by you to Mr. Haſtings?

A. It originated in a Converſation with Mr. Haſtings; I am not certain whether the Idea originated with me or with him, but the Inclination of my Opinion has always been that the Idea originated with me; I have certainly had Reaſon, from ſubſequent Converſations, to think that I may have been miſtaken, for I underſtand that Mr. Middleton did not ſo underſtand it; I thought when I communicated it to him it was new to Mr. Middleton, but in my Converſation with Mr. Middleton, he ſeemed to think it was not new at that Time. I have had a very recent Converſation with a Gentleman very much concerned in the Affairs of Mr. Haſtings, Major Scott, and from him I am told that the original Idea came from a Man of the Name of Ibrahim Cawn, employed

ployed by Mr. Haſtings at Benares after the Revolution, but I thought at the Time it originated with me, from the Manner in which Mr. Haſtings received it; and whether it was ſo or no I cannot poſitively ſay.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* In Mr. Haſtings's Second Defence there is this Paſſage: "The Fact undoubtedly is, that not only in conſenting to the Seizure of the Treaſures on the Nabob's firſt Requiſition to me, on the 2d of December 1781, but in ſtrenuouſly encouraging and ſupporting the Meaſure, ſo far as to deſire Sir Elijah Impey, on his leaving Chunar, in November 1781, to mention the Subject, as from me, to Mr. Middleton, for the expreſs Purpoſe of deſiring him to converſe upon it with the Nabob, and even to encourage the Nabob to make the Propoſition to me (*a*)." The Fact undoubtedly is ſo, ſays Mr. Haſtings. Now I wiſh to know, whether you now diſbelieve the Fact ſo averred by Mr. Haſtings?

A. I believe the Whole of it; but I cannot reconcile it to my own Mind, that there was any Propoſition to Mr. Middleton, to propoſe it coming through the Nabob. I have had Converſation with Mr. Middleton ſince upon the Subject, and Mr. Middleton has told me the Nabob was ever deſirous of ſeizing the Begums Treaſures, and, before the Rebellion, he wanted to do it. Mr. Middleton is here, and will be able to give a better Account of that. There is a Part in one of my Letters which ſeems to contradict that, becauſe I there wrote to Mr. Middleton, that what the Nabob had propoſed Mr. Haſtings highly approved, and would have himſelf adviſed. I cannot reconcile that with my having procured the Propoſition, through Mr. Middleton, from the Nabob, becauſe my Letter ſays, If the Nabob had not propoſed it, Mr. Haſtings would.

Q. Do you recollect Mr. Middleton to have ſaid in his Letter, "Your Pleaſure reſpecting the Begums I have learned through Sir Elijah Impey?"

A. Certainly.

Q. Can you doubt you took that Pleaſure from Mr. Haſtings to Mr. Middleton?

A. No: But that it was propoſed by Mr. Middleton to the Nabob, that the Nabob ſhould make the Propoſition, I do not recollect: It might have been ſo, that Mr. Middleton might have done ſo; but I do not recollect or believe that any Thing of that Kind paſſed between Mr. Middleton and me.

Q. I underſtand you then directly to contradict this undoubted Fact as ſtated by Mr. Haſtings?

A. I do not mean to contradict the Fact, or admit the Fact: I give my Evidence: If that Evidence either ſupports or contradicts it, that is in the Judgment of the Lords.

Q. You have ſtated, as a Juſtification for your going to Lucknow to take thoſe Affidavits, that you conceive a conſiderable Suſpicion would have attached upon the Circumſtance, if they were taken by Mr. Middleton as the confidential Agent of Mr. Haſtings: I wiſh to know, whether the Circumſtance of Mr. Middleton's drawing up the Affidavits, and bringing all the Witneſſes to you, did not make the Tranſaction equally liable to Suſpicion?

A. I do not know that thoſe Facts exiſted, that Mr. Middleton did draw the Affidavits, or bring the Witneſſes.

Q. That is, upon your own Evidence?

A. I hope your Lordſhips will give Leave for that to be cleared up. I have not ſaid that they were drawn up by Mr. Middleton: I beg that to be cleared up: For if I ſaid ſo, I undoubtedly did it without any Authority; becauſe I know of no Fact to lead me to underſtand that Mr. Middleton or Mr. Johnſon drew them.

Then the following Queſtion and Anſwer were read by the Clerk (*b*).

Q. Who introduced to you the Witneſſes that were to depoſe?

A. I believe that moſt of the Witneſſes were introduced by Mr. Middleton or Mr. Johnſon; as well as I can recollect, I had with me no Moonſhy, that is, an Interpreter, nor any Servant who could act in that Capacity.

The Managers for the Commons obſerved, that was not the Paſſage they alluded to,

The Witneſs ſaid,

A. Without your Lordſhips having the Trouble to refer to that Book again, I beg Leave to have it as Part of my Depoſition; that if I have, by Miſtake, ſaid ſo, I did not mean to ſay ſo, and had no Authority to ſay ſo; taking upon me the Chance whether I did ſay ſo or not.

Q. Did you take any Depoſition of Hoolas Roy at Benares?

A. I do not know that I did; if it appears amongſt the Affidavits I undoubtedly did: I have obſerved Hoolas Roy is a Name mentioned to me in the Memorandums, I before ſaid I had from

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 366, Par. 3. (*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 631.

Mr. Middleton, therefore I recollect the Name;—" Hoolas Roy, of Fyzabad, ordered to wait upon the Governor at Chunar;"—I have that Memorandum, that is all I know of it; poſſibly I did take that Affidavit.

Q. Whether you have ever heard any Cauſe aſſigned, why that Affidavit was ſuppreſſed, and did not appear amongſt the others?

A. I do not know that it was ſuppreſſed; the Fact of taking it I am not ſure of: All I know of it is, I have a Memorandum from Mr. Middleton, that he was ordered to attend at Chunar.

The Managers for the Commons deſired, the following Paſſage from the Solemn Declaration of the Rannee Golaub Kooer, might be read; the ſame was read from the Appendix to the Benares Narrative, already delivered in.

" With Reſpect to Cheyt Sing's having, from of old, an improper Correſpondence with the Begums at Lucknow, and the Rajah of Barraitch and Gooruckpore, the Declaration of the above Rannee is as follows:

' Since two Years, on Account of the Enmity of Cheyt Sing to me, I had left Ramnagur and ' reſided in another Dwelling; and Cheyt Sing had always acted towards me with ſuch Enmity and ' Oppoſition, as cannot be deſcribed—How therefore ſhould he have acquainted me with his Cor- ' reſpondences? But I have heard, from Report, that he had in many Places improper Cor- ' reſpondences (*a*)."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. This Teſtimony appears to be upon Interrogatories; by what Means did this Depoſition come in this Shape, and whether it was not in Anſwer to Interrogatories put to the Rannee?

A. I have not the leaſt Recollection of any Interrogatories being put to the Rannee: I remember attending at Ramnagur, and being led to a little Door with a Curtain over it, behind which ſhe ſat, and I there took the Atteſtation; I have not the leaſt Recollection that it was by Interrogatories, I ſhould rather think not.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* You have ſpoken of the Manner in which you think Mr. Haſtings received the Propoſition for ſeizing the Begums Treaſure; ſtate to the Court, what was the Manner in which Mr. Haſtings received the Propoſition for ſeizing the Treaſure.

A. I only recollect in general, that Mr. Haſtings did not mention it as a Thing that he had thought of before; I underſtood, in that Converſation, it was new, by his not making the Obſervation, that he had thought of this Subject before, or ſomething of that Kind.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* As you have ſaid, that you could not anſwer the Queſtion aſked, relative to what Age a Perſon ceaſed to be a Minor, without looking into your Memorandums; I wiſh to aſk, whether you have in your Poſſeſſion any Paper, by inſpecting which, you can give us certain Information upon the Subject?

A. If I ſaid Memorandums, I meant rather to look into Books of the Hiſtory of the Country, and Accounts of their Laws; I do not know that I have any particular Books, that other Gentlemen are not furniſhed with; I believe it is a Fact very eaſily aſcertained.

Q. You have ſtated, that the Revolution of Benares appeared to you of ſo much Conſequence, that it was very probable it might be, and would be enquired into very minutely; and you have added, that the Facts reſpecting the Begums were ſo clear, you did not expect any Inquiry was likely to take place upon that Subject: What is the Idea you entertained of the Facts reſpecting the Begums being ſo clear?

A. I meant only, that I then underſtood it was notoriouſly known, that there had been a Rebellion, and I underſtood the Propoſition, that the Prince of a State may ſeize the Effects of any Subjects that are in Rebellion, to be a very clear Propoſition; I had in my Mind alſo, no Doubt of the Rebellion.

Q. Had you any other Cauſe of Knowledge, reſpecting the Facts you now deſcribe, except the common Report of the Country?

A. I had no other Knowledge whatever but that Report; I muſt likewiſe ſay I collected that Report alſo very much from Converſation with Mr. Haſtings, with whom I converſed much more than with any other Perſon at Chunar; People continually coming in were telling of it, and all reported, in the ſame Manner, that there had been a Rebellion; I never heard it contradicted, nor the leaſt Surmiſe thrown out that the Reports were not true.

Q. What do you mean by the Word Rebellion, as applied to the Begums?

A. I applied the Word Rebellion in two Senſes: one, the direct Meaning of the Word Rebellion, the other, which has not ſo direct a Meaning: I underſtood the Begums to be in Rebellion againſt the Nabob, I underſtood them likewiſe to be in a Conſpiracy to extirpate the Engliſh; the latter probably may not be ſo properly called a Rebellion.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 246.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether you did not make the following Anſwer to a Queſtion put to you upon a former Examination: "What was Mr. Haſtings's Condition at that Time?" A. "I have before ſtated to "the Committee what Mr. Haſtings had himſelf ſaid of his Situation. The Company's Affairs "were at that Time, to all Appearance, in a very ruinous Condition. To retrieve the Condition "of the Company was the profeſſed Object of Mr. Haſtings in going up the Country; his "principal Objects were Reſources from Benares and Oude: At Benares he had been defeated "of his Purpoſe, a horrid Maſſacre had taken Place there, a Revolution had taken Place at "Benares. Mr. Haſtings was lately releaſed from a Confinement in the Garriſon at Chunar; the "whole Country of Oude had been in Arms, and Part of it was ſtill ſo; he was likewiſe de-"feated in his Purpoſe of going up to Oude, having obtained Nothing for the Company; "he had incurred great Reſponſibility from the Events that had happened; that was the State "Mr. Haſtings was in, which I conceived to be that of real Diſtreſs:" I wiſh to know if that was not the Witneſs's Anſwer?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to the Queſtion.

Q. Tell now, according to your Memory, what was Mr. Haſtings's Condition at Chunar?

A. I certainly underſtood his Condition to be that of real Diſtreſs.—To the laſt Queſtion that was aſked me before I retired from your Lordſhips Bar, when I was here before, with reſpect to the Manner of enforcing Debts of Women, I then ſaid, I did not know officially, but I recollected afterwards that I had by me Proof of what it was; and that is likewiſe the Subject-matter of a Letter to the Secretary of State. The Manner is, if they want to enforce Debts from Women, they encloſe their Habitations with a great Number of Hircarrahs, and they ſtarve them to a Compliance.—I muſt beg Leave, before I retire from your Lordſhips Bar, to make an Obſervation with reſpect to the particular Predicament in which I ſtand, and from thence your Lordſhips will judge what Credit my Teſtimony deſerves; and I hope, by ſtating it to your Lordſhips, it will ſave the Honourable Managers a conſiderable Degree of Trouble in taking from the Force and Credit of my Teſtimony. I am at preſent charged by an Honourable Member of the Houſe of Commons with a Conſpiracy with Mr. Haſtings to murder Nunducomar; I am likewiſe charged before the Houſe of Commons with having colluſively and corruptly taken an Office; I am, which is much more material, charged before the Houſe of Commons upon the very Facts to which I have been this Day examined.—Of my Credit your Lordſhips will judge from theſe Circumſtances; but I have a Matter of Complaint to make to your Lordſhips, which I deſire to be received in the Nature of a Proteſt; and that is, that in the Impeachment againſt Mr. Haſtings, I am ſtated to have acted an odious and treacherous Part with regard to the taking of theſe Affidavits. I am not at preſent impeached before your Lordſhips, I therefore have no Opportunity to anſwer that Charge; I beg therefore it may ſtand upon the Minutes, as it does upon the Impeachment, that I make my Proteſt againſt having been charged where I cannot anſwer. This comes the more heavy upon me, becauſe it comes from a great Authority, the Managers for the Houſe of Commons.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Mercurii, 7° Maij 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that One of the Charges againſt the Princeſſes of Oude being, that they principally excited the Commotions in Baraitch and Goruckpore, they ſhould next proceed to ſhew, that thoſe Commotions exiſted long before it was pretended the Begums had ſhewn any Marks of Diſaffection, and that they were intirely owing to other Cauſes, and principally to the Conduct of thoſe who accuſed the Begums.

Read, the following Extract from the Appendix to the Benares Narrative, beginning at Page 8 of the ſame.

" By a Deſpotiſm ſo malignant, and a Conduct ſo offenſive, and even dangerous to our Exiſtence, as have been manifeſted by the Begums, without the ſmalleſt Injury or Provocation on our Parts, they have forfeited all Claim to that Protection which we afforded them, in exacting from the Nabob, at the Time that Mr. Briſtow aſſiſted him in obtaining 30 Lacks of Rupees from them, a Promiſe to our Government, that thoſe Ladies ſhould enjoy full Poſſeſſion of their Jaghires unmoleſted.—We have a Right to withdraw this Protection when they are no longer worthy of it, and to provide againſt their Machinations, by a Conceſſion of that Pledge which afforded them the Means of injuring and oppreſſing us.

" The Begums will ſuffer no actual Loſs by the Reſumptions of the Jaghires, except of an Influence which they have invariably employed to the moſt pernicious Purpoſes againſt One State which had conferred, and another which had ſecured and protected them (*a*)."

Then Mr. ROBERT HUDSON was called in, and produced Book 118, intituled, " Secret Governor General and Council, 13th January to 31ſt March 1777."

Read, Extract of a Letter from Mr. Briſtow to the Governor General and Council, dated Lucknow, the 22d January 1777, from a Conſultation of 17th February 1777, beginning at Page 290 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 17th February 1777.

" At a Council; Preſent,

Secret Dep. Monday.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

" Another great Abuſe which prevails is, the Contempt with which the Vizier's Authority is treated. His Orders are ill executed. His Perwannahs diſregarded, even in the neighbouring Diſtricts to the Capital, unleſs accompanied by ſimilar ones from the Perſon immediately in Charge of the Province. In ſome diſtant Parts of the Country neither his Excellency nor his Aumils are much regarded. The Gurrockpore Diſtrict particularly, can hardly be ſaid to be under the Vizier's Government, as it is held by Zemindars who pay little Obedience to the Aumils, and diſcharge their Revenues with great Irregularity.

" Lucknow, the 22d January 1777. (Signed at the End) John Briſtow (*b*)."

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 141.

(*b*) Vide Appendix, N° LV.

Read, alſo, Extract of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Governor General and Council, dated Lucknow, 11th February 1777, from a Conſultation of 26th February 1777, beginning at Page 354 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 26th February 1777.

Secret Dept. Wedneſday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
Richard Barwell, and } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

" Extract of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Governor General and Council, dated Lucknow, the 11th February 1777.

" The Country of Gorruckpore, particularly that Part which lies contiguous to the Mountains, although not in actual Rebellion, is ſo far unſettled, as ſcarcely to be deemed a Part of the Vizier's Dominions. The Revenue of that Diſtrict is rated at 560,000 Rupees; but, from the Manner in which the Payments have hitherto been made, I do not apprehend that more than Half that Amount will be realized: And the Reaſon which the Aumul aſſigns for this Failure is, the Number of Zemindars on the Confines of the Province, who, being in Poſſeſſion of Mud Forts, withhold their Revenue, under various Pretexts, until extorted from them by Force. Under theſe Circumſtances, the Charge of the Army neceſſary to be kept up, in that one Diſtrict, is almoſt equal to the Amount of the Collections.

" Lucknow, the 11th February 1777. (Signed) Nath. Middleton, Reſident at the Vizier's Court (a)."

Read, from Book 54, already delivered in, a Letter from Colonel Hannay to Mr. Middleton, dated November 29th 1780, from a Conſultation of 16th January 1781, beginning at Page 155 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 16th January 1781.

Secret Dept. Thurſday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
And Edward Wheler, Eſquire.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. abſent on Command at the Preſidency of Fort St. George.

" To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Collector of the Vizier's Aſſignments to the Honourable Company.

" Sir,

" I beg Leave to ſubmit to your Peruſal the incloſed Copies of Two Letters I had the Honour to addreſs to the late Reſident, on the Subject of the Recal of the Battalion of Sepoys of the Second Brigade, which was ordered to aſſiſt in the Reduction of Zalim Sing, and the other rebellious Rajahs inhabiting the Country between Goonda and Goruckpore, and to inform you, that in conſequence of its Removal at ſo critical a Juncture, the Aumil has totally loſt his Authority in no leſs than Thirteen Purgunnahs, and their Collections have been almoſt entirely ſtopped for upwards of Two Months; nor can his Authority be eſtabliſhed without the Aſſiſtance of a Battalion. As this Event involves the Fate of the Company's Tunka upon theſe Diſtricts, I beg Leave to ſubmit to you the Expediency of procuring him the neceſſary Aſſiſtance as ſoon as poſſible.

I have the Honour, &c.

" November 29th, 1780. (Signed) Alex. Hannnay, Commanding the Troops ſtationed for the Service of the Collections of Gooruckpore and Baraitch (b)."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 149.

" Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

" Conformably to your Inſtructions I have the Honour to encloſe for your Information, Copies of the Letters from his Excellency the Vizier, and my Letters accompanying them, both in Application to the Commanding Officers at Cawnpore and Futtyghur, for the Aſſiſtance of Two Battalions, to act in the Service of the Collection of the Vizier's Aſſignments to the Honourable Company. For the Cauſes particularized in thoſe Letters I ſhall be careful to return theſe Battalions upon the earlieſt Information of their having accompliſhed the Service required, the preciſe Period of which it is impoſſible now to foreſee or preſcribe.

" Lucknow, 3d Dec. 1780. I have, &c. Nathaniel Middleton, Collector of the Vizier's Aſſignments to the Honourable Company (c)."

(a) Vide Appendix, N° LVI.
(b) Vide Appendix, N° LVII.
(c) Ibid.

Read,

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book and ſame Conſultation, Extract of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Major Crawford, beginning at Page 152 of the ſaid Book.

" Zalim Sing, &c. Zemindars Krajy are raiſing Commotions in the Mahals of Amooda, Beraiche Gorecpoor, by which great Injury is done to the Sirkar. It is therefore neceſſary, that on the Receipt of this Letter, you march with your Battalion and croſs the River Ganges, where you will, agreeable to the Directions of Colonel Hannay, exert yourſelf for the Puniſhment of the Revolters, and the Settlement of all Matters, that the Money due to the Sirkar may be recovered. As the Commotions of Zalim Sing,&c. have already been of long Continuance, it is abſolutely neceſſary that, immediately on the Receipt of this Letter, you croſs the Ganges with the Battalion: I ſhall ſend another Army for the Affairs of Khirabad, but you are not to wait till their Arrival.

(Signed) True Copies.

" N. Middleton (*a*)."

To prove the high Opinion Mr. Haſtings had of Major Naylor,

Read, from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book A, already delivered in, an Extract of a Letter from Major Palmer to Major Naylor, dated 4th November 1781, beginning at Page 40 of the ſame Book.

" Extract, dated Benares, the 4th November 1781, from Major Palmer.

" I have the Pleaſure to acquaint you, that the Governor, truly ſenſible of, and highly approving your Conduct on the late Service, for the Aſſiſtance of Colonel Hannay, and Protection of the Country beyond the Gogra, has expreſſed his Satisfaction to Colonel Morgan, and requeſted him to continue you on that Service.

" Major Naylor. (Signed) W^m Palmer."

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, a Letter from Major Naylor to Mr. Middleton, dated Camp, Sakrora, November 1781, beginning at Page 40 of the ſame Book.

" Dear Sir,

" I am adviſed by Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, that the large Patellas, with Platforms for tranſporting Ordnance over the ſeveral Nullas in theſe Diſtricts, are his private Property, and that he intends taking them away as ſoon as it may not be attended with Inconvenience to me.—And adviſes me there are many of the ſame kind of Patellas, the Property of the Nabob, ſent from Fyzabad to croſs his Detachment at Byramgaut, to replace them; out of that Number. As I would not chuſe to interfere in any Thing the Property of the Nabob, requeſt your Advice thereon.—Since writing the above, I have ſent for the Manjy at the Gaut here, to enquire how ſoon he thinks the Serjoy will be fordable; but, to my great Aſtoniſhment, I find the Gaut Boat was taken away two Days ago. Had I had an Idea that they would have been ſo ſuddenly taken away, I moſt aſſuredly would have taken Steps to have prevented it, until others could have been provided to have replaced them.—The Serjoy and Terce are the only Nullas I have ſeen, and they will neither of them be fordable for ſome Time, ſo that, if I march, I muſt have the Mortification to be detained making Bridges: The Boats were of a ſmall Value.—I would have paid for them with Pleaſure, had I ſuſpected theſe being withdrawn before others had been provided.—Your Brother, no Doubt, acquainted you with what Readineſs I ſprung to the Aſſiſtance and Relief of Colonel Hannay; and I muſt ſay, that I have met with a different Return to what I might have expected.—I received Colonel Hannay's Letter the 7th, that he would not put me to any Inconvenience, and the Boat was taken away from the Serjoy the next Morning. The Boats could not have been of the ſmalleſt Service to me, as I am not, nor cannot be, the leaſt apprehenſive; and the Aumils will always furniſh any that may be wanted for me.

" Camp, Sakrora, " I am, dear Sir,

" November 1781. " your moſt obedient humble Servant,

" Nath. Middleton Eſquire. (Signed) F. Naylor."

Read, alſo, from ſame Book, a Letter from Mr. Naylor to Mr. Middleton, dated Camp, Sakrora, November 1, 1781, beginning at Page 29.

" To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" Your's of the 28th Ultimo, I was favoured with Yeſterday, as alſo the Duplicate, which I clearly and perfectly underſtand; and have now the Pleaſure to aſſure you, that I think there is not the ſmalleſt Danger of my not ſettling the new Aumil agreeable to his Wiſhes and the Nabob's Intentions; and I requeſt you will ſignify to the Nabob Vizier my Acknowledgments for this Mark of his Favour, in detaining my Regiment for the Purpoſe of ſettling the Troubles in the Provinces of Goorückpore and Baraitch.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LVII.

" How

" How ſuch an Idea could have operated in the Minds of any People, that there is a Riſk of my Regiment not acting here with Safety, I cannot conceive. True it is, that if there was any Riſk, it was when I firſt came to the Relief of Colonel Hannay, when the whole Country had revolted, from one End to the other, and had collected, aſſiſted with ſeveral Pieces of Ordnance which they had with them; when Colonel Hannay's People, in Part, had laid down their Arms, and he had not the ſmalleſt Dependance on the reſt. If there was any Riſk, it was then; but ſo far to the contrary, I marched, when they were collected in the moſt formidable Body, attacked them, and gave them an Overthrow, taking their Guns, &c. &c.

" My Return from Goonda to this Place, has no Doubt encouraged Hindooput and his Adherents a good Deal; and as the whole Country are waiting impatiently for People authorized to adjuſt and collect, the ſooner the Aumils are arrived here the better, as the Year is now far advanced, and the diſaffected Rajahs, &c. are uſing Violence with the Riots all over the Country.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) T. Naylor."

" Camp, Sakrora,
November 1, 1781.

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, a Letter from Major Naylor to Mr. Middleton, dated Camp Goonda, October 19th 1781, beginning at Page 34.

" Dear Sir,
Camp Goonda, October 19th 1781.

" I did myſelf the Pleaſure to addreſs you the 11th inſtant: My Regiment is at the End of this Month Three Months in Arrears, and I ſhall eſteem myſelf obliged, if you will advance me the Month of Auguſt's Pay, either upon the Abſtracts or upon my Receipt for the Amount, which can be ſent as Caſh to the Paymaſter at Futty Gur: The People keep at a Diſtance, are in a very diſtracted Situation, and call out for the proper People as Fouzdars to ſettle and adjuſt among them.

" I have the Honour to be,
Dear Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) T. Naylor."

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, another Letter from Major Naylor to Mr. Middleton, dated Camp, Sakrora, November 22d 1781, beginning at Page 54.

" To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Court of the Vizier.

" Sir,

" Your Favour of the 7th inſtant I did not receive till laſt Night: It directs me upon a Piece of Service in the Diſtrict of the Aumil of Goonda, and againſt Rajah Jallam Sing and other independant Zemindars in that Neighbourhood, who have ſome of my Harcarras in Confinement, and are gaining Strength every Day. The Aumil Lall Monſookall is not yet arrived from Lucknow, but his Naib informs me, that he is expected the 25th or 26th, with whom I will be prepared to march.

" I am exceedingly in Arrears, and beg the Favour you will addreſs the Aumils to advance me Three Months Pay, and afterwards as it may become due; for which I will grant a Receipt.

" This Country, Barrich, is juſt now very quiet; I do not hear of any Part of it being in the leaſt Diſorder.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
T. Naylor."

" Camp Sakrora,
November 22d 1781.

To prove that nothing was neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh the Tranquillity of the Country, but to reſtore it to its former Confidence:

Read, from the ſame Book, another Letter from Major Naylor to Mr. Middleton, dated Camp, Pool Gout, January 8, 1782, beginning at Page 82.

" Dear Sir,

" As I am under the Neceſſity of ſending you the Account of the laſt Supply of Caſh from the Aumil for the proper Batta to be fixed, it is very little Trouble to inſert the former Sums, as you have left the Account at Lucknow, that you may adjuſt the Whole together.

" I have conſidered ſince you left me more fully the Matter that I was ſpeaking to you of Rajah Hindooput, and requeſt to refer it to your Conſideration.

' That is, as I ſeized him, and as his Family, ſince his Confinement, has been frequently de-
' ceived, and for which his Brother offers to come to me, but on no Account to the Aumil, as he
' has paid his full Balance due to the Government, and offers undoubted Security for the Per-
' formance

' formance of the reſt. Whether his being delivered over to me would not in ſome Meaſure be the ' Means of reſtoring that Confidence to the Nation, of the Name of an European, which has a ' good deal ſuffered, and which my aſſembling his Family (who abſolutely refuſe to go near the ' Aumil), and Securities, &c. together, may not have the wiſhed-for Effect.'

" Indeed, by this Negociation, I ſhall endeavour to call in Rajah Zallam Sing, on a Promiſe of Forgiveneſs, to join in this general Amneſty, and I have great Hopes of Succeſs.

" A Mediation of this Nature, I flatter myſelf, is much to be wiſhed for; for while theſe independent People are allowed to act as they do, which is much to be wiſhed for by the Aumils, they never want an Excuſe for a Deduction in their Rents.

" You will perceive, that I by no Means propoſe either to know or interfere with the Argument of the Terms entered into, or that I wiſh to become a Party in the Receipt or Knowledge of the Rents.

" As there is nothing contained in this more than reſtoring a little Confidence among them, and as I have been a Party from the Commencement of theſe Troubles, it will be placing me in the Point of View amongſt them that I would wiſh to appear in.

" Camp, Pool Gaut,
January 8, 1782.

" I am,
Dear Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) F. Naylor."

" To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire.

Read, from the ſame Book, a Letter from Mr. Hall to Mr. Middleton, dated Camp, Sacrora, June 20th 1782, beginning at Page 33.

" To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident, &c.

" Sir,

" I had the Honour of addreſſing you Yeſterday; ſince then, the Village People are much changed. I underſtand they are diſperſed, and taken to their Habitations. I had an Opportunity, Yeſterday and the Day before, of ſhewing ſome little Acts of Generoſity to the Priſoners; particularly in giving ſome of them Money to purchaſe their Freedom from Sookal, when they might go back to his Priſon. Whether theſe Acts of Attention to the wretched State of theſe People, or Fears from our further and immediate Reſentment, have opperated * on the Sardars in the Villages, I cannot ſay; but I have had, To-day, Graſs ſent into Camp without ſending for it; with Bramins from moſt of the Villages, aſſuring me, that I ſhall never find any further Trouble in this Diſtrict. From the great Pains I take to give the moſt convincing Proof, that Juſtice, Moderation, and Humanity, are the Rules of our Conduct, I hope theſe People will regard us in a more favourable Light than to intend, far leſs attempt, to quarrel with our Sepoys or Followers.

* Sic in Orig.

" I incloſed my Addreſs to you laſt Night to Major Naylor; but, leſt he ſhould be returned to Camp, I ſend this directly to yourſelf.

" I have the Honour to be, with all Reſpect, Sir, your, &c.
(Signed) Thomas Hall,
Commanding 23d Regiment."

" Camp, Sakrora, June 20th 1782.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next read a Paſſage from Mr. Haſtings's Comment upon the Treaty of Chunar; that in the Letters juſt read, the Perſons, in the Way of receiving the beſt Information upon the Subject, reſpecting the real Cauſe of the Commotions in Gooruckpoor and Barraitch, never once mentioned the Begums, or ſuppoſed they were at all concerned in it; and that the Paſſage about to be produced would ſhew, Mr. Haſtings himſelf attributes it to the real Cauſe to which it was owing, namely, the Hatred of the Natives againſt the Engliſh, which was well warranted by their Miſbehaviour.

Read, the following Extract from the Appendix to the Benares Narrative, beginning at Page 6 of the ſame.

" Notwithſtanding the great Benefit which the Company would have derived from ſuch an Augmentation of their Military Force, as theſe Troops conſtituted, ready to act on any Emergency, prepared and diſciplined without any Charge on the Company, as the Inſtitution profeſſed, until their actual Services ſhould be required, I have obſerved ſome Evils growing out of the Syſtem, which, in my Opinion, more than counterbalanced thoſe Advantages, had they been realized in their fulleſt Effect. The remote Stations of thoſe Troops, placing the commanding Officers beyond the Notice and Controul of the Board, afforded too much Opportunity and Temptation for unwarrantable Emoluments, and excited the Contagion of Peculation and Rapacity throughout the whole Army. A moſt remarkable and incontrovertible Proof of the Prevalence of this Spirit has been ſeen in the Court Martial upon Captain Erſkine, where the Court,

 compoſed

compoſed of Officers of Rank and reſpectable Characters, unanimouſly and honourably, moſt honourably, acquitted him upon an acknowledged Fact, which, in Times of ſtricter Diſcipline, would have been deemed a Crime deſerving the ſevereſt Puniſhment *(a)*."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Appendix, beginning at Page 7.

" With reſpect to the Removal of the Company's Servants Civil and Military, from the Court and Service of the Vizier, I was actuated ſolely by Motives of Juſtice to him, and a Regard to the Honour of our national Character. In removing thoſe Gentlemen, I diminiſh my own Influence, as well as that of my Colleagues, by narrowing the Line of Patronage, and I expoſe myſelf to Obloquy and Reſentment from thoſe who are immediately affected by the Arrangement, and the long Train of their Friends and powerful Patrons. But their Numbers, their Influence, and the enormous Amount of their Salaries, Penſions, and Emoluments, were an intolerable Burthen on the Revenues and Authority of the Vizier, and expoſed us to the Envy and Reſentment of the whole Country, by excluding the native Servants and Adherents of the Vizier from the Rewards of their Services and Attachment *(b)*."

To prove the Confuſions that prevailed in the Vizier's Dominions in the Year 1782:

Read, from Book 80 already delivered in, Extract of a Letter to the Governor General, ſigned John Briſtow, Reſident at the Vizier's Court, and dated Lucknow, 12th December 1782, from a Conſultation of 12th May 1783, beginning at Page 640 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 12th May 1783.

Secret Dept. Monday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
Edward Wheler, and
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.

" Third Head.—Firſt their Government.

" State of the Vizier's Dominions.

" Deſpotiſm is the Principle upon which every Meaſure is founded, and the People in the interior Parts of the Country are ruled at the Diſcretion of the Aumil or Phouſdar for the Time being. They exerciſe within the Limits of their Juriſdiction, the Powers of Life and Death, and Deciſions in Civil and other Caſes in the ſame Extent as the Sovereign at the Capital. The Forms preſcribed by the ancient Inſtitutions of the Mogul Empire are unattended to, and the Will of the provincial Magiſtrate is the ſole Law of the People. The total Relaxation of the Vizier's Authority, his Inattention, and Diſlike to Buſineſs, leave the Aumils in Poſſeſſion of this dangerous Power, unawed, uncontrouled by any Apprehenſion of Retroſpection, or the Interference of Juſtice. I can hardly quote an Inſtance ſince the Vizier's Acceſſion to the Muſnud of an Aumil having been puniſhed for Oppreſſion, though the Complaints of the People, and the State of the Country, are notorious Proofs of the Violences daily committed. It is even become unſafe for Travellers to paſs except in large Bodies; Murders, Thefts, and other Enormities ſhocking to Humanity, are committed in open Day.

" Every Zemindar ſhould be conſtituted the Magiſtrate in his Zemindarry, and collect the Revenues according to certain eſtabliſhed Rates, recorded in the Cutcherry, and publiſhed throughout the Diſtrict. The Aumil ſhould be the controuling Power between the Ryot and the Zemindar, ſhould inforce the Regulations, ſee Peace and good Order preſerved in the ſeveral Zemindarries, and make the Zemindars accountable for all Tumults, Thefts, and Murder, within their Juriſdiction. In great Towns there ought to be a Cutwall or Haakum to diſtribute Juſtice.

" Such has been the Syſtem of this Government, that the Oppreſſions have generally originated with the Aumils. They have been rarely ſelected for their Abilities or Integrity, but from Favour, or the Means to advance a ſmall Sum upon being appointed to their Office. The Aumil enters upon his Truſt, ruined in Reputation and Fortune; and unleſs he accompliſhes his Engagements, which is ſeldom the Caſe, Diſgrace and Puniſhment follow. Though the Balance of Revenue may be rigorouſly demanded of him, it has not been uſual to inſtitute any Enquiry for Oppreſſion. The Zemindars, thus left at the Mercy of the Aumils, are often driven to Rebellion. The Weak are obliged to ſubmit to his Exactions, or fly the Country; and the Aumil, unable to reduce the more powerful, is compelled to enter into a diſgraceful Compromiſe. Every Zemindar looks to his Fort for Protection; and the Country is crowded with them. Almaſs Ally Cawn, thoſe are not leſs than Seven hundred in his Diſtricts: Hence it has become a general Cuſtom to ſeize the Brother, Son, or ſome near Relation, or Dependent, of the different Zemindars, as Hoſtages for Security of the Revenue. A great Aumil will ſometimes have Three or Four hundred of theſe Hoſtages, whom he is obliged to confine in Places of Security.

(a) Vide ſupra, Page 140. *(b)* Vide ſupra, Page 141.

" A few

" A few Men like Almaſs Ally Cawn, and Coja Din ul Dun, have, from their Regularity in the Performance of pecuniary Engagements, rendered themſelves uſeful to the Vizier. A ſtrict Scrutiny into his Affairs was at all Times irkſome to his Excellency; and none of his Miniſters or Officers about his Perſon poſſeſſing the active perſevering Spirit requiſite to conduct the Detail of Engagements for a Number of ſmall Farms, it became convenient to receive a large Sum from a great Farmer, without Trouble or Deficiency. This Syſtem was followed by the moſt pernicious Conſequences: Theſe Men were above all Controul; they exacted their own Terms; and the Diſtricts they farmed were moſt cruelly oppreſſed. The Revenue of Rohilcund is reduced above a Third; and Almaſs Ally Cawn's Adminiſtration is well known to have been extremely violent.

" The foregoing Repreſentation of the State of this Government, will, I hope, ſatisfy you of the Difficulty in collecting the Revenues. A very ſtrong Military Force will be required to preſerve the Country in Peace.

" The Number for which Funds are at preſent allotted, would, in my Opinion, amply ſuffice, if it exiſted; but I ſuppoſe not Two Thirds of the Men kept upon the Books are actually entertained. The Diſcipline and proper Application of this Force will become a Matter of ſerious Conſideration. I do not mean to propoſe they ſhould be put under the Command of Britiſh Officers, as a very extraordinary Expence would attend that Meaſure, and I do not think the Service of the Collections would be ſo well executed. The Troops now in the Vizier's Service are ill paid, and ill appointed, not owing to the Want of Means, as I think. When I ſhall forward you the Statements I have been ſo long endeavouring to complete, you will judge them adequate to every Service, if not diſſipated and ſquandered away. The Evil originates in the Want of Checks upon the Diſburſements to the Army, of proper Officers and Commiſſaries, to ſee them duly appropriated.

" The ſame Inconveniencies exiſt in the Receipts of the Vizier's Revenue, and other Branches of his Government, in the general Department. Offices of Collections and Treaſury, and Courts for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, ought doubtleſs to be eſtabliſhed. In a Duty of ſo delicate a Nature, as the Execution of your Commands on this Head, I muſt neceſſarily expoſe myſelf to the Oppoſition of Perſons intereſted in the Continuance of the Abuſes.

(At the End),

" Lucknow,
12th December 1782.

John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court." (*a*)

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould now ſhew that Mr. Haſtings himſelf admitted, that the Rebellion of the Zemindars continued after depriving the Begums of their Treaſures, and Colonel Hannay was then negociating for it.

Read, from the ſame Book, Extract of a Conſultation, of 21ſt April 1783, beginning at Page 289.

" Fort William, 21ſt April 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident.

Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon,
John Stables,
} Eſquires.

Sir Eyre Coote gone to Fort St. George.

" The Governor General deſires, that his Inſtructions given to Mr. Briſtow, which were read to the Members of the Board, and minuted in Conſultation on 24th October laſt, may be now entered and prefixed to the accompanying Letter:

" To Mr. John Briſtow.

" Sir,

" Par. 8. From the Practice which the late Reſident and his Deputy, and the Miniſter, ſeemed to have preſcribed to themſelves of with-holding all official Information from me, I have been under the Neceſſity of forming my Opinion of the State of the Nabob's Government upon private Intelligence; but this, from its Variety, from its Concurrence, notwithſtanding the various Channels through which it has paſſed, and above all from its Notoriety, comes to me with all the Weight which the higheſt Authority could give it. For ſome Facts I have the Teſtimony of ſworn Evidence, ſuch are the Tranſactions of the Rebel Zemindars of Gooruckpoor and Bareach in the Inſurrections of the laſt Year, which had for their immediate Object the Deſtruction of Colonel Hannay and the Officers of his Command, and ultimately, the Extirpation of the Engliſh Influence and Power throughout the Whole of the Nabob Vizier's Dominions. The Zemindars who diſtin-

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LVIII.

guiſhed

guiſhed themſelves on this Occaſion were Zalim Sing, Genoo Roy, and Perly Pall Sing. I am well informed that theſe Men have perſevered in their rebellious Conduct, without Deviation, to the preſent Time, though the Nabob's, and not our Government, is the Object of it. Repreſent to the Nabob, and effectually, the bad Policy of ſuffering ſuch Examples to paſs with Impunity. Obtain his Order for employing ſome ſure Means for apprehending theſe Zemindars; and if it ſhall appear, on a fair and regular Enquiry, that their Conduct towards the Nabob (I paſs over that which regards ourſelves alone) has been ſuch, as it has been reported to be, he ought, and you muſt inſiſt upon it, to puniſh them with Death; and to treat * them with the ſame Rigour every Zemindar and every Subject who ſhall be the Leader of a Rebellion againſt his Authority. Severe as this Injunction may appear at firſt Sight, it will be Mercy in its Effects, if the Nabob will adopt the Policy, by inſuring the Tranquillity of his Country, and ſaving the Blood of his People; for the Reſolution once publiſhed, and enforced in a ſingle Inſtance, will make it unneceſſary to proſecute it to a ſecond Example.

* Sic in Orig.

"9th. I have been informed by the late Colonel Hannay, that ſome Time before his Recal was determined, he had agreed to a Settlement of 23 Lacks of Rupees complete, and without Deductions, for the Revenue of Goroockpore and Bareach for the preſent Year, and that on his Recal a new Arrangement had taken Place, in which a Selection had been made of the moſt valuable Talooks or Portions of this Diſtrict, and that they had been diſtributed among the Domeſtics and other Favourites of the Miniſter; and that the Reſt had been farmed to One Aumil, Abdool Beig, as I recollect, and the Whole reduced to a Jumma of 18 Lacks, from which a Proviſion of future Remiſſions was made for Seebundjie Anticipations and Pimauly, or Ravages committed during the late Inſurrections. Theſe are Facts of ſuch a Kind, as will confirm themſelves by their own Evidence; and if you find them to be ſuch, it muſt be your Care to correct the Abuſe, if you can, for the preſent, or at leaſt to apply the beſt Remedy in your Power to it, and reſtore their future Jumma to its real Value. I ſhall not enter further or more minutely into the Subject of the general Collections; but I am particularly ſolicitous to aſcertain the real Value of this Diſtrict, for a Reaſon which I will proceed to explain.

"Fort William, (At the End)
23d October 1782. Warren Haſtings (*a*)."

To ſhew the Vizier's Opinion of Colonel Hannay, and his Management of the Diſtricts committed to his Care, the Witneſs produced Book 46, intituled, "Perſian Correſpondence, Publick Department, N° 8."

Read, a Letter from the Vizier to the Governor General, received 15 September 1782.

"N° 37. My Country and Houſe belong to you; there is no Difference. I hope that you deſire, in your Heart, the Good of my Concerns. Colonel Hannay is inclined to requeſt your Permiſſion to be employed in the Affairs of this Quarter. If by any Means any Matter of this Country, dependant on me, ſhould be intruſted to the Colonel, I ſwear by the Holy Prophet that I will not remain here, but will go from hence to you. From your Kindneſs, let no Concern dependant on me be intruſted to the Colonel; and oblige me by a ſpeedy Anſwer, which may ſet my Mind at eaſe."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Letter, an Abſtract of which was about to be read, was the Governor General's Anſwer to the Vizier.

The Witneſs produced Book 130, intituled, "N° 15, Perſian Correſpondence, Publick Department. Letters written in the Year 1782."

Read, Extract from the ſame, as follows.

"To the Vizier. Written the 31ſt December 1782.

"53. Aſſuring him, that no Intention was ever formed, of employing Colonel Hannay at Lucknow; and that he was preparing to leave this Country for Europe at the Time of his Death."

To prove Mr. Haſtings's Opinion of the Agents he ſent, and the Purpoſes for which they were employed,

Read, from Book 131, already delivered in, Extract of a Letter from the Governor General to the Court of Directors, dated Benares, October 1784.

"My only remaining Fear is, that the Members of the Council, ſeeing Affairs through a different Medium from that through which I view them, may be diſpoſed, if not to counteract the Syſtem which I have formed, to withhold from it their Countenance and active Support. While I

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LIX.

myſelf

myſelf remain, it will be ſufficient if they permit it to operate without Interruption; and I almoſt hope that, in the Event of a new Adminiſtration of your Affairs, which ſhall confine itſelf to the ſame Forbearance, and manifeſt no Symptoms of intended Interference, the Objects of my Arrangements will be effectually attained; for I leave them in the Charge of Agents whoſe Intereſts, Ambition, and every Proſpect of Life, are interwoven with their Succeſs, and the Hand of Heaven has viſibly bleſt the Soil with every elementary Source of progreſſive Vegetation. But if a different Policy ſhall be adopted; if new Agents are ſent into the Country, and armed with Authority for the Purpoſe of Vengeance or Corruption, to no other will they be applied; if new Demands are raiſed on the Nabob Vizier, and Accounts overcharged on one Side, with a wide Latitude taken on the other, to ſwell his Debt beyond the Means of Payment; if political Dangers are portended, to ground on them the Pleas of burthening his Country with unneceſſary Defences and enormous Subſidies; or if, even abſtaining from direct Encroachment on the Nabob's Rights, your Government ſhall ſhew but a Degree of perſonal Kindneſs to the Partizans of the late Uſurpation, or, by any conſtructive Indication of Partiality and Diſaffection, furniſh Grounds for the Expectation of an approaching Change of Syſtem, I am ſorry to ſay, that all my Labours will prove abortive; for the ſlighteſt Cauſes will be ſufficient to deject Minds ſore with the Remembrance of paſt Conflicts, and to elevate thoſe, whoſe only Dependence is placed in the Renewal of the Confuſion which I have laboured with ſuch Zeal to eradicate; and will of courſe debilitate the Authority which can alone inſure future Succeſs. I almoſt fear that this Denunciation of Effects, from Cauſes ſo incompetent as they will appear to thoſe who have not had the Experience which I have had of the quick Senſibility, which influences the Habits of Men placed in a State of Polity ſo looſe, and ſubject to the continual Variations of capricious and deſpotic Authority, will be deemed overcharged, or perhaps void of Foundation; nor, ift hey ſhould come to paſs, will it be eaſy to trace them, with any poſitive Evidence, to their Connection. Yet it is my Duty to appriſe you of what I apprehend, on Grounds which I deem of abſolute Certainty, may come to paſs; and I rely on your Candour for a fair Interpretation of my Intention.

(Signed at the End)
Warren Haſtings (*a*)."

To prove that the Governor General, in the preceding Letter, did not overſtate the Conſequences likely to enſue the Mal-adminiſtration of the Country of the Vizier, the Witneſs produced a Paper, indorſed, " On the Ganges, 16th November 1787, Letter from E. Cornwallis to the Court of Directors (N° 8), received per Buſbridge, 29th April 1788."

Read, the following Extract, Part of Paragraph 3, from the ſame.

☞ [" Par. 3. I was received at Allahabad, and attended to Lucknow, by the Nabob and his Miniſters, with every Mark of Friendſhip and Reſpect. I cannot, however, expreſs how much I was concerned, during my ſhort Reſidence at his Capital, and my Progreſs through his Dominions, to be Witneſs of the diſordered State of his Finances and Government, and of the deſolate Appearance of the Country: The Evils were too alarming to admit of Palliation, and I thought it my Duty to exhort him, in the moſt friendly Manner, to endeavour to apply effectual Remedies to them. He began with urging, as Apologies, that whilſt he was not certain of the Extent of our Demands upon him, he had no real Intereſt in being œconomical in his Expences; and that, while we interfered in the internal Management of his Affairs, his own Authority, and that of his Miniſters, were deſpiſed by his own Subjects. It would have been uſeleſs to diſcuſs theſe Topicks with him; but, while I repeated my former Declarations, of our being determined to give no Grounds in future for ſimilar Complaints, he gave me the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of his being reſolved to apply himſelf earneſtly to the Encouragement of Agriculture, and to endeavour to revive the Commerce of his Country.] ☜

§ (" Par. 3. And, in order to enable him to be punctual in his pecuniary Engagements with us, " and otherwiſe to give Eaſe to his Finances, he likewiſe promiſed, not only to diſband a large " Number of his own uſeleſs Rabble of Troops, but alſo to retrench a great many of his other ſu- " perfluous Articles of Expenditure. I think it proper to ſay, that my principal Dependance for " the Performance of thoſe Promiſes, reſts upon ſimilar Aſſurances from the efficient Miniſter, " Hyder Beg Khan, who is undoubtedly the ableſt Man employed by the Vizier, and who, there is " Reaſon to expect, will, from Conſiderations of perſonal Intereſt and Safety, be at great Pains to " avoid giving juſt Cauſe of Complaint to this Government. He knows, in particular, that it is " to him I look for the punctual Diſcharge of our annual Subſidy of Fifty Lacks; and, though I " am ſenſible that, for ſome Time to come, there may frequently be Difficulties, I truſt that they " will never more fall conſiderably into Balance, as I am perſuaded of their Anxiety to avoid it.) §

(Signed at the End) " Cornwallis (*b*)."

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LX. (*b*) Vide Appendix, N° LXI.

Then the Witneſs produced a Paper, indorſed, " No. 14, on the Ganges, November 16th 1787. Letter from Earl Cornwallis to the Secret Committee, received per Buſbridge, 25th April 1788. Read in Secret Court 26th ditto."

Read, the following Extract, from Paragraph 5th of the ſame.

" Till I ſaw the Vizier's Troops, I was not without Hopes, that, upon an Emergency, he would have been able to have furniſhed us with ſome uſeful Cavalry; but I have no Reaſon to believe that he has any in his Service upon which it would be prudent to place any Dependence: And I think it right to add, that his Country appears to be in ſo ruined a State, and his Finances in ſo much Diſorder, that, even in caſe of a War, we ought not to depend upon any material Support from him.

(Signed at the End),

" Cornwallis."

To ſhew the Opinion the Country has of the Britiſh Faith, in conſequence of Mr. Haſtings's Government,

The Witneſs produced a Paper indorſed, " 1787. Fort William Secret and Political Department. Copy of a Succinct View of the State of the political Connections ſubſiſting between Mahagie Saindeah and the Britiſh Government in India, encloſed in Captain Kirkpatrick's Letter to Lord Cornwallis, dated 20th July, recorded in Conſultation 28th Auguſt, N° 8. Per Ravenſworth, 30th March 1788."

Read, the following Extract from the ſame.

" Such is the Impreſſion which our former Character and Policy have left on the Minds of the Natives, that, notwithſtanding the many Proofs, which our more recent Conduct has furniſhed, of our being at preſent directed by a very different Spirit, I am perſuaded that neither he nor any other Hindoſtan Potentate gives me Credit for Sincerity in the Declarations which we have latterly made on this Subject: Time no Doubt might ſubdue this obſtinate Incredulity, but who can certainly ſay that we ſhall adhere long enough to our preſent moderate Syſtem for the Purpoſe of inforcing this Belief (*a*)?"

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Houſe having now heard, from the beſt Authority, what the Opinion entertained by the Country Powers was, of the Britiſh Faith, particularly from Madajee Scindia; they ſhould next ſhew, what Mr. Haſtings offered to the Houſe of Commons, concerning that Opinion, in his Defence at the Bar of that Houſe.

Read, the following Extract of the Introduction to Mr. Haſtings's Defence, at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, beginning at Page 5 of the Manuſcript.

" If this Honourable Houſe is deſirous of knowing, in what Eſtimation I ſtood with the Princes and Rulers of India, and with the Subjects of our own Dominion, the Opinions of both may be eaſily obtained, by Enquiry of the Witneſſes whom my Proſecutor has called to eſtabliſh his Charges againſt me; and I will anticipate their Evidence. It will ſtate, that my political Conduct was invariably regulated by Truth, Juſtice, and good Faith; that all Perſuaſions of Men were impreſſed with a ſuperſtitious Belief, that a fortunate Influence directed all my Actions to their deſtined Ends; and that my Departure was ſcarcely leſs regretted by the Inhabitants of the Provinces of my late Dependency, than it was by my own Countrymen. I believe this Houſe is in Poſſeſſion of one Teſtimony of the former, in the Letters which Mahdajee Scindia wrote to his Moſt Gracious Majeſty, and to the Company. Theſe were written many Months after my Departure, and contain much more of my Praiſe, than his own Wants or Requiſitions; unleſs the former is inſerted as an Implication of his Deſire, that others may be inſtructed to govern themſelves by my Example: And who will queſtion ſuch an Authority? (*b*)"

Read, the following Extract of the Defendant's Anſwer, delivered in at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, beginning at Page 81 of the printed Copy of the ſame.

" And he begs leave further to repreſent, that Letters from ſome of the ſaid Princes, containing their Acknowledgments of his good Faith, Honour, and Integrity, have been tranſmitted to his Succeſſor in Office, and to the Court of Directors, and appear upon the publick Proceedings of the Eaſt India Company."

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXII. (*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 18, Line 20.

The

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, That having ſubmitted to them Evidence reſpecting the Proceedings in Baraitch and Goruckpore, in Refutation of the Charge againſt the Begums having been concerned therein, they ſhould next proceed to prove, that the Begums never gave the leaſt Aſſiſtance to Cheit Sing, but, on the contrary, exerted themſelves in favour of the Engliſh.

Read, the following Extract from the Second Defence, beginning at Page 2 of the ſame.

" The Begums of Fyzabad, prompted by their common Hatred to our Nation, and not much more affected to their own Sovereign, though he was their Son and Grandſon, united their Authority and Influence to extend and aggravate our Difficulties. Circular Letters were written to the Zemindars of Oude, inciting them to Rebellion; Rewards were proclaimed for the Heads of Engliſh Officers, Soldiers, and Sepoys. A general Revolt enſued, of which their Agents were the principal Leaders, in the Diſtricts of Gooruckpoor and Barrech. The Two chief Eunuchs, and confidential Servants of the younger Begum, openly levied Troops in the great Square of the City, for the avowed Service of Cheit Sing againſt the Engliſh; and theſe were ſent under the Name of Nejeebs to Cheit Sing, and actually employed in his Battles againſt us.

" Theſe Facts have been proved by the Depoſitions of Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hannay, Major John Macdonald, Captain John Gordon, and many other Witneſſes, taken before Sir Elijah Impey at Lucknow and Chunar, within Three Months of the Time in which the Event had paſſed; and in one of the latter, namely, that of Sheikh Mahomed Aumeen Mheir, a Commandant, and the Second Officer in Command of the Service of Cheit Sing, a Liſt of the Troops which compoſed Cheit Sing's Force during his Rebellion was delivered by him upon Oath, in which were inſerted 1000 Nejeebs or Swordmen, newly entertained from Lucknow, which exactly corroborates the Teſtimony of Colonel Hannay and the other Engliſh Officers, who mention the Recruits enliſted by the Begums Authority at Fyzabad, by the Name of Nejeebs, the Deponent ſuppoſing them to have been ſent from Lucknow inſtead of Fyzabad, through an evident Miſtake of one Capital for the other. It is worth remarking, that theſe Depoſitions were all taken, to eſtabliſh a Series of Facts combined with the Rebellion of Cheit Sing; and what they have affirmed concerning the Begums was an acceſſory Subject not required for the original, though probably the moſt powerful in the Feelings and Recollections of the Deponents, and therefore more particularly noted in the Evidence delivered by them. This is certainly an additional Argument of their Authenticity (*a*)."

Read, the following Extract of the Appendix to the Banares Narrative, beginning at Page 181 of the ſame.

" Tranſlation of the Solemn Declaration of the Ranny Golaub Kooer, made on the 12th Day of November 1781, before Chief Juſtice Impey.

" With reſpect to Cheit Sing's having of old had an improper Correſpondence with the Begums at Lucknow, and the Rajah of Bheraich and Gooruckpoor, the Declaration of the above Ranny is as follows.

" Since Two Years, on Account of the Enmity of Cheit Sing to me, I had left Ramnagur, and reſided in another Dwelling, and Cheit Sing had always acted towards me with ſuch Enmity and Oppoſition as cannot be deſcribed; how, therefore, ſhould he have acquainted me with his Correſpondences? but I have heard from Report, that he had in many Places improper Correſpondences; however it is very plain he had an Enmity towards the Governor General, becauſe whenever he learned any Thing to the Prejudice of the Governor, from the Letters of his Vakeels, or the Reports of ill deſigning Perſons, he uſed to rejoice; this is known to all the Inhabitants of Ramnagur; accordingly, when the Governor General was lately coming from Calcutta towards this Quarter, the Rajah and his Companions uſed to ſay, 'The Governor has been diſplaced, and is making his Eſcape to Hindoſtan.' Beſides, from the Rajah's going to Buxar to meet him with the greateſt Preparations, his Intention plainly appears.

(Signed) " Ranny Golaub Kooer (*b*)."

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, They ſhould next proceed to read the Whole of the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Parcels of Affidavits in the Appendix to the Benares Narrative, Part 3, beginning at Page 195 of the ſame. The Counſel for the Defendant deſired, that the Liſt of the Forces of Cheit Sing, beginning at Page 43 of the Narrative, and the Third and Fifth Parcel of Affidavits in the Appendix, Part 3, beginning at Page 159 and Page 184 of the ſame, might be alſo read.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 364, Par. 1.

(*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 246.

The ſame were read, as follows:

Extract from the Narrative, P. 43.

§ (" The following is a Catalogue of Cheit Sing's whole Force, which has been ſince delivered to me by One of his principal Officers; and as it made a Part of a ſworn Affidavit, I admit and credit it as genuine. It is certainly not exaggerated.

" Liſt of the eſtabliſhed Forces in the Service of Cheit Sing.

" Cavalry, Sepoys, Matchlock Men, &c.

Cavalry — — — —	1,700	
Seleƈt Troops, or Body Guard, Horſe and Foot — —	700	
Sepoys — — — — —	1,150	
Matchlock Men — — — —	1,800	
Attached to Bullam Daſs, Horſe 300, Foot 500 — —	800	
With Soojaun Sing, Cavalry and Infantry 500, with 2 Guns, Sepoys and Artillery Men, 340 — — — — —	840	
With Munnear Sing, Cavalry and Infantry — — —	700	
Total eſtabliſhed Troops —		7,690

" Troops entertained after the Arrival of Cheit Sing at Lutteefpoor.

Firſt, entertained at Lutteefpoor, Matchlock and Sword Men —	2,000	
Second, Nujjeeb, Sword Men from Lucknow — —	1,000	
Total —		3,000

" Troops aſſembled from different Places.

Horſe and Foot with Juggur Dew Sing — — —	500	
Matchlock Men arrived with Bukht Sing, by Order from the Rajah —	1,200	
With Gomaun Sing, ſent for by the Rajah, Matchlock Men —	500	
From the Fougedar of Biddevee arrived, Matchlock Men — —	1,000	
Rajepoots of the Tribe of Rugbunſee from Kurraukut — —	3,000	
Arrived with Dillún Sing, Fougedar of Mukurun Badſhahpoor, Matchlock Men — — — —	1,500	
Cavalry and Infantry arrived with Rezza Cooli Khan, from Mirzapoor	300	
Rajepoots collected from Agoree and Purwah, by Dia Lutchoo —	500	
Of the Tribe or Caſt of Khummaur, collected by Soojaun Sing —	1,000	
Sword and Matchlock Men with Ramjeeawun — —	2,000	
		11,500
Total Troops in the Service of Cheit Sing —		22,190

" To which are to be added, Huſbandmen and Adventurers who took up Arms voluntarily, making the foregoing Number amount to near Forty thouſand *."

Extract from the Appendix, Part III. P. 159.

" THIRD PARCEL.

" Num. 3. A.

" Affidavit of Captain Davy.

" Captain William Davy, private Perſian Tranſlator to the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General of Bengal, &c. maketh Oath, and ſaith, That he underſtands the Perſian Language, and that the Engliſh Papers marked Num. 3. B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, hereunto annexed, are reſpectively true and faithful Tranſlates of the ſeveral Perſian Papers, marked, 1 A, 2 A, 3 A, 4 A, 5 A, 6 A, 7 A, 8 A, 9 A, 10 A, 11 A, 12 A, 13 A, 14 A, 15 A, 16 A, 17 A, 18 A, 19 A, likewiſe hereunto annexed, according to the beſt of this Deponent's Skill and Belief.

" Sworn before me, this 12th Day of December 1781.

" E. Impey.

" William Davy."

* Vide ſupra, P. 126.

" Num.

" Num. 3. B.

" Tranſlation of the Declaration of Hyder Beg Khan, atteſted before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th, 1781.

" When I arrived at the Seray of Saumee, the Gov. General, Mr. Haſtings, was in the Fort of Chunar. I was detained at the Seray by the Swelling of the River Burnau. The Vakeel of the Rajah Cheit Sing came to me, and delivered to me thus the Meſſage of the ſaid Rajah.—" I [Cheit Sing] have not been in any Manner deficient in my Obedience to the Gentlemen of high Rank [the Engliſh]—The Governor General arrived at Banaris.—At the Inſtigation of Owſan Sing, Mr. Markham brought Two Companies, and put me in Arreſt. About Twelve o'Clock my People, ſtretching forth their Hands, brought me out from thence —For the Safety of my Life I came to Ramnagur, and from thence to Lutteefpoor.—After that, a Force came from Chunar to Ramnagur.—Owſan Sing wanted to ſeize upon Ramnagur. My People ſtood upon their Defence; an Engagement followed, and the Troops of the Governor General were cut off. I am now determined not to paſs by aught which may be in my Power to execute. Do you (i. e. this Deponent) write thus to the Vizeer of the Empire, " That if Support is given to me, I will collect together an Hundred thouſand Men, I will go even to Calcutta, and I will totally annihilate the Engliſh Government." I replied to the Vakeel, ' that this Conduct, and theſe Declarations, would be productive of Evil to the Rajah.—When the Companies came to confine the Rajah, he ſhould have gone that Moment to the Governor General.—People ſay that he heſitated whether he ſhould, or not, attend the Governor. If the Governor General had had any ill Intentions towards him, he would have called together the Company's Forces, who were ſtationed in different Parts—To what Purpoſe was it to come alone to Banaris? Or he would have ſeized him upon the Road. Such Intentions on the Part of the Governor General, from this Retroſpection, are not to be conceived. If a Maſter and a Ruler exerts his Authority, ſtill there is no Cauſe for Fear and Apprehenſion. On theſe Subjects, with which you are unacquainted, I will communicate Circumſtances as they are. His Highneſs is, in his Life and in his Fortune, joined and united with the Company, and the Engliſh Gentlemen. The whole of his Dominions is from them (or is theirs), nor does he wiſh that there ſhould be any Diſtinction between his and theirs. Such Regard more eſpecially does he pay to the firm and perfect Friendſhip which always ſubſiſted between the Governor General and his Highneſs the late Nabob, that he never will be led to deviate, even the Point of a Hair, from the Sentiments and Wiſhes of the Governor. As ſoon as his Highneſs hears theſe Things, he will march immediately with his Forces to meet Mr. Haſtings. Notwithſtanding the Governor General has repeatedly written to the Vizeer to forbid him, yet his Highneſs will now come on his own Determination. The Engliſh Forces too are near at hand, they will ſpeedily arrive, and the Puniſhment will be ſevere. It is not well for the Rajah; he will be torn up by the very Roots.—To threaten alſo that which is out of his Power to execute, is improper; the Rank of the Rajah is nothing more than that of a Zemeedar; no one will pay regard to his Attempts, and a ſmall Force will be ſufficient to chaſtiſe him. Far better will it be for him to lay aſide ſuch Thoughts as theſe, to implore Pardon of the Governor General, to give up his Forts, and ſend back to him the Boats and the whole of the Baggage; or rather, it would be better that he himſelf ſhould go alone, and with his Hands bound, into the Preſence of the Governor.'

" Again he brought this Meſſage from the Rajah: " I can no longer rely with Safety on the Engliſh. If you ſay thus, do you interpoſe, obtain Pardon for my Faults, and take upon yourſelf to ſettle the Subſidy." I ſaid in Reply, ' Your Crimes have been too great; you have attacked the Troops of the Company. I cannot preſume to take upon myſelf to ſettle your Affairs, and to obtain Pardon for your Crimes. If you have actually reſolved on a Change of Conduct, return the Boats and the Baggage, and give up Ramnagur, Lutteefpoor, and Pateeta. Supported by ſuch Proofs, I will once endeavour to obtain a Pardon for you; to grant or to refuſe will reſt with the Governor General.' The Perſon who brought the Meſſage ſaid in Anſwer, ' The Intentions of the Rajah are to ſeize upon the Fort of Chunar, and to extend his Government as far as Calcutta, and you tell him to deliver up Ramnagur, Lutteefpoor, and Pateeta!' I ſaid, " Then the Rajah, it appears, aſpires to the Empire, yet his Rank is only that of a Zemeedar! theſe Attempts will draw down Deſtruction upon him; he will be extirpated in a Moment.' After this Converſation, he promiſed to return the Boats, but he never performed his Promiſe. An Animoſity to all the Engliſh plainly and evidently appeared from the Language of the Rajah's Vakeel; he repeatedly ſaid, that he would go even to Calcutta, and that he would expel the Engliſh, nor would he be deficient in aught which he had the Power to execute. When he found that he had nothing to hope from my Interpoſition, he began to act hoſtilely towards me alſo. He denied me Boats to croſs the Burna, and he directed the Tribe of Gurkbunſee to attack me in the Night. During the few Days that I continued there, we were obliged to keep ourſelves ready for Action, and be upon our Guard Day and Night. In the Neighbourhood of Jounpoor, the People of the Rajah wounded ſeveral of the Stragglers belonging to the Cavalry in his Highneſs's Service, who were coming to join me, and carried off ſome Horſes. And the People ſtationed at Azumgur, who came in to me, ſet forth, That Nadir Shah, the Son of Azum Shah, Zemeedar of Azumgur, which was formerly under the Government of Cheit Sing, had, by Directions from the

the Rajah, gone to Azumgur and raiſed Diſturbances. And the Vakeel of Cheit Sing, in the Courſe of his Converſation, ſaid, that the Rajah had ſent Forces towards the Carramnaſſa, and even to the Walls of Patna; and that Letters were gone to the King, to Nujjuf Khan, and to Sindiah. Zaulim Sing, formerly expelled from Amurdeh, was at Budlapoor, in the Government of Cheit Sing: He alſo went to Amurdeh, in the Territories of the Nabob, and raiſed Diſturbances. It appears that the People of Budlapoor accompanied Zaulim Sing. Such were the Reports communicated to me by the People of that Place. Finding it impracticable to croſs the Burna, where I was, without Boats, I marched from thence, and croſſing higher up, where the River was fordable, I proceeded to join the Governor General.

"This Account of what I heard, and of what I ſaw, I have truly and faithfully related. There may be a Difference between the Idioms of the Hindoſtan and Perſian Languages, but there is none in the Senſe. I ſwear by the Almighty, that I have truly wrote, without Diminution or Addition, all that I heard and all that I ſaw, and nothing but the Truth.

Hyder Beg. That which is written is true.
Sealed with his Seal.

"NUM. 3. C.

"Tranſlation of the Depoſition of the Moonſhy Gore Perſhaud.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, December 2d, 1781.

"Without the Means of Eſcape, I was obliged to put on the Habit of a Fakeer, and with my Brother take ſhelter in the Hindoo Temple Arnepoorna, where I continued undiſcovered for Eight Days. At length a Fakeer, for the ſake of the Reward, went to Girdhauree Laul, the Brother of Diaram, Aumeen of Banaris, and ſaid, that for a Recompenſe he would ſeize and deliver me up. The ſaid Girdhauree Laul gave Five Rupees to the Fakeer, and ſent Five-and-twenty Peadahs along with him, who took me from the Temple, and confined me for Twenty-two Days in the Aumeen's Kutcherree. My Pen is unable to deſcribe the Ignominy and the Severities which they inflicted upon me. After that, I was confined for Four Days at Ramnagur, and at length, on the 27th of Ramzan, in the Twenty-third Year of the Reign, I was tied Hand and Foot and thrown upon a Dooly, and ſent away from Ramnagur to Lutteefpoor. On the Road, near to the Houſe of Chowdry Sewan, I ſaw a Number of Ladders made of Wood and Bamboos (about Forty or Fifty) lying on the Ground. I enquired of the Peadahs who guarded me, what thoſe Ladders were intended for. They replied, that they had been intended for the Garden of Mehadew Doſs, but it was ordained that the Engliſh Gentlemen ſhould live: They made their Eſcape, otherwiſe Bauboo Soojaun Sing would not have left one of them alive. Having heard this Reply, I remained ſilent.

Moonſhy Gore Perſhaud.

"NUM. 3. D.

"Tranſlation of the Depoſition of Hurry Ram Pundit.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, December 2d, 1781.

"The Rajah Cheit Sing, having reflected on his Conduct, determined with his confidential People, that it was neceſſary he himſelf ſhould go to meet Mr. Haſtings, but that he ſhould go from the Place where he was, with ſuch a Force, and with ſuch Preparations, as would enable him to act both by Land and by Water, and impreſs the above-mentioned Gentleman with an Idea of his ſuperior Strength; for that Mr. Haſtings had with him but a ſmall Number of Troops, and if he ſhould have entertained any ill Intentions toward him, on obſerving the Number and Force of his Followers, he would be led to reflect, that nothing could be effected, and conſequently be deterred from making the Attempt; therefore he gave Information and particular Directions to all his Soldiers and Attendants, that he was going to meet Mr. Haſtings, and that they ſhould hold themſelves in Readineſs to proceed: That he ſhould go by Water, for which Purpoſe a Fleet of Boats was prepared; for the before-mentioned Gentleman (the Governor General) would come by Water, and conſequently his Fleet of Boats would come with him; therefore it was neceſſary, that he (the Rajah) ſhould have a Fleet of Boats alſo, that his People might always be near at hand: That a Body of Cavalry moreover ſhould proceed by Land, and Tents be pitched at Two Places between Ramnagur and Buxar; for at all Events he muſt meet the Governor General. Accordingly, on the 16th of Shaubaun, the Rajah ſet out from Ramnagur, by Water, to meet Mr. Haſtings. The Jemmadars and Huzzaries, Jaafir Khan, Dillall Khan, Juttoo Khan, Zubburduſt Khan, Lulloo the Son of Kauna Mull, Rambukſh, Baulkiſhen, &c. all together near Five hundred Horſe; alſo Jemmadars of Foot, with Matchlockmen, &c. near Two thouſand, proceeded along the Southern Bank of the Ganges. And by Water, the Rajah was attended by a Fleet of Boats, in Number about a Hundred and Forty, in which were embarked Suddanund Buxey, Golaum Hooſſein Tay, Mirza Fyz-ullah Beg, Bauboo Doorgbijey Sing, Munnear Sing, Purtaub Roodur Sing, Doond Bahadre Sing, Ahlaud Miſſur, Meer Hooſſein Ally, &c. Sheakh Mahommed Aumeen, Commandant of the Sepoy Battalions, Dabee Sing, Mahommed Moraud, Dhun Sing, and Hukkoomut Sing, Soubadars, with Two Companies of Sepoys, Huzzooree Peadahs, and Matchlocks, in all about 2000 Men. Godur Mull and Bullum Daſs, who were

ſtationed

ſtationed at Ghauzipoor, joined by Orders from the Rajah, who afterwards arrived at Buxar, and had an Interview with Mr. Haſtings.

Written by Hurry Ram Pundit.

" Num. 3. E.

" Tranſlation of the Depoſition of Jewan Ram Moonſhy, in the Service of the late Lieutenant Stalker—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, December 2d, 1781.

" After the Arrival of Mr. Markham at Shewallah, I went in and paid my Reſpects to my Maſter; who aſked me, if I knew whether Mr. Markham would come there or not? I replied, It was reported ſo, but that it depended on his Inclinations. Mr. Staeker then told me, I might go, but afterwards ordered me to ſtay. I continued there, and ſaw Doorgbijey Sing ſitting with the Rajah in the center Apartment, and Suddanund Buxey and others whiſpering to the Rajah. Shortly after, News was brought to the Three Gentlemen ſitting in the adjoining Room, that there were Diſputes without. Mr. Stalker went without the Jauli (or Firſt Wall) and aſked the Subadar Biſhun Sing, why he had ordered the Bayonets to be fixed? The Subadar replied, that Numbers of the Rajah's armed Servants had come in, and that they paid no regard to the Company's Orders. After which, Mr. Stalker advanced further out, and aſked of the younger Mowllavy and me, who amongſt thoſe People was the Chief? I anſwered Bauboo Munnear Sing. Mr. Stalker ſent for Munnear Sing, and ſtrongly enjoined him to appeaſe his People, and enquire, why they attempted to diſpute and fight with his Sepoys. Munnear Sing replied, " What Power have they, that any one of them ſhould preſume to fight? We Two, Father and Son, are deſirous to go to the Rajah." Mr. Stalker anſwered, " Very well, but you muſt ſtay here between your People and mine, that they may not come to Blows." After that a Letter arrived from the Governor to the Rajah, which Mr. Stalker, having quieted and ſoothed the People, preſented to him: The Rajah then got up, and went out of the Burradurri to the adjacent Baſtion, to perform his Devotions.

" At this Time Information was brought to Mr. Stalker, that the Rajah's People oppoſed and refuſed Admittance to another Company of Sepoys who had brought Proviſions, a Table, &c. for the Gentlemen. Mr. Stalker again went out, and calling to Suddanund Buxey, aſked the Cauſe of this Oppoſition; and told him to ſend Directions (to the Rajah's People). Suddanund ſaid he would go himſelf. Mr. Stalker replied, " No, ſend One of your Servants." While the Man was going out to ſilence the People, Mr. Stalker returned within the Jauly. Doorgbijey Sing was gone from thence no one knew whither. Cheit Ram, Mr. Markham's Chubdar, informed Mr. Stalker, that he had a Meſſage to deliver to the Rajah from the Governor General. Mr. Stalker ſaid, " Deliver it." He, the Chubdar, ſaid, " At the Place where the Rajah was at his Devotions, the Governor ſays your People want to quarrel and fight; it will be better if you forbid them, for every Sepoy is as an European, and every European is as a (or the) Company; if a Drop of their Blood is ſhed, you ſhall be plundered and deſtroyed." At this Period, there was a Report of Guns at the Gate of Shewallah; the Action was commenced. At this Time, Mr. Stalker and Cheit Ram went towards the Rajah. Munnear Sing and others cut down Cheit Ram, pulled Mr. Stalker back, and puſhing him on one Side, began the Slaughter. The Rajah eſcaped through a Window by a Rope made of Turbans, got into a Boat, and went off. His People, by the ſame Means, drew up Swords and Shields as a Bucket is drawn up from a Well, and began to engage. I ſtood near the Jauly behind my Maſter; when my Maſter was killed, I fled toward the Place where the Rajah's Victuals was dreſſed. I continued there a ſhort Time, and ſaw the Rajah's People jump from the Walls and the Trees with their Shields and Swords, and advance. After this I aſſumed the Character of one of Cheit Sing's Servants, fled with his People, and came to the Preſence. The Gentlemen after this went to Chunar, and I ſhould have arrived the next Day, but I was plundered on the Road and confined in the Fort of Pindera. Diaram took away from my Houſe Two Tangon Horſes, and placed his Seal and a Guard upon the Door. After the Flight of the Rajah, the Zemeedar of the before-mentioned Fort ſet me at Liberty. Without a Maſter, every way diſconſolate, to whom can I communicate my Diſtreſs? I now hope for Favour and Support from the Almighty, and from you.

Jewan Ram.

" Num. 3. F.

" Tranſlation of the Depoſition of Biſhen Sing.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, December 2d, 1781.

" I had Two Locks of Muſkets fixed on my Ears. Bauboo Soojaun Sing ſent for me by Ram Kiſhen Hircarrah to come into his Preſence.—He ſaid, " Deliver up the Trunks of Gold Mohurs which the Governor delivered over to your Care when he went to Chunar." I ſet forth, That I did not know any thing about ſuch Trunks. He then gave Orders to the Sepoys to preſs the Locks hard, (ſaying) that without Severity I would not be prevailed upon to give them up; and then the Blood ran from both my Ears.

Written by Biſhen Sing,
the 4th of the Month Ramzan, Year 23d.

" Num. 3. G.

" Tranſlation of the Depoſition of the Moonſhy Patnimul.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, 2d December 1781.

" The Depoſition of Patnimul Moonſhy. On the laſt Day of the Month of Ramzan, in the Year of the Reign Twenty-three, the Gentlemen went to Chunar. I was unable to accompany them for want of a Conveyance. Without Remedy, I remained in the Houſe of one of the Inhabitants for Eight Days. The Aumeen Diaram daily cauſed a Proclamation, to this Purport, to be made through the City; " In the Houſe of whomſoever a Perſon belonging to the Engliſh Gentlemen may be ſecreted, let the Owner bring him to the Aumeen's Kutcherry and deliver him up; otherwiſe, (upon Proof) in the Houſe of whomſoever a Perſon belonging to the Engliſh ſhall be found, the Owner thereof ſhall be (conſidered) as a Criminal to the Government of the Rajah, his Houſe and Property ſhall be deſtroyed, and his Belly ſhall be ript open."

" Num. 3. H.

" Tranſlation of the Depoſition of the Moonſhy Gore Perſhaud.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, 2d December 1781.

" When the Gentlemen marched for Chunar I was not informed of it. I knew it about Four Gurries after. In Terror for my Life, I ſecreted myſelf in the Houſe of Bauboo Duſſan Ram; I continued undiſcovered for One Day; the next Day the ſaid Bauboo Duſſan Ram ſaid to me, 'To-day there has been a Proclamation through the City to this Purport, " Whoever has ſecreted " a Follower of the Engliſh in his Houſe, let him produce and deliver him up; otherwiſe, on " Diſcovery, his Houſe ſhall be ſeized, and he himſelf ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed." I cannot keep 'you in my Houſe, go from my Houſe to ſome other Place.' Without Remedy, I put on the Habit of a Fakeer, and took ſhelter in the Temple of Arnapoorna.

Gore Perſhaud.

" Num. 3. I.

" Tranſlation of the Depoſition of Doond Sing, Commandant.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th, 1781.

" In the Month Phagun a Jemmadar and a Havildar, in the Service of Soojaun Sing, the Brother of Rajah Cheit Sing, came to me, and ſaid, 'Soojaun Sing has ſent for you.' I aſked, 'On what Account has he ſent for me?'—They replied, 'We do not know.'—I ſaid, 'I am a Servant to the Engliſh, I will not go to him.' They [then] ſaid, 'He has ſent for you, to take you into his Service.'—I anſwered, 'From my Youth to this Day I have been the Servant of the Engliſh; I have never gone to any Rajahs or Bauboos, nor will I go to them.' When thoſe People returned to Soojaun Sing, they ſaid, 'Doond Sing, the Commandant (i. e. this Deponent), refuſes to come.' The Rajah Futteh Saw alſo wrote to the Rajah Cheit Sing, to place a Guard over my Houſe at Banaris, in which Caſe I ſhould (be obliged to) join him with my Sepoys and Guns. This Information was given to me by the Jemmadar Chaint Sing. I ſaid, 'My Houſe, and my Wife, and my Children, may be deſtroyed.—Still I am the Servant of the Engliſh, and I am faithful and loyal. By the Bleſſing of God, in a ſhort Time we alſo ſhall go to Banaris and plunder that Rajah, and we will ſpoil the Rajah Futteh Saw alſo.' At Sukroreh I was informed that a Guard was placed at my Houſe.

" The Commandant Doond Sing not being able to write, either in Perſian or Hindee, has made his Mark.

" Num. 3. K.

" Tranſlation of the Depoſition of the Moonſhy Mahommed Moraud.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, Nov. 26th, 1781.

" On the 19th of Ramzan the Captain * iſſued Orders to all the Subadars for marching towards Banaris, and directed them to get in Readineſs. The next Day we marched to Burragong. The Captain had mounted his Horſe to proceed, and I was in the Rear in Search of a Conveyance for my Baggage, when Five or Six Sepoy Grenadiers and others came and ſurrounded me, and demanded their Pay, in conſequence of which a great many more of the Sepoys came and clamoured for their Pay, and ill-uſed me; and they brought me down from the Bungala, and beat me ſeverely with the Butt-ends of their Pieces, and charged Bayonets even to my Breaſt, ſo that my Life was in Danger. A Hircarrah carried Information of this Affair to the Captain, who, on receiving it, turned back and arrived immediately. All the Sepoys then turned their Clamours againſt the Captain, uſing inſulting Language, and they ſurrounded him and ſaid that unleſs they received their Pay they would not ſet him at Liberty—that if I ſhould pay them, well; if

* Captain Williams.

not,

not, they would carry me to Baunſy, which is near to Kunkooa; and that, when they ſhould receive the whole of their Pay from me, they would ſet me free.—They moreover placed a Guard with fixed Bayonets over the Captain, and pointed Bayonets to his Breaſt to ſtab him; and they ruſhed upon us ſeveral Times, ſo that we gave up ourſelves for loſt. In this Situation the Captain ordered them back, and gave them Three Months Pay; and then propoſed to them to march with him to Banaris. The Sepoys anſwered inſolently, that they would not on any Account go to Banaris. Without Remedy, the Captain marched from thence with the Battalion, and arrived at Gooruckpoor. He halted there a few Days, purchaſed Grain for the Sepoys, and marched from thence by the Way of Baunſy. We halted Six Days at Baunſy on account of the heavy Rains; we afterwards marched from thence, and after encountering a thouſand Diſtreſſes arrived at Buſkoreh. The paſt Events, which are known to every one, I have thus related.

Mahommed Moraud,
and ſealed with his Seal.

" Num. 3. L.

" Tranſlation of the Depoſition of Doond Sing, Commandant.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th, 1781.

"It appears from the Letter of Ram Sing Jemmadar, ſtationed at Mutcholi, that the Rajah Ajeet Mull, the Rajah Futteh Saw, and Genoo Roy, had engaged themſelves to each other by Oath to croſs the Rivers Gogra and Surjoo, for as much as they had received a Letter from the Rajah Cheit Sing, and the Sum of Fifteen thouſand Rupees, to cut off the Engliſh in the Diſtrict of Surwur, and drive them out; and Letters have arrived from Futteh Saw, to all the Zemeedars, great and ſmall, to withhold the Collections, and not to pay a ſingle Daum to the Engliſh; and the ſaid Futteth Saw ſent near Two hundred Men, with Matchlocks, into the Jungle of Burragong, and near to Kunkooa. After Three Days, the Three Rajahs croſſed the River, and encamped in the Jungle; and it was reported from all Quarters, that the Zemeedars had ſhut up all the Ghauts on the Rivers, and ſunk all the Boats; and I wrote an Account of theſe Things to Major Macdonald and Captain Williams, and told them that there were great Diſturbances in the Country, and that there were Reports alſo that the Rajahs would croſs the River. And I wrote theſe Things to Major Macdonald, that he might inform the Colonel that the Road to Banaris was ſhut up, for fear the Captain ſhould march from that Quarter towards Banaris; it was alſo reported among the People, that Three Gentlemen had been killed at Banaris. After ſome Days the Captain arrived at Kunkooa, and after a Halt of Three Days, gave Orders for marching, and directed all the Sepoys to get ready, and about Nine o'Clock in the Morning on the Sixth of September, he marched, and came to the Bank of the River Khaukhi; it then rained exceſſively. When we arrived at the Khaukhi, the Captain ordered the Troops to be croſſed over the River; agreeable to Orders, I croſſed them over. When, after a thouſand Diſtreſſes, we had croſſed the River, the Captain ſaid that there were many Rivers in the Road, and no Boats on any of them; that the Ghauts were ſhut up, and no Grain to be procured on the March for the People; how then would it be poſſible to paſs the Guns and Troops through ſuch a Country? It would be better, he ſaid, to go to Banaris by Way of Buxar; therefore we again croſſed the River Khaukhi, and encamped after marching Half a Coſs from it. He (then) gave Orders for marching toward Khunkooa. Moving from the Khaukhi the Captain with the Troops arrived at Khunkooa; he then told all the Subadars and Jemmadars, that the Rajah Futteh Saw, with his Force, was poſted on the Road, and that it was neceſſary to attack and drive him from thence; that he would halt a few Days at Nuddy Kaunoon, and then march toward Banaris. It was now known that the Sepoys of the Battalion had ſaid, 'Let them give us our Pay, and wherever they go, we will go with them;' to which the Subadars replied, 'they might take it wherever they found it.' The ſaid Subadars neither confined thoſe Sepoys, nor informed me of the Circumſtance. I received the Information from Chaint Sing Jemmadar. The Subadar of Grenadiers ſtationed a Sepoy behind his Hackery, and told him, he might either protect and convey it to his (the Subadar's) Houſe, or he might leave it to be plundered by the Country People. The Sepoy told him to ſet his Mind at Reſt, for that he would convey it ſafe to his Dwelling. At Night, after Twelve o'Clock, I made my Report to the Captain, who ordered me to go with Bukhtawur Sing, Subadar to the Sepoys, to ſatisfy and explain to them, that he would give them their Pay when they arrived at Burragong. In the Morning we marched a ſmall Diſtance toward Burragong. Firſt, a Sepoy pulled off his Coat, and drew his Bayonet on the Captain; the Subadars and Jemmadars did not interpoſe to check him; the Captain ſaid, 'I will pay this Sepoy and diſmiſs him—do you march on.' I obeyed his Orders, and marched; but the Sepoys quitted their Colours and their Guns, and aſſembled at Khunkooa. The Subadars and Jemmadars ſaid nothing (to prevent them). Seeing the Situation of Things, I directed the Jemmadar Kihaul Sing to take with him Twelve Sepoys, and go to the Captain, that he might know how Things were. After which, Orders from the Captain came, to return back and join him; I went back, and ſaw that the Sepoys had mutinied violently; that they had drawn their Bayonets, and were threatening the Captain; moreover, Three of the Sepoys loaded their Pieces to fire at him, and they demanded Four Months Pay; and moſt of the Sepoys ſaid, 'Let him pay us all our Arrears, and he may go where he pleaſes;' when the Sepoys had received their

their Pay, they ſaid, one and all, 'We will not go to Burragong; we will go to the Begum at Fyzabad; if ſhe will retain us, we will ſtay; if not, we will carry the Gun (or Guns) to the Rajah Cheit Sing, and Saadut Ally Khan.' The Sepoys, after this, directed the Subadars to tell the Captain to march; the Captain replied, That the Two Companies and the Gun ſtationed at Nuchlole were coming; he would march as ſoon as they had joined; the Sepoys ſaid, 'Let the Captain march, we ſhall meet the Companies on the Road;' however, the Captain halted till the Two Companies arrived; he then ſent Hurdeaul Sing, Commandant, to the Sepoys, to tell them that the People (i. e. the Two Companies) were fatigued; that they ſhould halt One Day, that thoſe People might receive their Pay alſo; and then he would march. The Sepoys refuſed to liſten to Hurdeaul Sing. The Captain then ſent for the Two Subadars, and told them to go and perſuade the Sepoys to make one Halt, that he might give the Two Companies their Pay. The Sepoys were prevailed upon to halt by the Subadars, and the Captain paid the People.

"The next Morning the Captain ſent a Man to the Chucklahdar, and directed him to march alſo. He ſent Word, that he was collecting Cattle for the Baggage, and that he would march as ſoon as he had got them; it was afterwards heard, that the Chucklahdar had given Twelve thouſand Rupees to Futteh Saw—the ſaid Rajah demanded Twenty thouſand from the Chucklahdar, promiſing to protect him—And it was currently reported through the Country, that Saadut Ally Khan was the Nabob, and that the Engliſh Government was overthrown. After this we marched from Kunkooa; the Captain purchaſed Grain for the Sepoys; the Waters were out from the heavy Rain; and whoever loitered behind was plundered by the Villagers. When we arrived at Baunſy, we were obliged to halt Six Days on account of the Rains; after that we marched and arrived at Buſkroreh, but there were many Rivers and Nullahs in the Road.

"Doond Sing, Commandant, not knowing to write either Perſian or Hindoo, has made his Mark.

"NUM. 3. M.

"Tranſlation of the Depoſition of Ahlaud Sing, Subadar, ſtationed in the Fort of Gooruckpoor.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, 26th November 1781.

"I had confined under my Guard, in the Fort of Gooruckpoor, One hundred and Fifteen Burgomauls, Inhabitants of Surwaur. On the 15th of Ramzan, the Rajah of Gooruckpoor, the Zemeedars of Oulooleh, Bechouly, &c. &c. great and ſmall, likewiſe all the Inhabitants of Gooruckpoor, with Six thouſand Matchlocks, and great Numbers of Country People, armed with Clubs, at Four Gurries of the Night ſurrounded the Fort, and made an Attack by Surpriſe; but the Sepoys on Guard at the Baſtions were awake; they began to fire, and an Action immediately followed. Seeing that the Country People were in great Numbers, I went to each of the Baſtions, and encouraged the Sepoys, and called them to me into the Body of the Place, and formed them together. I left a Havildar and Ten Sepoys at the Rung Mahul, to protect the Baggage; but it was Night Time; the Country People made an Aſſault with Ladders, and entered the Fort, and both Parties fought reſolutely. At this Time they placed Ladders againſt the Inner Fort, toward the South, and entered upon the Baſtion: I ſeized an advantageous Opportunity (attacked) and killed Seventeen of the Enemy on the Baſtion, and wounded ſeveral others. About Half after Ten at Night they made an Attack upon the Weſtern Baſtion: As there was a Straw Chupper on that Baſtion, I took ſhelter under it, and threw down, with all my Force, a Part of the Brick Battlement on the Enemy, by which Four of them were killed; One other fell by a Muſquet Ball; and they retreated. A Third Time, about Three o'Clock in the Morning, the Country People raiſed a great Shout, and attacked us again: I was then engaged on the Inner Fort Baſtion: Seubunſe Havildar was poſted, with Twelve Sepoys, to guard the Burgomauls; they ruſhed upon him in a Body, and Seubunſe called out to me, with a loud Voice, that the Burgomauls had attacked him: I gave him Orders to put them all to the Sword; he inſtantly ſtruck off the Heads of Eighteen Burgomauls, and threw them out, and he wounded ſeveral others. The Morning now broke, and I entertained a Hope that the Enemy would fly, and that the People of the Town would certainly join me; but the Country People, the Fougedar, &c. were all united with the Rajah; they lifted up their Arms, and ſaid, The Doway* of the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan, and the Begum, has ſpread through the Country; for the Rajah Cheit Sing has deſtroyed all the Engliſh, and Letters have come to the Rajahs to put the Dependants of the Engliſh to the Sword, wherever they may be found: And he ſaid, "Where will they go? the Country is mine; I am a Bhonear Rajah, how long will they (be able to) oppoſe me?" In ſuch Diſcourſe Two Gurries of the Morning had paſſed away. From the Eaſtern to the Weſtern Gate, within the Mahul, they ſurrounded the Inner Fort on all Sides, and the Action was renewed We continued engaged for Five Pahr (Fifteen Hours) with the Enemy, without taſting either Food or Water. At this Time, Furhaud Beg came from the Rajah Bhonea, to make Propoſals, of which he informed me by One of my People. The Havildar Superſaud ſaid, "Perhaps the Rajah has ſent him to ſupport us; no Matter, let him be called;" ſo I ſent for him, and he came up to the Gate of the Inner Fort, and when he ſaw me, he ſaid to me, "You have no Maſters; the Engliſh are all killed, and the Colonel and Mr. Gordon are confined by the

* The Acclamation of Appeal to the Sovereign Power.

Begum."

Begum." I gave him inſulting Language in Reply to this, and told him to tell this Story to the Sepoys who were with me; and he did repeat it, with a loud Voice, to the Sepoys; and ſaid to them, "You have no Maſters; give up the Burgomauls, that they may enter into the Rajah's Service, or go where they think proper." In Reply we ſaid, "The good Fortune of our Maſters is on our Side, and while we have Life we will fight; and we will not give up the Burgomauls." At this Juncture Selamut Khan Jemmadar of Grenadiers, with Nine Sepoys, unexpectedly arrived in the Town from Nerownah: My People from the Inner Fort ſaw that a Company had arrived near to the Cutwall's Chubbootre; they gave a loud Shout, and ſaid, "A Company of Grenadiers is arrived from Kunkooa;" and their Spirits were raiſed; and we opened the Gate of the Fort, and Selamut Khan joined us. The Bravery and Reſolution of Selamut Khan are not to be deſcribed. When the Enemy beheld the Arrival of Selamut Khan Jemmadar, they turned their Faces to Flight: I purſued them with my People through the Weſtern Gate, and many of the Enemy were killed and wounded, and Numbers were killed and Numbers were drowned in the River; and, by the Bleſſing of God, we obtained the Victory. I returned into the Fort, and immediately ſecured Ferhaud Beg and Fyz-oolla Beg, who had come to make Propoſals about the Burgomauls; I wrote an Account of the whole of this Affair to the Colonel, and to the Captain*. After a few Days, an Order came from the Colonel to Munnowur Khan, directing, that if the Rajah Muſtapha Khan had been put to Death, well; if not, ſtrike off his Head. Munnowur Khan ſhewed me the Order. I ſaid, "The Order is not written to me; I will write to the Colonel on the Subject." And it was underſtood from the Country People, that the Captain was marching towards Baharis, (but) that the Grenadier Sepoys had mutinied, and demanded their Pay; that the Captain gave them Three Months Pay, and propoſed to them to march with him to Banaris: The Sepoys all anſwered, that they would go to Bungulla, and deliver up their Arms at the Gate of the Begum; in conſequence of which, the Captain was obliged to give up his Intentions of going to Banaris, and return to Gooruckpoor; and he gave Orders, that the Head of Muſtapha Khan ſhould be ſtruck off; and he was beheaded accordingly; and a Proclamation was made through the Town, that thoſe who were guilty of ſuch Crimes would meet with the ſame Puniſhment. The Captain halted for ſome Days, and brought up Grain for the Sepoys. At this Time, the Brother of Soobaun Sing, Pulwaun Sing, with a thouſand Matchlocks, and others, Country People, was at Gooruckpoor; and they raiſed an Outcry, and ſaid that the Engliſh ſhould not remain in the Town, and they prepared for Action; ſo the Captain croſſed the Raubty. A Bullock Man belonging to the Artillery, who returned into the Town to buy Fodder, they put to Death. Marching from thence, in Four Days the Captain arrived at Baunſy. The Ranny of Baunſy came to ſee him, but her Son prepared for Hoſtilities; he ſaid, "They have ſtruck off the Head of our Rajah at Gooruckpoor, and I will be revenged." We marched from thence; and the Rajah of Bulrampoor, with his People, had thrown up an Intrenchment acroſs the Road; and he ſaid, "It is the Begum's Orders, that you ſhall not march by this Road." With the greateſt Hazard and Caution we marched from thence, and arrived at Koonda, and the Country People retired into the Fort.

"This is a true Account which I have ſet forth.

Ahlaud Sing.

"Num. 3. N.

"Tranſlation of the Depoſition of Denoo Sing, Subadar.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th, 1781.

"On the 16th of Ramzan, an Order came to me from the Commander of the Battalion, that a Jemmadar and Sepoys belonging to the Company of Dut Sing were coming to me; that I ſhould deliver over to him the Fort and the Gun, and the Burgomauls, and that I myſelf ſhould march and join Mr. Gordon at Taundeh. On the 13th the ſaid Jemmadar and Sepoys joined me at Dummooreah Gunge; and, being relieved on the ſame Day, on the 14th of the ſaid Month I marched towards Taundeh. The Zemeedars and Villagers ſurrounded us all the Way from Dummooreah Gunge to Ruddouly, and they ſaid, "The Government of the Colonel is at an End;" but they had not the Reſolution to attack us. They alſo ſaid, "The Rajah Cheit Sing has cut off the Engliſh Forces at Banaris; deliver up your Baggage, it is the Order of the Begum." In this Situation I replied, "The Baggage belongs to us, and we have Ammunition to defend it; if any one chooſes to attack it, let him come." We lay the whole Night on our Arms at Ruddouly. We marched the next Morning, and arrived at Buſty; but got no Intelligence of Mr. Gordon to enable us to join him. Ghuffoor Beg, Subadar of the Nabob's Artillery, told me that Bauboo Dhun Sing, with a thouſand Matchlocks, had taken poſt in the Jungle of Buſty, and that he had moreover ſunk all the Boats on the River. I halted Six Hours at Buſty, ſearching after Boats; at laſt I procured a very ſmall one, and when I was about to croſs, the Subadar Bejy Sing arrived, after a March of Twenty Coſs, in which March a Sepoy and Three Horſes were killed, and Four Sepoys wounded. Bejy Sing deſired I would ſtop for Two or Three Gurry, till his People had ate their Victuals, for they had marched Twenty Coſs. At the Time that Bejy Sing's Sepoys had untied their Cummurbunds [laid aſide their Arms], the Country People, with Bauboo Dhun Sing,

* Captain Gordon.

came

came and furrounded us in the Village of Buſty; in conſequence of which, I reſolved to ſeize upon the Fort of Buſty, and take Poſt there. The Subadar of the Artillery before mentioned, and others of the People, ſaid, "Accounts have arrived from the Begum that all the Engliſh are cut off: Why will you ſeize upon the Fort and take Poſſeſſion of it?"—I deſired the ſaid Subadar to join and ſupport me; he replied, "Whoever is appointed Aumil of the Pergunnah I will join him, I will not go with you." At this Time a Man arrived, and brought News, that Mr. Gordon was at Sunjur Ghaut, in the Pergunnah of Ruddouly; ſo I marched to Meer Gunge, intending to go from thence to the ſaid Ghaut, and I ſent a Sepoy, naked, to obtain Intelligence of Mr. Gordon. The ſaid Sepoy returned, and brought Word that Mr. Gordon and the Subadars and Jemmadars were impriſoned at Taundeh by Orders from the Begum; that many of the Sepoys had deſerted, and ſeveral had been killed: When I heard this News, and that the Ghauts on the River were ſhut, and that the Rajahs, with Six thouſand Matchlocks, had ſurrounded Ahlaud Sing in the Fort of Gooruckpoor, with an Intention to ſet the Burgomauls at Liberty; I determined to march to Gooruckpoor: On the Road, News arrived that through the good Fortune of our Maſters all the Country People had been put to Flight, and that Ahlaud Sing had obtained the Victory; in conſequence of which I went to Mukhur, and there I ſaw that all the Purgunnah Aumils of that Country had taken ſhelter in the Monument of Kubbeer Daus; from them I learned, that it was the Begum's Orders to cut off all thoſe who were connected with the Engliſh in Surwar, whereever they might be found. I alſo heard that the Rajah Cheit Sing had deſtroyed all the Engliſh Troops, and that Three of the Engliſh had been killed; it was alſo reported, that the Authority of the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan and the Begum was eſtabliſhed throughout all the Country. I marched from Mukhur, and arrived at the Fort of Gooruckpoor. After this a Letter came from Bauboo Ajeet Sing to Ahlaud Sing, to this Purport; "Deliver over the Burgomauls to me, and I will cauſe you to be conducted wherever you think proper to go; or (if you think proper) enter into my Service, for you have no Maſter; why will you give yourſelves up to Deſtruction?" We and Ahlaud Sing ſent a verbal Anſwer, That the Fortune of our Maſters was on our Side; if he thought proper he might come; That while we had Life we would not give up the Burgomauls, but that we would put them all to the Sword. We wrote an Acccount of theſe Things to the Colonel, and received the following Anſwer, that we ſhould maintain our Poſt in the Fort, and that we ſhould march toward him with the Captain (when he arrived). It was now known that the Captain intended to march to Banaris by the Road of Nuddi Kaunoon; but that the Grenadiers had mutinied, and obliged him to return. It was alſo heard that Futteh Saw, and Genoo Roy, and Rajah Ajeet Mull, &c. had reſolved to attack the Captain, becauſe Letters had come from the Rajah Cheit Sing to all the Zemeedars, to this Purport, "Wherever there are Dependants of the Engliſh, kill and drive them out." It was moreover reported, that when the Captain marched to Kunkooa, on his Way to Banaris, the Grenadiers made a Diſturbance, and demanded their Pay: That he gave Three Months Pay to the Sepoys, to prevail upon them to march with him to Banaris, but that thoſe Cowards would not conſent; they ſaid, "We will not go to Banaris: We are the Servants of the Begum and Saadut Ally Khan; we will deliver up our Guns and our Arms at the Gate of the Begum."—Without Remedy, the Captain was obliged, by the Diſobedience of his Troops, to march to Gooruckpoor, where we joined him; moreover, Pulwaun Sing, the Brother of the Rajah Soobaun Sing, came with a thouſand Matchlocks, and he and the Inhabitants of Gooruckpoor raiſed a Clamour, demanding that the Captain ſhould march from thence, and they killed the Brother of the Chowdry of the Bullock Men, who went into the Town to buy Fodder. At this Time Half the Troops had croſſed the Raubty, when the foregoing Accident happened; the Captain marched by the Way of Baunſy. After our Arrival at Baunſy it rained Six Days without Intermiſſion. The Ranny of Baunſy came to ſee the Captain, but her Son ſtood prepared for Hoſtilities. After Six Days, we marched from thence to Purtaul Buckra, from thence to Dummoorea Gunge; marching from thence, we halted at Chunderdeep for Two Days; when we marched from thence the Captain went on in Front; Hurdeaul, Commandant, was in the Rear; a Skirmiſh enſued between him and the Country People; Two of them were taken Priſoners, and One was killed by a Muſket Shot. We marched from that Place to the Nullah of Attroleh, Three Coſs to the Weſtward; we marched from Attroleh, and were oppoſed, near Bulrampoor, by about Two thouſand Country People; but when the Battalion and Gun were drawn up fronting them, they gave way and fled; the Road cleared, we marched, and encamped at the Nuddy Koaubeh; we continued there One Night, and marched to Gonedeh. When we arrived at Gonedeh, the Country People quitted our Rear. This is a true Account which is written.

Denoo Sing.

"Num. 3. O.

"Tranſlation of the Depoſition of Ram Sing, Jemmadar.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th, 1781.

"The Rajah Futteh Saw, and Genoo Roy, and Ajeet Mull, united themſelves all Three together, and bound themſelves by Oath; and theſe were the improper Reſolutions which they had agreed to, That they would croſs the River Gograh, and eſtabliſh their own Authority there; for Letters had arrived from the Rajah Cheit Sing at Banaris, in which he ſaid, "All the Engliſh are cut off; the Government of the Engliſh is overturned; I have taken Poſſeſſion of the Country;

do you, the Zemeedars, eſtabliſh your Authority alſo in thoſe Diſtricts."—It was likewiſe publicly reported, that the Rajah Cheit Sing had ſent Fifteen thouſand Rupees in Specie to the ſaid Zemeedars, to raiſe Men, and kill and drive out the Dependants of the Engliſh wherever they might be. It was alſo reported that Colonel Hannay and Captain Williams were in Confinement; the Rajah Futteh Saw came to inform himſelf of this; but not obtaining any certain Intelligence, returned, and determined to go to Kunkooa, to cut off the People and plunder the Place. At this Time the Captain returned from Lucknow, and arrived at Kunkooa. I alſo arrived at Kunkooa agreeably to Orders. In the Evening he informed all the Subadars and Jemmadars and Sepoys, that they were to march towards Banaris the next Day. In conſequence of which the Sepoys went to the Subadars and ſaid, that they had no Money. The Subadars replied, their Pay was in the Sirkar, if they could get it they might take it. Early the next Morning we marched, the Companies faced to the Right. Four or Five of the foremoſt Grenadiers ſtept out, ſurrounded the Captain, and ſaid, "Give us our Pay and we will go with you;" the Captain replied, "You are only Four or Five Men, take (your Pay) and I will pay the Battalion when we arrive at Burragong," which is only Eight Coſs from Kunkooa. The Battalion had gone on about a Coſs. On hearing the above, Numbers of Sepoys returned, and loaded their Pieces, and fixed their Bayonets, and pointed them at the Captain; in conſequence of which, he recalled the whole Battalion, and told them to take their Pay and march with him to Banaris; to which they all agreed; but when the Captain had given them Three Months Pay, the Men who were the Mutineers raiſed a Clamour, (and ſaid) "we will take our Arms and the Gun to the Chuckladar, and receive our Pay from him, for the Chuckladar is a Servant of the Begum's, and we alſo are the Begum's Servants, and Saadut Ally's." The Captain ſaid to the Commandant and the Subadars, "I have paid them all, what then is the Cauſe of this improper Behaviour?" but what he ſaid had no Effect upon them; however much he urged them to march to Banaris, they ſtill refuſed, and only ſaid, that they would go to Bungulla, and attend the Begum and Saadut Ally Khan; and that if the Captain attempted to eſcape, they would put a Guard over him, and deliver him up there. Without Remedy, the Captain marched this Way. That which was true has been written.

Ram Sing.

"NUM. 3. P.

"Tranſlation of the Depoſition of Hurdeal Sing, Commandant.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th, 1781.

"The Servant Hurdeal Sing, Commandant of Major Macdonald's Battalion, gives the following Account. I was ſtationed in the Pergunnah of Beelpoor, in the Diſtrict of Narrain Buttool, with Two Companies of Sepoys of Captain Williams's Battalion, Three hundred and Fifty Nejeeb and Sehbundy Men, and One Gun, and acted in the Buſineſs of the Sirkar agreeably to my Orders. From the 15th of Ramzan I received ſeveral Letters from Mahommed Shuffee Khan, the Chuckladar, and from the Captain, who were then at Kunkooa, to march ſpeedily with my Force and join them, for that the Power of the turbulent Country People and Rajahs was become exceſſive. At this Time I collected together the People who were ſtationed at different Places; and on the 19th of the ſaid Month, notwithſtanding the Waters were very much out in the Road, I marched toward Kunkooa. When I arrived at Ram Kolah, which is about Fifteen Coſs from my Situation, I heard, from the general Reports of the People, that the Rajahs Ajeet Mull, and Futteh Saw, and Genoo Roy, who had been expelled from their Zemeedaries, and reſided with the Rajah Cheit Sing in the Country of Banaris, had all Three, by Orders from Saadut Ally Khan and Rajah Cheit Sing, marched from thence, and croſſed the Gograh, and taken Poſſeſſion of their Lands; and that the Rajah Cheit Sing had aſſiſted the ſaid Rajahs with Five and twenty thouſand Rupees to drive out the Engliſh, [directing] that they ſhould drive them and all their Dependants out of their Diſtricts. When I came to the next Stage, I heard that the Grenadiers, who were with Captain Williams at Kunkooa, had mutinied, and confined the Captain, and cruelly beat his Moonſhy; that they had got their Pay, and intended to go off to the Vizeer; and that no one attended to the Orders of the Captain. As the Companies with me had been informed of theſe Circumſtances, I ſoothed and perſuaded them not to think of acting in ſuch a Manner; that Pay was never withheld or loſt in the Engliſh Service; that they would receive every Daum of that which was due to them; but that it would be improper for them, at that Time, to act as others had done. The Sepoys aſſented to what I had ſaid, and, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the Country People on the Road, we arrived in Safety, and with the greateſt Expedition, at Kunkooa, and attended the Captain and the Chuckladar, and I then ſaw with my own Eyes what I had before heard on the Road. The Captain ſaid, when I went to him, "You have without Doubt heard how Things are here; what are the Intentions of the People with you?" I ſaid in reply, that the People along with me, both the Sepoys, the Nujjeeb and the Sehbundy Men, had no other Intentions but thoſe of obeying his Orders; and that he might, at all Events, make himſelf eaſy as to thoſe Men. The Captain then ſaid, "It was my Intention to have taken the Grenadier Companies, and the Two Guns, and to have marched to Banaris, and joined the Governor, by the Way of the Nuddy Kaunoon; and to have chaſtiſed the three Rajahs, with whom we ſhould have fallen in on the Road; but the Grenadiers would not content to this; do you inquire of them what their Intentions are." Agree-

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ably to the Orders of the Captain, I went at Night to the Line to the Subadars and Jemmadars and Sepoy Grenadiers, and aſked what they wiſhed for and intended. The Sepoys all replied, "If the Captain reſolves to march to the Eaſtward, not one of us will go with him; moreover, we will march early To-morrow Morning to the Weſtward, to the Vizeer; whoever chuſes to go that Way may accompany us." The Two Grenadier Subadars then told me to go to my Tent, for that theſe Matters the Two Companies had already talked upon with the Captain. I again endeavoured to prevail upon the Sepoys and Subadars, and told them to continue, and ſet their Minds at Reſt; that I would go and ſpeak to the Captain; that, if he approved of it, he would take them with him, and march to the Weſtward; that, at all Events, it would be better to obey him. At laſt I ſoothed and appeaſed them, and went to the Captain and told him what had paſſed. After this, the Captain ordered me to go to Mahommed Shuffee Khan, the Chuckladar, and tell him to prepare to march. I went to the Chuckladar, and delivered the Meſſage. In anſwer, the Chuckladar, who had ſent a Perſon named Munſhan Ram, on his Part, to the Rajahs Ajeet Mull, Futteh Saw, and Genoo Roy, before mentioned, on a private Buſineſs, made the Want of Cattle for his Baggage an Excuſe; and deſired that we would halt Two or Three Days longer, and that he would then collect Beaſts of Burden, and march. The ſaid Chuckladar told me the next Day, and told the Captain alſo, that a Man of his was returned, and had brought Information, that Four Companies of Sepoys and Four Guns were come from the Rajah Cheit Sing, to the Aſſiſtance of the Rajahs Ajeet Mull, Futteh Saw, and Genoo Roy; and moreover, that they would croſs the Gograh, and join them that Day. At length, Two Days after my Arrival, our whole Force marched toward Gooruckpoor; and, notwithſtanding the Rajahs and the Country People moleſted us on all Sides on the March, and the Waters and Nullahs were out, yet in Six Days we arrived in Safety at Gooruckpoor.—There I heard from the People, that Orders from the Begum had arrived to all the Rajahs of Pergunnahs, not to permit any Engliſh Gentlemen, or any of their Dependants, to paſs in Safety through their ſeparate Diſtricts; and that they had ſurrounded Ahlaud Sing, Subadar, who was ſtationed with a few Sepoys in the Fort of Gooruckpoor; but that, through the good Fortune of our Maſters, the Enemy was repulſed, and obliged to retire; that no Engliſh Letters, or others, or Hircarrahs, were permitted to paſs; and that, if the Country People diſcovered any Engliſh Letters or others in the Hands of Hircarrahs, they ſcourged them with the greateſt Severity. In conſequence of theſe (Accounts) the Captain ſent for me, and ſaid, "The People have raiſed great Diſturbances in the Country; beyond this no Grain will arrive, therefore we muſt buy Grain here, and carry it with us." In the Space of Eight Days, Grain was procured for the March, and Bullocks got together, and in Four Days, notwithſtanding the heavy Rains, we croſſed the Raubty, and marched towards Sukroreh: From the Day that we arrived at Baunſy, for Six Days, ſuch heavy Rains fell, both Day and Night, that no one had the Power to ſtir from his Place. Without Remedy, we halted during that Time, and on the Firſt Day that the Rain ſubſided, we marched, and in Two Days arrived at Dummoorea Gunge. At that Place there was a Nullah in the Road, which was overflowed by the Rains, and ſtopt our Progreſs; and we were at laſt obliged to halt there One Day to make a Bridge, over which the Troops were paſſed. While we were croſſing, the Country People ſhowed themſelves, but were repulſed, and obliged to retreat We proceeded from thence the next Day, and March after March to Bulrampoor. As the River Kuwannah croſſed our Way at that Place, we were obliged to halt there for One Day; at laſt we paſſed that River in Safety, and by repeated Marches arrived at Sukroreh. This Account, knowing it proper, is written according to the Truth.

Hurdeaul Sing,
ſealed with his Seal.

"NUM. 3. Q.

"Tranſlation of the Depoſition of Bejy Sing, Subadar.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th, 1781.

"On the 13th of Ramzan I received Orders from Mr. Williams to join Mr. Gordon at Taundeh, and to deliver over the Gun and the Burgomauls to Kaumdar Beg. Agreeably to Orders, I delivered over the Gun and the Burgomauls to Kaumdar Beg, and ſet out. When I arrived at Naurood the Hooly Rejoicings had commenced; and the Country People gathered together on all Sides, and ſurrounded me. Making an Effort, I puſhed on from thence about a Coſs; but the Enemy were now increaſed to a prodigious Number. Till Nine o'Clock at Night they continued to inſult us; and when the Moon got up, they began to fire with Matchlocks; and they ſaid, "You have ſtruck off the Head of the Rajah Juggut Sing; where will you go?—we will ſtrike off your Heads in Return. It is the Orders of the Begum, that whoever ſtrikes off and brings in the Head of an Engliſhman, ſhall receive a Reward of a Thouſand Rupees; and for the Head of a Subadar or Jemmadar a Hundred Rupees; and for every Sepoy's Head ſtruck off and brought, that a Reward of Ten Rupees ſhall be given."—The Attack continued through the Night; One Sepoy was killed, and Seven Men and Three Horſes wounded, of my Party. The Country People ſaid, "Give up your Baggage, and Arms, and Coats, and go naked where you pleaſe:" But I ſtood firm, and we fought with them, and marched on, Night by Night, to Baunſy, where we were quitted by the Enemy. Having joined

Dhoon

Dhoon Sing Subadar at Baunſy, we marched from thence with him. This which is related is true.

Bejy Sing,
and ſealed with his Seal.

"Num. 3. R.

"Tranſlation of the Depoſition of Merun, Moonſhy to Mr. Gordon.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 16th, 1781.

"I Merun, &c. conſidering God and the Prophet of God as preſent, do ſwear upon the ſacred Koraun to the following Facts which I give in Writing: That on the 7th of the Month of September, Mr. Gordon, with Four Companies of Sepoys, and a Hundred Horſe of the Ruſſauleh of Ruzza Beg Khan, did march from the Ghaut Jehoora for Taundeh; and at that Time, from our ſetting out till our Arrival at Taundeh, Thouſands of Country People aſſembled together, and attempted to cut off the Troops and the Baggage; ſo that there was a continued Action, both with Swords and Muſketry, all the Way.—But as the Order of March was well regulated, and the Sepoys were not deficient in Firmneſs and Reſolution, many of the Enemy were killed; and on this Side, not a ſingle Article of the Property of any one was plundered; Mr. Gordon conducting them all, together with the whole of the Baggage, in perfect Safety to the Nullah of Teerah, which runs beneath Taundeh. On our Arrival there, he intended to croſs the Nullah, and encamp at Taundeh; and he gave Directions for the Troops to paſs over. When they were about to croſs, (it appeared that) all the Boats were on the oppoſite Side of the Nullah; and the People of the Taundeh Fougedar, whoſe Name is Shumſheer Khan, ſtood Guard over the Boats, and ſaid, "It is the Orders of the Fougedar, that the Boats ſhall not paſs over to that Side."—When Mr. Gordon heard of this, he wrote a Letter to the Fougedar, and ſent it by a Hircarrah. The Contents of the Letter were: "I am a Servant of the Nabob, and am going to join the Army by his Orders; where is the Propriety of ſhutting up the Ghaut, and refuſing to permit People to paſs?"—The ſaid Hircarrah took the Letter, and went to the Ghaut, and endeavoured to get over, but the Fougedar's People would not allow him to croſs. When I ſaw that they would not permit the Hircarrah to paſs over, I gave Mr. Gordon's Letter to a Servant of the Fougedar's, who had ſwam over to our Side of the Nullah to ſee one of his Friends; and I told him to convey it, by ſome Means or other, to the Fougedar. He put the Letter in his Turban, and ſwam back acroſs the Nullah, and delivered it to the Fougedar, who read the Contents, but returned no Sort of Anſwer. At the Time when the Letter arrived, Mirza Ruzza Beg Khan, Ruſſaulehdar, who by chance had arrived alone on ſome Buſineſs, and had croſſed over before this Affair, was ſitting by Shumſheer Khan, and is an Evidence that the Letter arrived. The ſaid Mirza declared to me, and confirmed it by Oaths, that the Letter came to the Fougedar when he was preſent; and that, although he endeavoured to perſuade him, it was to no Purpoſe. At laſt he ſent for Three Guns, and ſome Tomuns of Matchlock Men, who were ſtationed at Taundeh; and he pointed the Guns acroſs the Nullah at the Troops, and ſtationed the Men at the Ghaut, and ordered them not to permit a ſingle Perſon to croſs. In conſequence thereof the Fougedar's People ſtood at the Ghaut, and uſed inſulting Language; and ſaid, that if any one attempted to croſs the River, they would fire upon him. When Mr. Gordon ſaw this, that no Anſwer to his Letter had come from the Fougedar, and that his People were inclined to Hoſtilities, he directed me to go and explain Things to Shumſheer Khan, and perſuade him to deſiſt from ſuch improper Conduct. According to the Orders I had received, I went to the Ghaut, and demanded a Boat, and ſaid that I was ſent by Mr. Gordon to the Fougedar on Buſineſs, and deſired that they would allow me to croſs over alone; but they would not liſten to me, or ſend a Boat to carry me over. Without Remedy, I returned to Mr. Gordon, and informed him of the Behaviour of the People at the Ghaut. He ſaid, "If they will not give you a Boat, it is no Matter; mount an Elephant, and ſwim him over."—I obeyed, and mounted an Elephant, and went and endeavoured to puſh the Elephant into the Nullah. The Fougedar's People at once levelled their Pieces at me, and ſaid, "Beware—if you drive the Elephant into the Nullah, we will fire upon you, and kill you." Per Force I returned to Mr. Gordon: It was now almoſt Sunſet. When the Country People ſaw this Affair, that the Fougedar of Taundeh was our Enemy alſo; that he had ſhut up the Ghaut, and would not permit us to paſs, they charged us on all Sides. Our Sepoys ſeeing Thouſands of the Country People aſſembled on one Side, the Ghaut ſhut up, and Shumſheer Khan diſpoſed to Hoſtilities on the other; and being alſo much exhauſted by the Skirmiſhing and Labour on the March, gave up their Reſolution and Firmneſs at once; and throwing aſide their Arms and their Coats, diſpoſed themſelves to Flight; and notwithſtanding Mr. Gordon uſed every Means of Perſuaſion, both to the Sepoys and the Officers, no one either heard or obeyed him, until Mr. Gordon was left with only Ten Men and the Baggage; all the reſt were fled. At this Time Cally Perſhaud, a Bengaly of Mr. Scott's, who was ſtationed at the Kooty, by a Thouſand Intreaties and Supplications, obtained an Order to ſend One Boat from the Fougedar, and ſent it over. Mr. Gordon then ſaw that none of his People had remained with him; that continuing there alone was to no Purpoſe, and therefore was obliged to croſs over. All his Baggage, and the Baggage of his Servants and Followers, was plundered; that which they

carried

carried over with them when they croſſed, and delivered into the Hands of the Fougedar's People, who promiſed to protect it, was afterwards taken by them, and never returned. Some Days after, ſome Firelocks were produced from the Houſe of the Fougedar; and many of the People's Effects were ſeen there; but the Fougedar's Men did not deliver them up. In ſhort, this is the Subſtance of the Affair which happened at Taundeh; and I have wrote this Account upon Oath, that whoever reads it may know it to be true. Written with my own Hand.

Moonſhy Merun.

" Num. 3. S.

" Tranſlation of the Depoſitions of Meer Ahmud Ally, Subadar in the Battalion of Captain Williams, and Doond Sing, Subadar.—The Deponents ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 26th 1781.

" We, Meer Ahmud Ally, Subadar in the Battalion of Captain Williams, and Doond Sing, Subadar of Grenadiers in the Battalion of Major Macdonald, do ſwear (one) upon the ſacred Koraun, and (the other) by the Ganges, &c. to the (Truth of the) following Depoſition, which we give in Writing: That on the 7th of the Month of September, Mr. Gordon, with Four Companies of Sepoys, and a hundred Horſe of the Raſſauleh of Ruzza Beg Khan, did march from the Ghaut of Jehoorah toward Taundeh, and we (the Deponents) were along with him. From our ſetting out, till our Arrival at Taundeh, Thouſands of Country People ſurrounded us on every Side, with Intention to cut off the Troops and the Baggage; ſo that we were continually engaged both with Swords and Small Arms the whole Way; but as the Order of March was well regulated, the Enemy could not ſucceed in their Attempts upon the Army. After ſkirmiſhing throughout the whole March, by which ſeveral of the Enemy were killed, we arrived in Safety, about Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, on the Bank of the Nullah of Teerah, which runs beneath Taundeh; after our Arrival there, Mr. Gordon wanted to croſs the Nullah, and halt in Taundeh, and he gave us Orders to croſs the Nullah. We attempted to paſs over, but the Fougedar of Taundeh, by Name Shumſheer Khan, hearing that Mr. Gordon was about to croſs the Nullah, prepared Three Guns, and Three or Four Tomuns of Matchlock Men, who were ſtationed with him, and poſted them at the Ghaut, and they pointed the Guns toward the Troops of Mr. Gordon; and the Fougedar gave Orders not to permit a ſingle Man belonging to that Gentleman to croſs. Although Mr. Gordon wrote a Letter to the ſaid Fougedar, it made no Sort of Impreſſion upon him. At laſt the Evening came. It happened that Ruzza Beg Khan had arrived alone on ſome Buſineſs, before this Affair, and croſſed over to Taundeh. The Cavalry belonging to the ſaid Ruſſaulehdar, before any one elſe, ſwam their Horſes acroſs the River, and fled. The Sepoys ſeeing Thouſands of Country People advancing, on one Side; the Ghaut ſhut up by the Fougedar Shumſheer Khan, who would allow no one to paſs, on the other; and that the Cavalry who accompanied them were diſperſed and gone, gave up at once their Steadineſs and Reſolution, and taking off their Coats, and throwing down their Arms, turned themſelves to Flight, until Mr. Gordon was left with only Ten or Eleven Men, for all the reſt had fled. At this Time Cally Perſhaud, Mr. Scott's Bengally, who reſided at the Kooty in Taundeh, by a Thouſand Supplications and Entreaties, obtained an Order from the Fougedar for One Boat, which he ſent over. Mr. Gordon was then alone on the Bank; he was forced to croſs; and all the Baggage belonging to him and his Followers was plundered.

Meer Ahmud Ally, and Doond Sing.

" Num. 3. T.

" Tranſlation of the ſolemn Declaration of the Ranny Golaub Kooer, made on the 12th Day of November 1781, before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey.

" On the 27th of Shabaun, Sunday, the Chiefs who came to Ramnagur from Lutteefgur, appointed by Rajah Cheit Sing, were Mocundy and Ram Bukſh, Bhemun Sing, and Cullian Sing, and Baul Kiſhen Huzzarry, and Sirdar Sing, a Follower of Ramjewun, and Ram Sheweh, a Follower of Ajayb Sing, and Dildar Hooſſein Khan, and Nuzzur Aſhriff, with their own Parties. On the next Morning, which was Monday the 28th of Shabaun, the above-named Chiefs had an Engagement at Ramnagur, with the Companies which came from the Fort of Chunar; at Two Pahr and a Half of the Day (½ paſt One P. M.), thoſe Companies were defeated, and the Intelligence was immediately ſent to Lutteefgur; and at One Pahr of the Night (Nine o'Clock), Bauboo Soojaun Sing having left Lutteefgur, with Gholaum Hooſſein Khan, and Fyz-Oolla Khan, arrived that ſame Night at Ramnagur, when Two Gurries of it remained.

" Tueſday the whole Day he was employed in Preparations, and in ſtationing the above-mentioned Chiefs, and in loading Bamboo Ladders on the Boats, and Guns upon the Pinnace. And he gave Orders to the Chiefs and the Troops, that at Twelve at Night, on Wedneſday, they ſhould croſs and attack the Governor General, and the other Engliſh Gentlemen who reſided in Mehadew Daus's Garden. All the Inhabitants of Ramnagur, as well as I, ſaw and heard theſe Particulars.

3 (The Ranny's Signature.)

" With

« With reſpect to Cheit Sing's having, from of old, an improper Correſpondence with the Begums at Lucknow, and the Rajah of Bheraich and Gooruckpoor, the Declaration of the above Ranny is as follows:

« Since Two Years, on account of the Enmity of Cheit Sing to me, I had left Ramnagur, and reſided in another Dwelling; and Cheit Sing had always acted towards me with ſuch Enmity and Oppoſition as cannot be deſcribed; how, therefore, ſhould he have acquainted me with his Correſpondences?—but I have heard from Report, that he had in many Places improper Correſpondences. However, it is very plain that he had Enmity towards the Governor General; becauſe, whenever he learned any thing to the Prejudice of the Governor, from the Letters of his Vakeels, or the Reports of ill-deſigning Perſons, he uſed to rejoice:—This is known to all the Inhabitants of Ramnagur. Accordingly, when the Governor General was lately coming from Calcutta towards this Quarter, the Rajah and his Companions uſed to ſay, "the Governor has been diſplaced, and is making his Eſcape to Hindoſtan." Beſides, from the Rajah's going to Buxar to meet him with the greateſt Preparations, his Intention plainly appears.

Ranny Golaub Kooer.

"Num. 3. U.

« Tranſlation of the Depoſition of Gudgerauge Sing.—The Deponent ſworn before Chief Juſtice Sir Elijah Impey, November 12th, 1781.

« I Gudgerauge Sing, the ancient Kelladar of Ramnagur from the Time of the deceaſed Rajah Bulwant Sing, do declare and give in Writing without Reſerve (conſidering God to be preſent and a Witneſs) all that I have done, ſeen, or heard, to the following Effect:

« On the Day that the Engagement happened between the Forces which came from Chunar and the Troops of Rajah Cheit Sing, I was in Readineſs in the Fort of Ramnagur, with the Burkandazes with their Matches lighted. When the Chunar Army had been defeated, a Budgerow from the Weſtward came near the Ghaut of Buxey Suddanund. Having obſerved it from the Fort, I went out by the Wicket Gate, which is to the Southward, with Seven or Eight Burkandazes; the Rowers, and other People belonging to the Budgerow, on ſeeing this, leaped into the Water, and the Gentleman was killed by the Stroke of a Sword from the Men who accompanied me. About this Time I received Intelligence that the Rajah's Cavalry, who oppoſed the Chunar Army, had fled; upon this I was greatly confuſed, and was deſirous of carrying the Budgerow under the Fort, but the People of Buxey Suddanund took poſſeſſion of the Budgerow, and declared that they would keep it, as it had come to their Ghaut. Two Burkandazes brought from the Budgerow Two Muſkets and ſome Cloths, and One of my People took One Muſket, whilſt the Burkandazes took more Cloth and Arms. From thence I went to my Charge in the Fort.

« My further Depoſition is as follows:

« On the Night of the ſame Day that the Army from Chunar was defeated, about Two Ghurries of the Night remaining, Bauboo Soojaun Sing arrived from Lutteefgur at Ramnagur. I heard from ſeveral Perſons, that the ſaid Bauboo had given Orders to his Troops and Chiefs, to make a Night Attack on the Governor General and the other Gentlemen who were in Mahadew Daſs's Garden. Accordingly, he employed his Troops in bringing Bamboo Ladders, and loading them on Boats, and every one was preparing for the Attack.

« I ſwear, that whatever is written in this Paper is true.

Gudgerauge Sing (*a*).

« Further Extract from the ſame Appendix, P. III. P. 184.

"FIFTH PARCEL.

"Num. 5. A.

« Affidavit of Captain Davy.

« Captain William Davy, private Perſian Secretary to the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General of Bengal, &c. &c. upon Oath, ſaith, That he is acquainted with the Language ſpoken by the Perſons who made the annexed Depoſitions; that he received ſaid Depoſitions verbally, from each of ſaid Deponents his ſeparate Depoſition; and that he has rendered them faithfully into Engliſh, to the beſt of his Knowledge and Judgment; and that he has faithfully explained to ſaid Deponents, in their own Language, to each his proper Depoſition, the Contents of ſaid annexed Depoſition.

Sworn before me this 3d Day of
December 1781.

E. Impey.

* Vide ſupra, from P. 233 to 246.

" Num. 5. B.

" Affidavit of Sheakh Mahommed Aumeen Meyher.

"Depoſition of Sheakh Mahommed Aumeen Meyher, late a Commandantin the Service of Cheit Sing.—Upon his Oath ſays, He was the Servant of Cheit Sing; that he commanded a Battalion of Eleven hundred and Fifty Sepoys in his Service; that he accompanied Cheit Sing when he went to Buxar to meet the Governor General; that there was with Cheit Sing at that Time, the following armed Force: Two hundred and Twenty-eight Sepoys under the immediate Command of this Deponent, Six hundred Matchlock Men under the Command of Seuperſaud Sing, and Three hundred Peadahs, or Sword Men, called Huzzoory or Guards; that the above-mentioned Troops accompanied the Rajah in Boats; and that the ſaid Rajah Cheit Sing was alſo attended by a Body of Six hundred Cavalry, under different Leaders; that the Cavalry marched down on the Southern Bank of the Ganges, and directed their Movements by the Motion of the Fleet of Boats in which the Rajah and his Infantry were embarked: That when the Rajah Cheit Sing arrived at Ghauzipoor, he was joined by Bullum Daſs the Aumil, and the Dewan Ruggoobur Dial; and that when he proceeded on from thence, a Detachment of Cavalry and Matchlock Men (ſtationary Troops at Ghauzipoor) in Number about Five hundred, accompanied the Rajah, marching along the Northern Bank of the River in the ſame Manner as the Troops on the oppoſite Side, moving when the Fleet moved, and halting when that halted; that the Rajah arrived, and encamped on the Northern Side of the Ganges, oppoſite the Fort of Buxar; that the Governor General arrived at Buxar the next Day; that the Rajah croſſed the River, and waited upon him; that he returned to his Camp, and about Three o'Clock in the Afternoon put his People and Fleet in Motion, returning as he had went, and the Troops on the Banks of the River accompanying the Boats; that the Governor General proceeded the next Morning, and came up with the Rajah at Zemeneeah, about Twenty Coſs from Buxar; that the Rajah again waited on the Governor General on board his Boat, and that the Governor General then proceeded on before the Rajah, the Rajah following at the Diſtance of Four or Five Coſs, until they reached Banaris; that the Governor General went to the Garden of Mahadew Daſs, and the Rajah to Shewallah Ghaut, his armed People taking their Stations in their Neighbourhood; that his (the Deponent's) People did not arrive with the Rajah, but that he joined him with Fifty Sepoys, and took his Station near to Shewallah; that Two Companies of Sepoys alſo joined the Rajah from Ramnagur.—The Deponent further ſays, That on the Day that the Three Gentlemen and the Two Companies of Engliſh Sepoys came to the Rajah, and the Circumſtance of his Arreſt was known, the Rajah's People (who were then ſtationed round Shewallah), to the Number of about Four thouſand, were armed and prepared for Action; that at this Time Munnihar Sing, Seuamur Sing, and Nunkoo Sing, went to the Rajah: That the Diſturbance and Diſpute at the Gate ran high, and encreaſed every Moment: That the Huzzoories, Peadahs, and others, with their Arms, got upon the Chuppers which were erected againſt the Wall on the Outſide; that the Matchlock Men fired upon a Company who were without Shewallah; that the Deponent counted Seven Matchlocks which were fired, and ſaw a Sepoy fall by the Firſt Shot; that the Moment the Firing was heard, the Rajah's People forced their Way Sword in Hand into Shewallah, and cut the Gentlemen and Sepoys to Pieces; that the Rajah Cheit Sing eſcaped during the Conflict to Ramnagur, and from thence to Lutteefpoor.

" The Deponent further ſays, That after the Detachment from Chunar was repulſed near Ramnagur, and obliged to retreat, Soojaun Sing and the Buxey Suddanund arrived with Troops at that Place, and that by Orders from the Rajah they prepared Scaling Ladders, &c. in order to make a Night Aſſault on the Garden of Mahadew Daſs; that Boats were prepared, and Guns and Troops marched down to the Ghaut of Auſi Sungum; that the Sepoys belonging to the Deponent refuſed to croſs the River until they had obtained ſome Refreſhment, having been without Food for Two Days; that the Night paſſed away without any Thing being done, and that the Governor General on that Night quitted Banaris, and arrived at Chunar; that Soojaun Sing and Suddanund Buxey wrote a Complaint to Cheit Sing againſt the Troops under the Command of the Deponent the next Morning; and that Soojaun Sing ſent a Company of his own Sepoys to take poſſeſſion of the Garden of Mahadew Daſs; that they plundered the Property of the Gentlemen at that Place, and returned to Ramnagur.

" The Deponent further ſays, That the following is, to the beſt of his Memory, a true Liſt of the Forces with Rajah Cheit Sing; thoſe on the regular Eſtabliſhment, thoſe newly entertained, and thoſe who came in to his Aſſiſtance.

" Liſt

" Liſt of the Eſtabliſhed Forces in the Service of Cheit Sing.

" Cavalry, Sepoys, Matchlock Men, &c.

			Number.
Cavalry	—	—	1,700
Body Guards, or ſelect Troops, Cavalry and Infantry	—	—	700
Sepoys	—	—	1,150
Matchlock Men	—	—	1,800
Attached to Bullum Dans	—	Horſes 300, Foot 500 } Total	800
With Soojaun Sing	—	Cavalry and Infantry	500
Sepoys and Artillery Men, with Two Guns	—	—	340
With Munnear Sing	—	Cavalry and Infantry	700
			7,690

" Troops entertained after the Arrival of Cheit Sing at Lutteefpoor.

Firſt, entertained at Lutteefpoor	—	Matchlock Men and Sword Men	2,000
Second, — Nujjeeb	—	Sword Men from Lucknow —	1,000
			3,000

" Troops aſſembled from different Places.

Infantry and Cavalry with Juggurdeave Sing	—	500
Matchlock Men arrived with Bukht Sing, by Orders from Rajah	—	1,200
D° with Gooman Sing, ſent for by the Rajah	—	500
D° from the Fougedar of Bidduwy	—	1,000
Raujpoots of the Tribe of Kugbunſie from Kurraukut	—	3,000
With Dillun Sing, Fougedar of Mukurun Baudſhaahpoodmate	—	1,500
Cavalry and Infantry arrived with Ruzza Rool Khaun	—	300
Raujpoots collected from Agoree and Purwah by Dea Lutchoo	—	500
D° of the Tribe of Cummur collected by Soojaun Sing	—	1,000
Sword and Matchlock Men with Ranju Awun	—	2,000
		11,500
Total Troops in the Service of Cheit Sing	—	22,190

To which are to be added Huſbandmen and Adventurers who took up Arms, making the foregoing Number amount to near 40,000 Men.

(Signed) Sheakh Mahommed Aumeen Mhiur.

Sworn (the Contents being firſt explained to the Deponent by William Davy Eſquire) this 3d Day of December 1781.

(Signed) E. Impey.

" Num. 5. C.

" Depoſition of Sheakh Hoſſein Oolla, Jemmadar, relative to the Action at Shewallah Ghaut, at which Period he was Havildar and Orderly with Lieutenant Stalker.

" The Deponent upon his Oath ſays, He was one of thoſe who attended Mr. Markham and Lieutenant Stalker when they went to the Rajah Cheit Sing at Shewallah Ghaut, with about Fifty orderly Sepoys, armed with Swords only; that a ſhort Time after, Two Companies of Sepoys arrived under the Command of Lieutenants Scott and Symes; that Mr. Markham returned from the Rajah's with about Thirty of the Orderlies; that he, the Deponent, continued during the whole of the ſucceeding Tranſaction near to Lieutenant Stalker; that he ſaw Lieutenants Scott and Symes enter Shewallah with their Swords drawn, and ſhortly after obſerved Guards poſted in different Places, from which he diſcovered, for the firſt Time, that the Rajah was in Arreſt; that after the Departure of Mr. Markham there were preſent Meſſrs. Stalker, Scott, and Symes, with Seven or Eight Sepoys (Orderlies) attending juſt without the Apartment, where they were ſeated with the Rajah; that ſeveral of the Rajah's People, all armed, to the Number of Forty, were ſeated without the Purdahs; that Centries were poſted round the Building; and that the Two Companies remained without the Inner Gate; that many of the Rajah's Peons, to the Amount of about Three hundred, were aſſembled in the ſame Place; that ſeveral Notes were ſent off by Lieutenant Stalker, and One Note received by him; that about Twelve o'Clock at Noon the Rajah deſired Permiſſion to perform his Ablutions, which was refuſed, unleſs he would ſend for Water and perform them on the Spot, which he did accordingly; that before this Period, the Rajah's People between the Outer Gate and that which led immediately to the Building, made

Two different Attempts to force their Way through the Inner Gate, but were kept back by the Two Companies who were poſted there; that Lieutenant Stalker once went himſelf to the Gate, and ſtruck One of the Rajah's People, who was endeavouring to force his Way in; that the Rajah's People appeared to be highly irritated, and that the Subadars of the Companies found it neceſſary to fix Bayonets—Says, That Meſſrs. Scott and Symes accompanied Lieutenant Stalker on this Occaſion, but that he, the Deponent, continued near the Rajah with Three or Four Sepoys, by Orders from Lieutenant Stalker; that he nevertheleſs ſaw what paſſed through the Stone Lattice, which ſurrounded the Building; that at this Period the Rajah ſent his Buxey to forbid his People from making any Diſturbance, and the Affair ſubſided; that the Gentlemen returned to the Rajah. The Deponent further ſays, That after the Rajah had finiſhed his Ablutions, he retired to a Stone Pavilion, or Sort of Baſtion, to perform his Devotions; that Three or Four orderly Sepoys were directed to attend him at a ſmall Diſtance, to obſerve his Motions (the Officers continuing in their Places); that at this Period a Chubdar (named Cheit Ram) came from Mr. Markham, and delivered a Meſſage to Mr. Stalker; and that the ſaid Chubdar afterwards went to the Rajah Cheit Sing, who was ſtill at his Devotions; that he appeared, by his Manner and the Loudneſs of his Voice, to be ſpeaking inſultingly and paſſionately to the Rajah; that at this Period a Report of Matchlocks was heard, and One of the Subadars, Biſhen Sing, called out to the Officers, that they were fired upon by the Rajah's People from the Outer Wall; that the Gentlemen ſtarted from their Seats, and drew their Swords; that Lieutenant Stalker ruſhed forward toward the Gate, and that Lieutenants Scott and Symes attempted to follow him; that the Moment the Firing commenced from the Outer Wall, the Two Companies were attacked by the Three hundred Peons in the Space between the Two Walls with them; at the ſame Inſtant the Officers and their Orderlies were attacked by the Forty of the Rajah's People (ſaid to be within the Building at the Beginning of this Depoſition); that the beforementioned Subadar Biſhen Sing forced his Way through the Inner Gate, with about Twenty Sepoys, to the Aſſiſtance of the Officers; that the Paſſage was ſoon ſtopped up by the Number of Dead and Wounded in the Gateway; that after the Communication was cut off, the Action ſtill continued both within and without, the Two Companies ſtill fired upon from the Outer Wall; that the Deponent ſaw Lieutenant Stalker defend himſelf with great Reſolution with a Sword, which he had taken from One of his Sepoys; that the Deponent himſelf in a ſhort Time received ſeveral Wounds, and fell; that he fainted, and therefore has no further Knowledge of what paſſed during the Remainder of the Action, or how the Rajah made his Eſcape; that when he recovered his Senſes he ſaw Lieutenant Stalker lying dead near him, with many of the Sepoys; that he heard a Firing, which one of the Wounded told him proceeded from a Company of Sepoys, who were driving off the Rajah's Matchlock-men; that he, the Deponent, continued on the Ground the whole Night, but was removed the next Morning to the Garden of Mahadew Daſs.

The Mark of Sheakh Hoſſein Oolla, Jemmadar.

Sworn before me (the Contents being firſt explained to the Deponent by Will. Davy Eſquire) this 3d Day of December 1781.

E. Impey.

" Num. 5. D.

" The Depoſition of Biſhen Sing, Subadar, relative to the Action at Shewallah Ghaut.

" Upon his Oath, ſays, That in the Morning of , Lieutenants Scott and Symes gave Orders that Two Companies of Grenadier Sepoys ſhould be got ready; that the Companies were immediately paraded, and that the above Gentlemen marched with them to Shewallah, where the Rajah Cheit Sing reſided; that Lieutenant Symes with One Company took Poſt within the Firſt Gate; that the Company under Lieutenant Scott ſtationed themſelves at the Inner Gate; that Lieutenant Stalker ordered him to poſt a Guard of a Havildar and Twelve Sepoys at the ſmall Gate leading to the River, and another Guard at the Gate opening from thence into Shewallah; that he poſted Guards as he was ordered, and that he ſent out a Havildar to ſee what Number of Men were in the neighbouring Gardens and Cantonments, and what they were about; that the Havildar brought back Information, that the Rajah's People were all arming themſelves, and loading their Matchlocks; that he communicated this Intelligence to Lieutenant Stalker, and added, that the Rajah's People were certainly preparing to attack them; that at this Period the Rajah's Buxey arrived; that he went in to Cheit Sing, and that he ſaw him make a Motion with his Hand as one ſtriking with a Sword; that the Deponent ſaw this from the Inner Gate where he was ſtanding; that Cheit Sing's People became turbulent, exclaiming on all Sides, that they (the Engliſh) had made their Rajah a Priſoner, and calling out to attack them; that he found it neceſſary to order the Sepoys to fix their Bayonets, and that he ſent Information to Lieutenant Stalker, that they were about to be aſſaulted; in conſequence of which, Lieutenant Stalker came out to the Place where Lieutenant Symes was poſted with his Company; that Lieutenant Symes, pointing to the Rajah's People with his Hand, told Lieutenant Stalker, that thoſe People were going to attack him; that Lieutenant Stalker ſpoke to the Rajah's People, and returned, and

that

that the Clamour in ſome meaſure ſubſided; that at this Juncture Munnear Sing, and his Son Nunkoo Sing, and Seuamur Sing, arrived, and ſeated themſelves by the Rajah; that at this Inſtant an Hircarrah brought Intelligence to the Rajah, that another Company of Engliſh Sepoys were coming from Murwarry, and that they were arrived near at hand; that at this Period, one of the Rajah's Matchlock Men fired at the Company which was advancing; that the Moment the Report of the Matchlock was heard, the Rajah's People within, who were alarmed, became very turbulent; the Noiſe and Confuſion increaſed, and Lieutenant Scott came out and enquired into the Cauſe of it; that the Action immediately commenced within, and that Lieutenant Stalker called out to the Deponent to enter with his Company; that he attempted to obey the Orders which he had received, but that the Attack at that Inſtant began without the Inner Gate alſo; that it was no longer poſſible to enter with his Company; but that he nevertheleſs forced his Way in with about Twenty Sepoys; that Mohun Sing, Subadar, the Moulavy, and Cheit Ram (Mr. Markham's Chubdar), were firſt cut down; that Munnear Sing ſtruck at Lieutenant Stalker with his Scymetar, but without Effect; that Lieutenant Stalker made a Thruſt at Munnear Sing with his Sword, without Effect alſo; that Lieutenant Stalker threw the Sword from his Hand, and took a Scymetar from one of his orderly Sepoys, with which he continued the Action; that Nunkoo Sing afterwards made a Stroke at Lieutenant Stalker; that the Rajah's People, who were now aſſembled in great Numbers both within and without, charged the Engliſh Sepoys Sword in Hand, and continued the Attack till Lieutenants Stalker and Scott, with all the Sepoys, were cut down; that the Deponent's Arm was ſtruck off by the Blow of a Scymetar; that he received ſeveral other Wounds, and at laſt fell, and that he continued there among the Dead and the Wounded, until a Company of Sepoys came and carried off thoſe who remained alive.

Biſhen Sing, Subadar.

"Sworn before me (the Contents being firſt explained to the Deponent by W. Davy Eſquire) this 3d Day of December 1781.

E. Impey.

"NUM. 5. E.

"Depoſition of Ruggoobur Sing, Orderly Sepoy to Lieut. Stalker.

"The Deponent (upon his Oath) ſays, He went with Lieutenant Stalker and Mr. Markham to Shewallah, where the Rajah Cheit Sing reſided, and that he went with them into the Preſence of the Rajah; that ſhortly after Two Companies of Sepoys arrived, with Two Gentlemen, whoſe Names the Deponent does not remember, being a newly-enliſted Sepoy; that thoſe Two Officers came in and continued with the Rajah and Lieutenant Stalker; that he the Deponent was directed by Lieutenant Stalker to attend, with Three other orderly Sepoys, in the Apartment where the Officers were ſitting with the Rajah; that the reſt of the orderly Sepoys remained without the Purdahs, which were let down in the Front of the Apartment; that he is unacquainted with what paſſed without the Gate, where the Two Companies were, or what People were there on the Part of the Rajah. The Deponent does not recollect, nor can he, he ſays, relate the Circumſtances which paſſed before the Attack commenced; but in Reply to a Queſtion put to him, Whether Mr. Markham's Chubdar, Cheit Ram, ſpoke to the Rajah? he ſays, that ſaid Chubdar brought a Note to Lieutenant Stalker at the Time when the Rajah's People without were endeavouring to enter; that he delivered the Note to Lieutenant Stalker; that at this Time the Noiſe and Confuſion at the Gateway was very great; that the Chubdar went from Lieutenant Stalker toward Cheit Sing, who was then ſitting at the Place where he performed his Devotions; that he told him to order his People to deſiſt; that he (the Chubdar) was Cheit Ram, and that the Rajah was but Cheit Sing; and that if he did not make his People deſiſt, he would confine him—Says, He was an Ear-witneſs to the foregoing; that it was at this Moment the Firing was heard, and the Attack began; that Lieutenant Stalker's Hircarrah had his Sword; that he called to this Deponent to give him his Sword, which he did, and ſtood behind Lieutenant Stalker by his Orders, with the Scabbard in his Hand, until that Officer fell; that he was ſoon after cut down himſelf; that he was deprived of Senſe, and knows nothing of what paſſed afterwards.

The Mark of Ruggoobur Sing, Sepoy (*a*)."

"Sworn before me (the Contents being firſt explained to the Deponent by W. Davy Eſquire) this 3d Day of December 1781.

E. Impey.)"

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(*a*) Vide ſupra, from P. 247 to P. 251.

☞ "[NINTH PARCEL.

"Num. 9. A.

"Affidavit of Nathaniel Middleton Esquire.

"Nathaniel Middleton Esquire, on his Oath, saith, That he left Lucknow on the 19th August 1781, and joining the Nabob Vizeer at about Ten Cos's distant, proceeded with him towards Banaris, with an Intention to meet the Governor General, who was expected shortly at Lucknow: That about Three or Four Days after his Departure, he heard of the Disturbance at Banaris, and of the Massacre of Three European Officers, with a Number of Sepoys, at the Instigation of Rajah Cheit Sing, which prevented the Governor General's setting out for Lucknow, as he had intended; and on his Arrival at Doudnagur, on the 24th of the same Month, he received imperfect Accounts, through the Channel of the Vizeer's public Intelligence, of the Retreat of the Governor General and his Party to Chunargur; and the same Account, as well as many others, set forth, that the Rajah Cheit Sing had issued his most positive Orders to all the Zemeedars and Officers of his Government, to put every European to Death that they could lay hold of; to seize and severely punish any Natives who should be found in the Service of or connected with the English; and in general, to use every Means in their Power to promote an Insurrection throughout the Country; for which they should be liberally rewarded: That he had also written Perwannahs, or Letters, to many of the Zemeedars of the Vizeer's Country, encouraging them to raise Disturbances in their respective Districts, and to assist him with Troops; for which he promised them large Sums of Money: That this Report was made to him repeatedly, through various Channels, and implicitly credited not only by himself, but he firmly believes by the Vizeer and every Man in his Retinue: That in consequence of these Occurrences, the Vizeer, who had left Lucknow with a very small Force, determined to wait for Reinforcements before he proceeded; and accordingly, summoning his Troops from all Quarters, halted at Hussanpoor until they joined him: That on the 31st of said Month he, this Deponent, in Company with the Vizeer, left Hussanpoor, and proceeded towards Chunargur: That on his Arrival at or near the Village of Gopee Gunge, he heard from several different Persons, whose Names he does not at present recollect, that a Number of dead Bodies were seen, some in a Well situated near the Road Side, and others lying on the open Plain, partly covered with loose Earth, or Sand, that had been thrown over them: That these Bodies were supposed and generally believed to be the Bodies of Dauck Hircarrahs, and other Travellers dependant on the English, who had been seized and murdered in consequence of the aforesaid Orders of Rajah Cheit Sing: That this Deponent did not see the Bodies, but had not a Doubt of the Truth of the Story, as it was mentioned by several Persons at the Time they were passing the Place, and afterwards by others who had stopped to see them: That in a small Mud Fort and Village near the Place where the Bodies were discovered, he, this Deponent, heard from Almas Ally Khan, a principal Farmer of the Nabob Vizeer's Revenue, that there were several hundred armed Men assembled in the Service of Rajah Cheit Sing; but for what particular Purpose he did not learn: That some Days after his (this Deponent's) Arrival at Chunar, he was informed by Two Hircarrahs, who brought him an Express from the Aumil of Illahabad, that in passing through Gopee Gunge they had seen the dead Bodies of Two Europeans, who they supposed had been murdered by the Inhabitants of that Place: That he heard at the Time, and believed, and does still believe, that much Encouragement, and some actual Aid in the raising of Troops, was given Rajah Cheit Sing by Behar Ally Khan and Jewar Ally Khan, the Two principal Eunuchs and Counsellors of the Vizeer's Mother at Fyzabad; and that their Conduct, as well as that of their Dependants, during the Continuance of the Disturbances at Banaris, manifested a strong Disaffection to the English: That he further heard from his own News-writer stationed at Fyzabad, that a Vakeel, or Agent, from Rajah Cheit Sing had been received at that Place, and allowed to remain under the Protection of the said Eunuchs; but for what particular Purpose, or what was the Nature of his Commission or Negociations, this Deponent has not been able to discover.

Nathaniel Middleton.

"Sworn this 27th Day of November 1781, before me,

E. Impey.

"Numb. 9. B.

"Affidavit of Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hannay.

"Alexander Hannay Esquire, Lieutenant Colonel, commanding a Corps of his Excellency the Vizeer Assof-ud-Dowlah's Sepoys, on his Oath, declares, to the best of his Remembrance and Belief, the following Circumstances respecting the State of the Country he was stationed in, and the Reports that prevailed there during the Months of September and October 1781:—That, in obedience to Orders he received from his Excellency the Nabob Vizeer for that Purpose, on the 28th of August 1781, he issued Orders for forming a Detachment, consisting of One thousand

Sepoys,

Sepoys, Four Guns, and Five thouſand Horſe, from the Troops under his Command, to aſſemble at Akberpoor, on the Road leading to Jowanpoor: That Eight Companies of Sepoys, Two Guns, and about One hundred Horſe of the ſaid Detachment, were ordered to croſs the Gogra at the Chowra Ghaut, and proceed to Akberpoor: That Two Companies of Sepoys, Two Guns, and the Remainder of the Horſe, were ordered to croſs at Fyzabad, and encamp on the Rumna until the Arrival of the Deponent, who was from thence to march them to Akberpoor, the appointed Rendezvous of the Detachment: That the Deponent arrived at Fyzabad on the Evening of the 7th of September, with the Intention of purſuing his March to Akberpoor the next Morning; but was detained, from the Horſemen having been ſeduced into the Town, where they were tampered with by the Servants and Agents of the Begums to decline proceeding further with him: That the Subadars of the Two Companies of Sepoys repreſented to him, that Guards were placed (ſaid by the Authority of the Begums), to prevent the Sepoys, or any one connected with the Engliſh, from entering the Town; and upon Enquiry, it appeared that ſuch Repreſentation was true: That the Deponent learnt from various, and what he deemed Information to be depended on, that the Agents of Rajah Cheit Sing were publicly ſuffered to raiſe Troops in Fyzabad; and that the Eunuchs of both Begums encouraged the People to enter into his Service, particularly Jewar Ally Khan, who was repreſented to have gone into the Chouk for this Purpoſe: That the Deponent was credibly informed, that Two or Three Days before his Arrival at Fyzabad, a Man named Sheakh Khan had marched from thence, in order to join Rajah Cheit Sing, with about a Thouſand Horſe and Foot, and that ſeveral other Detachments had before proceeded from thence with the ſame Deſign. Theſe Tranſactions were of ſo public Notoriety, and ſo generally believed, that the Deponent deemed it his Duty to repreſent their Impropriety to the Bow Begum *, but could obtain no Anſwer. On the Evening of the 8th of September, the Deponent received a Letter from Lieutenant Gordon, who was on his March to join him at Akberpoor, informing him that he had been attacked on his March from Chowrah Ghaut by great Bodies of Men, aſſembled to oppoſe him; and that on his Arrival at Taundeh, the Conduct of Shumſheer Khan, the Begum's Aumil of that Place, had effected the Loſs of his Detachment, as appears from the following Copy of his Letter to the Deponent, relating the Circumſtances of that unhappy Diſaſter.

"Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant John Gordon to Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, dated at Taundeh, the 10th of September 1781.

"I had the Honour to write you on the 8th Inſtant, acquainting you with the Diſaſter which "happened to my Detachment; and I now beg leave to lay before you the Particulars of that "unfortunate Affair.

"When I croſſed the Gograh, on the 6th, at Chowrah, with the Four Companies of Sepoys, "and about Eighty Horſe (in all near 400), I ſaw that the Country was diſaffected: My Force, "however, I judged to be quite ſufficient to join you at Akberpoor; indeed, I did not conceive "that his Excellency's Troops, marching to join him by his Order, could meet with any "Interruption.

"On the 7th, at Day-break, I marched; and about Half a Mile from Chowrah, when croſſing "a Nullah, where I had ſent Boats Overnight, I obſerved great Bodies of Men aſſembled to "oppoſe my March: I immediately made what I judged to be the beſt Diſpoſition of my ſmall "Corps; and the Behaviour of the Men did them great Credit; for though during the whole "of the March of Eight Coſs, we were attacked, and often ſurrounded, by incredible Numbers of People, yet we conſtantly beat them off, killing and wounding many of them; and "arrived, with very little Loſs, about One o'Clock in the Afternoon, at the Teerea Nullah, "which runs by Taundeh, bringing the whole of our Bazar and Baggage in the moſt complete "Safety. I now imagined myſelf in a Friend's Country, and intended croſſing the Nullah, that "my People might halt for the Day, and refreſh after their fatiguing March: For this Purpoſe "I ordered my Bazar and Baggage to be ſent over, and Part of the Sepoys to ſtand to their "Arms: A great Number of our Enemies were ſtill in Sight; but judge of my Surpriſe, when "I was informed that the Boats were all on the other Side of the Nullah, and that none of "them were permitted to croſs. I immediately wrote to the Begum's Aumil, Shumſheer Khan, "acquainting him, that I was marching with the Vizeer's Troops, by his Orders, to join him; "that I was aſtoniſhed at his ſtopping the Ghaut, and deſired he would ſend Boats for the "Tranſport of my Detachment. To this no Anſwer was made; but immediately Three Guns "were brought near the Ghaut, and pointed to us; and a Number of Nujjeebs were poſted on "the Banks of the Nullah, who threatened to fire if anybody paſſed. It is proper to remark "here, that near the Ghaut there were a great many large Boats belonging to Mr. Scott, whoſe "Gomaſtah, notwithſtanding his moſt earneſt Entreaties, was prevented from ſending them by "Shumſheer Khan; and even the Plunder of his Factory and his Life were threatened, if he "attempted it.—When I found this to be the Caſe, I took poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong Ground, "ſurrounded on Three Sides by the River and Nullah; on the Fourth Side, where only I could "be attacked by the Country People, I ordered the Sepoys to make a Breaſt-work, by piling

* The Nabob Vizeer's Mother, called in the Narrative Navaub Allea.

"up

" up Planks, of which there were a great Number; and as I had Ammunition and Proviſions, " I intended to wait there until I could procure Boats, or diſcover a Ford. While I was thus " employed, I found that Mahommed Ruzza Beg, the Jemmadar of Horſe, had ſwam acroſs " the Nullah, and procured Permiſſion for his People to follow him, which they immediately " did. No Anſwer coming from the Fougedar, I deſired my Moonſhy to go to him, and ex- " plain the Matter; he accordingly went to the Ghaut, and demanding a Paſſage, he was " refuſed, and inſulted in Terms the moſt opprobrious to the Engliſh. He returned; and telling " me this, I ordered him to take an Elephant and ſwim over; but when he attempted to enter " the Nullah with the Animal, the Nujjeebs pointed their Matchlocks at him, and obliged him " to deſiſt: The Sepoys ſeeing this, and that the Horſemen were permitted to ſwim acroſs, " naturally imagined that the Objection was to the Engliſh only, and their Adherents; they " thought it ſafeſt to abandon me, whom they muſt have concluded to be devoted, and, " throwing down their Coats and Arms, they followed the Example of the Horſemen in " ſwimming acroſs the Nullah, making a Merit with Shumſheer Khan of giving me up to my " Fate. One of the Subadars repreſented to Two others the Folly of their ſuffering for One Per- " ſon; and propoſed to them to deliver me up to Shumſheer Khan, or to the Country People; " but this Propoſal they rejected with Scorn: The Deſertion however was almoſt complete; for " in a little Time, of the Four Companies, not Twenty Men remained, including Officers. It " was now almoſt Evening, when Mr. Scott's Gomaſtah, with great Difficulty, at laſt obtained " Permiſſion from the Fougedar to ſend One Boat; but it came too late to render any effectual " Service; for with the few Sepoys who remained, Command was at an end; and, as moſt of " my Servants had gone off, my Baggage was left a Prey to the Banditti, who ſoon carried off " and deſtroyed it. Some Things, which a few of my Servants brought with them, they gave " in Charge of the Fougedar's People, to take care of them; but they reſerved them for them- " ſelves, or rather for the Fougedar; and though many of my Things were ſeen in his Houſe, " I never could recover a ſingle Article. I am ſtill in Mr. Scott's Factory, which there is every " Reaſon to think will be attacked, as Numbers of People are aſſembled in the Neighbourhood " for that Purpoſe; and as the Fougedar poſitively refuſes to grant the leaſt Aſſiſtance, God knows " what may be the Conſequence: However, as it is evident that Shumſheer Khan was the ſole " Cauſe of this Diſaſter, I hope that exemplary Puniſhment will be inflicted on him, and if I " ſurvive I doubt not but I ſhall be reimburſed for what I loſt by his Villany.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

" J. Gordon, Lieut."

" The Deponent further ſaith, That both from Obſervation and Information, he doth believe that a general and univerſal Inſurrection took place, before the 15th of September, in all the Country to the Eaſtward of the Gogra, from Mangee to Baraitch, and on its Weſtern Banks from the Borders of the Banaris Diſtricts to the Extremity of Kheirabad; that it was created and fomented by the Agents of Rajah Cheit Sing, diſaffected People at Fyzabad, and about the Vizeer's Court; and that the Expulſion of the Engliſh was its Object. In the Diſtricts of Gooruckpoor, and indeed in all the Pergunnahs below Fyzabad, it was generally aſſerted, and the Deponent never heard the Aſſertion contradicted, that the Rajah Cheit Sing furniſhed the principal Zemeedars, particularly the Rajahs Futteh Saw, Genoo Roy, Ajeet Mull, Zalim Sing, and Perty Pall Sing, with conſiderable Sums of Money, in order to ſubſiſt the Force they collected on this Occaſion; and that he granted them oſtenſible Certificates under his Seal, engaging to diſcharge whatever Expence they might incur in the Service of the Inſurrection. Theſe Certificates and Perwannahs they received, or pretended to have received, under the Seal of the Vizeer, confirming them in their hereditary Zemeedaries; and appointing them Aumils on the Part of the Sirkar in their reſpective Pergunnahs, gained them an unbounded Influence over the Inhabitants. The Aumils of the Country in general were obliged to fly from their Stations; the Nujjeebs and Sebundy joined the Inſurgents, or diſperſed; all Ferry-boats were ſunk or deſtroyed; many of the Dauck Hircarrahs were ſlain, and the reſt obliged to fly, which effectually cut off all Correſpondence, as well as Communication, and the Country remained in a State of Diſtraction which cannot well be deſcribed, until the Beginning of October; when the News of our Succeſs at Banaris, and the Nabob's Return to Lucknow, calmed the Tumult.

" Sworn this 26th Day of November 1781, before me,

E. Impey.

Alexander Hannay.

" Num. 9. C.

" Affidavit of Major M'Donald.

" John M'Donald, Eſq; Major commanding the Nabob Aſſoff-ud-Dowlah's Third Battalion of Sepoys, on Oath ſaith, That he the Deponent was ſtationed at Amora, to aſſiſt the Aumil in collecting the Company's Tunka, alſo to protect the Subjects of his Excellency the Vizeer from the Depredations of Zalim Sing, the Rebel Rajah of the aforementioned Place Amora, alſo the Attacks of others his Adherents: That the ſaid Deponent had been detached by Lieutenant Colonel Hannay,

Hannay, ſome Time in February 1780, with a Body of Horſe and Foot, in Purſuit of the abovementioned Rajah Zalim Sing, who, beſides ſequeſtering the Rents of the Pergunnah, had compelled the Inhabitants to quit the Diſtrict; and further, wantonly, and without Cauſe, murdered Two of the principal Cannoongoes of the Pergunnah aforeſaid. The Deponent could not come up with the flying Rajah, but followed him until he took to a large Jungle, that bounded the Country of the Vizeer to the Eaſtward, and is the Weſtermoſt Limit of the Zemeedary of Cheit Sing, Rajah of Banaris. Zalim Sing was there received in the moſt friendly Manner, and Protection promiſed him. On this, the Deponent ſent proper Spies to watch the Motions of Rajah Zalim Sing, and returned himſelf with the Troops to his Station at Amora: That the Deponent learned by the Spies left about Zalim Sing, that he was allowed to reſide openly under the Protection of Cheit Sing, and had Villages, alſo Lands, aſſigned for the Maintenance of himſelf and Followers.

"About the Twentieth of Auguſt laſt, the Deponent was informed, Cheit Sing had, after putting to Death Three Engliſh Officers and Two hundred and Fifty Sepoys, fled from Banaris, and openly ſet up the Standard of Rebellion, inviting all Perſons, who could procure Arms, to repair to him, and by fighting under his Banner extirpate the Fringies. The Road by which the Poſt uſually travelled from Banaris, became impaſſable from the numerous Parties, it was ſaid, Cheit Sing had ſent out, to cut off all Communication betwixt the Honourable Governor General and the different Stations of the Army. As the Deponent could not obtain any authentic Account of the State of Affairs, he thought it beſt to ſend out Perſons to all Parts for Information, that he might judge from the State of the Country how Matters ſtood at the Place of the greateſt Moment. The Country of the daring Rebel Cheit Sing, and the City of Fyzabad, ſeemed to the Deponent the moſt likely Places to furniſh the wiſhed Intelligence. In the latter Place it was reported, firſt, that the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſq; had been maſſacred at Banaris; then, that he had been cut off on his Way to Chunar; at laſt it was ſaid the Honourable Governor General was in Chunargur, but muſt ſoon fall into the Hands of the Banaris Rebel, as no Relief could poſſibly reach the Place in Time to ſave it; and that ſhortly the Deſtruction of every Engliſhman in theſe Parts would be effected. From the Banaris Diſtrict the Deponent learnt, Cheit Sing had ſummoned the Zemeedars of his Raje to join him with all the Troops they could raiſe, promiſing preſent Pay to thoſe bearing Arms, and a Remiſſion of a Year's Rent to all who repaired to his Standard. Many Rebels who had fled the Company's and Nabob's Territories, and taken Refuge in his Zemeedary, were furniſhed with Money, and joined by ſuch Zemeedars, belonging to the aforeſaid Banaris rebel, as lay too far diſtant from the principal Scene of Action, to make a Diverſion both towards the Company's Lands and thoſe Parts of his Excellency's Dominions under the Charge of Engliſh Officers, and endeavour to cut them all off, and thereby prevent any Aſſiſtance being ſent from either Gooruckpoor or Bahraich. His Excellency the Vizeer repaired to Sultanpoor about this Time, which prevented the Rebel Zalim Sing, alſo Perty Pall Sing, the Rebel of Buſty, from quitting the Jungle; but they were buſy in making the neceſſary Preparations, by raiſing of Men, with the Money ſaid to be ſent them by Cheit Sing in Fyzabad: The Khajahs * of the Vizeer's Grandmother, as well as thoſe of the Bow Begum, were raiſing Men under various Pretences, and making every Preparation that might be neceſſary either for offenſive or defenſive War. During the Time the Nabob lay encamped at Sultanpoor, the Deponent's People were inſulted and ill uſed in Fyzabad, by the Peons, Sepoys, and other Servants of Jewar Ally Khan and the Two Begums, as were all who made uſe of the Engliſh Name, or were ſuppoſed to have any Connection of the Kind; but on its being known there that his Excellency had moved towards Chunar, no one who was a Servant of the Engliſh could get Admittance into the City, but by Stealth, or in Diſguiſe; even the Duack from Lucknow was not allowed to paſs through as formerly, but obliged to make a large Circuit, and the Hircarrahs put on different Appearances to paſs unnoticed to Amora. After the Departure of the Nabob from Sultanpoor, as before mentioned, the Rebels, who had been driven from the Province of Gooruckpoor, began moving towards the Gogra. The Zemeedars of Amora, where the Deponent then reſided, alſo thoſe of the adjacent Pergunnahs, held frequent Meetings, and ſeemed big with ſome great Plan. On or about the 29th of Auguſt, the Deponent received a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, informing him, that his Excellency the Nabob had written to him (Colonel Hannay) to join him immediately with a thouſand Sepoys, Four Guns, and Five hundred Horſe. Four hundred Sepoys of the Deponent's Battalion were ordered for this Service; alſo his Battalion Guns, and a hundred Horſe that belonged to the Amora Station, were withdrawn, to make up the Number required by his Excellency. No ſooner was this made public, than the Zemeedars abſented themſelves; and the Deponent learnt from all Parts of the Country, that every Man was getting ready his Arms, and that Cheit Sing's Name was in every Body's Mouth; that every Rajah in the Country had declared for him: That the Deponent endeavoured to get ſome Nujjeebs to ſupply the Place of the Troops called away; but all in vain; every Attempt was rendered abortive by the Machinations of the Khajahs belonging to the Two Begums at Fyzabad; and every Soul in that City ſeemed, from their Conduct and Converſation, to look upon the Engliſh as on the very Eve of Extermi-

* Eunuchs.

nation, forbidding any one to ſerve the Fringies, but to repair to Cheit Sing and Saadut Ally—Nay, every Method and Way were tried to ſeduce the Sepoys from the Deponent's Battalion, which, however, did not ſucceed while remaining under his Eye, but had the deſired Effect upon the Nujjeeb and Sebundy. After the Sepoys, Guns, and Horſe had croſſed the Gogra, there was an End to all Government in that Part of the Country where the Deponent reſided. Not an Article of any Kind was to be had; and but for the Deponent's having foreſeen the Situation he ſhould be in, and provided accordingly, he would have been under the Neceſſity of leaving his Station, from the Want of Proviſions. Thus ſurrounded on all Sides by lurking Enemies (for there was no knowing who to treat otherwiſe), the Deponent knew not when or from what Quarter the Blow was to be ſtruck; but on the 8th of September it broke out in all Parts. All Out Poſts were driven into Camp; the Roads in an Inſtant ſecured by armed Parties; Hircarrahs murdered, Sepoys attacked, and the intended Deſtruction of every Engliſhman openly declared, not only throughout the Pergunnah, Towns, and Villages, but even in the City of Fyzabad. To ſuch Lengths was it carried by the People of Jewar Ally Khan, and other Khajahs belonging to the Begums, that the Women of the Deponent's Camp, that were ſent acroſs the Gogra to be out of the Way of Danger, being obnoxious from the Connection, were refuſed that Protection which the Sex in every Country meets with, but particularly in Hindoſtan claims as a Right. From the above Date, the Deponent was confined to the Limits of his Camp, nor had he any Road open but that to Rye Ghaut, oppoſite Owd, at which Place Lieutenant Colonel Hannay then lay with a very ſmall Force; while the Country around him, alſo the City of Fyzabad, ſeemed ready to commence Hoſtilities. On the 10th of September, Rajah Zalim Sing, accompanied by other rebellious Rajahs, appeared with a numerous Force on the Banks of the Gogra oppoſite to Amora. The Deponent's Spies brought him Intelligence from the Rebel's Camp, that his, the Deponent's Property, likewiſe that of all his Camp, was already divided; that the Deponent's Horſes, Camels, &c. Things worth Notice, the Rajah Zalim Sing reſerved to himſelf; the reſt was to be given up to thoſe who could get it. Moreover the Deponent ſaith, his People informed him that Rajah Zalim Sing had produced a Paper, which he, the Rajah, ſaid was a Sunnud from the Nabob, reſtoring him to his Zemeedary, appointing him Collector of the adjacent Pergunnahs, Buſty and Naggar, alſo that he had the Nabob's Directions to drive the Fringies out of his Diſtricts; that he only waited for the Site * (Boats being already provided, from Fyzabad, which the Deponent knew abſolutely to be the Caſe) to croſs the Gogra, and carry the Nabob's Orders into Execution. Further, that his Excellency had altered his Sentiments regarding the Part he was to take in the preſent Conteſt; that his Excellency ſet out with the Intent of adhering to his Treaty with the Company, but that Mirza Saadut Ally wrote him he was to blame if he gave any Aſſiſtance; that now was the Time to ſhake off the Engliſh Yoke; that it might not be prudent to declare himſelf at once; that he had only to ſtand neuter, and, under Pretence of defending themſelves, direct his Subjects to take Arms, and endeavour to prevent the Junction of the Engliſh Forces, when the Matter would work of itſelf: Further, to direct the Aumils to ſend no more Supplies of Money, which would cauſe the Sepoys to leave the Engliſh Service for want of Pay, while themſelves would have Plenty of Money. In the City of Fyzabad the ſame Language prevailed as to the Money Part, and Stoppage of the Tunka, until the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan thought proper to iſſue the Grants. During the Night of the 10th of September Rajah Zalim Sing croſſed the Gogra, and advanced within Four Coſs of the Deponent's Camp; on the Evening of the 11th the aforeſaid Rajah puſhed Three Poſts to within a Mile of the Deponent's Lines, and was to have moved from his Camp with his main Body when the Moon roſe. Thus ſituated, it was thought expedient, for the Safety of both Parties, that the Deponent ſhould join Lieutenant Colonel Hannay while yet a Paſſage was open; accordingly, about Two in the Morning of the 12th of September, the Deponent quitted his Camp at Amora, and marched to Rye Ghaut. The Deponent was ſcarcely out of his Camp, when the Rajah's People ruſhed into it, ſeizing all they could find, and murdered ſome unhappy Perſons who had neglected to move in Front of the Deponent's Party. The Deponent reached Rye Ghaut at Sunriſe of the 12th. As ſoon as it was known at Fyzabad, that Zalim Sing was in Poſſeſſion of Amora, the whole City was in an Uproar from Joy; and the Deponent heard the Report and ſaw the Smoke of Guns that were diſcharged at Fyzabad, he believes on the Occaſion. The Deponent ſaith, He believed the Reports as before related at that Time, and ſtill is of Opinion the Threats therein contained were intended to be carried into Execution had the League been ſucceſsful; nor did the Deponent then (or even at this Moment) doubt but what the Begums at Fyzabad and their Khajahs were in a League with Cheit Sing, the Banaris Rebel; and the Deponent is of Opinion that the whole of the Diſturbances that happened in the Parts where he reſided, took its riſe from the Rebellion of Rajah Cheit Sing; and the Deponent is further of Opinion, that it would not have extended itſelf ſo wide in the ſhort Time it really did, had it not been a Matter pre-concerted, and brought to light by mere Chance, ere properly ripe for Execution: And the Deponent further ſaith, That he is of Opinion, from the many Converſations he the Deponent has held with ſeveral Perſons, Inhabitants of the Rebel Cheit Sing's Country, that the Rebellion has been meditating even ſome Years; that the Deponent was informed the Matter was abſolutely debated in the Year 1779, and prevented only by the Voice of

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* Fortunate Hour.

a Perſon

a Perſon about the Rajah, to whoſe Judgment much Deference was paid by the Rajah Bulwant Sing, Father of the Rebel.

J. Macdonald.

Sworn before me this 27th
Day of November 1781,
E. Impey.

" Num. 9. D.

" Affidavit of Captain David Williams.

" David Williams Eſquire, Captain of the Firſt Battalion of his Excellency the Vizier Aſſof-ud-Dowlah's Sepoys, on his Oath declares, to the beſt of his Remembrance and Belief, the following Circumſtances reſpecting the State of the Country he was ſtationed in, the Reports that prevailed there, and his own Situation in it, during the Months of September and October One thouſand Seven hundred and Eighty-one. Upon hearing that the Rebellion of Rajah Cheit Sing at Banaris had become of a very ſerious Nature, he deemed it requiſite to repair immediately to his Station at Gungowah, in the Diſtrict of Gooruckpoor; accordingly he left Lucknow, by Dauck, on the Firſt of September, and reached Sakrora the ſame Evening; on the Second, he arrived at Amora, and on the Third at Gooruckpoor. Upon the Road between Buſty and Meergunge, a Sepoy belonging to Major M'Donald's Battalion overtook him, and gave him Information that the Rebels had attacked a Poſt in the Jungle, which they had carried. On his Arrival at Gooruckpoor, the Jemmadar who commanded in the Fort acquainted him, that the Rajahs Futteh Saw, Genoo Roy, and Ajeet Mull, had received a very conſiderable Sum of Money from Rajah Cheit Sing, to enable them to commence Hoſtilities in Gooruckpoor, and in the Company's Diſtricts, and that they had croſſed the Gogra, and alſo, that they had Promiſes of conſiderable Sums of Money and Supplies of Men upon commencing their Operations. The Fourth, in the Evening, he arrived at Gungowah, and had the ſame Reports confirmed to him by his Commandant, and moſt of the People of that Place. On the Fifth and Sixth, he got all Things in Readineſs to proceed, agreeable to the following Orders from Colonel Hannay, to Ackberpoor.

" To Captain Williams, commanding at Gooruckpoor.

" Sir,

" Having received the Vizeer's Orders to join him without Delay with the greateſt Part of " the Forces acting immediately under my Authority, I have to deſire, that immediately " on Receipt of this Letter, or as ſoon after as poſſible, you do march with the Two " Grenadier Companies of your Battalion complete, and your Battalion Guns, and proceed with " all poſſible Expedition to Ackberpoor on the Road from Fyzabad to Sultanpoor, where " you will receive further Orders. You will march by the Route of Gooruckpoor, and croſs " the Gogra at Taundeh, where you will find three large Pattallies ready for your Paſſage. " The Four Companies of your Battalion ſtationed at Buſty, Dooreaparah, Dumreagunge, " and Baunſy, have alſo received Orders to march; but as the utmoſt Expedition is required, " they will proceed immediately under the Command of Lieutenant Gordon, and not wait your " Arrival. The Four Companies of your Battalion in Gooruckpoor, and with Hurdial Sing, " will remain under the Authority of Mahommed Shuffy Khan; and I have to deſire you will " particularly inſtruct the Subadars, commanding them to pay the ſtricteſt Attention to " ſuch Orders as they may receive from Mahommed Shuffy Khan during your Abſence. I " know not what Quantity of Ammunition the Four Companies at Buſty, &c. have with them; " but it will be neceſſary, if poſſible, to bring a Quantity with you ſufficient to ſupply the " whole Six Companies of your Battalion under Orders of March, with a Complement of Two " hundred Rounds a Man; and incloſed you will receive a Letter from* Mahommed Shuffy Khan, " deſiring him to yield you every Aſſiſtance in his Power, in order to procure Carriage for the " Tranſport of it. What elſe may be wanted to expedite your March, your own Prudence and " Zeal will ſuggeſt, and I have only to repeat it is neceſſary you ſhould make all poſſible Diſ- " patch.

* Sic in O

" Alexander Hannay."

" On the Seventh he marched with Two Companies and Two Guns, having previouſly ſent Orders to the ſcattered Detachments to repair to Gongowah, there to remain under the Directions of the Aumil, agreeable to Colonel Hannay's Orders. On the Eighth continued his March; on the Evening of the ſame Day certain Accounts were brought him, that the Boats on the Rivers and Nullahs were deſtroyed, and the whole Country to the Gogra up in Arms; and having alſo received Intelligence that Futteh Saw, Genoo Roy, and Ajeet Mull, with their Banditti, were encamped on the Road to Burragong, it determined him to return immediately to Gungowah, and proceed by the Way of Burragong and Chuprah to Buxar, to join Major Crawford's Regiment with the Two Companies and Two Guns; by taking which Route, he would have had an Opportunity of driving off that Party, which would have freed the Country from the principal Rebel. On the Ninth he returned to Gungowah; and, as the Commotions in the Country ſeemed evidently

evidently to increaſe, ſince the detached Parties who were directed to repair to Gungowah had been ſeverally attacked on their Way, as they came in, he ſent Orders to Hurdial Sing, Commandant ſtationed at Itchmul, to repair with all Expedition to Gungowah with Two Companies and Guns belonging to the Fougedar of that Place, and in the Evening informed the Aumil Mahommed Shuffy Khan of his Intention of proceeding by Chuprah to Banaris, and gave him Advice reſpecting the Defence of the Country during his Abſence. The Detachment was ordered to march on the Tenth. About One o'Clock in the Morning the Jemmadar attached to the Guns came and informed him that the Companies had mutinied, and would not march without having their Arrears paid them. In the Morning he went to the Parade, and ordered the Men to fall in; they paraded with Reluctance and Difficulty, particularly the Left-hand Company, commanded by Khan Mahommed Subadar. When they were got under Arms, he acquainted them that he was concerned they were not paid ſo regularly as he could have wiſhed, but if there were any of them that were diſtreſſed for Subſiſtence, he would advance them as much of his own Money as they required, as ſoon as they came to their Ground that Day; but that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary that they ſhould march with all Expedition to attack a Party of Futteh Saw, &c.'s Troops, which had taken poſſeſſion of the Ghaut in the Jerry Jungle, before they ſhould have Time to fortify themſelves. They were ſilent; he directed them to march off. When they had gone about One hundred Yards from the Parade, One of the Men ſtepped out of his File, and demanded all the Arrears of Pay due to him; he immediately ſeized the Bayonet of the Mutineer, with an Intention of putting him to Death; when Six or Seven Men turned out, fixed their Bayonets, and made the ſame Demand; the Black Officers remained ſilent and inactive; he ordered his Commandant to march on, and ordered the Mutineers to take off their Coats, as they were not worthy of being Soldiers, and that his Moonſhy would pay them their Arrears that Inſtant; many more joined them in a few Minutes, loaded their Pieces, laid hold of the Moonſhy, and were going to put him to Death. When he found that to be the Caſe, and that almoſt the whole Two Companies were engaged in the Mutiny, he ordered the Party to return, as it was in vain to proceed. A ſhort Time after, the whole Party ſurrounded him, ſome with loaded Arms and fixed Bayonets, having alſo loaded the Guns with Grape, and with one Voice demanded their Arrears might be paid off. He remonſtrated, that it was impoſſible for him to comply with their Demands, but that all the Money he had, or could get, ſhould be diſtributed amongſt them, if they would obey his Orders. For about Three Hours they behaved in the moſt licentious Manner, and were proceeding to break open the Treaſure Cheſt; at laſt, however, he prevailed upon them to receive Three Months Pay. Upon this being given them they returned to their Lines, but kept Centries at the Bungalow. After this he ſent for the Two Subadars, and deſired them to ſound the Men, and try if they could induce them, upon Promiſe of Forgiveneſs for what they had done, to return to their Duty. They came back, and reported, that they would conſent to obey upon thoſe Conditions. He went to the Parade in the Evening, and promiſed them Forgiveneſs; upon which they took an Oath to obey his Orders, upon Condition that they were not to march to Banaris; ſo that it became impracticable to proſecute the Intentions he had formed. However, in a few Hours more they again mutinied; and, to the beſt of his Recollection, they propoſed to march to Banaris, and join Cheit Sing and Saadut Ally, who, as they ſaid, would pay them their Arrears, and make them great Men; adding, that all the Europeans were cut off, and that he, meaning the Deponent, was the only Perſon left in the Country. In the Evening the Two Subadars Khan Mahommed and Buctour Sing came to him, and propoſed to carry him Priſoner to Banaris. On the Twelfth he repreſented to them, that if they did not immediately march to attack Futteh Saw, &c. who had already poſted Detachments within Sight of the Cantonments, and, as he was informed, was lying near Huſſanpoor with near Seven thouſand Men, they would be diſtreſſed for Proviſion, ſince the whole Country was in Arms. He ſent for all the Black Officers, and begged and intreated of them to uſe their Influence over the Men upon this Occaſion; but they were deaf to all he could ſay. Had they complied, he was confident of Succeſs againſt the Rebels, as Dadjoo Sing and Gobindram Miſſer had engaged to make a Diverſion in his Favour upon their Rear, whilſt he attacked them in Front. In the Evening they came to a Determination to march to Fyzabad to the Begum; who they alſo declared would pay them their Arrears, and take them into her Service; but on the Thirteenth, before they had carried theſe Intentions into Execution, he was joined by Hurdial Sing, with Two weak ſickly Companies; and having borrowed Money ſufficient to pay them the Three Months Pay which the others had received, and thereby render them upon an Equality, they remained ſtaunch, though every poſſible Means had been taken by the Mutineers to corrupt them. Shortly after this he received Information, that the Fort of Gooruckpoor had been attacked by near Six thouſand Rebels. There was a Jemmadar and about Fifty Men in the Fort, who behaved moſt gallantly. The Attack commenced near Nine o'Clock in the Evening. They carried the outward Fort, which was too extenſive; and the Party were obliged to retire to the Citadel, where there were upwards of Two hundred Priſoners confined. They endeavoured to ſeize the Sepoys; in which Attempt Nineteen of them were put to death, and many wounded. The Attack continued till near Four o'Clock in the Afternoon; when Shawmut Khan, a Jemmadar, and Nine Men, who had been ordered to march there from Puroonah, at the Beginning of the Diſturbances in the Country, arrived in the Town; the People told them to throw down their Arms, and run off to the Jungles to ſave their Lives; for it was impoſſible for them to get into

the Fort, as it was ſurrounded by Six thouſand Rebels, who muſt carry it in a few Minutes. The Jemmadar, with admirable Preſence of Mind, replied, That he was only the advanced Party, and that the Captain and the Guns were cloſe after them; called out to a Man to run and bring them up, that the whole of the Rebels might be deſtroyed; and immediately fired upon the Rebels. The Report inſtantly ſpread; a Panic ſeized the whole, and they ran off in the utmoſt Confuſion. He joined the Jemmadar in the Fort with his Nine Men: They ſallied out after the Rebels, and cut off about Two hundred of them. During the Attacks, the Rebels frequently called out to the Jemmadar to deliver up the Place to them, as they had Perwannahs from the Begum, Cheit Sing, and Saadut Ally, for what they did.

"Having received Orders from Lieutenant Colonel Hannay to proceed towards him, and alſo a Letter from Lieutenant Gordon, acquainting him that it was Colonel Hannay's Wiſh he ſhould join him at Amora, informing him of the Loſs of Two Companies of his Battalion which were with Lieutenant Gordon; on the Fifteenth he marched from Gongowah with the Aumil and Fougedars of the Country, and all the Stores of his Battalion. The March proved exceedingly fatiguing, on account of the Country's being under Water, and moſt of the Nullahs unfordable, and no proper Boats upon them for croſſing. On the Twentieth arrived at Gooruckpoor, where he found Two Companies belonging to his Battalion, which were directed to join Lieutenant Gordon, but not being able to effect it, they had been under the Neceſſity of returning to Gooruckpoor, alſo a Company of Major M'Donald's Battalion, which had been obliged to retire from Buſty. On the Nineteenth received a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, which determined him to remain at Gooruckpoor till he received further Orders, and wrote a Letter in Anſwer, propoſing to march by the Route of Mugger and Buſty, to chaſtiſe Zalim Sing at Amora, and Lieutenant Colonel Hannay ſhould advance by the Route of Mahadea to Amora, which he thought would be the moſt practicable Means of quieting the Rebellion in the Country. He was under a Neceſſity of borrowing Money to pay his Companies at Gooruckpoor, and alſo Major M'Donald's Company, and to make up the Ammunition that was damaged by the Weather, and repair the Tumbrils and Limbers: His Battalion being ill furniſhed with Arms and Ammunition, and the Draft Cattle very bad, which retarded him much during his March to Gooruckpoor. The Thirteenth received a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, and wrote for Anſwer, that he would march for certain on the Second of October; but the Difficulty he found in procuring a ſufficient Quantity of Proviſion, and Carriage for it, as the whole Country was hoſtile, and Bodies of armed Men, to the Amount of ſeveral Thouſands, were actually in the Town; added to the heavy Rain which fell on the Fourth and Fifth, rendered it impracticable for him to march till the Sixth. During the Time he remained at Gooruckpoor, it was currently reported and given out by the rebellious Rajahs, that they acted in conformity to the Orders they had received from Cheit Sing, Saadut Ally, and the Begums, to raiſe an Inſurrection in the Country, and to deſtroy the Engliſh wherever they found them. Many Letters were Intercepted, but the neceſſary Care was not taken of them, and they were either deſtroyed or loſt. Having the Raubty and ſeveral Nullahs to croſs, he did not reach Baunſy till the Ninth, which is diſtant about Two-and-twenty computed Coſs. On the Ninth in the Evening a violent Storm of Rain began, which laſted to the Sixteenth, with ſcarcely an Hour's Intermiſſion, which rendered it totally impracticable to march during that Time, as the whole Country was overflown, and the Rivers quite full. The March from Sakrora was extremely tedious and difficult, great Delays being occaſioned by the Neceſſity he was under of making Bridges, added to the Interruptions he ſuffered from the frequent Skirmiſhes he had with the People of the different Diſtricts he paſſed through. On the 23d he arrived at Goondah, and on the Day following joined Colonel Hannay at Sakrora, with Eight Companies of his own Battalion, and a Company of Major M'Donald's Battalion. The Aumils and Fougedars of Gooruckpoor came under his Protection, and a Number of People in Office in the Collections; the Gun belonging to the Fougedary he brought with him, being the only one in the Diſtrict he commanded. During his March from Gooruckpoor to Sakrora, the Rebels who haraſſed gave out, that every Meaſure they took was in compliance with the Directions they received from the Begum, Saadut Ally, and Cheit Sing. Since the Time of his being appointed to the Command of the Battalion, in January One thouſand Seven hundred and Eighty-one, he has only received Two Months Pay, on its Account, from his Excellency the Vizeer, to the preſent Time, November the Twenty-ſeventh: His Battalion was diſperſed in ſuch a Manner, and at ſo great a Diſtance, that he hardly ever had above Two Companies with him, till they joined him by Degrees. During the Rebellion, he continually adviſed Colonel Hannay of his Situation, but it appears few of his Letters reached him, as the Communication was ſhut up.

" Sworn this 27th Day of November 1781, before me,
E. Impey.

D. Williams,
Captain, commanding the 1ſt Battalion of his Excellency the Vizeer's Sepoys.

" NUM. 9. E.

" Affidavit of Captain John Gordon.

" John Gordon Eſquire, Captain in the Corps of Sepoys of his Excellency Aſſof-ud-Dowlah, Nabob Vizeer, on his Oath ſaith, That he croſſed the Gogra on the Sixth of September at Chowrah, with Four Companies of Sepoys, and about Eighty Horſe (in all near 400) under his Command; that he ſaw the Country was diſaffected, but judged his Force to be ſufficient to join Colonel Hannay at Akberpoor; indeed the Deponent did not conceive that his Excellency's Troops, marching to join him by his Command, could meet with any Interruption. On the 7th, at Day-break, the Deponent marched, and about Half a Mile from Chowrah, when croſſing a Nullah, he obſerved great Bodies of Men aſſembled to oppoſe his March; he immediately made what he judged to be the beſt Diſpoſition of his ſmall Corps, and the Behaviour of the Men did them great Credit; for though, during the whole of the March of Eight Coſs, they were attacked and often ſurrounded by incredible Numbers of People, yet they conſtantly beat them off, killing and wounding many of them, and arrived, with very little Loſs, about One o'Clock in the Afternoon, at the Tereea Nullah, which runs by Taundeh, bringing the whole of the Bazar and Baggage in the moſt perfect Safety; the Deponent then imagined himſelf in a Friend's Country, and intended croſſing the Nullah, that his People might halt for the Day and refreſh after their very fatiguing March; for this Purpoſe he ordered the Bazar and Baggage to be ſent over, and Part of the Sepoys to ſtand to their Arms, as great Numbers of their Enemies were ſtill in Sight; but his Surprize was extreme when he was informed, that the Boats were all on the other Side of the Nullah, and that none of them were permitted to croſs. The Deponent immediately wrote a Letter to the Begum's Aumil, Shumſheer Khan, acquainting him that he was marching with the Vizeer's Troops, by his Order, to join him; that he, the Deponent, was aſtoniſhed at his ſtopping the Ghaut; and deſiring Boats might be ſent for the Tranſport of the Detachment. To this no Anſwer was made, but immediately Three Guns were brought near the Ghaut, and pointed to the Detachment, and a Number of Matchlock Men were poſted on the Banks of the Nullah, who threatened to fire if anybody paſſed. There were then near the Ghaut a great many large Boats belonging to Mr. Scott, whoſe Gomaſtah, notwithſtanding his utmoſt Intreaties, was prevented from ſending them by Shumſheer Khan; who threatened the Plunder of his Factory, and even his Life, if he attempted it. This was told the Deponent by the ſaid Gomaſtah repeatedly, and the Deponent believes it to be true, as it correſponds entirely with every other Part of Shumſheer Khan's Conduct. The Deponent, upon being refuſed a Paſſage, took poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong Ground, ſurrounded on Three Sides by the Gogra, and the Nullah on the Fourth Side, whence only he could be attacked by the Country People; he ordered the Sepoys to make a Breaſt Work, by piling up of Planks, of which there were a great Number; and as he had Ammunition and Proviſions, he intended to wait there until he could procure Boats, or diſcover a Ford. While the Deponent was thus employed, Mahommed Ruzza Beg, the Jemmadar of Horſe, had ſwam acroſs the Nullah, and procured Permiſſion for his People to follow him, which they immediately did. No Anſwer coming from the Fougedar, the Deponent deſired his Moonſhy to go to him, and explain the Matter; he accordingly went to the Ghaut, and demanding a Paſſage, he was refuſed, and inſulted in Terms the moſt abuſive to the Engliſh. He returned, and telling this, the Deponent ordered him to take an Elephant and ſwim over; but when he attempted to enter the Nullah with the Animal, the Nujjeebs pointed their Matchlocks at him, and obliged him to deſiſt: The Sepoys ſeeing this, and that the Horſemen were permitted to ſwim acroſs, naturally imagined that the Objection was to the Engliſh only, and their Adherents; they thought it ſafeſt to abandon the Deponent, whom they muſt have concluded to be devoted, and throwing down their Coats and Arms, they followed the Example of the Horſemen, in ſwimming acroſs the Nullah, making a Merit with Shumſheer Khan, of giving the Deponent up to his Fate. One of the Subadars repreſented to Two others, the Folly of ſuffering for One Perſon; and propoſed to them to deliver up the Deponent to Shumſheer Khan or to the Country People; but the Propoſal was rejected with Scorn, and One of the Subadars reported the Behaviour of the other immediately to the Deponent: The Deſertion, however, was almoſt complete; for in a little Time, of the Four Companies, not Twenty Men remained, including Officers. It was almoſt Evening when Mr. Scott's Gomaſtah, with great Difficulty, at laſt obtained Permiſſion from Shumſheer Khan to ſend One Boat, but it came too late to render any effectual Aſſiſtance, for with the few Sepoys who remained, Command was at an end; and as moſt of the Deponent's Servants had gone off, his Baggage was left a Prey to the Banditti, who ſoon carried off and deſtroyed it. Some Things which a few of his Servants brought with them, they gave in charge to the Fougedar's People, who promiſed to take care of them, but they reſerved them for themſelves, or rather for the Fougedar; and though many of the Deponent's Things were ſeen in his Houſe, he could never recover a ſingle Article. For many Days during the Stay of the Deponent in Mr. Scott's Factory it was threatened to be attacked; and Shumſheer Khan, though often applied to by Mr. Scott's Gomaſtah, conſtantly refuſed to grant the leaſt Aſſiſtance: Notwithſtanding this, Shumſheer Khan was, and the Deponent believes is ſtill, continued in Office; and while the Deponent was at Fyzabad, Shumſheer Khan came there, and was well received by the Begum and her Miniſters: From all which Circumſtances the Deponent is convinced, that Shumſheer Khan could not have dared to act as he did, had he not been authorized

rized by the Begum and her Miniſters, or at leaſt had he not known that ſuch Conduct would be agreeable to them.

" Sworn this 27th Day of November 1781, before me,
E. Impey.

J. Gordon.

" TENTH PARCEL.

" Num. 10.

" Affidavit of Jean Honore Mordelait, Private of the Company of Chaſſeurs.

" Jean Honore Mordelait, Natif de Corbell, Province de l'Iſle de France, fait Serment, et dit, Qu'étant malade à Mirzapour il fût laiſſé en arriére avec Quatorze des ſes Camarades, lui inclus, tous ſervant dans la Compagnie de Chaſſeurs, commandée par le Capitaine Doxat; lorſque le dit Capitaine marcha avec les Troupes qui compoſoient le Détachement commandé par le Capitaine Mayaffre; que lors du Départ du dit Capitaine, le Raja de l'Endroit les fit entrer en ſon Entourage pour plus de Sureté contre les Voleurs qui l'environnoient; que ſur leurs Repreſentations qu'ils n'avoient pas d'Argent pour ſe fournir des Vivre, il leur fit donner à manger chaque Jour par un Bannià, qu'il les conſola et les aſſura qu'allant voir ce qui ſe paſſoit à l'Entour de ſon terrain il chercheroit après un Moyen de les faire paſſer à Chandernagore; que des lors il ne revint point: Que le Commandement étant alors dévolu au Second, il les fit appeller le Trentiéme, et leur donna Deux Roupies à chacun pour ſervir à une Route qu'ils devoient faire de Deux Jour de Chemin; qu'il leur fit ſçavoir que c'étoit ſes Ordres de les renvoyer de là, et qu'il avoit auſſi reçu Ordre de couler tous les Batteaux paſſant par Mirzapour: Que pendant ce Temps Cinquante de ſes Gens fûrent envoyés pour s'emparer de leurs Armes, et que ces Gens prirent un Inventaire de ce qui appartenoit à la Compagnie; que le Lendemain ils fûrent contraines de ſe mettre en Route, leur Sacs placés ſur des Chameaux, ſur leſquelles ils fûrent obligés de monter à grands Coups de Fouët pour ceux qui refuſoient: Que durant leur Route ils eûrent toutes Sortes d'Indignités, qu'on leur crachoit au Viſage, qu'on les battoit. Que la ſeconde Journée un de ſes Camarades fût aſſez heureux de mourir; que le Chemin qu'ils faiſoient étoit parmi des Gorges de Montaignes, et qu'avec les Détours qu'ils firent il croit que le Trajet juſqu'à Laitiffghur, ou ils arrivérent le Deuziéme de Septembre, étoit plus de 40 Coſs: Qu'à la Fin de la primiére Journée ils s'arretérent à un petit Fort dans les Gorges, ou leur mauvais Traitement fût redoublé. Qu'arrivé a Laitiffghur ceux qui vinrent avec eux ſe diſperſerent; qu'ils fûrent entourés pendans deux Heures qu'ils y reſtérent par environ deux ou trois mille Gens qui les inſultérent groſſiérement, et particuliérement, les accuſa d'avoir aſſaſſiné le Raja de Guàlier: Qu'un de leur Camarades, nommé François, fût mené auprès du Raja lequel à ſon Retour leur declara que le Raja l'avoit aſſuré qu'en cas qu'il lui amena Compagnie Françoiſe qu'il auroit ſon Pain. Qu'aprés ils fûrent conduits hors de Laitiffghur de la même Maniére qu'auparavant ſou le Garde de quelques Sepoys, et autres Gens armés, à une petite Maiſon fortifiée au de là de Laitiffghur une Coſs ſur le Chemin de Beejahghur; que ces Gens y reſtérent pour les garder: Qu'on ne leur donna ni à manger ni à boire: Que le Lendemain, étant le troiſiéme, un Chef de Laitiffghur avec dix Sepoys et environ 40 Hommes armés les fit ſortir à une Portée de Fuſil de la Maiſon: Qu'ils liérent leurs Mains derriére leurs Dos; et qu'en cette Poſition ils leur criérent à manger, leur montrant des Vivres à quelque Diſtance dans des Corbeilles. Qu'après s'être amuſé pendant une Heure ou deux de leur Miſéres, ces Barbares tirérent leurs Sabres et commencerent le Maſſacre: Que le ſuſdit eût une Baonette paſſée du travers du Corps, et un grand Coup de Pied ſur les Reins pour la faire reſortir: Qu'en cet Etat il feignit le Mort, et deux de ſes Camarades tombant ſur lui cachérent ſa Feinte: Que le Meurtriers ſe retirant aprés ce Carnage, il eût aſſés de Force pour ſe retirer dans les Jungles à vingt Pas de là: Qu' à la Diſcretion des Tigres il paſſa toute la Nuit; qu'accablé de ſoif, le Lendemain il deſcendit à un Ruiſſeau pour boire de l'Eau; qu'il fût vit par des Campagnards, et amené à l'Endroit d'ou il étoit ſorti le Jour avant; que les Habitants le raſſurérent contre toute Crainte de ſa Vie: Que leur Chef lui donna pour lui et ſa Femme huit Pice par Jour, laquelle Subſiſtance lui fût continué par moyen d'une Garde qui montoit et étoit relevé chaque Jour de Laitiffghur: Que parmi les Gens qui étoient là, il ne reconnût aucun de ceux qui les tûerent: Que le 20, le Jour que le Raja s'enfuit de Laitiffghur, aprés que lui et ſes Troupes eûrent paſſées auprés de l'Endroit ou le ſuſdit étoit, il ſe rendit à Laitiffghur ſans Empéchement, et même fut mis au large par les Habitants: Que la Nuit du 20 ou 21 il fût obligé de ſe cacher, pour ſe mettre à l'abri des Gens qui pilloient de tous Côtés: Que le Lendemain Matin à l'Entrée du Major Crabb il fût découvert et heureuſement mis en Sûreté de toute autre Pourſuite.

" Le ſuſdit fait Serment et dit, de plus qu'il croit que le Maſſacre provenoit d'un Acte deliberé, et que ce ne pouvoit être le Réſultat d'aucune Cauſe; comme ces Camarades et lui étoient trop triſtes pour démontrer aucun Signe de Joie, s'abandonnant à la Mort d'aprés la mauvais Traitement qu'ils avoient ſubits: Qu'au contraire quant ils entendirent le Matin du Jour du Maſſacre, le Bruit des Canons et des Fuſils, ils s'entrediſoient tout doucement que leur Déſtruction ſeroit la Conſéquence infaillible en cas que les Troupes du Raja perdroient la Bataille:

Que même, lors de cette Communication d'Idées, ils n'y avoient aucuns de leurs Gardes ou autres Gens pour les écouter; que leurs Expreſſions à ce Sujet ſe paſſérent, lors du Bruit des Canons et des Fuſils, lequel étoit de grand Matin: Que leurs Meurtriers n'arrivérent de Laitiffghur qu'environ les onze Heures: Que deux Heures ſe paſſérent à leur contraindre de tirer Habits, Chapeaux, &c. Qu'au lieu du Meurtre ils fûrent conduis en Chemiſe, et qu'il étoit environ une Heure aprés Midi, quand cet Acte de Barbarité fût commiſe.

Mordelait.

" Sworn before me, this 5th Day of
December 1781.

E. Impey.

" Tranſlation of the foregoing Affidavit.

" John Honore Mordelait, Native of Corbell, a Province in the Iſle of France, declares upon Oath, That being ſick at Mirzapoor, he was left behind with Fourteen of his Comrades, himſelf included, all of whom belonged to the Company of Chaſſeurs commanded by Captain Doxar, when the ſaid Captain marched with the Troops which compoſed the Detachment commanded by Captain Mayaffre: That upon his Departure, the Rajah of the Place made them come within his own Premiſes, for the greater Safety againſt the Thieves which ſurrounded them: That on their repreſenting they had no Money to ſupply themſelves with Food, he cauſed them to be given ſomething to eat every Day by a Banian: That he comforted them, and aſſured them, that upon ſeeing what paſſed round his Seraglio, he ſought for Means to tranſport them to Chandernagore: That from that Time he did not return: That the Command having then devolved upon the Second, he had them called before him on the Thirtieth, and gave them Two Rupees each, to ſerve for the Journey of Two Days they were to take: That he let them know his Orders were to ſend them from thence; and that he had alſo received Orders to ſink all the Boats paſſing by Mirzapoor: That during this Time, Fifty of his People were ſent to ſeize their Arms; and that thoſe People took an Inventory of what belonged to the Company: That the next Day they were obliged to begin their Journey, with their Baggage placed on Camels, which they were obliged to mount; and thoſe who refuſed, received violent Blows with a Whip: That during their Route every Sort of Indignity was offered to them: That they ſpit in their Faces; and beat them ſo, that on the ſecond Day One of his Companions was ſo happy as to die: That the Road they took was through narrow Paſſes, between Mountains; and that with the Circuits they made, he believes the Journey to Laitiffghur, where they arrived the 2d of September, was more than 40 Coſs: That at the Cloſe of the firſt Day they ſtopt at a ſmall Fort in the Paſſes, where their Ill-treatment was redoubled: That being arrived at Laitiffghur, the Perſons who came with them diſperſed: That they were ſurrounded for Two Hours, and remained there, among about Two or Three thouſand People, who inſulted them groſsly; and particularly accuſed them of having aſſaſſinated the Rajah of Gwallior: That One of their Companions, named Francois, was taken before the Rajah, and declared to them, at his Return, that the Rajah had aſſured him that in caſe he brought the French Company to him, he ſhould be provided for: That afterwards they were conducted out of Laitiffghur in the ſame Manner as before, guarded by ſome Sepoys and other armed Men, to a ſmall fortified Houſe beyond Laitiffghur, One Coſs on the Road from Beejahghur: That thoſe People remained there to guard them: That they had nothing either to eat or drink given to them: That the next Day, being the Third, a Chief of Laitiffghur, with Ten Sepoys, and about Forty armed Men, made them go out to the Diſtance of a Muſket Shot from the Houſe: That they tied their Hands behind their Backs; and that in this Poſition they told them to eat; ſhewing them Proviſions in Baſkets at ſome Diſtance: That after having amuſed themſelves for an Hour or two with their Miſery, theſe Barbarians drew their Sabres and began the Maſſacre: That the Deponent had a Bayonet paſſed through his Body, and a violent Kick on the Reins to make it come out: That in this Situation he feigned Death; and Two of his Companions falling upon him covered the Deceit: That the Murderers retiring after this Carnage, he had Strength enough to retreat to the Jungles, Twenty Paces from the Place: That he paſſed the Night at the Mercy of the Tigers: That on the next Day being parched with Thirſt, he went down to a Brook to drink: That he was ſeen by ſome Country People, and carried to the Place which he had left the preceding Day: That the Inhabitants aſſured him his Life was in no Danger: That their Chief gave him Eight Pice every Day for his Wife and himſelf, which Subſiſtence was continued to him by means of a Guard, which was mounted and relieved every Day from Laitiffghur: That he did not recollect the Perſons of any of the Murderers among the People here: That on the 20th, the Day the Rajah fled from Laitiffghur after he and his Troops had paſſed near the Spot where the Deponent was, he went to Laitiffghur unmoleſted, and was even ſet at Liberty by the Inhabitants: That in the Night from the 20th to the 21ſt he was obliged to lie concealed to ſave himſelf from the People, who were pillaging on all Sides: That the next Morning, at the Entry of Major Crabb, he was diſcovered, and fortunately placed in Safety from all further Purſuit. The Deponent moreover declares upon Oath, That he believes the Maſſacre proceeded from a deliberate Act, and that it could not have been occaſioned by any Cauſe, his Companions and himſelf being too ſorrowful to ſhew any Sign of Joy, as they had

had abandoned themſelves to Death after the Ill-treatment they had met with; That on the contrary, when on the Morning of the Maſſacre they heard the Report of the Cannons and Muſkets, they ſaid to each other ſoftly, that their Deſtruction would be the infallible Conſequence, in caſe the Rajah's Troops ſhould loſe the Battle: That even at this Communication of Ideas there were none of their Guards nor any other Perſons preſent to hear them: That their Converſation on this Subject paſſed when the Noiſe of the Cannons and Muſkets was heard, when it was broad Daylight: That their Murderers did not arrive from Laitiffghur till about Eleven o'Clock: That Two Hours paſſed in making them take off their Cloaths, Hats, &c.: That they were led in their Shirts to the Place where the Murders were committed; and that it was about One o'Clock in the Afternoon when this Act of Barbarity took Place.

" Sworn before me, (Signed) Mordelait."
this 5th Day of December 1781.
(Signed) E. Impey."

" ELEVENTH PARCEL.

" Num. 11.

" Affidavit of Lieutenant Colonel Hannay.

" Alexander Hannay Eſquire, Lieutenant Colonel in the Service of the Honourable United Eaſt India Company, maketh Oath, and ſaith, That in the Month of September laſt (1781) he commanded a Body of Troops (Horſe and Foot) in the Service of the Nabob Vizeer: That on the 10th of that Month, being encamped at Ryegunge, near Fyzabad, employed in tranſporting the ſaid Troops acroſs the River Gogra, in order to act againſt the Inſurgents to the Northward of that River, in the Evening he received Intimation from a Perſon living in the Zennana, that the Nabob Begum (Grandmother to the Nabob Vizeer Aſſuf-ud-Dowla) had, through her Agents, prevailed upon the principal Jemmadar of Horſe, to engage to detach himſelf from the ſaid Deponent, and to abandon him; and further warning the ſaid Deponent to attend to his own perſonal Safety, as there was an Intention of detaining him at Fyzabad: That this Intimation was given to the Deponent in the Preſence of Lieutenant Charles Middleton, to whom the Deponent did communicate it; and that, during the whole Courſe of that Day (the 10th of September) he the Deponent had not been able to prevail on any of the Horſemen to croſs the River—a Matter which he could not until then account for, but which ſerved to impreſs him ſo ſtrongly with the Belief of the Truth of the Information he had received, that he ſent for the principal Jemmadar of Horſe, circumſtantially communicated the ſaid Information to him, and, as forcibly as he was able, ſtated to him the Treachery, Diſgrace, and Infamy, inſeparable from ſo unmanly a Behaviour: That the ſaid Jemmadar of Horſe appeared much affected at the Converſation, and acknowledged that the Information was true in every Circumſtance, except that of his having acceded to the Propoſals that were made to him, which he declared he had rejected; but ſaid, they had alſo been made to the other Jemmadars of Horſe by the Agents of both the Begums (the Nabob Vizeer's Mother and Grandmother); and the Truth of this Aſſertion was afterwards affirmed to the ſaid Deponent by Two of the ſaid Jemmadars, and ſeveral of the inferior Officers and private Horſemen. The Deponent further declareth, That the above-recited Converſation paſſed in his the Deponent's Tent, to the beſt of his Recollection and Memory, on the Night of the 10th of September, in the Preſence of Lieutenant Charles Middleton; and that, as the ſaid Lieutenant Charles Middleton did not perfectly underſtand the Mooriſh Language, in which the Converſation was held, he the Deponent explained the Nature and Subject of it to him as ſoon as the Jemmadar left the Tent. The Deponent further declareth, That he is reſtrained from mentioning the Names of the Jemmadars alluded to, from an Apprehenſion that their Names becoming publick, might operate to their Prejudice, if not Ruin; but that the Facts which he hath depoſed are Truth.

" Sworn before me (the Deponent declaring on his Oath, that the above Affidavit is written in his own Hand-writing at Banaris) this 31ſt Day of December 1781. Alexander Hannay."
Warren Haſtings."] *

* Vide ſupra, from Page 255 to Page 267.

The Witneſs produced a Book, marked C, intituled, " Letters from the Board, 1775 to 1782."

Read, the following Letter from the Governor General to Mr. Middleton, dated Chunar, 15th November 1781, from the ſame.

" To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire.

" Sir,

" In your Letter, dated the 17th October, I find it generally aſſerted by Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, in the Extracts quoted from his Letters, and confirmed by yourſelf, that, during the late Revolt of this Province, Levies both of Horſe and Foot were openly made at Fayzabad, both by the Begums, and by Cheit Sing's Agents, in his Name and for his Uſe; that theſe Levies were diſpatched to Benares publickly as his, one Party of a Thouſand Horſe and Foot, under the Command of Shake Cawn; that Jewar Ally Cawn, in the Chowk of Fyzabad, aſked every Man who bore the Appearance of a Soldier, why he went not to Cheit Sing for Service; that Futteh Saw, Gheenooroy, and Aject Mull, had croſſed to Manjowly, urged to that Step by Cheit Sing, who had ſupplied them with Money, and promiſed them great Sums, if they would put the whole Country into Confuſion; tthat the principal Zemindars had all Certificates under the Seal of Cheit Sing, that he would ſupply them with whatever Money they might require, for ſubſiſting all the Troops they could raiſe; that it was the general Belief of every Men* in that Part of the Country, that it was a concerted Plan for the Extirpation of the Engliſh; that the whole Country, from Goonda to Manjee, and from Fyzabad to the Benares Diſtrict, and acroſs from the Gogra to the Ganges, was in the utmoſt Ferment; that if we met with a Check at Benares, every Man in the Country was ready to fall upon our ſcattered Parties; that the Inſurrection was not partial, but generally ſpread throughout the Whole, and if he (Colonel Hannay) might truſt to his Information, it was already begun, and would ſoon rage as violently in Shahjehanpore, Rohilcund, Cora, and the Doaub.

* Sic in Orig.

" Theſe are Facts of ſuch Moment to the publick Service, and ſo neceſſary both to the Means which may be required for our future Preſervation, and to the Juſtification of what has paſſed, and of what may be done to the ſame End, that I think it proper that they ſhould be verified in the moſt authentick and ſacred Manner. I muſt therefore requeſt and require of you, in my Name, to call upon Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, Major M^c^ Donald, Captain Williams, and Lieutenant Gordon, and every other Perſon who may have a perſonal Knowledge or Underſtanding of theſe Facts, or of any others relating to the Rebellion of Cheit Sing, and its Connections, in the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier; ſeverally to depoſe all that they know and believe concerning the ſame, either on Oath before Sir Elijah Impey, who will inſtantly viſit Lucknow, chiefly with this Intention; or that they repair to me at this Place, for the ſame Purpoſe.

" Reſpecting the Levies made at Fayzabad, the March of Shake Cawn with a Force declared for the Service of Cheit Sing, the publick Invitations of Jewar Ally Cawn, the Certificates under the Seal of Cheyt Sing, in the Poſſeſſion of the Zemindars of Gorookpoor and Baraich, his Letters to the Begums or their Miniſters, the Plan concerted for the Extirpation of the Engliſh; I muſt earneſtly recommend it to you, to obtain ſuch Evidence as can be acquired, reſpecting each of theſe Points, whether ſuch Evidence ſhall aſcertain, or refute, or qualify, their Reality; and, if it be poſſible, to gain Poſſeſſion of the original Letters and Certificates ſaid to have been written by Cheyt Sing, as aboveſaid.

" You will be careful to aſcertain the Dates and Places of Facts, and the Names of Places and Perſons, in the Depoſitions taken; that their Evidence may not be defective or ambiguous, from the Want of Preciſion.

" Reſpecting the Murders, ſaid to have been committed at Gopee Gunge, I have already written to you, and now ſend you a Duplicate of my Letter on that Subject.

" I alſo ſend you the Form of a Caption, or Introduction to each Depoſition, of which you will be pleaſed to furniſh Copies, to ſuch of the Engliſh Gentlemen as ſhall have Occaſion for the Uſe of them. The Depoſitions of the native Witneſſes muſt be written in the Languages which they underſtand, and muſt be verified on Oath, and ſigned; or, if they ſhall object to the Oath as contrary to their religious Tenets, they muſt be required to ſubſcribe ſuch a ſolemn Atteſtation, as ſhall be equivalent to the Sanction of an Oath; and add your Signature to it.

" I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
(Signed) Warren Haſtings."

" Chunar,
15th November 1781.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next read a Paſſage from the Benares Narrative, to ſhew that, by Mr. Haſtings's own Admiſſion, if any Aſſiſtance was ſent from Oude to Cheyt Sing, it moſt probably came from the Vizier at Lucknow, and not from the Begums at Fyzabad; and they ſhould afterwards ſhew, that the Thouſand Troops, ſtated by Mr. Haſtings to have been raiſed at Fyzabad, came from Lucknow.

Read,

Read, the following Extract from the Benares Narrative, beginning at Page 36 of the ſame.

" In the mean Time I had received ſeveral Intimations, imputing evil Deſigns to the Nabob, and warning me to guard myſelf againſt them; and eſpecially to be careful that I did not expoſe myſelf to the Effects of concealed Treachery, by viſiting him without a ſtrong Guard. Many Circumſtances favoured this Suſpicion. No ſooner had the Rebellion of this Zemeedary manifeſted itſelf, than its Contagion inſtantly flew to Fyzabad, and the extenſive Territory lying on the North of the River Dewa, and known by the Names of Gooruckpoor and Bareech. In the City of Fyzabad, Nawaub Allea and Jenauby Allea, the Mother and Grandmother of the Nabob, openly eſpouſed the Party of Cheit Sing, encouraging and inviting People to enliſt for his Service; and their Servants took up Arms againſt the Engliſh. Two Battalions of regular Sepoys, in the Vizier's Service, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, who had been intruſted with the Charge of that Diſtrict, were attacked and ſurrounded in various Places, many of them cut to Pieces; and Colonel Hannay himſelf, encompaſſed by Multitudes, narrowly eſcaped the ſame Fate. The Nabob Vizier was charged with being privy to the Intrigues which had produced and fomented theſe Diſturbances; and the little Account that he ſeemed to make of them, ſerved to countenance the Suſpicion. I can truly ſay for myſelf, that I never afforded it the ſlighteſt Degree of Credit; neither his Character, the Tenour of his paſt Conduct, the Expectations which I knew he entertained of Aſſiſtance and Relief from myſelf, nor his Inability to ſupport himſelf without the Protection of our Government, allowing me, for a Moment, to entertain a Thought ſo injurious to his Fidelity, and ſo contrary to Probability. Yet I was not perfectly free from Apprehenſions ſimilar to ſuch a Suggeſtion. The Nabob was ſurrounded by Men, baſe in their Characters and improvident in their Underſtandings; his Favourites, and the Companions of his looſer Hours. Theſe had every Cauſe to dread the Effects of my Influence on theirs; and both theſe, and the Relations of the Family, whoſe Views of Conſequence and Power were intercepted by our Participation in the Adminiſtration of his Affairs, entertained a mortal Hatred to our Nation, and openly avowed it. Theſe all joined in preſcribing the moſt pernicious and fatal Counſels to the Nabob, repreſenting this as the Time to deliver himſelf from what they deſcribed as the Yoke of Servitude. Although he firmly rejected all their Perſuaſions, and I was aſſured of it, yet he himſelf was at their Mercy; and it was in their Power to uſe both his Authority and his Perſon for the Perpetration of their own Deſigns; nor could I uſe any Precaution to avoid them, which would not appear to proceed from a Diſtruſt of the Nabob himſelf. I never communicated my Apprehenſions, nor acted from them, and had the Satisfaction of receiving the Nabob, of maintaining an Intercourſe with him, with every Mark of the moſt ſecure and mutual Confidence, and of parting with him with every Demonſtration of mutual Satisfaction (*a*)."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book, beginning at Page 32.

" It is proper to mention, that as ſoon as I had formed my Reſolution to leave Banaris, I ſent my Moonſhy to the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan, to inform him of it, and to recommend the wounded Sepoys to his Care; believing that the Rajah, from a Conſideration of Policy, would not chuſe to moleſt them, eſpecially as he could have no Motive or Object to it but Revenge, if he would ſhew a determined Reſolution to protect them. The ſame Requeſt I made to him in Writing after my Arrival at Chunar. I owe him the Juſtice to atteſt, that he faithfully and liberally complied with my Requeſt. He viſited them himſelf, and furniſhed them with Proviſions and with Money, and appointed native Surgeons to attend them; and as they were able to bear it, he cauſed them all to be removed to his own Quarters.

" Many Reports and Suſpicions have prevailed of his being concerned in ſome of the Deſigns which were formed againſt us. I can neither credit nor refute them. The Evil imputed to him is at beſt doubtful: The Good which he did is certain, and he is entitled to the entire Merit of it (*b*)."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they would now proceed to lay before the Houſe the Account of the Tranſaction reſpecting Captain Gordon and Sadut Ally, contained in the Correſpondence between Colonel Hannay, Captain Gordon, and the Begums: Which Correſpondence was annexed to this Article of Charge, as originally preſented to the Houſe of Commons, and afterwards admitted by Mr. Haſtings in his Defence to the ſame at the Bar of that Houſe.

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to the Production of this Evidence—the Letters not being upon the Conſultations of the Governor General and Council of Bengal, nor in any other Shape upon the Records of the Eaſt India Company, and Captain Gordon, one of the Parties to the Correſpondence, being in England.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 123, Paragraph the laſt.

(*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 122, Line 1.

The

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they had already given in Evidence the Defence of Mr. Haſtings at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons to this Article of the Charge as originally preſented there;—that a Part of that Defence, upon which the Commons relied, was an Admiſſion of certain Facts connected with the Letters now in queſtion;—they now tendered the Letters therefore to explain what it was that was admitted by Mr. Haſtings in that Part of his Defence, and contended, that for that Purpoſe, and under thoſe Circumſtances, the Letters as annexed to the above Article of Charge, were the beſt poſſible Evidence that could be produced.

The Houſe obſerved, the firſt Step was for the Managers for the Commons to read that Part of Mr. Haſtings's Defence, upon which they founded their Right to produce the Evidence offered;—and then the Queſtion would ariſe, whether that Right were well or ill founded.

Accordingly, Read, the following Extract from Mr. Haſtings's Defence.

"Upon the Letters of Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon, quoted by the Bow Begum in Proof of her Innocence of the Conduct imputed to her and her Servants, it is only neceſſary to obſerve, they were written at a Time and under the Impreſſion of the Begums having it very much in their Power to contribute to the Safety, or poſſibly to the Deſtruction of Colonel Hannay's Detachment, then in a very precarious Situation in the Neighbourhood of Fyzabad, and at a Time too, when our Affairs at Benares were ſuppoſed by thoſe Officers to wear an unfavourable Aſpect. The Colonel's firſt Object was to procure Safety for the Perſon of Captain Gordon, who was at the Mercy of the Begums and their Eunuchs; and for this Purpoſe he thought no Means ſo likely to ſucceed, as declaring an implicit Reliance on their Friendſhip and good Faith, and affecting to conſider himſelf under Obligations to them: Captain Gordon, however, moſt probably owed his Salvation to another Influence. Soon after he fell into their Hands, by the treacherous Conduct of Bahar Ally Cawn's Naib and adopted Son, at Tanda, the News of ſome ſucceſsful Operations of our Troops at Benares reached the Begums; and as Affairs began to promiſe a ſpeedy and deciſive Iſſue in our Favour, it is not ſurprizing that the Begums and their Agents ſhould endeavour, by Acts of Kindneſs, to efface the Impreſſion, which they muſt have been ſenſible their Conduct had made to their Diſcredit. This was the Explanation given by Colonel Hannay to Mr. Middleton of the Motives of his Conduct to the Begums at that Period; and the Letters alluded to cannot poſſibly bear any other Conſtruction, without an Imputation on the Veracity and moral Character of the late Colonel Hannay, which his Reputation and general Conduct in Life will not warrant. The Teſtimony of Colonel Hannay cannot now be had, but his Explanation to Mr. Middleton of the Motives of his Conduct to the Begums and their Agents, at that critical Conjuncture of his own and the national Affairs, that Gentleman will be ready at any Time to certify on Oath; and the Evidence of Captain Gordon may poſſibly throw further Light upon the Subject (*a*)."

The Counſel for the Defendant ſaid, they would not inſiſt upon their Objection.

Then the Managers for the Commons delivered in a Paper, intituled, "Articles of "Charge of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors againſt Warren Haſtings Eſquire."

Read, the following Extract, from the ſame.

"From her Excellency the Bow Begum to Mr. Briſtow, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

"There is no Neceſſity to write to you, by way of Information, a Detail of my Sufferings; from common Report, and the Intelligence of thoſe who are about you, the Account of them will have reached your Ears; I will here relate a Part of them.

"After the Death of Sujah Dowlah, moſt of his ungrateful Servants were conſtantly labouring to gratify their Enmity; but finding, from the firm and ſincere Friendſhip, which ſubſiſted between me and the Engliſh, that the Accompliſhment of their Purpoſes was fruſtrated, they formed the Deſign of occaſioning a Breach in that Alliance, to enſure their own Succeſs. I muſt acquaint you, that my Son, Aſof ul Dowlah, had formerly threatened to ſeize my Jaghire; but upon producing the Treaty ſigned by you, and ſhewing it to Mr. Middleton, he interfered, and prevented the impending Evil. The Conſpirators now framed an Accuſation againſt me, of a Conduct which I never had conceived even in Idea, of rendering Aſſiſtance to Rajah Cheyt Sing. The Particulars are as follow: My Son, Aſoph ul Dowlah, and his Miniſters, with Troops, and a Train of Artillery, accompanied by Mr. Middleton, on the 16th of the Month of Mohurum, arrived at Fyzabad, and made a Demand of a Crore of Rupees. As my Inability to pay ſo vaſt a Sum was manifeſt, I produced the Treaty you ſigned and gave me; but to no Effect; their Hearts were determined upon Violence. I offered my Son, Aſoph ul Dowlah, whoſe Will is dearer to me than all my Riches, or even Life itſelf, whatever Money and Goods I was poſſeſſed of;

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 418.

but

but an amicable Adjuſtment ſeemed not worth accepting. He demanded the Delivering up the Fort, and the Recal of the Troops that were ſtationed for the preſerving the Peace of the City. To me Tumult and Diſcord appeared unneceſſary. I gave up theſe Points, upon which they ſeized my Head Eunuchs, Jewar Ally Cawn and Bahar Ally Cawn, and ſent them to Mr. Middleton. After having obliged them to ſign a Bond for Sixty Lacks of Rupees, they were thrown into Priſon, with Fetters about their Feet, and denied Food and Water. I, who had never, even in my Dreams, experienced ſuch an Oppreſſion, gave up all I had, to preſerve my Honour and Dignity. But this would not ſatisfy their Demands. They charged me with a Rupee and a Half Batta upon each Mohur; and on this Account they laid Claims on me to the Amount of Six Lacks ſome Thouſand Rupees, and ſent Major Gilpin to exact the Payment. Major Gilpin, according to Orders, at firſt was importunate; but being a Man of Experience, and of a benevolent Diſpoſition, when he was convinced of my Want of Means, he changed his Conduct, and was willing to apply to the Shroffs and Bankers, to lend me the Money. But with the Loſs of my Jaghire my Credit was ſunk. I could not raiſe the Sum. At laſt, feeling my helpleſs Situation, I collected my Wardrobe and Furniture, to the Amount of about Three Lacks of Rupees, beſides Fifty Thouſand Rupees which I borrowed from one Place or other, and ſent Major Gilpin with it to Lucknow. My Sufferings did not terminate here. The Diſturbances of Colonel Hannay and Mr. Gordon were made a Pretence for ſeizing my Jaghire. The State of the Matter is this. When Colonel Hannay was by Mr. Haſtings ordered to march to Benares, during the Troubles of Cheyt Sing, the Colonel, who had plundered the whole Country, was incapable of proceeding. From the Union of Thouſands of Zemindars, who had ſeized this favourable Opportunity, they haraſſed Mr. Gordon near Junivarra; and the Zemindars of that Place and Acberpore oppoſed his March from thence till he arrived near Tanda. As the Tanda Nulla, from its Overflowing, was difficult to croſs without a Boat, Mr. Gordon ſent to the Fouſdar to ſupply him. He replied, the Boats were all in the River; but would, according to Orders, aſſiſt him as ſoon as poſſible. Mr. Gordon's Situation would not admit of his waiting. He forded the Nulla upon his Elephant, and was hoſpitably entertained and protected by the Fouſdar for Six Days. In the mean Time, a Letter was received by me from Colonel Hannay, deſiring me to eſcort Mr. Gordon to Fyzabad. As my Friendſhip for the Engliſh was always ſincere, I readily complied, and ſent ſome Companies of Nejeebs to eſcort Mr. Gordon, and all his Effects, to Fyzabad; where, having provided for his Entertainment, I effected his Junction with Colonel Hannay. The Letter of Thanks I received from both theſe Gentlemen upon this Occaſion, are ſtill in my Poſſeſſion, Copies of which I gave in Charge to Major Gilpin to be delivered to Mr. Middleton, that he might forward them to the Governor General. To be brief, thoſe who have loaded me with Accuſations are now clearly convicted of Falſehood. But is it not extraordinary, that, notwithſtanding the Juſtneſs of my Cauſe, Nobody relieves my Misfortune? Why did Major Gilpin return without Effect?

" My Prayers have been conſtantly offered to Heaven for your Arrival: Report has announced it; for which Reaſon I have taken up the Pen, and requeſt you will not place implicit Confidence in my Accuſers; but weighing, in the Scale of Juſtice, their Falſehoods and my Repreſentations, you will exert your Influence, in putting a Period to the Misfortunes with which I am overwhelmed."

The Council for the Defendant requeſted the Houſe to obſerve, that they did not mean to admit the Exiſtence of the Letters now produced, but that they might be read in Evidence, as a written Paper, annexed to the Charge before the Houſe of Commons, upon which Mr. Haſtings had commented in his Defence: As explanatory therefore of his Defence, they might be read; but as Evidence of the Exiſtence of the Letters, they conceived the Managers for the Commons were not intitled to read them.

Read alſo, from the ſame Paper, the following Extracts:

" Copy of a Letter from Colonel Hannay to Jewar Ally Cawn and Bahar Ally Cawn.

" I had the Pleaſure to receive your friendly Letter, fraught with Benevolence; and whatever Favours you, my Friends, have been pleaſed to confer reſpecting Mr. Gordon, afforded me the greateſt Pleaſure.

" Placing a firm Reliance on your Friendſhip, I am in Expectation, that the aforeſaid Gentleman, with his Baggage, will arrive at Fyzabad in Safety, that the ſame may oblige and afford Satisfaction to me.

" A Letter for Mr. Gordon is incloſed to you; I am in Expectation of its being encloſed in a Cover to the Aumil of Saunda, to the End that the Aumil may forward it to the abovementioned Gentleman, and procure his Reply. Whenever the Anſwer arrives, let it be delivered to Hoolas Roy, who will forward it to me.

" Always rejoice me by a few Lines reſpecting your Health. Continue to honour me with your Correſpondence."

" Copy of a Letter from Colonel Hannay to Jewar and Bahar Ally Cawn.

" Cawn Saibury, indulgent Friends, remain under the Protection of God.

" Your friendly Letter, fraught with Kindneſs, accompanied by an honorary Letter from the Begum Saib, of exalted Dignity, and encloſed a Letter from Mr. Gordon, ſent through your Hiccarrahs, obliged and rejoiced me.

" With reſpect to what you communicate, regarding your not having received an Anſwer to your friendly Epiſtle, I became perfectly aſtoniſhed, as a Reply was written from Mohadree. It may be owing to the Danger of the Road that it never arrived, not to the ſmalleſt Neglect on my Side, or of mine.

" I now ſend two Letters to you, one by the Dawk People, and the ſecond by one of my Hircarrahs, who will preſent them to you, which you will certainly receive.

" I am extremely well contented and pleaſed with the Friendſhip you have ſhewn.

" You wrote me to remain perfectly eaſy concerning Mr. Gordon; verily from the Kindneſs of you, my indulgent Friends, my Heart is quite eaſy. You alſo obſerved and mentioned, that, as Mr. Gordon's coming with thoſe attached to him (probably his Sepoys and others) might be attended with Difficulty, if I approved, he ſhould be invited alone to Fyzabad: My Friends, I place my Expectation entirely upon your Friendſhips, and leave it to you to adopt the Manner in which the ſaid Gentleman may arrive, in Security, without Moleſtation, at Fyzabad; but at the ſame Time let the Plan be ſo managed, that it may not come to the Knowledge of any Zemindars; in this Caſe you are Men of Diſcernment. However he is to come to Fyzabad, extend your Aſſiſtance and Endeavours.

" It is probable, that the Begum Saib, of high Dignity, has received authentic Intelligence from the Camp at Benares; favour me with the Contents or Purport.

" From Mr. Gordon's Letter I underſtand, that Mirza Imaum Bakſh, whom you diſpatched thither (Saunda), has and ſtill continues to pay great Attention to that Gentleman, which affords me great Pleaſure.

" An Anſwer to the Begum's Letter is to be preſented; I alſo ſend a Letter for Mr. Gordon, which pleaſe to forward."

" An Addreſs from Colonel Hannay to the Begum.

" Begum Saib, of exalted Dignity and Generoſity, &c. whom God preſerve.

" Your exalting Letter, fraught with Grace and Benevolence, that through your unbounded Generoſity and Goodneſs, was ſent through Grace and Favour, I had the Honour to receive in a fortunate Moment; and whatever you were pleaſed to write reſpecting Mr. Gordon, ' that at this ' Time the ſhort ſighted and deluded Riots had carried their Diſturbances and Ravages beyond all ' Bounds, Mr. Gordon's coming with his whole People (or Adherents), might be attended with ' Difficulty; and therefore, if I choſe, he ſhould be invited to come alone." Now, as your Highneſs is the beſt Judge, your faithful Servant repoſeth his moſt unbounded Hopes and Expectation upon your Highneſs, that the aforeſaid Mr. Gordon may arrive at Fyzabad without any Apprehenſion or Danger, I ſhall be extremely honoured and obliged.

" Conſidering me in the Light of a Friend and faithful Servant, continue to honour and exalt me by your Letters.

" What further can I ſay?"

" Copy of an Addreſs from Mr. Gordon to the Begum.

" Begum Saib, of exalted Dignity and Generoſity, whom God preſerve.

" After preſenting the uſual Profeſſions of Servitude, &c. in the cuſtomary Manner, my Addreſs is preſented.

" Your gracious Letter, in Anſwer to the Petition of your Servant from Gooudah, exalted me. From the Contents, I became unſpeakably impreſſed with the Honour it conferred. May the Almighty protect that royal Purity, and beſtow Happineſs, Increaſe of Wealth, and Proſperity.

" The Welfare of your Servant is entirely owing to your Favour and Benevolence.

" A few Days have elapſed ſince I arrived at Gooudah with the Colonel Saib.

" This is preſented for your Highneſs's Information. I cheriſh Hopes from your Generoſity, that conſidering me in the Light of one of your Servants, always continue to exalt and honour me with your gracious Letters.

" May the Sun of Proſperity continually ſhine."

" Copy of a Letter to Mahumed Jewar Ally Cawn and Bahar Ally Cawn from Mr. Gordon.

" Sirs,

" My indulgent Friends remain under, &c. &c. &c. After Compliments, I have the Pleaſure to inform you, that Yeſterday having taken Leave of you, I paſſed the Night at Noorgunge, and next Morning about Ten or Eleven o'Clock, through your Favour and Benevolence, arrived ſafe at Gooudah. Mur Aboo Bukſh Zemindar and Mur Ruſtum Ally accompanied me.

" To what Extent can I prolong the Praiſes of you, my beneficent Friends. May the Supreme Being, for this benign compaſſionate humane Action, have you in his Keeping, and increaſe your Property, and ſpeedily grant me the Pleaſure of an Interview; until which Time continue to favour me with friendly Letters, and oblige me by any Commands in my Power to execute.

" May your Wiſhes be ever crowned with Succeſs.

" My Compliments, &c. &c. &c."

" Copy of a Letter from Colonel Hannay to Jewar Ally Cawn and Bahar Ally Cawn.

" Cawn Saib, my indulgent Friends, remain under the Protection of the Supreme Being.

" After Compliments, and ſignifying my earneſt Deſire of an Interview, I addreſs you.

" Your friendly Letter, fraught with Kindneſs, I had the Pleaſure to receive in a propitious Hour; and your inexpreſſible Kindneſs, in ſending for Mur Naſſar Ally with a Force to Taunda, for the Purpoſe of conducting Mr. Gordon with all his Baggage, who is now arrived at Fyzabad.

" This Event has afforded me the moſt exceſſive Pleaſure and Satisfaction. May the Omnipotence preſerve you, my ſtedfaſt firm Friends.

" The Pen of Friendſhip itſelf cannot ſufficiently expreſs your Generoſity and Benevolence, and that of the Begum, of high Dignity, who ſo graciouſly has intereſted herſelf in this Matter. Incloſed is an Addreſs for her, which pleaſe to forward. I hope from your Friendſhip, until we meet, you will continue to honour me with an Account of your Health and Welfare.

" What further can I write?"

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe they would next produce a Letter from the Bow Begum to Mr. Haſtings Eight Days before the ſeizing of her Treaſures, to prove that ſhe referred him to Captain Gordon, who was then with Mr. Haſtings, for any Explanation upon the Subject, and ſtated, that his Letter was entered, and admitted by Mr. Haſtings himſelf to be received at the Time it was written.

Read, the following Extract from Book 105, intituled, " Bengal Perſian Correſpondence," already delivered in.

" From the Mother of the Vizier.

" Received 6th January 1782.

" Par. 5. Our Situation is pretty well, and your good Health is conſtantly prayed for. I had ſent Behar Ally Khan to you; accordingly People invented a Falſehood, that Behar Ally Khan was gone to get the Deputyſhip of the Soubah, and ſome Perſons here were ſaying, " wherefore has ſhe ſent Behar Ally Khan to Calcutta, to the Nawab Amaud ud Dowlah; we will never permit the Affair to ſucceed:" And accordingly it has ſo happened; for they ſay that you alſo have not put your Seal to the Treaty; and the People here ſay, Why does the noble Lady correſpond with the Engliſh Gentlemen? On this Account I did not ſend a Letter at the Time when you came this Way. Now the State of Affairs here is thus: On the 27th, Zehedje Aſuph ud Dowlah Behader, without my Knowledge, ſent his own Aumils into my Jagheer. I accordingly wrote ſeveral Times to Mr. Middleton on this Buſineſs; that his Seal was to the Treaty, and Writing of Diſcharge, why did he not negociate in my Favour? Mr. Middleton replied, " The Nawab is the Maſter." I wrote frequently, but without Effect. Being helpleſs, I repreſent to you the State of my Affairs; that notwithſtanding the Exiſtence of this Treaty, I have been treated in this Manner. It is uſeleſs for me to ſtay here. Whatever is, is a Compact; whenever any one deviates from his Compact, he meets with no Credit for the Future; and the Light of mine Eyes, Aſuph ud Dowla, wrote to me, that he had ſent his own Aumils into my Jagheers, and would pay ready Money from his Treaſury. Reflect on my Security for his adhering to his future Engagements, from the Conſideration of his Conduct under his paſt Promiſes. I do not agree to his ready Money; let me have my Jagheer as formerly; otherwiſe, leaving this Place, I will wait on you at Benaris, and thence will go towards Shah Jehan Abad, becauſe he has not adhered to his Engagements. Send Letters to Aſuph ud Dowla, and to Mr. Middleton, and Huſſen Reza Khan, and Hyder Beg Khan, not to moleſt the Begum's Jagheer, and to let them remain as formerly, with the Begum's Aumils. And it is here ſuſpected of me, that my Aumil plundered the Property of Mr. John Gordon: The Caſe is this; Mr. John Gordon arrived at Tandah, a Jagheer of mine, fighting with the Zemindars of Akberpoor, which belongs to the Khalſeh. Accordingly, Mr. John Gordon having come to Tandah, my Aumil performed whatever appertained to his Duty. Afterwards Mr. John Gordon wrote to me to ſend my People, that he might come with them to Fyzabad. I ſent People accordingly to bring Mr. John Gordon, and the ſaid Gentleman arrived here in complete Safety; and Mr John Gordon is now preſent, aſk him yourſelf of theſe Matters. Mr. John Gordon will repreſent Matters in Detail; the Truth will then become known, how ill founded the Calumny is. Should you come here for a few Days, it will be very well, and if not, I will

will wait on you; and your coming here is very neceſſary, that all my Affairs may become arranged; and ſend a ſpeedy Anſwer to my Letters, and Letter to Aſuph ud Dowlah and Mr. Middleton, and Huſſen Reza Khan, and Hyder Beg Khan, on the Subject of ceaſing to moleſt my Jagheers, and ſend me conſtantly News of your Health, for my Peace of Mind depends thereon."

To prove the Situation and the Reſources of the Rajah Cheyt Sing, at the Time the Begums reſcued Captain Gordon,

Read, the following Extract from the Benares Narrative, beginning at Page 44 of the ſame.

(a) " Troops entertained after the Arrival of Cheit Sing at Lutteefpoor.

Firſt, entertained at Lutteefpoor, Matchlock and Sword Men —	2,000	
Second, Nujjeeb, Sword Men from Lucknow — —	1,000	
Total		3,000

" Troops aſſembled from different Places.

Horſe and Foot with Juggut Dew Sing — — —	500
Matchlock Men arrived with Bukht Sing, by Order from the Rajah —	1,200
With Gomaun Sing, ſent for by the Rajah, Matchlock Men —	500
From the Fougedar of Biddevee arrived, Matchlock Men —	1,000
Rajepoots of the Tribe of Rugbunſee from Kurraukut — —	3,000
Arrived with Dillon Sing, Fougedar of Mukurun Badſhahpoor, Matchlock Men — — — —	1,500
Cavalry and Infantry arrived with Rezza Cooli Khan, from Mirzapoor	300
Rajepoots collected from Agoree and Purwah, by Dia Lutchoo —	500
Of the Tribe or Caſt of Khummaur, collected by Soojaun Sing —	1,000
Sword and Matchlock Men with Ramjeeawun — —	2,000
	11,500

" To which are to be added, Huſbandmen and Adventurers, who took up Arms voluntarily, making the foregoing Number amount to near Forty thouſand.

" Theſe Forces were divided between Lutteefpoor, Pateeta, and Ramnagur. The beſt reputed of them were at Pateeta, and the great Maſs, compoſing the laſt Corps, with a Part of the others, at Lutteefpoor with the Rajah, who had fixed his Reſidence at that Place ſince his Flight from Shewallah Ghaut.

" Before I proceed, it may not be improper to ſtate the other Reſources on which he, not very unreaſonably, depended for lengthening the War, if not for Succeſs in the Courſe of it.

" Firſt, his Fortreſſes; of which there are many, and ſome of conſiderable Extent and Strength, erected in various Parts of the Zemeedary. Of theſe the Two Principal are Bidjeygur and Lutteefpoor. Ramnagur ſcarcely deſerves to be named with them; and Pateeta has been rendered conſiderable only by its having been a capital Scene of his Oppoſition, and of our Victories.

" Bidjeygur is a Fort erected on the ſolid Rock of a Hill, riſing to the Height of 745 perpendicular Feet from the level Ground. It lies about Fifty Miles in a South-Eaſt Direction from Chunar. It was the Depoſitory of all his and his Father's Treaſures.

" Lutteefpoor is a large Fort, built with Stone, and ſurrounded by Hills, and, either from Neglect or Deſign, obſtructed from diſtant View by Trees and thick Shrubs ſurrounding it. It lies about 14 Miles Eaſtward from Chunar.

" Pateeta is a very large Town, ſurrounded by a Rampart of Earth, extending to a great Diſtance beyond it to the Hills adjoining. The Fort itſelf is a ſmall ſquare Houſe of Stone, itſelf fortified with Four round Towers, and incloſed with a high Rampart, and a Ditch which is in moſt Parts broad and deep. Its greateſt Advantage againſt an Enemy, to whom Delay was Defeat, was that it was inviſible to its Aſſailants.

" Ramnagur has been deſcribed already. The other Forts, whatever their Conſequence under a different Train of Succeſſes might have been, are of none to the Events of this Narrative.

" His next great Reſource was his Wealth; on which he looked, and thought himſelf invincible; an Expreſſion which I borrow from one of the meaneſt of his Dependants. It is credibly affirmed, that he inherited from his Father, Bulwant Sing, a complete Crore of Rupees, to which it is believed that he made conſiderable Additions.

" The Diſtreſſes of our Government, and the Power and Number of its Enemies, may alſo be reckoned, though negative, yet amongſt his Reſources. The reſt were deluſory, which the falſe and violent Counſels of his Brother Soojaun Sing, and his Buxey Suddanund, impoſed on his Inexperience, and the Pliancy and Aptitude of his Diſpoſition."

(a) Vide ſupra, Page 126.

To

To prove the Situation of Mr. Haſtings at, and after, the above mentioned Conduct of the Begums towards Captain Gordon,

Read, the following Extract from Mr. Haſtings's Second Defence.

" It is well known, that, by the Example and at the Inſtigation of Rajah Cheit Sing, the Zemindar of Benares, the Inhabitants of that Diſtrict revolted from our Government, and continued in a State of Rebellion from the 22d of Auguſt to the 22d of September 1781. During this ſhort, but important Period, I was confined to the Fortreſs and Plain of Chunar; and in a Situation which, in the Apprehenſion of many, portended certain Deſtruction to myſelf, and my ſmall Party."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next produce ſeveral Letters from Captain M'Donald, to the ſame Point.

Read, from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book, A. already delivered in, beginning at Page 100 of the ſame Book, the following Extract of a Letter from Major Naylor to Captain Jaques, dated Camp, Fyzabad, February 8th 1782.

" To Captain Jaques, commanding the 2d Battalion, 20th Regiment.

" Sir,

" Hoolaſs Roy, the Perſon appointed by the Nabob for tranſacting the Buſineſs for which the Troops are required here, will hold conſtant Communication and Intercourſe with you; and as he is inſtructed and acquainted with the beſt Method to accompliſh this Buſineſs, Mr. Middleton requeſts implicit Attention to be paid to what he may from Time to Time repreſent reſpecting the Priſoners, or the Buſineſs in which he is employed. In ſhort, as he is the Perſon nominated by the Nabob, he wiſhes Hoolaſs Roy to be conſidered in the ſame light as if he himſelf was preſent.

(Signed at the End) " N. Taylor,
Major, Commanding at Fazabad."

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, Page 124, Letter from Captain Jaques to Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire.

" Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" I am this inſtant honoured with your Letter of Yeſterday's Date: Immediately upon the Receipt of it, I ſent for your Agent Hooloſs Roy, who informs me, that Doondey Khawn, the Perſon you wrote about, has left Fyzabad four Days ago, and that it is ſuppoſed he has taken the Janſey Road.

" Upon my aſking him his Reaſon for not informing me of this Matter upon his firſt obtaining Knowledge of it, he gave me to underſtand, that he received no Orders from Mr. Johnſon, upon his leaving Lucknow, either to inform me of any Thing that happened, or that he knew he was to have any Intercourſe with me.

" I have thought it neceſſary to deſire Hooloſs Roy to communicate any Intelligence of Conſequence to me, from Time to Time, that he may obtain.

" I have the Honour to be,
" Sir,
" Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

" Palace, Fyzabad,
March 19th 1782,
12 o'Clock at Night.

(Signed) " Leo^d Jaques, Captain
2d Batt^n 20^th Reg^t of Sepoys."

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, Page 79, Letter from Mr. William Davy to Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire.

" Sir,

" I am directed by the Governor General to inform you that the Bearer, Hoolaus Raie, who attended here by your Orders, has been examined as to the Points on which he could give Information, and has now received Permiſſion to return.

" December 21ſt 1781, " I am, Sir,
Benares. " Your moſt obedient Servant,
(Signed) " W^m Davy,
" Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire. " P. Perſ^n Tranſl."

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired NATHANIEL MIDDLETON Eſquire might be called; and being called in, he was examined as follows:

Q. To what Period do you confine your Idea of the Rebellion of the Begums?
A. To the latter End of September 1781.

Q. During

Q. During what Period of Time is it that you ſtate the Begums were doing what you call Acts of Rebellion?

A. From the firſt breaking out of the Inſurrection at Benares to the End of the Month of September, or nearly the End of the Month of September.

Q. Did you ſuppoſe the Rebellion to have ceaſed when you left Chunar with the Nabob?

A. I ſuppoſed it had.

Q. Do you mean that you heard of no Hoſtilities whatever upon the Part of the Begums afterwards, either againſt the Nabob or the Engliſh Government?

A. Upon the Reſumption of the Jaghires, I conceive that the Begums did commit Acts of Hoſtility, at leaſt, that they threatened Hoſtilities: I cannot ſay they actually committed any Acts of Hoſtility, but they threatened them.

Q. Did you enter in your Letter Book the Whole of the Correſpondence reſpecting this ſuppoſed Rebellion of the Begums, either with Mr. Haſtings or Colonel Hannay; or any other Perſon?

A. The Whole of my Publick Correſpondence.

Q. Did you not repeat the Subſtance of many Letters which you had received from Colonel Hannay, in a Letter of yours, dated the 19th of October, to Mr. Haſtings?

A. I recollect making Extracts of ſeveral Letters which I received from Colonel Hannay, in a Letter to Mr. Haſtings; but I cannot ſay that that was exactly the Date. I recollect making Extracts of the Letters in my Poſſeſſion from Colonel Hannay, and making it a Letter to Mr. Haſtings.

Then a Book was ſhewn to the Witneſs, and he was aſked,

Q. Is this one of the Letter Books upon which you ſo entered your Publick Correſpondence?

A. Yes; this is a Letter Book in which I entered Letters that were received by me in my Publick Capacity.

Then the following Paſſage was read to the Witneſs, from Page 86 of the ſaid Book:

"I was favoured with yours of the 3d this Morning; and have the Pleaſure to repeat to you, "that every Thing is quiet in this Pergunna of Nabob Gunge."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Does that Book contain Copies of Letters you ſent?

A. No; this Book does not.

Q. Does the Letter referred to by the Expreſſion "I repeat to you," &c. appear in that Book?

A. The Letter is from Major Naylor to me: The Expreſſion is this—"I have the Pleaſure to "repeat to you every Thing is quiet in this Pergunna of Nabob Gunge."

Q. Do any of thoſe Letters from Colonel Hannay, the Contents of which you afterwards recapitulate in your Letter of the 19th of October 1781, to Mr. Haſtings, appear in your Book?

A. I believe they do not: I do not recollect they do.

Q. Why do not they appear in your Letter Book?

A. I believe they were all private Letters—familiar Letters—in which he occaſionally ſpoke of the Circumſtances relative to the Begums.

Q. Was not the Matter communicated to you by Colonel Hannay in thoſe Letters, made the Ground of the whole Proceedings againſt the Begums, in the Order received from Mr. Haſtings to ſeize the Treaſures?

A. I apprehend not: Every Thing contained in thoſe Letters was afterwards confirmed by Colonel Hannay, upon Oath, before Sir Elijah Impey—the principal Matters: I will not ſay, every Thing; but the principal Facts related in thoſe Letters, were confirmed by Colonel Hannay, upon Oath, before Sir Elijah Impey.

Q. Then the Matter contained in thoſe Letters, not depending upon the Evidence of the Letters alone, but confirmed on Oath, was made the whole Ground of your proceeding againſt the Begums?

A. Not the whole, I conceive; that muſt have been ſome Part of the Ground of the Proceedings.

Q. Had you not received Intimation from Mr. Haſtings of his Pleaſure, that the Treaſure of the Begums ſhould be ſeized, before Colonel Hannay made any ſuch Affidavit?

A. I have not a very perfect Recollection of the Time of the firſt Communication of Mr. Haſtings's Pleaſure relative to the ſeizing the Treaſures. I remember having Converſation with Sir Elijah Impey, whilſt he was at Lucknow; but certainly I never conceived that Propoſition

came

came from Mr. Haſtings: My Idea was, it was a Propoſition from the Nabob, though not actually or formally made to Mr. Haſtings; and I can take upon me to affirm, it had been frequently mentioned in Converſation with the Nabob or his Miniſters, long before Sir Elijah Impey arrived in Lucknow. Upon looking over the Correſpondence, I find, that the firſt Propoſition made to Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject, was dated the 2d of December 1781; the firſt Propoſition from myſelf.

Q. The firſt Propoſition from yourſelf?
A. The firſt Propoſition from myſelf appears to be dated the 2d of December 1781.

Q. Was Mr. Haſtings's Anſwer to that Letter of the 2d of December, the firſt Communication which you received from Mr. Haſtings himſelf upon that Subject?
A. No, certainly not: I have before ſaid, I recollect very well having ſome Converſation with Sir Elijah Impey upon the Subject while he was at Lucknow, which was the End of November.

Q. Did not Sir Elijah Impey bring the Propoſition to you from Mr. Haſtings to this Effect: That the Nabob ſhould propoſe to Mr. Haſtings to ſeize the Treaſure of the Begums?
A. The Recollection I have of Sir Elijah Impey's Communication to me was this: that Mr. Haſtings conſidered the Conduct of the Begums to have forfeited their Claims to the Company's Protection; and that if the Nabob ſhould be diſpoſed to ſeize the Begums Treaſures as the Treaſures of the State, Mr. Haſtings would not obſtruct him? As far as I can charge my Memory with it, that was the Propoſition of Sir Elijah Impey's Communication.

Q. Did you ever make any Communication of any Sort reſpecting the ſeizing the Treaſures to Mr. Haſtings, prior to Sir Elijah Impey's Arrival at Lucknow?
A. No, certainly not.

Q. Was not your Letter of the 2d of December a publick Letter to Mr. Haſtings?
A. I do not recollect: I beg Leave to refer to the Letter itſelf.

Q. Do you remember when you received an Anſwer to your Letter of the 2d of December 1781?
A. I would refer to the Letter.

Then a Book was ſhewn to the Witneſs, and he was aſked,

Q. When did you receive the Anſwer to that Letter, whether it was publick, or whether it was private?
A. I believe Mr. Haſtings's Anſwer was upon the 26th of December.

Q. Whether this Paſſage in your Letter of the 6th of December 1781—"Your Pleaſure reſpecting "the Begums, I have learnt from Sir Elijah Impey, and the Meaſure you propoſe ſhall ſoon "follow the Reſumption of the Jaghires," relates to the Propoſition verbally communicated to you by Sir Elijah Impey from Mr. Haſtings?
A. I have no Doubt it did.

Q. In your Letter of the 2d of December 1781, there is this Paſſage—"the Nabob writes you "himſelf upon the Subject, you have his Letter incloſed:" Did you ever ſee that Letter from the Nabob?
A. No, I do not know that I did; I believe I did not: But I underſtood the Purport of it.

Q. From whom did you receive it?
A. Either from the Nabob or his Miniſter, I cannot ſay which: probably from the Miniſter.

Q. Do you know why that Letter has never appeared?
A. I do not.

Q. Did you conſider the Reſiſtance to the Reſumption of the Jaghires as any Ground for the Determination to ſeize the Treaſures of the Begums?
A. I did not; the actual Reſiſtance to the Reſumption of the Jaghires was after the Meaſure of ſeizing the Treaſures had been determined upon.

Q. Had any Meaſures been taken, or any Notice given, or any Perwanna iſſued for ſeizing the Jaghires, prior to the 2d of December 1781?
A. I do not know that any Steps had actually been taken, that any poſitive Acts had been done, but no doubt the Communication had been made; it was generally known the Jaghires were to be reſumed previous to that Period.

Q. Do you mean that it was known that the Jaghires were to be reſumed before the Nabob had conſented to the Meaſure.
A. I believe it was a Meaſure which it was ſuppoſed was to take place equally, whether the Nabob agreed to it or not, whether it was conſiſtent with the Nabob's Wiſhes or not.

Then

Then a Letter, dated 6th December 1781, was ſhewn to the Witneſs, and the following Paſſage read to him.

" Finding the Nabob wavering about the Reſumption of the Jaghires, I this Day, in the Pre-
" ſence of and with the Miniſters Concurrence, ordered the neceſſary Perwannas to be written to the
" ſeveral Aumils for that Purpoſe; and it was my firm Reſolution to have diſpatched them this
" Evening, with proper People to ſee them punctually and implicitly carried into Execution (*a*)."

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Did you write that Letter?

A. Yes; I have no Doubt of it.

Q. Did you not afterwards actually iſſue your Perwanna, againſt the Nabob's Will, in order forcibly to take Poſſeſſion of the Jaghires of the Begums?

A. The Perwannas were written, but not iſſued; they were to have been accompanied by Perwannas to a ſimilar Purport from the Nabob's Miniſtry.

Read, from Book 82, Page 119, the following Extracts of Letters from Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire to Warren Haſtings Eſquire, in the Appendix to a Conſultation of 12th June 1783:

" Fort William, the 12th June 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon,
John Stables,
} Eſquires.

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

" My dear Sir, Lucknow, 6th December 1781.

" Finding the Nabob wavering in his Determination about the Reſumption of the Jagheers, I this Day, in Preſence of, and with the Miniſters Concurrence, ordered the neceſſary Perwannahs to be written to the ſeveral Aumils for that Purpoſe; and it was my firm Reſolution to have diſpatched them this Evening, with proper People to ſee them punctually and implicitly carried into Execution; but, before they were all tranſcribed, I received a Meſſage from the Nabob, who had been informed by the Miniſter of the Reſolution I had taken, entreating that I would withhold the Perwannahs until To-morrow Morning, when he would attend me, and afford me Satisfaction on this Point. As the Loſs of a few Hours, in the Diſpatch of the Perwannahs, appeared of little Moment; and as it is poſſible the Nabob, ſeeing that the Buſineſs will at all Events be done, may make it an Act of his own, I have conſented to indulge him in his Requeſt; but be the Reſult of our Interview whatever it may, nothing ſhall prevent the Orders being iſſued To-morrow, either by him or myſelf, with the Concurrence of the Miniſters. Your Pleaſure reſpecting the Begums I have learnt from Sir Elijah, and the Meaſure heretofore propoſed will ſoon follow the Reſumption of the Jagheers; from both, or indeed from the former alone, I have no Doubt of the complete Liquidation of the Company's Balance (*b*).

" I am, &c.

" Nath. Middleton."

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

" My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 7th December 1781.

" I had the Honour to addreſs you Yeſterday, informing you of the Steps I had taken in regard to the Reſumption of the Jagheers. This Morning the Vizier came to me, according to his Agreement, but ſeemingly without any Intention or Deſire to yield me Satisfaction on the Subject under Deſcription; for, after a great Deal of Converſation, conſiſting, on his Part, of triſling Evaſion and puerile Excuſes for withholding his Aſſent to the Meaſures, tho' at the ſame Time profeſſing the moſt implicit Submiſſion to your Wiſhes, I found myſelf without any other Reſource than the One of employing that excluſive Authority with which I conſider your Inſtructions to veſt me. I therefore declared to the Nabob, in Preſence of the Miniſter and Mr. Johnſon, who I deſired might bear Witneſs of the Converſation, that I conſtrued the Rejection of the Meaſure propoſed as a Breach of his ſolemn Promiſe to you, and an Unwillingneſs to yield that Aſſiſtance, which was evidently in his Power, towards liquidating his heavy accumulating Debt to the Company, and that I muſt in conſequence determine, in my own Juſtification, to iſſue immediately the Perwannahs, which had only been withheld in the ſanguine Hope, that he would be prevailed upon to make that his own Act, which nothing but the moſt urgent Neceſſity could force me to make mine. He left me without any Reply, but afterwards ſent for his Miniſter, and authorized

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

(*b*) Vide Appendix, ibid.

him to give me Hopes that my Requiſition would be complied with, on which I expreſſed my Satisfaction, but declared that I could admit of no further Delays, and unleſs I received his Excellency's formal Acquieſcence before the Evening, I ſhould then moſt aſſuredly iſſue my Perwannahs, which I have accordingly done, not having had any Aſſurances from his Excellency that could juſtify a further Suſpenſion. I ſhall, as ſoon as poſſible, inform you of the Effect of the Perwannahs, which, in many Parts, I am apprehenſive, it will be found neceſſary to enforce with Military Aid; I am not however entirely without Hopes, that the Nabob, when he ſees the Inefficacy of further Oppoſition, may alter his Conduct, and prevent the Confuſion and diſagreeable Conſequences which would be too likely to reſult from the Proſecution of a Meaſure of ſuch Importance without his Concurrence. His Excellency talks of going to Fayzabad for the Purpoſe heretofore mentioned, in Three or Four Days; I wiſh he may be ſerious in this Intention, and you may reſt aſſured I ſhall ſpare no Pains to keep him to it.

" I am, &c.
(Signed) Nath. Middleton."

Q. Do you mean, that you did not actually iſſue your Perwannah?
A. The Perwannahs, I believe, never went further than the Miniſter's Hands. Upon reading this Letter, I have a Recollection that ſome of the Perwannahs were ſealed, and given to the Miniſter who was to diſpatch them; but they never went beyond his Hands.

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, 82, Page 125, the following Letter, from Mr. Middleton to the Governor General.

" The Honourable W. Haſtings.

" My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 9th Dec. 1781.

" I had the Honour to addreſs you on the 7th inſtant, informing you of the Converſation which had paſſed between the Nabob and me, on the Subject of reſuming the Jagheers, and the Step I had taken in conſequence. His Excellency appeared to be very much hurt and incenſed at the Meaſure, and loudly complains of the Treachery of his Miniſters; firſt, in giving you any Hopes that ſuch a Meaſure would be adopted; and, ſecondly, in their promiſing me their whole Support in carrying it through. But, as I apprehend, rather than ſuffer it to appear that the Point had been carried in Oppoſition to his Will, he at length yielded a nominal Acquieſcence, and has this Day iſſued his own Perwannah to that Effect; declaring, however, at the ſame Time, both to me and his Miniſters, that it is an Act of Compulſion. I hope to be able, in a few Days, in conſequence of this Meaſure, to tranſmit you an Account of the actual Value and Produce of the Jagheers, oppoſed to the nominal Amount at which they ſtand rated on the Books of the Sircar.

" I have the Pleaſure to inform you, the Nabob ſtill adheres to his Reſolution of proceeding immediately to Fayzabad, for the Purpoſes already mentioned to you, and will, I believe, depart in Three Days from this Date. I entertain the moſt flattering and ſanguine Expectations from his Journey; and we ſhall not be kept long in Suſpence concerning the Reſult, as he is convinced of the Danger and Impropriety of Delay."

Then the Witneſs was aſked;

Q. Are not all theſe Parts of your private Correſpondence with Mr. Haſtings?
A. They are.

Q. Where are Mr. Haſtings's private Anſwers to thoſe Letters?
A. They are to be found in the ſame Book, I believe; If there were any Anſwers written, they are in the Books; all the Letters, to my Knowledge, received and written upon this Subject, are in thoſe Books.

Q. Look at that Book now before you, and account, if you can, why there are ſo many looſe Pages in that Book; and why there are Three Series of Pages; not as in the other Books, where the Pages are carried on from the Beginning to the End; and that upon Paper evidently of a different Sort: Firſt of all, do you obſerve any looſe Leaves?
A. Yes, there are.

Q. Do you obſerve any Interruption of the Series of the Papers?
A. Thoſe Letters are not entered regularly by any Means: The Interruption that appears in the Pages is, that the Letters were copied upon different Sections of Paper at different Times; and they are bound up, as the Sections were, without any general paging of the Whole.

Q. Do you obſerve any Difference of Paper in particular Parts of the Book?
A. Yes, there are certainly different Papers. I muſt obſerve, that I never delivered theſe Books as complete Copies of my Correſpondence; they were ſuch Copies as I happened to have in my Poſſeſſion. A great many of the Copies of Letters had been taken, in a great Hurry, upon my leaving

leaving Lucknow; and I mentioned that to the Houſe of Commons at the Time they were delivered: I did not deliver them as complete Copies; but I mentioned at the Time, that I thought they would be found very defective.

Q. Do you remember when they were bound up in the Form of Books?
A. They were bound up in Calcutta.

Q. Do you mean, you carried down your Correſpondence to Calcutta, and that there that Correſpondence was copied, and then bound in thoſe Books?
A. It was bound up in Calcutta, and copied at Lucknow; ſome were copied while I ſtaid at Lucknow, and ſome of the others were ſent even long after I arrived at Calcutta.

Q. Whether any of them were copied at Calcutta?
A. The laſt Leaves ſeem to have been copied at Calcutta.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Is it only in one Part of the Book where the Change of Paper is, or different Parts?
A. It is of different Kinds, in different Parts of the Book.

Q. Are we to underſtand, in point of Fact, that thoſe were not the Books in which your Correſpondence was copied at Lucknow; your Office Letter Books?
A. My Copy Books of Letters were left at Lucknow; complete Copies of my Correſpondence were left in my Office at Lucknow; thoſe are Copies I had taken for my own private Satisfaction. Compleat Copies of all my Correſpondence will be found in the Reſident's Office at Lucknow—Copies of Letters received.

Q. (*from a Lord*). Are thoſe Copies of Copies, or Copies of Originals?
A. Copies of Originals in ſome Inſtances, I cannot ſay in others; they are not the official Books of my Office; and the Reaſon, I apprehend, of ſeveral looſe Leaves being here is, they were Letters I received at Calcutta, after I had quitted my Office at Lucknow; and ſome even from Perſons in Calcutta.

Q. Then thoſe Books do not contain Copies of all the Correſpondence in your publick official Letter Book at Lucknow?
A. I rather apprehend they do not; they were copied in a great Hurry, and I have no doubt a great many Letters muſt have been omitted in the Hurry of copying.

Q. Who ſuperintended the Copying of thoſe Letters, and directed what ſhould be inſerted in thoſe Books, and what not?
A. It was my Wiſh to have compleat Copies of the Whole, but I had not Time to get the Whole while I ſtaid at Lucknow; many Copies of Letters were ſent to me after I quitted my Office; they are in different Hands, by ſeveral Aſſiſtants and Writers that I employed at Lucknow.

Q. Were there any Directions given for a Selection?
A. No, none.

Q. Are you ſure that you copied into thoſe Books all the Letters you received from Lucknow that were ſent down to Calcutta?
A. I believe I have, but I cannot abſolutely aſſert it as a Fact, becauſe being in looſe Leaves, ſome may have been loſt; I cannot ſay I have, or have not; I certainly meant to include in them all the Letters I received from Lucknow.

Q. Were not ſome original Letters tranſmitted to you from Lucknow?
A. After my Departure from Lucknow, ſome original Letters were written to me, undoubtedly; but no original Letters were ſent from my Office at Lucknow to me at Calcutta.

Q. Did you look over the whole Correſpondence tranſmitted to you from Lucknow before you cauſed the Letters to be bound up?
A. No, I do not believe I did; they were not bound up by me, they were bound up by Mr. Johnſon, who had a Perſon employed in binding them for ſeveral Days.

Q. Then to your own Knowledge you cannot aſſert whether any Letters were, or were not, omitted in the binding up?
A. I certainly cannot; but I have no Reaſon to believe, that any one Letter could poſſibly be withheld from Deſign.

Then a Book was ſhewn to the Witneſs, and he was aſked;

Q. Whether a Number of Pages are not torn out at a very critical Part of this Correſpondence, the Pages beginning at N° 1. afterwards; the Letter Book is marked D?
A. This is in the ſame State as the others, with a Number of looſe Letters and Pages which were copied in Calcutta.

Q. The

Q. The Queſtion put to you is, whether you obſerve in that Book, that any, and what Number of Pages, ſubſequently to the binding up, have been torn out, both at the Beginning and the End?

A. It appears to be very incomplete.

Q. Do the Pages of that Book appear to go in a regular Series ſo far as is left of it?

A. They do.

Q. What is the Firſt Page mentioned there?

A. Page 1.

Q. Can you account for thoſe Leaves having been evidently torn out at the Beginning and End of that Book?

A. It is impoſſible for me to judge; I cannot take upon me to ſay any of them have been torn out.

Q. There are Pages looſe?

A. Yes.

Q. Is there any Mark upon thoſe looſe Pages, that looks as if they had been bound with the reſt?

A. No, I do not believe there is.

Q. Look at the Book, and ſay, whether it appears to you the Book has originally been a larger Book?

A. It does appear ſo.

Then the Book was brought to the Table, and inſpected by the Houſe.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Whether, when the Nabob aſſented to ſeizing the Treaſures, he did not aſſent to it as an Alternative, in order to be releaſed from being preſſed on the Part of the Britiſh Government to reſume the Jagheers?

A. I believe he did mention it as an Alternative. His Expreſſion was, that if it was meant to enable him to pay his Debt to the Company, it would be better effected, by taking his hereditary Treaſures from the Begums. I believe that is the Expreſſion.

Q. Did you make the Propoſition to the Nabob, or did the Nabob propoſe it to you as an Alternative?

A. The ſeizing of the Treaſures?

Q. Yes.

A. I have ſaid he did propoſe it as an Alternative.

Q. Did you acquaint Mr. Haſtings with that?

A. I wrote to Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject; but I wiſh to refer to the Letter.

Read, the following Letter from Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire to Warren Haſtings Eſquire, from the Appendix to a Conſultation of the 12th June 1783, from Book 82, already delivered in, beginning at Page 108 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 12th June 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;

Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon,
John Stables,
} Eſquires.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings.

" My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 2d December 1781.

" I had Yeſterday the Honour of informing you of the Meſſage I ſent to the Nabob through the Miniſter reſpecting the Jagheers, to which his Excellency this Morning returned me a Reply, purporting, that, if the Meaſure propoſed was intended to procure the Payment of his Balance due to the Company, he could better and more expeditiouſly effect that Object, by taking from his Mother what ſhe is very able to ſpare, and what he has an undoubted Right, as he conceives, to exact from her. The preſent Debt to the Company, as he with Truth obſerves, is a great Part handed down from his Father, and the Funds from which he might have been enabled to liquidate it, it is notorious were withheld from him by the Begum on the late Nabob's Death; that, according to the Laws of the Koran, and the invariable Cuſtom of the Country, he is juſtly entitled to the whole Eſtate and Treaſures of his Father, and could legally demand their being put in his Poſſeſſion; but that the Sum he deſires to take from his Mother (about Sixty Lacks) bears no Sort of Proportion to the immenſe Wealth which fell into her Hands on the Death of his Father,

Father, nor would it bear at all hard upon her, as he knows how much her Treasures exceed that Sum. All therefore that he asks, is, not to be interrupted in recovering a Part of his hereditary Right, by which he will be enabled to discharge immediately the Whole of his Debt to the Company.

" This, my dear Sir, is a flattering Proposition; and, as to the Point of Right, admitting it to be less clear and defined than the Nabob chuses to consider it, you may possibly be of Opinion, that the Conduct of the Begums on the late Disturbances at Benares, as set forth in the several Testimonies laid before you, has forfeited any Claim they might originally have had to the Protection and Mediation of the Company; and further, that it may not be political, or yet perfectly safe, to trust them any longer with such powerful Means of promoting an Opposition to our Interests.

" For my own Part, I am so well persuaded of the Disaffection of the Begums, particularly the present Nabob's Mother, to our Cause, and of their Promptitude to unite in any Measure to distress us, that I could very easily reconcile it to my Conscience to assist the Nabob, instead of obstructing him, in wresting from them every Benefit they enjoy beyond a decent Maintenance;—however, this is only my own Opinion, and by no Means meant to influence yours. The Nabob writes you himself on this Subject, and you have his Letter inclosed. Neither he nor I expect that you should give a formal Sanction to the Measures proposed: It will be sufficient that you but hint your Opinion upon it, and enable me to inform his Excellency, whether you would, or would not, oppose his Design. Let me entreat you therefore, my dear Sir, to favour me with a Line by the Return of the Dauk, and if your Sentiments should happen to accord with my own, I doubt not but I should be able to congratulate you in a very short Space of Time upon the Remittance of a handsome Sum to the Presidency.

" I am, &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

" P. S. Whatever may be your Resolution upon the Subject of this Letter, it will be expedient to keep it secret. The Resumption of the Jagheers it is necessary to suspend until I have your Sentiments on this Letter."

Then the following Question was put to the Witness:

Q. Did you at this Time consider the English Guarantee as withdrawn from the Begums?

A. At this Time it was not formally withdrawn; I did not understand it to be formally withdrawn at this Time.

Q. Explain what you mean by formally: When was it formally withdrawn?

A. Mr. Hastings, at that Time, had not expressed his formal Acquiescence to the Nabob's Proposal.

Q. Do you know when that Acquiescence was signified?

A. Upon the Twenty-sixth of December.

Q. Did you consider that as a formal Withdrawing?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. You say you consider the Letter of Mr. Hastings, of the Twenty-sixth of December, as a formal Withdrawing of it; and you did not consider it as a formal Withdrawing before that Time?

A. No, as far as I could judge I did not; Mr. Hastings's first Letter is dated the Twenty-sixth of December; in that he says, " I approve of the Nabob's Resolution to deprive the Begums of their Treasure."

Q. You do not remember any former Letter, in which he expresses the same Approbation?

A. Not before this.

Q. Did you then consider the Guarantee as in Force, when you parted from Mr. Hastings, after signing the Treaty of Chunar?

A. I did.

Q. Whether you had any Reason to believe, that Mr. Hastings considered the Guarantee as waste Paper, at the Time he signed the Treaty of Chunar?

A. If I might venture an Opinion upon the Subject, I should suppose he did not consider it in that Light intirely, or he would not have provided an Equivalent for the Jaghires, when they should be resumed.

Q. But had you any Means of knowing from him, or from any Communication made by him, in what View he did consider it at the Time?

A. No.

Then

Then the following Paſſage from Mr. Haſtings's Defence was read:

" The two diſtinct Acts, of reſuming the Jaghires, and ſeizing the Treaſures, are confounded, and improperly made to originate from one and the ſame Cauſe, viz. the Defection of the Begums in the Inſurrection at Benares. At the Time that the Reſumption of the Jaghires was reſolved on, the Conduct of the Begums, though ſtrongly ſuſpected, was not ſufficiently aſcertained, to juſtify depriving them of Jaghires held under the Pledge of the Company, without an Equivalent, and accordingly a full Compenſation was ſtipulated. Their Conduct, in openly and moſt violently oppoſing, by armed Force, the Nabob's Orders for the Reſumption of the Jaghires, though they were not to be Loſers by it; their exciting their Agents, and other Jagheerdars, to unite in forcible Reſiſtance; and, laſtly, the ſubſequent Information which was obtained, of their Zeal and Activity in ſupporting the Rebellion of Rajah Cheit Sing, ſpreading its Conſequences through the Nabob's Dominions, for the declared Purpoſe of Extirpation, were the Grounds of withdrawing the Company's Guarantee (*a*)."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Whether you conſidered the Conduct of the Begums, in reſiſting the Reſumption of the Jaghires, as a Ground for determining to confiſcate their Treaſures?
A. No, I certainly did not.

Q. For what Purpoſe did you go to Fyzabad with the Nabob in January?
A. I went in Conſequence of the Nabob's Requiſition, and Mr. Haſtings's Order, to be preſent at ſeizing the Treaſures; and to aſſiſt the Nabob, if neceſſary, in wreſting from his Mother the Treaſures he conſidered as the Treaſures of his Father.

Q. Was it at that Time you obſerved a large Body of Men aſſembled, as you conceived, in order to reſiſt the Execution of that Order?
A. I underſtood there was a very large Body of Men aſſembled in the Town, for the Purpoſe of reſiſting the Nabob, if he ſhould make any Attempt upon the Begums.

Q. Was it at that Time you underſtood ſo?
A. Yes.

Q. To reſiſt any Attempts upon the Begums?
A. Yes.

Q. And, particularly, to reſiſt that Purpoſe, for which you and the Nabob went to Fyzabad?
A. I am not clear they were informed for what Purpoſe the Nabob and I went down there, till his Arrival there; upon his Arrival they certainly had a very large Body of Men aſſembled in the Town.

Q. Was it in order to puniſh the Begums for that Inſtance of Reſiſtance, that the Nabob determined to ſeize their Treaſures?
A. I cannot ſay it was for any immediate Purpoſe of that Sort: The Nabob had, for a long Time, talked of taking from the Begum the Treaſure which ſhe kept from him, and which he conſidered as his Right. I am very ſure there is no Period, during my Reſidence with him, in which he would not have done it, if he had not conſidered the Faith of the Company pledged to the Begums, and to ſtand between him and them.

Q. That is no Anſwer to the Queſtion. You ſay, the Nabob and you went down to Fyzabad for the expreſs Purpoſe of ſeizing the Treaſures: Do you mean that the Reſiſtance to the Execution of that Purpoſe was the Origin of the Nabob's Purpoſe to ſeize the Treaſures?
A. Does the Queſtion mean the Reſiſtance to the Act itſelf?

Q. Yes.
A. No, hardly.

Q. Did you conſider the Nabob's Right to the Treaſures as remaining in Force upon the 2d of December, notwithſtanding the various Treaties and Guarantees which you and others had entered into, to protect the Begums in the Poſſeſſion of them?
A. My Opinion was then, and is now, as I have often expreſſed, that the Begum, by the Part ſhe took in the Benares Inſurrection, had forfeited every Claim to the Protection of the Engliſh Government.

Q. Did you conceal from Mr. Haſtings any Arguments which the Nabob urged in Support of his Claim or Right to thoſe Treaſures?
A. I did not. I underſtood the Nabob wrote very fully to Mr. Haſtings himſelf upon this Subject.

Q. Do you not recollect to have ſtated, as the ſole Ground upon which the Nabob propoſed to proceed in reſuming the Treaſures, his Right, under the Laws of the Koran, to ſeize thoſe Treaſures?
A. I cannot ſay I can recollect the Fact: If the Letter was ſhewn me, I could.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 415, Par. the laſt.

Then the Letter was ſhewn to the Witneſs, and he was aſked,

Q. You ſay, you never concealed from Mr. Haſtings any Thing the Nabob communicated to you upon the Subject: Did the Nabob ever mention their Behaviour, as one of the Grounds upon which he meant to take the Treaſures?

A. I never made any particular Communications upon that Subject to Mr. Haſtings, conceiving the Nabob's Letter would be very full upon it, which he wrote to Mr. Haſtings at the Time himſelf. I have, in my Pocket, a Letter from the Nabob upon the Subject, in the original Perſian Language: If your Lordſhips pleaſe, I am ready to ſubmit it. I believe it was written to me at the Time the Nabob wrote to Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject; and it does contain, probably, the ſame Sentiments.

Q. You have ſaid, you delivered in all the Letters you had from the Nabob, or any Body elſe: If you have concealed any Letter, you have not delivered all the Correſpondence?

A. I cannot have ſtated, that I delivered all the Correſpondence I ever had with the Nabob upon that or any other Subject. I dare ſay, I have ſome Thouſands of Perſian Letters, which I could not have thought neceſſary to deliver to the Honourable the Houſe of Commons. I have a large Cheſt of them.

Q. Whether you had, or had not, any Converſation, at the Time you wrote the Letter of the 2d December, with the Nabob, upon the ſuppoſed Miſconduct of the Begums?

A. I have no Doubt I had; but I cannot recollect all the Converſations I had with the Nabob, either upon that or any other Subject.

Q. Did you not afterwards, under the Inſtructions of Mr. Haſtings, proceed to the Reſumption of the Jaghires, after you had ſeized the Treaſures?

A. They were reſumed by the Nabob, after the Treaſures were ſeized, moſt certainly.

Q. Did you take any Share in that Reſumption?

A. Nothing more than what has been repreſented; after the Nabob iſſued his own Purwannahs, they were of courſe enforced.

Q. Do you mean to ſwear, that this Meaſure, from Beginning to End, was wholly againſt the Nabob's Inclination, and by Compulſion?

A. The Nabob did make Objections to it, as appears by the Letters that have been written, very ſtrong Objections to it; and did maintain, at the Time, that it was an Act of Compulſion. I would wiſh to ſubmit to your Lordſhips my Opinion upon that Subject. His Objections I never conceived to be to reſuming the Jaghires of his Mother and Grandmother: I muſt make the ſame Obſervation with reſpect to that as I did to the ſeizing the Treaſures, that I am very ſure there was no Period, during my Reſidence, at which he would not have done that alſo; but he would probably have given them an Equivalent. They were a perpetual Cauſe of Quarrel. He wiſhed to have reſumed them, and would have done it, unleſs we had prevented him—The Objection probably aroſe from the Reſumption of other Jaghires of Perſons to whom he was perſonally attached: That is my Opinion.

Q. You are quite ſure that what you have now ſtated is the Truth. Do you ſpeak this as a Thing that you know and are ſure of, or how?

A. I ſpeak it as a Matter of Opinion; my own Belief and Opinion.

Q. Do you mean that your Belief and Opinion was at the Time, and is, that the Nabob would not have reſiſted the Reſumption of the Jaghires of his Mother and Grandmother, if he could have ſpared the Jaghires of his Favourites?

A. I am very clear of that Opinion.

Q. Was you ſo always?

A. I always was ſo, and am at this Moment.

Q. The Managers find themſelves under ſome Degree of Difficulty upon that Anſwer; for you have certainly ſworn directly contrary upon your laſt Examination?

A. I recollect what I ſaid upon my laſt Examination: I ſaid the Objection aroſe upon the Reſumption of the Begums Jaghires, no other were then mentioned; but the Nabob was afterwards informed the Whole would be reſumed, Orderlies and all.

Then the following Queſtions and Anſwers in the Examination of the Witneſs, on Thurſday, May the 1ſt, were read over by the Clerk (*a*).

Q. Whether the Nabob's Complaints were or were not confined to this Article of the Treaty reſpecting the Reſumption of the Jaghires?

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 618.

A. They

A. They were made upon that Occaſion, and I believe were confined, as far as I recollect, to the Subject of reſuming the Jaghires.

Q. Can you or not recollect, whether Part of that Objection did not expreſsly point to the Reſumption of his Mother's Jaghires?

A. It is very poſſible it might; it was the moſt conſiderable, and the firſt Jaghire that was brought under Diſcuſſion.

Then the Second Article of the Treaty of Chunar was read, as follows:

"Art. 2. That, as great Diſtreſs has ariſen to the Nabob's Government from the Military Power and Dominion aſſumed by the Jagheerders, he be permitted to reſume ſuch as he may find neceſſary; with a Reſerve, that all ſuch, for the Amount of whoſe Jagheers the Company are Guarantees, ſhall, in caſe of the Reſumption of their Lands, be paid the Amount of their net Collections, through the Reſident, in ready Money." (*a*)

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. (*By the Managers*). Whether the Ground of the Nabob's Complaint was not, that Mr. Haſtings endeavoured to compel him to reſume ſuch Jaghires as he, Mr. Haſtings, and not the Nabob, thought proper?

A. It was, that Mr. Haſtings compelled him to make a general Reſumption, inſtead of making it particular.

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired a Paſſage might be read from Mr. Haſtings's Defence at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons.

Read, the following Extract from the MS. beginning at Page 237 of the ſame.

"When the Nabob ſo earneſtly deſired my Sanction for the Reſumption of the Jaghires, he certainly had in View only the Begums, and a few others of Magnitude, which he conſidered protected either by the Guarantee, or Favour of the Company. He could not be ſuppoſed to aſk my Sanction to the Reſumption of Grants in which the Company's Faith was by no Means concerned; but being aware that his Excellency intended a partial Reſumption, reſerving the Jaggires for his particular Favourites, who, from their Character and Conduct, ought to be the firſt proſcribed, I determined to defeat the Deſign, by adviſing him to make the Reſumption general; and he engaged to follow my Advice. The Conſequence of this, his Excellency did not, at that Time, advert to; but when he diſcovered, that by the Spirit of the Agreement, and my determined Adherence to it, he was precluded from ſhewing any Partiality; and moreover, that the Produce of the Jagheers, when reſumed, inſtead of coming immediately into his Poſſeſſion, was to be appropriated to the Liquidation of his Debt to the Company, for which I expreſsly ſtipulated, he became indifferent, and even apparently averſe to the Reſumption." (*b*)

Q. (*by the Counſel.*) Whether the Point of the Nabob's Complaint was not to the Reſumption of the Jaghires of his Orderlies, and not thoſe of the Begums?

A. Not particularly; I do not recollect he expreſſed any in particular; but it was my Opinion it related to the Jaghires of thoſe Orderlies.

Q. (*by the Managers.*) Whether in that Converſation he did, or did not, expreſsly object to the Reſumption of his Mother's Jaghires?

A. I believe he objected to the Meaſure altogether.

Q. Can you or not recollect whether Part of that Objection did not expreſsly point to the Reſumption of his Mother's Jaghires?

A. It is very poſſible it might; that was the moſt conſiderable, and the Firſt Jaghire that was brought under Diſcuſſion.

Q. Did he, or did he not; or do you recollect any Thing about it?

A. I recollect his Objection was general; poſſibly the Objection was made upon the Propoſal to reſume the Begum's Jaghires.

Q. (*by a Lord.*) Upon Recollection, whether it was pointed to the Reſumption of his Mother's Jaghire?

A. I believe I have ſaid, that it was propoſed to reſume the Mother's Jaghire; that was the principal one, and upon that it aroſe.

The Managers for the Commons being aſked if they had any other Queſtion to put upon that, acquainted the Houſe they did not wiſh for any further Explanation, unleſs the Witneſs choſe to go into an Explanation.

(*a*) Vide Appendix to the Benares Narrative, P. 4; & ſupra, P. 139.
(*b*) Vide ſupra, P. 416, Par. 2.

A. If

A. If I have not expreſſed myſelf as I ought to have done upon that Occaſion, I hope your Lordſhips will now give me Leave, to declare what my Intention was; I thought I had expreſſed it: it was, that the Queſtion of reſuming the Jaghires aroſe upon the Begum's, moſt certainly. I do not remember that at that Time any others were mentioned, but the Nabob was informed the Reſumptions were to be general, and not partial.

Q. Was the Nabob informed that the Reſumption was to be general?

A. If I have not ſaid ſo all along, I muſt have loſt my Senſes; for I meant to ſay, the Nabob was informed from the firſt he was not to make a partial Selection, and reſume ſuch as he thought proper, but that the Reſumption was to be general.

Q. Do you recollect the Second Article of the Treaty of Chunar?

A. I cannot ſay I do.

Read, the Second Article of the Treaty of Chunar, from the Appendix to the Benares Narrative, Page 4.

"2d. That as great Diſtreſs has ariſen to the Nabob's Government from the military Power and Dominion aſſumed by the Jagheerdars, he be permitted to reſume ſuch as he may find neceſſary, with a Reſerve that all ſuch, for the Amount of whoſe Jagheers the Company are Guarantees, ſhall, in caſe of the Reſumption of their Lands, be paid the Amount of their net Collections, through the Reſident, in ready Money (*a*)."

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. When was the Nabob firſt told, that that Article of the Treaty was not to be perfectly obſerved?

A. I do not know, he was ever told it was not to be perfectly obſerved.

Q. When was he told that the Expectation formed was, that he ſhould reſume all the Jaghires indiſcriminately?

A. The firſt Information I had of that was, I believe, from Sir Elijah Impey: to the beſt of my Recollection, that was the firſt Communication I had that the Whole of the Jaghires were to be reſumed, that the Whole of the Treaty was to be enforced.

Q. Whether you do not conſider ſuch Communication made to the Nabob to import that the Second Article of the Treaty was not to be obſerved?

A. No.

Q. Do you then underſtand that by the Words of the Treaty, which ſtipulated that ſuch Jaghires were to be reſumed as the Vizier thought fit, it was underſtood to compriſe all, whether he thought them fit or not?

A. I would rather wiſh Mr. Haſtings himſelf ſhould explain that Article of the Treaty; I cannot ſay; but it is a Matter of Opinion, if I offer any Thing upon it.

Q. Did you conceive, when it was propoſed to the Nabob that he ſhould reſume all the Jaghires, that Propoſition was conformable to this Article which ſays, ſuch ſhall be reſumed as he thinks fit?

A. Upon the Face of it, it appears to be irreconcileable.

Q. Then, in what Senſe was it you ſaid that the Treaty was to be rigidly executed?

A. That all the Jaghires were to be reſumed.

Q. That you juſt now ſaid was irreconcileable upon the Face of the Treaty—Did you underſtand that, conformable to that Treaty, Mr. Haſtings was at Liberty to ſay what he thought fit, inſtead of what the Nabob thought fit?

A. No, I did not, certainly.

Q. Then, what did you conceive to be the Inducement to the Nabob to be more anxious to reſume the Jaghires of his Mother and Grandmother, than thoſe of any other Perſon?

A. No other Reaſon than becauſe he was much more attached to thoſe other Perſons than he was to his Mother and Grandmother, if I may judge from his general Conduct.

Q. What Advantage of any Sort could the Nabob propoſe to himſelf, by reſuming the Jaghires of his Mother and Grandmother?

A. One Advantage is very obvious, he would derive an Addition to his Reſources; the other was, that he would remove what had long been a Cauſe of Miſunderſtanding between him and his Mother and Grandmother.

Q. You ſay he was to have an Addition to his Reſources; was it not ſtipulated in the ſame Article of the ſame Treaty, that the Begums ſhould receive, through the Hands of the Reſident, the net Collection of their Jaghires in ready Money; do you recollect the Article?

A. I recollect it.

(*a*) Vide Appendix to the Benares Narrative, P. 4; & ſupra, P. 139.

Q. Was it ſo ſtipulated?
A. That was the Stipulation.

Q. Was it intended to violate that Part of the Condition in Favour of the Begums at the Time of the Treaty, as well as the Stipulation in Favour of the Will of the Nabob?
A. I do not know.

Q. Then by what Means, if the Nabob was to furniſh from his own Revenues, the net Amount of the Begums Jaghires, was he to encreaſe his Reſources by ſeizing the Begums Jaghires?
A. The Jaghires were certainly to a much greater Amount than what they had been rated at to the Begums.

Q. But the Queſtion is, as to the net Amount of what they received—Suppoſe they were rated to the Begums at a different Rate than what they went for, if he was to pay the net Amount of the Collections to the Begums, how was he to be benefited in point of Reſources, by taking them into his own Hands?
A. It was only to the Bow Begum he was to pay the net Collection. The Bow Begum only was the Perſon ſecured by the Favour of the Company.

Q. How do you anſwer with reſpect to her—What Benefit was he to receive in caſe of her Jaghires being ſeized, if he was to pay the Whole of the net Collections afterwards?
A. No abſolute Benefit that I know of: But, as I ſaid before, he by that Means deſtroyed the Source of the Miſunderſtanding between him and his Mother: The Jaghires were given into the Management of the Eunuchs.

Q. You were underſtood to ſay, he would be benefited in Two Reſpects; the One in reſpect of the Reſources, the other in the Convenience of having the Adminiſtration in his own Hands—What Benefit, in reſpect of Reſources, was he to receive under the Contract to pay the net Amount of the Collection ſhe had received upon it before?
A. Certainly, no immediate Advantage that I know of.

Q. Then that was not One of his Inducements?
A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay what his Inducement was. I am certain he always had a Deſire to reſume the Jaghires; but what his Inducements were, I cannot take upon me to ſay.

Q. You ſaid, the Increaſe of the Reſources was One of them; Do you mean, upon Conſideration, to ſay the ſame Thing?
A. No; I do not ſee how he could immediately increaſe his Reſources, if he meant to pay an Equivalent in Money, according to the net Collections, which I believe was his Intention to do.

Q. Whether you mean to ſwear, that neither the Nabob, or his Miniſters, had any Reluctance to interfere with the Concerns of the Bow Begum?
A. I do not know they had; the Miniſter probably would not have liked to have interfered openly in it.

Q. Then why did you write Word to Mr. Haſtings, that the Reluctance of the Miniſter, and even of the Nabob himſelf, to interfere in the Affair of the Begum, was the Ground of the Oppoſition that was made, and of the Difficulty there was, in ſeizing the Treaſures?

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 12th June 1783, from Book 82, already delivered in.

" Fort William, 12th June 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.
John Stables,

" Extract of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Governor General, dated, Lucknow, the 27th December 1781.

" This Meaſure—the Utility, and I may ſay the abſolute Neceſſity whereof, will not be diſputed by any one who has had an Opportunity of obſerving the Conduct of the Jagheerdars in general, and particularly ſome whoſe Incomes enabled them to maintain Armies, not only ſuperior to thoſe of the Aumils of the Country (who ſhould properly be a Check upon them), but even ſufficient to reſiſt the Force of the State itſelf—has met with violent Oppoſition from the Bhow Begum, who falls particularly under the laſt Deſcription, and whoſe Power is rendered the more pernicious and dangerous; firſt, from its being wholly delegated to her Servants, who have their own Views of Ambition and Intereſt to anſwer; and, in the next Place, from the Reluctance with which the Miniſters, and even the Nabob himſelf, interfere with any Concerns of the Begum.

(Signed) " Nath. Middleton,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court (a)."

(a) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

Then the following Queſtion and Anſwer were read by the Clerk (*a*):

Q. Whether you mean to ſwear, that neither the Nabob nor his Miniſter had any Reluctance to interfere with the Concerns of the Bhow Begum?

A. I do not know they had; the Miniſter probably would not have liked to interfere openly in it.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Did you at any, and what Time, obſerve a Reluctance in the Nabob, or his Miniſter, to interfere with the Reſumption of the Jaghires of the Bhow Begum?

A. I have ſaid, the Miniſter, I think, was rather averſe to interfere in the Concerns of the Begums.

Q. But was the Nabob himſelf?

A. The Nabob himſelf, conceiving the Begum was particularly protected by the Engliſh, certainly, upon all Occaſions, avoided as much as poſſible interfering with the Begum's Concerns.

Q. But, after the Treaty of Chunar, when the Nabob was made ſenſible the Protection of the Engliſh was taken away, what was your Opinion as to the Reluctance of the Nabob to interfere with the Concerns of the Bhow Begum, in reſpect of the Reſumption of the Jaghires?

A. I cannot ſay I recollect, after that, any declared Objection to interfering; any Oppoſition to it.

Q. Then why did you write to Mr. Haſtings that there was? How do you reconcile that Paſſage in your Letter to Mr. Haſtings, with there being no Reluctance in the Nabob to interfere with the Begums?

A. That Part of my Letter will refer more properly to Time paſt, than to any Thing that was to come; it was a general Obſervation upon the Reluctance that the Nabob and his Miniſters had to openly interfering with the Concerns of the Begums, or, in ſhort, to giving them any Offence.

Q. If you obſerved that Reluctance to be the prevailing Character of the Nabob and his Miniſters, with reſpect to the Bhow Begum, why have you ſworn, that you thought they were always willing and ready to reſume thoſe Jaghires?

A. Moſt certainly, I conceived they would always have been ready to have done it; and by a Reference to my Correſpondence with the Board, your Lordſhips will find it was a Fact, and that it was as much as the Reſident could do to prevent the Nabob attacking their Jaghires.

Q. Then in what Inſtance, and in what Reſpect, is it that you deſcribe either the Nabob, or the Miniſters, to have been reluctant?

A. In interfering upon ordinary Occaſions.

Then the Paſſage of the Letter, read ſupra, P. 713, was again read to the Witneſs, and the following Queſtion was put to him:

Q. In what Inſtance, and for what Reaſon, is it you ſuppoſe them to have been reluctant in interfering in the Concerns of the Begums, more particularly in the Reſumption of the Jaghires, when you ſay, at the ſame Time, they always were diſpoſed and ready to enter into the Meaſure of the Reſumption?

A. I muſt obſerve, that the Paſſage does not apply to the Reſumption of the Jaghires, but to the Conduct of the Begums, previous to the Treaty of Chunar?

Q. Whether, after they had ſeized the Treaſures, the Nabob did not immediately propoſe to reſtore the Jaghires to his Mother—her Jaghire, and no other?

A. I do not recollect: if I have ſaid ſo, I wiſh the Letter to be read.

Then the following Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Haſtings, of the 25th February 1782, was read, from Book 105, already delivered in:

"From the Nawab Vizier.

"(Received 25th February 1782.)

"You performed, on every Occaſion, towards me, whatever was becoming of Friendſhip. I, too, have done whatever Affection required and you commanded; and, in future alſo, whatever be your Pleaſure, there ſhall be no Deviation therefrom; becauſe, whatever you direct, is altogether for my Benefit. The Buſineſs for which I came to Fyzabad, is become ſettled by your Favour. Particulars will become known to your Wiſdom, from the Writings of Mr. Middleton. I am grateful for your Favours. If in theſe Matters you ſincerely approve me, communicate it;

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 713.

for it will be a Comfort to me. Having appointed my own Aumils to the Jagheers of the Lady Mother, I have engaged to pay her Caſh. She has complied with my Views: Her Pleaſure is, that after receiving an Engagement, he ſhould deliver up the Jagheers. What is your Pleaſure on this Matter?—If you command, it will comfort the Lady Mother giving her back the Jageer, after I have obtained my Views; or I will have it under my own Aumils. I am obedient to your Pleaſure."

Then the Witneſs was aſked;

Q. Do you recollect that Letter?
A. No; I do not recollect it.

Q. Do you not recollect to have received Inſtructions from Mr. Haſtings, to oppoſe the Reſtitution of the Jaghires ſubſequent to that Letter?
A. I recollect to have received general Inſtructions from Mr. Haſtings, to prevent any Settlement between the Nabob and the Begum, until I ſhould receive Inſtructions from the Governor General and Council. I do not recollect there was any Thing expreſſed reſpecting the Jaghires.

Q. After ſeizing the Treaſures and the Jaghires, did you ever cauſe to be paid the Equivalent ſtipulated to the Begum for her Jaghires?
A. No, I did not: The Reaſon was, that the Sum which the Begum agreed to pay to the Nabob, was never completely paid up; at leaſt it was not when I left Lucknow.

Q. Did you not actually mortgage thoſe Jaghires, after you had ſeized the Treaſure, and while you had a Security from the Begum's Miniſters for the ſmall remaining Balance?
A. The Jaghires, I believe, were mortgaged, but the Sum that remained in Balance at the Time I left Lucknow was about Five Lacks of Rupees.

Q. Upon this Subject of the Nabob's Diſpoſition of reſuming his Mother's Jaghires, in particular I would aſk, whether you ever informed Mr. Haſtings it was with unconquerable Reluctance that the Nabob had ever given his Conſent to the Meaſure?
A. I in general informed Mr. Haſtings of the Objections the Nabob made to the Reſumption of the Jaghires. I muſt beg to refer to the Letter for what I have ſaid.

Q. If you have not a perfect Recollection of it, I would aſk you upon what Ground Mr. Haſtings afterwards in his Letter to Mr. Briſtow makes this Aſſertion, and quotes it as the Reſident's Authority, in his Letter to Major Palmer of the 6th of May 1782. 'It has been a Matter of 'equal Concern and Surprize to me, to learn by the Letters of the Reſident, that the Nabob Vizier 'was with Difficulty and an almoſt unconquerable Reluctance, induced to give his Conſent to the 'Attachment of the Treaſures depoſited by his Father, and under the Charge of the Begum his 'Mother, and to the Reſumption of her Jaghire.' Can you explain upon what Ground it is Mr. Haſtings quotes your Letter for that Information, ſuppoſing you not to have ſeen it?
A. I conceive Mr. Haſtings muſt have quoted the Letter I wrote to him upon the Nabob's Objection to the Reſumption of the Jaghires, but I do not apprehend he could have quoted any Authority of mine, for any ſuppoſed Reluctance in the Nabob to ſeizing the Treaſures.

Q. Does no Paſſage in your Letter to Mr. Haſtings expreſs the Reluctance of the Nabob to thoſe Two Meaſures.
A. To the Reſumption of the Jaghires certainly repeatedly, but I do not recollect to the ſeizing of the Treaſures.

Q. What did you mean by this Expreſſion, in your Letter of the 7th of December 1781, 'His 'Excellency talks of going to Fyzabad for the Purpoſe heretofore mentioned, in Three or Four 'Days. I wiſh he may be ſerious in that Intention, and you may be aſſured I ſhall ſpare no Pains 'to keep him to it.' Did you mean by that Paſſage to lead Mr. Haſtings to underſtand, that the Nabob was not extremely willing that the Treaſure ſhould be ſeized?
A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay, what Mr. Haſtings underſtood by that Paſſage. My Meaning was this, that the Nabob had no Conſiſtency either of publick or private Conduct; and I thought it very poſſible, though it was a Meaſure of his own ſuggeſting, that he might after all not put it in Execution in the Manner he declared to me.

Q. Did you think it neceſſary to take Pains to keep the Nabob to a Reſolution to which he was himſelf inclined, and to which he never ſhewed any Reluctance?
A. Certainly I did not: I did not conceive the Expreſſions go to that; I only meant to allude to the Inconſiſtency and Inconſtancy of the Nabob's Conduct and Character.

Q. Did you inform Sir Elijah Impey "that the Nabob's Miniſters had ſupported you nobly in both thoſe Tranſactions, againſt the Nabob's Inclinations?"

The

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to the Queſtion, as the Letter would ſpeak for itſelf.

The Managers for the Commons waived the Queſtion.

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Whether you did not procure Khelauts, or Robes of Honour, for the Miniſters, from Mr. Haſtings, upon Account of the Support they had given you?

A. I do recollect making Repreſentations of the Nature ſtated, and I believe the Conſequence was, as has been ſtated, that they did get Khelauts from Mr. Haſtings, as far as my Recollection goes.

Q. Whether, during thoſe Tranſactions reſpecting the Jagheers and the ſeizing the Treaſures, you had not a Correſpondence with the Bow Begum?

A. I had no Correſpondence with the Bow Begum, after the Nabob went to Fyzabad for the Purpoſe of ſeizing the Treaſure; before that, I had upon the Subject of reſuming the Jaghires.

Q. Did you, in any of thoſe Letters, or by any other Means, ever hint, in the ſlighteſt way, to the Begums, that there was any Doubt or Suſpicion concerning their Behaviour to the Engliſh or to the Nabob?

A. I do not recollect that I did.

Q. Did you not, on the contrary, aſſure them, that no Injury was intended them, and that they would be paid a full Equivalent for the Reſumption of their Jaghires?

A. I certainly acquainted them it was the Intention of the Nabob to allow them the full Equivalent for the Reſumption of their Jaghires.

Q. Did you ever underſtand that the Nabob had ever given any Hint, or made any Communications to the Begums, reſpecting their ſuppoſed Miſconduct to the Engliſh or himſelf?

A. I do not know that he did.

Q. Did not the Bow Begum, upon her firſt hearing of the Intention to attack her Jaghires, apply to you for Protection?

A. The Correſpondence between me and the Bow Begum is upon Record. I could wiſh to refer to it, rather than that my Memory ſhould be truſted to.

Q. Have you any Memory, whether the Bow Begum applied to you for Protection in caſe her Jaghire ſhould be attacked?

A. I believe ſhe did: I cannot ſay in what Terms; but ſhe certainly wrote to me upon firſt hearing the Intention to reſume her Jaghires.

Q. Did it not come within your Knowledge, that, to the very laſt Moment of ſeizing the Treaſures, ſhe looked to the Engliſh for Protection againſt the Reſumption of her Jaghires?

A. It was my Opinion, that ſhe did expect that the Meaſure of ſeizing the Treaſures, would not be carried into Execution, but be prevented by the Engliſh.

Q. Did ſhe, at that Time, expect ſhe ſhould alſo be defended in the Poſſeſſion of her Jaghires?

A. I ſhould hardly think ſhe did, becauſe I ſent her word very poſitively by Letter, that the Nabob was reſolved to reſume the Jaghires, giving her an Equivalent for it.

Q. Down to the Time of her receiving that Information from you, did ſhe look up to the Engliſh for Protection againſt her Jaghires being ſeized?

A. I have no Doubt ſhe did, from the Tenor of her Letters to me upon the Subject.

Q. Do you know whether ſhe did, or did not, ever apply to Mr. Haſtings for his Protection, after ſhe failed in her Expectations from you?

A. I do not know; I do not mean to evade the Queſtion, but I do not know.

Q. Did you not, upon the Morning or Day before the ſeizing the Treaſures, ſend a Letter to the Begum from Mr. Haſtings?

A. I ſent in a Letter from Mr. Haſtings to the Begum, during the Time of my being at Fyzabad for the Purpoſe of ſeizing the Treaſures; I cannot ſay exactly the Day.

Q. Have you any Copy of that Letter?

A. I have not, I never ſaw a Copy of it.

Q. From whom did you receive it?

A. I either received it from Mr. Haſtings himſelf, or Major Davy, his Perſian Interpreter; it was ſent to me from Mr. Haſtings, either from Benares or Chunar, to be delivered to the Begums.

Read,

Read, the following Extract of Mr. Middleton's Defence, from Book 80, already delivered in, beginning at Page 81 of the ſame Book.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.
John Stables, }
Mr. Macpherſon indiſpoſed.

" At a Court, where no Opportunity is loſt to throw Odium upon us, ſo favourable an Occaſion was not miſſed to perſuade the Nabob, that we inſtigated him to diſhonour his Family for our Benefit. The Impreſſions made by ſuch Suggeſtions conſtantly retarded the Progreſs, and more than once actually broke off the Buſineſs, which rendered the utmoſt Caution on my Part neceſſary, eſpecially as I had no Aſſiſtance to expect from the Miniſters, who could not openly move in the Buſineſs."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. The Buſineſs here referred to is the ſeizing the Treaſures: What do you mean by " Impreſſions made by ſuch Suggeſtions conſtantly retarded the Progreſs, and more than once actually broke off the Buſineſs?" Do you remember that Paſſage in your Defence?

A. I do, and it alludes to the Suggeſtions of the People about the Nabob, who were not well diſpoſed to us; I mean, not well diſpoſed to the Engliſh, and who endeavoured to make theſe Impreſſions upon his Mind.

Q. By what Means had it that Operation: how did it actually more than once break off the Buſineſs?

A. The Nabob would not go on with it.

Q. Then, owing to thoſe falſe and improper Suggeſtions, the Nabob did expreſs a Reluctance upon that Subject?

A. Not to me, but I underſtood from the Miniſters, thoſe were the Suggeſtions of the People about him, and it was very difficult for him to manage the Buſineſs.

Q. Do you remember, whether the Buſineſs was or not broke off more than once?

A. I underſtood, from the Miniſter, that the Nabob did make Objections more than once to carrying on the Buſineſs.

Q. Is that what you meant, by breaking off the Buſineſs?

A. Yes.

Q. Then do you or not now, upon hearing this, know there was a conſiderable Degree of Reluctance upon the Part of the Nabob?

A. I underſtood ſo from the Miniſters.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Jovis, 8° *Maij* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor informed the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That not being immediately prepared to purſue their Examination of Mr. Middleton, which had been left unfiniſhed the preceding Day, they requeſted Permiſſion of the Houſe to introduce ſome further written Evidence, till ſuch Time as they were ready to proceed with the Oral Teſtimony.

The ſame was agreed to.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would, for the Preſent, proceed to prove the Negative of Mr. Haſtings's Firſt Charge againſt the Begums, in which he accuſed them of exciting the Jagheerdars of the Nabob to Reſiſtance.

For this Purpoſe they would firſt read, Part of a Letter from Sir Elijah Impey to Mr. Middleton, dated the 1ſt December 1781, which was One of thoſe Sir Elijah Impey, in his Evidence (*a*) at the Bar of the Houſe, had ſtated himſelf to have written under the Directions of Mr. Haſtings, and to have delivered in at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons: That there were ſome Blanks and Initials in theſe Letters, which had been filled up by Sir Elijah Impey there; and ſome of them were in his Hand-writing, but without Signatures; and if the Counſel for the Defendant had any Doubts upon the Subject of their being read, they would call Sir Elijah Impey himſelf to authenticate them, in the uſual Courſe.

The Counſel for the Defendant ſaid, they were apprized of the Letters which were entered on the Minutes of the Evidence in the Houſe of Commons, and would waive any Objection to their being read.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they particularly relied on a Part of the Letter about to be produced, which was a Copy delivered in by Sir Elijay Impey as above mentioned, and ſhould not trouble the Houſe with the reſt.

The Counſel deſired the whole Letter might be read.

The ſame was delivered in.

Read, a Letter from Sir Elijah Impey to Mr. Middleton, dated Chunargur, 1ſt December 1781.

☞ [" Dear Middleton, Chunargur, 1ſt December 1781.

" Not knowing whether I am Time enough for the Dawke, you muſt excuſe my not acknowledging, as I ought, the Obligations I am under to you and Mrs. Middleton, for the kind Attention I received at Lucknow, and permit [me] to proceed immediately to Buſineſs, which I ſhall do by running over the Memorandum which you delivered to me.

" With regard * Fayzullah Cawn, the Events which have happened ſince your laſt Inſtructions from the Governor, have not altered the Governor's Intentions. He muſt not be attacked. Mr. Haſtings approves the Subſidy for a regular military Eſtabliſhment, ſo that the Forces raiſed be not kept in Fayzullah's Country, but ſtationed at Cawnpore, Illihabad, or any

* Sic in Orig.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 623.

other Place not higher, [which] the Governor ſhall appoint; to be nevertheleſs ready on Demand for the Protection of Fayzullah's Country.

" What we talked of concerning the Begums he highly approves, and would have himſelf adviſed; he wiſhes it to be done immediately: I need not mention the Neceſſity of taking care that the Money be applied to the Company's Uſe.]

§ " (I did all I could in the Buſineſs of the Nabob of Furruckabad, and of Iſmael Beg; I ſtated " the Debt due to the Vizier from Muzzafur Jung, and the certain Loſs of it, if the Power of re- " covering it was taken out of the Vizier's Hands. I found he was extremely diſpleaſed that " Almaus was ſent there, and is immoveable in his Reſolution that he ſhall be recalled inſtantly. " The Vaukeel had taken his Leave of Mr. Haſtings. All that I could effect, was the Governor's " Promiſe to ſend for the Vaukeel and tell him, that all that is due to the Vizier muſt be punc- " tually paid. Mr. Haſtings ſays, he will ſend a Perſon to Furruckabad, who ſhall ſee the Balance " paid. I ſolicited this the more ſtrenuouſly, becauſe I had formerly, at the Deſire of Bathurſt, " introduced the Vaukeel of the Nabob to the Governor.

" I am convinced, that delaying the giving the Governor Satisfaction in this Point, will only " irritate him. He conſiders the appointing a Suſſauwull a Breach of his Orders.

" Iſmael Beg, he has been told, and is inclined to believe, was arreſted to prevent him getting " Acceſs to the Governor; he conſiders his own perſonal Dignity and Influence intereſted, and " peremptorily requires, either that he be releaſed immediately, or a fair Account be taken; he will, " if it cannot otherwiſe be done, ſend a Perſon to take the Account: This operates in his Mind to " the Prejudice of the Miniſters, as much as if the Fact was actually true. I know how diſagree- " able an Interference of this Nature muſt be to you and the Miniſters, and therefore much wiſh " you will contrive to make that your own Act, which will otherwiſe moſt certainly become the " Act of the Governor. In both theſe Points, he is and will remain peremptory. He has wrote " to the Board, and ſays, he will not undo what he has done.

" I find the Governor in the ſame Temper with regard to you and Johnſon, which he was in " when I left him; he really wiſhes you to remain in Office at preſent, and for another Year.

" If the Governor finds Acquieſcence in the two Points I have mentioned, and he hears within " the Five Days which you promiſed, that the Vizier's Agreement is beginning to be vigorouſly put in " Execution, and has your Aſſurance for the Completion, I think the Governor will not go to " Lucknow; otherwiſe he moſt certainly will. He ſays he will ſee the Five Days expired before " he takes his Reſolution. You will remember that I as well as yourſelf am pledged for the Per- " formance of the Agreement; perform it for my Sake, for your Sake, and the Governor's; he " will then ſoon return to Calcutta, where he [is much wanted.]") (*a*) §

Read, from Book 82, already delivered in, a Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Governor General, dated Lucknow, the 2d December 1781, in a Conſultation of the 12th June 1783, beginning at Page 108 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 12th June 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.
John Stables,

" Letter from Mr. Middleton to Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings.

" My Dear Sir, Lucknow, the 2d December 1781.

" I had Yeſterday the Honour of informing you of the Meſſage I ſent to the Nabob thro' the Miniſter, reſpecting the Jagheers, to which his Excellency this Morning returned me a Reply, purporting that if the Meaſure propoſed was intended to procure the Payment of his Balance due to the Company, he could better and more expeditiouſly effect that Object, by taking from his Mother what ſhe is very able to ſpare, and what he has an undoubted Right, as he conceives, to exact from her. The preſent Debt to the Company, as he with Truth obſerves, is a great Part handed down from his Father, and the Funds from which he might have been enabled to liquidate it, it is notorious were withheld from him by the Begum on the late Nabob's Death: That, according to the Laws of the Koran, and the invariable Cuſtom of the Country, he is juſtly entitled to the whole Eſtate and Treaſures of his Father, and could legally demand their being put in his Poſſeſſion; but that the Sum he deſires to take from his Mother (about 60 Lacks) bears no Sort of Proportion to the immenſe Wealth which fell into her Hands on the Death of his Father; nor would it bear at all hard upon her, as he knows how much her Treaſures exceed that Sum. All therefore that he aſks is, not to be interrupted in recovering a Part of his hereditary Right, by which he will be enabled to diſcharge immediately the Whole of his Debt to the Company.

(*a*) N. B. No Signature.

" This,

" This, my dear Sir, is a flattering Propoſition, and as to the Point of Right, admitting it to be leſs clear and defined than the Nabob chuſes to conſider it, you may poſſibly be of Opinion, that the Conduct of the Begums on the late Diſturbances at Benares, as ſet forth in the ſeveral Teſtimonies laid before you, has forfeited any Claim they might originally have had to the Protection and Mediation of the Company; and further, that it may not be political, or yet perfectly ſafe, to truſt them any longer with ſuch powerful Means of promoting an Oppoſition to our Intereſts.

" For my own Part, I am ſo well perſuaded of the Diſaffection of the Begums, particularly the preſent Nabob's Mother, to our Cauſe, and of their Promptitude to unite in any Meaſure to diſtreſs us, that I could very eaſily reconcile it to my Conſcience to aſſiſt the Nabob, inſtead of obſtructing him, in wreſting from them every Benefit they enjoy beyond a decent Maintenance. However, this is only my own Opinion, and by no Means meant to influence yours. The Nabob writes you himſelf on this Subject, and you have his Letter incloſed. Neither he nor I expect that you ſhould give a formal Sanction to the Meaſure propoſed; it will be ſufficient that you but hint your Opinion upon it, and enable me to inform his Excellency whether you would or would not oppoſe his Deſign. Let me entreat you therefore, my dear Sir, to favour me with a Line, by the Return of the Dauk, and if your Sentiments ſhould happen to accord with my own, I doubt not but I ſhould be able to congratulate you in a very ſhort Space of Time, upon the Remittance of a handſome Sum to the Preſidency.

" I am, &c.

(Signed) Nathaniel Middleton.

P. S. Whatever may be your Reſolution upon the Subject of this Letter, it will be expedient to keep it ſecret. The Reſumption of the Jagheers it is neceſſary to ſuſpend, until I have your Sentiments on this Letter." (*a*)

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next read an Extract from another of the Letters delivered in by Sir Elijah Impey at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, dated 5th December 1781, which appeared to be Mr. Middleton's Anſwer to Sir Elijah Impey's Letter of the 1ſt of that Month.

The ſame was delivered in.

Read, the following Extract of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to Sir Elijah Impey, dated Lucknow, the 5th December 1781, and ſigned Nathaniel Middleton.

Lucknow, the 5th December 1781.

" The Meaſure reſpecting the Begums, and the Reſumption of the Jagheers, will be inſtantly adopted. The latter has only been ſuſpended for the Governor's Sentiments on the former, as the Jagheers of the Begums and their Dependents are the moſt conſiderable; and to have attacked them, without being prepared at the ſame Time to enter immediately on the Execution of the grand Deſign, would have been doing Things by Halves, and poſſibly have defeated our Expectations. Do not, my dear Sir Elijah, ſuffer this Delay to be urged, or conſidered as an Imputation of Blame upon me. I entered on the Buſineſs the very Day after you left me, and went ſo far as to look upon the Matter as finally agreed upon, the actual Execution only ſuſpended until I could receive either your's or the Governor's Sentiments upon the further Propoſal, which is certainly of far greater Conſequence than the Reſumption of the Jagheers, as it will do at one Stroke, if we are not all groſsly miſtaken, what the Jagheers will be at leaſt Two Years adoing. To-morrow Morning I am to be informed of his Excellency's intended Mode of Attack, and ſhall not fail to acquaint the Governor. In the mean Time, you may be aſſured, that whatever may be acquired by the Meaſure, ſhall be faithfully and wholly applied to the Liquidation of the Company's Debt.

" Sir Elijah Impey. (At the End)

Nathaniel Middleton." (*a*)

To prove that, ſo late as the 27th December 1781, Mr. Middleton treated the Begum's Reſiſtance of the Reſumption of the Jagheers as a Thing only intended, or beginning to be executed,

Read, from Book 82, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Governor General, in a Conſultation of the 12th June 1783.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII. (*b*) Vide Appendix, N° LXIII.

" Fort William, 12th June 1783.

Secret Dept. Thurſday.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.
John Stables,

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

" Lucknow, the 27th December 1781.

" Notwithſtanding all theſe Facts, upon the general Reſumption of the Jagheers, I made the Rents of her Lands payable to me, under an Engagement of making the Amount good to her, by ſuch Inſtalments as ſhe might direct; in return for which, I have received Letters from her, containing the moſt groſs Abuſe, and the wildeſt Threats that can be tranſcribed—Copies of which I have the Honour to encloſe.

" Her chief Agent, Bahar Ally Cawn, has marched a conſiderable Force into Nabob Gunge, one of her Jagheers, declaring, that if any Attempt is made to reſume it, he will lay the whole Country of Goonda waſte. Theſe declared and repeated Acts of Rebellion, are ſurely more than ſufficient to forfeit all Claim whatever to the Interference, in her Behalf, from our Government; and if ſome Stop is not immediately put to it, it appears but too certain, that ſhe will light a Flame throughout theſe Provinces, which, if not difficult to extinguiſh, will at leaſt put a heavy Bar to the Company's Collections here.

(Signed at the End)

" Nath. Middleton,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court." (*a*)

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they would next read another Letter, with the ſame View as the laſt, from Major Naylor to Mr. Middleton, dated January 1ſt 1782.

Read the ſame, from Book A, above delivered in, beginning at Page 84 of the ſame Book.

" To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Court of the Vizier.

" Sir,

" I have juſt now the Honour of your Letter of the 30th ultimo; and you may reſt aſſured, that I will pay the ſtricteſt Attention thereto.

" I am now at Buſty, upwards of Twenty Courſe from Fyzabad: However, you may depend upon my marching it in Two Days; and be certain that I will be within Two Courſe of Fyzabad the 3d in the Morning.

" The Aumil is confoundedly diſtreſſed at my leaving him ſo ſuddenly; but as Currimpurdaſs, nominated by him for adjuſting Nabob Gunge, &c. is with me, he truſts I ſhall not be many Days away. Accompanying is a Letter from him in Anſwer to yours.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) F. Naylor."

" Camp, near Buſty,
January 1ſt 1782.

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, another Letter from Major Naylor to Mr. Middleton, dated January 3, 1782, beginning at Page 85 of the ſame.

" To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Court of the Vizier.

" Sir,

" I arrived here this Morning, about Two Courſe and Half Diſtance from Fyzabad.

" Laulmon Sukal ſent along with me a Fouzdar, to take Charge of this Country; and, when I left him Yeſterday Morning, recommended to me not to march immediately to Nabob Gunge, but to encamp about this Diſtance, and write to the Perſon late in Behalf of the Begum, to relinquiſh the Poſſeſſion; and, if he did not, to march and ſeize it by Force. If my Summons is attended to, I ſhall remain on my preſent Ground. * To the contrary, I ſhall march To-morrow Morning, at Gun-fire, to Nabob Gunge, which is near Three Courſe; fix the Fouzdar, and afterwards encamp about Halfway between † and Fyzabad. So that you may be very certain where I am.

* Sic in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

" I have the Honour to be, Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) F. Naylor."

" Camp, Shaw Gunge, Jan. 3, 1782.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

The

The Managers for the Commons requeſted the Houſe to obſerve, That Nabob Gunge was a Jagheer of the Begums; and ſtated, they would next read another Letter from Major Naylor to Mr. Middleton, upon the ſame Subject, which went alſo to prove the Suppreſſion of a Letter; as Major Naylor there ſays, "he repeats that every Thing is perfectly quiet;" which muſt refer to ſome other Letter, that does not appear.

Read, from the ſame Book, another Letter from Major Naylor to Mr. Middleton, dated January 5th, 1782, beginning at Page 86 of the ſame.

"To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Court of the Vizier.

"Sir,

"I was favoured with yours of the 3d. this Morning, and have the Pleaſure to repeat to you every Thing * perfectly quiet in this Purgunah of Nabob Gunge. * Sic in Orig!

"I have endeavoured, under a Pretence of ſending ſome empty Hackeries acroſs to meet others loaded from Chunar with Stores for my Regiment, to get ſome Boats on this Side, and am in Expectation of ſucceeding. However, ſhould you find † neceſſary for my Regiment to croſs (and I ſhould not have ſucceeded) you muſt endeavour, on your Arrival, to ſend the Boats acroſs. I believe the Begum had ſome Thoughts of my going to Fyzabad, for as ſoon as I arrived in the Jaggier, ſhe ordered every Boat, large and ſmall, to be ſecured on the Fyzabad Side ‡ the Gogra, and the Firſt Night I could not get a Boat to croſs the Dauke. † Sic in Orig. ‡ Sic in Orig.

"I have wrote a Letter, which is waiting for your Arrival at Fyzabad, another I ſent to meet you on the Road.

"I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient
humble Servant,
(Signed) F. Naylor.

Camp between
Nabob Gunge and Fyzabad Gaut,
One Courſe and Half Diſtance.
January 5th 1782.

Read, from Book 105, already delivered in, the following Letter from the Nabob to the Governor General, received 25th February 1782.

"From the Nawab Vizier. Received 25th February 1782.

"You performed, on every Occaſion towards me, whatever was becoming of Friendſhip; I too have done whatever Affection required, and you commanded, and in future alſo, whatever be your Pleaſure, there ſhall be no Deviation therefrom, becauſe whatever you direct is altogether for my Benefit. The Buſineſs, for which I came to Fyzabad, is become ſettled by your Favour, Particulars will become known to your Wiſdom from the Writings of Mr. Middleton. I am grateful for your Favours. If in theſe Matters you ſincerely approve me, communicate it, for it will be a Comfort to me. Having appointed my own Aumils to the Jagheers of the Lady Mother, I have engaged to pay her Caſh: She has complied with my Views; her Pleaſure is, that after receiving an Engagement, he ſhould deliver up the Jagheers. What is your Pleaſure on this Matter? If you command, it will comfort the Lady Mother, giving her back the Jagheer, after I have obtained my Views; or I will have it under my own Aumils. I am obedient to your Pleaſure."

Read, from Book 83, already delivered in, Extract of a Letter from the Governor General, to the Governor General and Council, dated, on the Ganges, near Sunegegunah, 23d January 1782; in a Conſultation of the 5th February 1782.

"Fort William, 5th February 1782.

"At a Council; Preſent,

"The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, Governor General (who being returned to the Preſidency, takes his Seat at the Board),
Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.
John Macpherſon, }
Sir Eyre Coote on Service in the Carnatic.

"The following Letter from the Governor General, received on the 2d inſtant, is now recorded:

"Gentlemen,

"I left Benares on the 7th of this Month; the ſlow Progreſs which I have made thus far, has been occaſioned as much by purpoſed Delays, as by natural Impediments. I am now decided in my Journey, and compute to be at the Preſidency very early in the next Month.

"Since the Suppreſſion of the late Revolt of the Zemeendary of Benaris, three diſtinct Objects have engaged my Attention and Reſidence in that Quarter, not ſo much for the Purpoſe of executing

ing any determinate Measures requiring my Presence, as for that of being at Hand, and ready for any immediate Occasion which might eventually demand my personal Interposition. These Objects are as follow:

"1st. The Negotiation with Madajee Scindia. You are already acquainted with my first Instructions to Mr. Anderson, and with the subsequent Orders which I thought it proper to send to him, on the Advice of Mhadagee Scindia's having expressed a Disinclination to admit Mr. Anderson's Deputation, until he should be authorized by Answers to the Letters which he had written to Poonah for that Purpose; and of his having received Cheit Sing into his Protection, with some apparent Marks of Encouragement. A few Days after, I received Letters from both Colonel Muir and Mr. Anderson, advising me, that Mhadagee Scindia had pressingly invited Mr. Anderson to proceed to him, and that he had rejected the Solicitations of Cheit Sing: On this Occasion, I wrote to Mr. Anderson to prosecute his Journey, and to pay no regard to my former Letter, requiring only the Removal of Cheit Sing from the Presence of Mhadagee Scindia, while Mr. Anderson was with him. In the mean Time, that Gentleman, having conformed to the Substance of my first Orders, had obtained from Mhadagee Scindia a formal Assurance, that he would neither accept the Solicitation of Cheit Sing, nor assist him in any way whatever, and that he would even prohibit him and his Attendants from his Durbar and Cutchirry. Mr. Anderson, satisfied with this Concession, had resolved to proceed to his Camp immediately; his last Letter upon the Subject was private, and dated the 3d Instant, from Bandere, which was about sixteen Cos's from Scindia's Camp. It contains Expressions of much Satisfaction, and so firm a Conviction of the Sincerity of that Chief, that he was preparing to send the Notification, directed in my Instructions of the 12th Ultimo, to Colonel Muir, for the Removal of the Troops to the Stations allotted them by the late Arrangements, with a Promise, that he would soon address me publickly on the same Subject.

"I have long since relinquished the Design, which I first entertained, of visiting Scindia myself, and, indeed, I see so fair and earnest a Disposition in him to become the Instrument of terminating the War yet subsisting between his Principals and our Government; his Interest is so evidently connected with it, and I have so well-grounded a Confidence in the Ability of Mr. Anderson, to contribute whatever may be required on his Part to forward this Issue of the Negociation, that I doubt whether my Interference might not rather impede than promote it, by the Loss of Time which it would necessarily occasion in transmitting the ultimate Proposals to Poonee.

"2dly. The Zemeendary of Benaris has hitherto engaged my principal Attention. I had just Grounds to apprehend, that the slightest Causes might occasion fresh Disturbances in that Country from the Novelty and Weakness of the new Administration, and could not therefore venture to leave it until I had seen that Administration firmly established, and until I had formed some Experience of the Ability of the Naib for conducting it. I have the Satisfaction to inform you, that his Authority is every where completely established, and that I have every Reason to hope for the full Performance of his Engagements. The Disposition which I have made of the Forces allotted for the Peace of this Zemeedary is sufficient to answer, with Certainty, every Purpose of internal Defence, and, at the same Time, to prove a Check on the Zemendars of the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier which border upon it, this being the most likely Scene of new Disturbances, from the natural Turbulency of the Nabob's Subjects, and their Collusion with their Neighbours in this Zemeendary. Copies of these Orders, with the other military Orders, which I have thought proper to issue for the Distribution of the Troops of that Station, will be forwarded to you as soon as they can be transcribed, after the Dispatch of this Letter.

"On the Ganges, near Sunegegunar,
23d January 1782. (At the End) "Warren Hastings."

Read, from Book 82, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Governor General, dated the 6th December 1781, beginning at Page 121 of the same Book.

"Fort William, 12th June 1783.

Secret Dept. Thursday.

"At a Council; Present,

"The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President;

Edward Wheeler *,
John Macpherson,
John Stables, } Esquires.

* Sic in Orig.

"Extract of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Hastings.

Dated 6th December 1781.

"Your Pleasure, respecting the Begums, I have learnt from Sir Elijah; and the Measure heretofore proposed will soon follow the Resumption of the Jagheers, from both, or, indeed, from the former alone, I have no Doubt of the complete Liquidation of the Company's Balance.

"I am, &c.

"Nath. Middleton (a)."

(a) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

Then

Then the Managers for the Commons desired Mr. Middleton might be called in, for the Purpose of finishing his Examination of Yesterday.

Accordingly, NATHANIEL MIDDLETON Esquire was called in, and the Examination proceeded in, as follows:

Q. Whether you did not consider the English as the principal Movers in the Business of seizing the Treasures?

A. No, I did not. I had reason to believe that the Country in general did think we were the principal Movers in it.

Q. But you yourself did not?
A. I did not.

Then the following Passage was read, from Book 81 already delivered in;—Extract of Mr. Middleton's Defence, in a Consultation of the 28th July 1783, beginning at Page 79 of the same Book.

" Fort William, 28th July 1783.

Secret Dept. Monday.

" At a Council; Present,
The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President.
Edward Wheler, } Esquires.
John Stables, }
Mr. Macpherson, indisposed.

" The Nabob was Son to the Begum we were to proceed against. A Son against a Mother, must at least save Appearances in this Mode of proceeding. The Produce of his Negociation was to be received by the Company.

" Receiving a Benefit; accompanying the Nabob; withdrawing their Protection,—were Circumstances sufficient to mark the English as the principal Movers in this Business. At a Court where no Opportunity is lost to throw Odium upon us, so favourable an Occasion was not missed to persuade the Nabob, that we instigated him to dishonour his Family, for our Benefit. The Impressions made by such Suggestions, constantly retarded the Progress, and more than Once actually broke off the Business, which rendered the utmost Caution on my Part necessary, especially as I had no Assistance to expect from the Ministers, who could not openly move in the Business. In the East it is well known, that no Man, either by himself or his Troops, can enter the Walls of a Zenanâ, scarcely in the Case of acting against an open Enemy, much less of an Ally; an Ally acting against his own Mother. The outward Walls, and the Begums Agents, were all that were liable to immediate Attack. They were dealt with, and successfully, as the Event proved; I therefore confidently trust, if it shall appear to the Honourable Board, as it does to me, that the Spirit and main Object of my Orders were strictly adhered to and fulfilled, that they will not longer hold me criminal for a Deviation from the precise Letter of them (*a*)."

Then the following Question was put to the Witness:

Q. To what Part of the Charge brought against you by Mr. Hastings is this Passage a Reply?

A. To the best of my Recollection, it was to that of the Delay in executing his Orders respecting the Business of Fyzabad; to the best of my Recollection; but I would wish, for Accuracy, to refer to the Charge itself.

Then the Book was shewn to the Witness, who said,

A. It is the Answer to the 5th Article of the Charge.

Q. What did you mean by this Passage, " receiving a Benefit, accompanying the Nabob, withdrawing their Protection, were Circumstances sufficient to mark the English as the principal Movers in this Business?"

A. I conceived it was sufficient in the Eyes of the Publick to mark the English as the principal Movers in the Business: That they would conceive an Opinion, from those Circumstances, that the English were the principal Movers in this Business.

Q. Do you not admit, these Circumstances did, in Fact, shew that the English were the principal Movers in this Business?

A. My Opinion is, that the English were not the principal Movers; but, at the same Time, I admit, that these Circumstances were sufficient to mark them out so to the Publick.

Q. Whether Mr. Hastings was satisfied with this Answer to the Fifth Article of the Charge; or whether he declared his Orders were peremptory, and ought to have been obeyed?

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XLIII.

The Counsel for the Defendant objected to the Question, the Declaration being in Writing.

Then the Witness was asked,

Q. Do you know of any other Declaration Mr. Hastings has made upon that Subject, but what is contained in Writing?

A. No.

Then the following Extract was read from Book 82, already delivered in, from Consultation of the 12th June 1783, beginning at Page 246 of the same Book.

" Fort William, 12th June 1783.

" At a Council; Present,

The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President;

Edward Wheler,
John Macpherson,
John Stables,
} Esquires.

" Letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Hastings.

" To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, &c.

" Sir,

" I have had, this Day, the Honour to receive your Commands of the 25th ultimo; and am extremely concerned that the Mode of conducting the Fayzabad Business, as set forth in my Address of the 18th January, did not meet your entire Approbation. Permit me to assure you, Sir, it is with the greatest Reluctance I ever venture to deviate from the express Letter of your Instructions; and I cannot accuse myself of having done it on any Occasion, where it did not appear to my Judgement that the Object and Spirit of them rendered it advisable, and that the apparent Necessity would justify such Latitude.

" In the present Instance, it was more in Appearance and Expression than in Fact, that any Deviation was made from your Order of the 26th December; for although I was constrained, from my strict Regard to the Accomplishment of what I considered the first Object of this Undertaking, to admit of a temporary Forbearance, for the Reasons assigned in my Address of the 18th ultimo, the Begums were at that Time to be considered as entirely at the Mercy of the Nabob; their Jagheers were in the Possession of the Aumils, their Troops dispersed, and the Kella of Fayzabad, which included also the Bhow Begum's own Habitation, under the Guard of his Excellency's and our Troops.

" It remained only to get Possession of her Wealth; and to effect this, it was then, and is still, my firm and unalterable Opinion, that it was indispensibly necessary to employ temporizing Expedients, and to work upon the Hopes and Fears of the Begum herself, and more especially upon those of her principal Agents, through whose Means alone there appeared any probable Chance of our getting Access to the hidden Treasure of the late Vizier; and when I acquaint you, that by far the greatest Part of the Treasure which has been delivered to the Nabob, was taken from the most secret Recesses in the Houses of the Two Eunuchs, whence, of course, it could not have been extracted, without the Adoption of those Means which could induce the Discovery, I shall hope for your Approbation of what I did. I must also observe, that no further Rigour than that which I exerted could have been used against Females in this Country, to whom there can be no Access. The Nabob and Salar Jung were the only Two who could enter the Zenanah: The first was a Son who was to address a Parent, and, of course, could use no Language or Action but that of earnest and reiterated Solicitation; and the other was, in all Appearance, a Traitor to our Cause. Where Force could be employed, it was not spared. The Troops of the Begum were driven away and dispersed; their Guns taken; her Fort, and the outward Walls of her House, seized and occupied by our Troops, at the Nabob's Requisition; and her chief Agents imprisoned and put in Irons: No further Step was left; and in this Situation they still remain, and are to continue (excepting only a Remission of the Irons), until the final Liquidation of the Payment; and, if then you deem it proper, no possible Means of Offence being left in her Hands or those of her Agents, all her Lands and Property having been taken, I mean, with your Sanction, to restore her House and Servants to her; and hope to be favoured with your early Reply, as I expect that a few Days will complete the final Surrender of all that is further expected from the Begum.

" I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

" Lucknow, the 5th February 1782. " Nathaniel Middleton,
Resident at the Court of the Vizier."

Then the following Question was put to the Witness:

Q. What Answer did you receive to this Letter?

A. I do not recollect there was any particular Answer given to it.

Q. Do

Q. Do you conſider theſe Paſſages in that Letter;—" no further Rigour than that which I ex-
" erted could have been uſed againſt Females in this Country;"—nd the following Paſſage, " where
" Force could be employed it was not ſpared:"—Do you conſider theſe Paſſages as fulfilling this Di-
rection of Mr. Haſtings, " you yourſelf ought to be perſonally preſent; you muſt not allow any
" Negociation or Forbearance, but muſt proſecute both Services, until the Begums are at the en-
" tire Mercy of the Nabob (*a*)."

A. I did conſider them as an Execution of thoſe Orders.

Q. Do you think you could have obtained Poſſeſſion of the Wealth of the Begums by any milder Means than thoſe, which you did in fact purſue?

A. It was in my Opinion the ſurer Means of obtaining them.

Q. But could you have obtained them by milder Means, according to your Apprehenſion of Things?

A. I ſhould apprehend not.

Q. Did you do any Act or Deed relative to this Buſineſs, which you did not conceive yourſelf directed to do by the Letter or Spirit of Mr. Haſtings's Inſtructions?

A. I certainly acted in a Manner that I conceived to be conformable to the general Tendency of Mr. Haſtings's Inſtructions.

Q. Was you not afterwards accuſed by Mr. Haſtings of having fallen ſhort in Point of Rigour, in the Execution of theſe Orders.

A. I beg to refer to Mr. Haſtings's Charge againſt me for the particular Words of it.

Q. Are you confident that this is an exact Statement, that " no further Rigour than that which I exerted could have been uſed againſt Females in this Country;"—that you did uſe the utmoſt Rigour that could be uſed? Do you think ſo now?

A. It was my Opinion, that the Rigour that was uſed, was as much as could be uſed againſt Women in that Situation.

Q. Could the Nabob, or his Miniſters, have uſed any Sort of Rigour in that Tranſaction?

A. They certainly uſed what was uſed.

Q. Do you mean, that the Nabob uſed all the Rigour that was uſed or could be uſed by him, or whether it was uſed by the Engliſh without the Nabob?

A. It was by the Nabob's Authority—by the Nabob's Orders.

Q. Then what do you mean by this Paſſage in the Letter juſt read to you? " The Firſt was
" a Son who was to addreſs a Parent, and of courſe could uſe no Language or Action but that of
" earneſt and reiterated Solicitation;"—how do you reconcile your preſent Opinion with that Repreſentation?

A. What I mean by Rigour, was attacking and taking Poſſeſſion of the Kella which incloſed the Habitation of the Begums. I conceive that no other Force could have been uſed againſt them: for inſtance, that the Troops could not have entered the Zenana, or the private Apartments of the Women, or have taken any other Steps than what they did in ſeizing the Kella, which included their Apartment; and that being done, I conceived that much of the reſt depended upon the Nabob's perſonal Negociations with the Begum and her Agents.

Q. Could the Nabob, if left to himſelf, have uſed any Language or Action but that of Solicitation?

A. Poſſibly he might; but I do not think he would have done it. I think Solicitation would have been the Courſe he would have preferred.

Q. Upon what Account did you ſtate, that the Miniſters could not poſſibly appear at all in the Buſineſs?

A. I meant to ſtate, that the Miniſters could not openly appear in the Buſineſs.

Q. Why not?

A. It is contrary to their Station—not conſiſtent with their Situation, that they ſhould take any open Part in the Buſineſs.

Q. Why could they not?

A. They conſidered the Begums in pretty much the ſame Light as they did the Nabob himſelf, with reſpect to perſonal Forms.

Q. They had an equal Reſpect then for the Begums, as they had for the Nabob?

A. They obſerved the ſame perſonal Forms to the Begums, as to the Nabob.

Q. Then, am I to underſtand you, that it would have been an odious and diſgraceful Thing for the Miniſters to have interfered?

A. I conceive it would: That they would have thought it ſo.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

Q. The

Q. The Begums having been charged with being in actual Rebellion againſt the Nabob, in order to dethrone and deſtroy him, why ſhould the Nabob and his Miniſters have felt it ſuch an extremely odious Buſineſs, to deprive them of that Wealth which is ſtated to have been the Means of ſupporting the Rebellion?

A. I conceive that is Matter of Opinion.

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, that this was mere Matter of Argument, not Evidence of a Fact.

The Managers for the Commons made Anſwer, that it was a Queſtion of Fact: That the Witneſs had formerly ſtated, that the Begums were in actual Rebellion: That the Object of that Rebellion was to dethrone and deſtroy the Nabob; and now they wanted to know the Circumſtances which, in the Witneſs's Opinion after that Fact was known, did make the Nabob ſo extremely averſe to depriving the Begums of their Wealth.

The Houſe obſerved, that the Queſtion would then be,

Q. Whether the Circumſtance of their being in Rebellion would have diſpenſed, according to the Witneſs's Notion of the Ceremonies and Laws obſerved in that Country, with the perſonal Reſpect which the Miniſters were otherwiſe bound to pay the Begums?

A. I do not think it would; but that is mere Matter of Opinion: I believe, if the Miniſters were certainly convinced that the Begums were in actual Rebellion, they would ſtill have preſerved their perſonal Reſpect to them in point of Form.

Q. Do you mean, that the Nabob declared openly his Deſire to poſſeſs himſelf of thoſe Treaſures?

A. I am very certain the Nabob did, on many Occaſions, declare himſelf deſirous of poſſeſſing himſelf of thoſe Treaſures, which he conſidered as his own Treaſures; he conſidered them as the Treaſures of his Father which had been lodged in the Begums Cuſtody; and he thought he had a Right to the Whole of them.

Q. The Point of the Queſtion is, whether he declared in any Manner which you call an open Manner?

A. He did in Converſation with me.

Q. Who drew the Affidavits which were taken before Sir Elijah Impey, or any of them, that you know of?

A. I can only ſpeak to my own, I drew that; I do not know who drew any of the reſt.

Q. Not any of them?

A. Not any of them.

Q. Did you not receive a Letter from Mr. Haſtings dated Chunar, 15 November 1781, directing you to ſuperintend the Whole of the Tranſaction reſpecting the Affidavits?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, that the Whole of this Examination was to Matters which are in Writing and upon Record; that the Letter had been produced, and the proper Courſe would be to read it.

The Managers for the Commons made Anſwer, there was nothing in Writing to indicate who drew the Affidavits.

The Houſe obſerved, that the proper Courſe was to produce the Letter, and examine the Witneſs upon it.

The Managers for the Commons ſaid, the Letter was already in Evidence (*a*) before the Houſe, and they deſired to aſk the Witneſs, why he diſregarded the Inſtructions contained in it?

The Witneſs ſaid,

A. I have a perfect Recollection of the Letter.

Q. Then do you mean to ſay, that you drew up your own Affidavit, but that you interfered no further with reſpect to the Affidavits of any other Perſon?

A. I did mean ſo: The Letter here referred to, is a general Inſtruction of the Points to which the Affidavits were to go: I recollect communicating to Colonel Hannay that Letter, and reading it to him: I do not know that I communicated it to any Body elſe; for moſt of the Officers, who were to make Affidavit before Sir Elijah Impey, belonged to Colonel Hannay's Corps: of Courſe, he would inſtruct them as to the Points of the Letter.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 630.

Q. Did you give Colonel Hannay a Copy of that Letter?
A. I do not recollect whether I did or not; I rather think I did not, that I only read it to him.

Q. Did you call upon no other Perſon, nor communicate with any other Perſon upon this Letter, beſides Colonel Hannay?
A. I will not ſay poſitively that I did not; but I really do not recollect it, nor do I believe that I did.

Q. This Paſſage being in the Letter of Inſtructions, namely: — "I muſt therefore requeſt and require of you, in my Name, to call upon Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, Major Macdonald, Captain Williams, and Lieutenant Gordon, and every other Perſon who may have a perſonal Knowledge or Underſtanding of theſe Facts, or of any others relating to the Rebellion of Cheyt Sing, and its Connections in the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier, ſeverally to depoſe all that they know and believe concerning the ſame, either on Oath before Sir Elijah Impey, who will inſtantly viſit Lucknow, chiefly with this Intention, or that they repair to me at this Place for the ſame Purpoſe (*a*);"— Are we to underſtand, that, excepting Colonel Hannay's Affidavit, and your own, all the others came to Sir Elijah Impey, without any Interference on your Part?

The Houſe obſerved, the Witneſs had not ſaid he interfered even with Colonel Hannay's Affidavit, but only that he drew his own Affidavit, and neither knew of, or directed, any other Perſon.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, you drew Colonel Hannay's Affidavit?
A. I mean to ſay, that I only drew my own, and knew nothing of the drawing of any Body's elſe; not of Colonel Hannay's.

Q. Did you do any Thing, in Conſequence of thoſe peremptory Inſtructions of Mr. Haſtings, beſides what you have already mentioned, the communicating of them to Colonel Hannay?
A. Not that I recollect: I ſpeak doubtfully of communicating it to any others; I may have communicated it to Mr. Johnſon, my Aſſiſtant; but I do not recollect I communicated it to any Body.

Q. Be poſitive, if you can, in your Recollection upon this Subject:—Do you mean to ſwear, you do not know who drew up, or ſettled, any of the Affidavits, except your own?
A. I am very certain of it, as far as a Perſon can be certain of a Fact at this Diſtance of Time, that I only drew up my own. If that is not an Anſwer, I wiſh the Queſtion may be more pointedly put.

Q. The Queſtion is, not only whether you drew up any other Affidavit; but, whether you know who drew up any of the other Affidavits?
A. I certainly do not; I take it for granted, that the Parties themſelves did draw them up, but I cannot ſpeak poſitively: I know nothing about their Affidavits, or about any Affidavits but my own, which I certainly drew up.

Q. Was it at this Time you delivered back to Colonel Hannay the Letters you had formerly received from him, reſpecting the Conduct of the Begums?
A. I cannot ſay that it was exactly at that Time; I do not recollect, but it was certainly at the Time that he was drawing up his Affidavit upon that Buſineſs.

Q. Can you inform us, why Colonel Hannay could not depoſe to Facts which had paſſed within his own Knowledge, without recurring to the Letters he had formerly written to you?
A. I cannot; it is impoſſible I can form any Opinion. The Reaſon Colonel Hannay aſſigned to me was, he wiſhed to refreſh his Memory with what he had written to me in ſeveral Letters upon that Subject.

Q. Was that the Whole of what he ſaid upon the Subject?
A. It was the Whole.

Q. Was you preſent at the taking of any other Affidavit before the Chief Juſtice, beſides your own?
A. I do not recollect that I was; but at the ſame Time I will admit the Poſſibility that I might, though I do not recollect it. I viſited him very often, and I certainly have often ſeen thoſe Gentlemen, who made Affidavits, at his Houſe. They might, at ſome of thoſe Viſits, have made Affidavits before him when I was there; but I cannot take upon me to ſay that was the Caſe.

Q. Can you give any Reaſon why the Letters you received from Colonel Hannay do not appear, either upon the Records, or in your own Letter Book?
A. They were private Letters addreſſed to myſelf in my private Capacity. I never did enter in my publick Letter Book any Letters of that Sort.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 630.

Q. Did not thoſe Letters contain the Whole of the Information you had received to the 19th of October, reſpecting the Conduct of the Begums, or had you any other Information?

A. It is impoſſible I can anſwer that Queſtion poſitively. I have no Doubt I had other. I have ſtated what Information I had. I was with Mr. Haſtings at Chunar during the greateſt Part of thoſe Troubles; and ſuch Information as I did receive I communicated to Mr. Haſtings. I cannot ſay whether Colonel Hannay's Letters contained the whole Information I received.

Q. Did you ever hear Mr. Haſtings make any Obſervation upon the Circumſtance of your Letter to him, which contained Extracts of your Correſpondence with Colonel Hannay, in conſequence of a Letter being dated the 19th of September, in the Narrative, and the 19th of October, in your Letter Book?

A. This is the firſt Time I ever heard of any Difference in the Dates, conſequently I never could have heard Mr. Haſtings make any Obſervations upon it. I never knew till this Moment that there was any Difference in the Dates.

Q. Are you quite poſitive that the Date in your Letter Book, of the 19th of October, is the right Date?

A. I am ſure it could not be the 19th of September, becauſe I was then at Chunar, and have no Doubt but the 19th of October is the right Date.

Q. Can you account for your not having mentioned this Correſpondence in the Affidavit you made before Sir Elijah Impey?

A. I can aſſign no Reaſon for it; but probably, as Colonel Hannay was going to make an Affidavit to the Subject of thoſe Letters, I might not think it neceſſary.

Q. In your Affidavit you ſtate, "that you further heard from your own News-writer ſtationed at Fyzabad, that a Vakeel or Agent from Rajah Cheit Sing had been received at that Place, and allowed to remain under the Protection of the ſaid Eunuchs; but for what particular Purpoſe, or what was the Nature of his Commiſſion or Negotiations, this Deponent has not been able to diſcover" (*a*)—who was that News-writer you mention to be ſtationed at Fyzabad?

A. He was the News Writer on the Part of the Reſident; he had been ſtationed at Fyzabad for ſeveral Years; he was there in the Time of Mr. Briſtow, my Predeceſſor; ſtationed there to forward the Poſt Letters, and likewiſe to communicate to the Reſident at Lucknow any Intelligence of Conſequence that he might learn there.

Q. What was his Name?

A. Hoolas Roy.

Q. Where is the Letter of Hoolas Roy, which contains the Communication you have ſworn to have received from him?

A. I really do not know; very poſſibly it is in the Office at Lucknow.

Q. How comes it not to appear upon your Book of Correſpondence?

A. It was a Perſian Letter.

Q. You have ſworn in this Affidavit, "that you heard at the Time much Encouragement, and ſome actual Aid, had been given to Cheit Sing, by Jewar Aly Cawn and Behar Aly Cawn:" (*b*) What do you mean by ſome actual Aid, which you heard had been given by theſe Two Perſons?

A. I heard that they had raiſed Troops; that they had aſſiſted Rajah Cheit Sing's Vackeel in raiſing Troops, and in ſending them to the Rajah's Aſſiſtance. I aſſert this, not on my own Knowledge, but upon common Report.

Q. How comes it, there is no Trace of this Correſpondence in your Letter Book?

A. I ſhould wiſh to know which Correſpondence is alluded to?

Q. Had you any Correſpondence upon that Subject, that you remember, with any Body?

A. None that I remember; I ſpeak of it as a common Report.

Q. Was it alſo from common Report that you learned, that, during the Continuance of the Diſturbances at Banares, the Begums had manifeſted a ſtrong Diſaffection to the Engliſh?

A. It was.

Q. Then I underſtand, that the only Circumſtance which you received any Information upon, in any authentick Shape, was this, "that you further heard from your own News-writer, ſtationed at Fyzabad, that a Vackeel or Agent from Rajah Cheit Sing had been received at that Place, and allowed to remain under the Protection of the ſaid Eunuchs; but for what particular Purpoſe, or what was the Nature of his Commiſſion, or Negociations, you was not able to diſcover." (*c*) Was that the only Communication you received from Hoolas Roy, or any one upon this Subject?

A. The only one I recollect at this Time: I do not recollect any other.

Q. You underſtand that theſe three Circumſtances are the Whole that relates to the Begums?

The Houſe obſerved, that the Witneſs had ſaid, they were the Whole he undertakes at this Time to recollect; and that if the Managers for the Commons wiſhed to aſk

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 256. (*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 255, Line 5 from Bottom. (*c*) Vide ſupra, Page 256.

him

him any more Queſtions about it, it would be more proper to let the Witneſs ſee the Affidavit.

The Affidavit was ſhewn to the Witneſs, and he was aſked;

Q. Did not this Affidavit contain the Whole you knew upon this Subject, on the 27th of November 1781?

A. All that I knew of my own Knowledge, I have no Doubt but it did; it could not contain all I had heard, becauſe it does not contain the Letters I received from Colonel Hannay, or any other Letters.

Q. Does the Affidavit contain any one Thing that you knew of your own Knowledge?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, that this would appear by the Affidavit itſelf.

Q. Do you know any Reaſon why the Teſtimony of Hoolas Roy, who was ſent to be examined does not appear; do you know of his being ſent to be examined?

A. He was ſent: Certainly ordered to attend.

Q. Do you know, whether he was in Fact examined?

A. I do not.

Q. Do you know any Reaſon, or have you heard from Mr. Haſtings, why he was not in Fact examined?

A. I have not.

Q. Did you hear from Colonel Hannay that a Thouſand Men, Nudjeebs, were ſent from Fyzabad to the Aſſiſtance of Cheit Sing?

A. I have heard it: I cannot ſay where; but I certainly have heard it.

Q. Was you apprized that Colonel Hannay mentioned it, and afterwards ſwore to it, only as a Report which he had heard?

A. I would wiſh to refer to Colonel Hannay's Affidavit; it is impoſſible I can retain in my Memory all that Colonel Hannay depoſed to.

Q. What Meaſures were taken by Mr. Haſtings upon hearing of this Rebellion at Fyzabad, and what Troops did he ſend to ſuppreſs it?

A. Is the Queſtion meant to be confined to the Period of the ſuppoſed Rebellion?

Q. The Queſtion is—Do you know when Mr. Haſtings heard of the Rebellion?

A. I take it for granted, he heard of it in September.

Q. What Meaſures did he take upon that?

A. I do not know what Meaſures he did take, or whether he took any: the Nabob himſelf was with Mr. Haſtings at that Time.

Q. Was not you with Mr. Haſtings too at that Time, at Chunar?

A. Certainly I was.

Q. What Meaſures did the Nabob take, upon hearing the Report of that Rebellion?

A. Previous to his Arrival at Chunar, the Nabob had called in all the Troops he could aſſemble; he had left Lucknow, with his ordinary Guard, which, compared with what he had afterwards, was a very ſmall one; and he ſtopped upon the Road a conſiderable Time to call in his Troops, and when he arrived at Chunar, he certainly had a very large Body of Troops with him.

Q. Did not the Nabob bring with him the Troops which he ſo collected to Chunar, or what did he do towards ſuppreſſing the Rebellion?

A. I was going to add, I do not know what Steps he took, or whether he took any, at Chunar.

Q. Whether you ever heard of any one Soldier, Horſe or Foot, having been ſent to ſuppreſs that Rebellion; whether there was any Sort of Force ever employed in the Suppreſſion of that Rebellion?

A. I did not hear that there was.

Q. Did the Nabob, upon his Return from Fyzabad to Lucknow, communicate in any Manner with you upon the Subject of that Rebellion, after his Viſit to his Mother?

A. I do not recollect that he did.

Q. When you ſtormed the Kella of the Begums, what Force had the Nabob and you with you?

A. The Nabob was there in Perſon, and had a conſiderable Force; and there was One Regiment of Engliſh. The Kella was ſtormed by a Regiment of Engliſh Sepoys, aſſiſted by ſome Troops of the Nabob.

Q. Do

Q. Do you recollect the Amount of the Nabob's Force?
A. I cannot with any Accuracy; I ſuppoſe he might have Fifteen or Twenty Thouſand Men with him.

Q. What Sort of Troops are the Nabob's Sebundy?
A. They are irregular Troops, armed and clothed after the Country Manner.

Q. Are thoſe Troops fit for any Service?
A. They are employed occaſionally in Military Services; they are certainly not good Troops, or Troops that can be much depended upon.

Q. Did not you ſtate to Mr. Haſtings, that the Nabob's Sebundy alone were ſufficient to have reduced the Jagheerdars, and to have ſeized the Treaſures?
A. I cannot ſay I recollect it; if I have ſaid ſo, it will appear upon Record.

Q. Did you ever conſider the Sebundy in any better Light than that of a uſeleſs Rabble?
A. Certainly I could not regard it in that Light, becauſe they were a principal Part of the Troops of the Nabob's Aumils for the Service of their Collections; they had no other Troops; undoubtedly they were not regular Troops, or Troops that could be much depended upon in actual Service.

Q. Could the Sebundy have ſeized the Kella, without the Aſſiſtance of this ſingle regular Regiment of Sepoys?
A. I ſhould apprehend they could not. I underſtood upon the Spot the Begums had a very conſiderable Force, and that had the Attack been made by the Nabob's Troops alone, a very ſevere Reſiſtance was determined upon.

Q. Did you not underſtand alſo, at the ſame Time, that the Begum had no Idea the Engliſh would aſſiſt the Nabob, till you informed her that it would be ſo?
A. I have already given an Anſwer to that Queſtion, that the Begum certainly had Expectations of the Interference of the Engliſh for a conſiderable Time.

Q. Down to the Time when you gave them that Information that you ſpoke of Yeſterday?
A. Yes.

Q. In reſuming the Jaghires, was there any Battle fought, Blows ſtruck, or any Blood ſhed at all upon that Account?
A. I do not recollect that there was any where. I recollect, when the Nabob firſt ſent his Aumils to take Charge of the Jaghires, that they were not able to take Charge of them, not having Force ſufficient; afterwards the Nabob ſent them with a conſiderable Force.

Q. Are you ſure that the Nabob ſent them a conſiderable Force afterwards?
A. I underſtood he ſent Force ſufficient for the Service: What it conſiſted of, I cannot ſay; but that he ſent Troops with the Aumil, who was to take Poſſeſſion of theſe Jaghires, is true.

Q. Who commanded thoſe Troops?
A. Probably the Commander was the Aumil who went to take Charge of the Jaghires: The Officers of the Troops acted under his Command.

Q. Do you recollect having any Correſpondence with Major Naylor upon this Subject?
A. I do recollect having ſome Correſpondence with him upon the Subject; to the beſt of my Recollection, he was ordered to aſſiſt the Nabob's Officers in putting him in Poſſeſſion of ſome Gunges or Markets, which the Begum had on the oppoſite Side of the River.

Q. Do you recollect Major Naylor's Communication upon that Subject?
A. I do not, at this Moment, remember it.

Q. From your general Knowledge of Major Naylor, had you any Reaſon to believe that he would communicate falſely?
A. I certainly have no Reaſon to believe that he would.

Q. Did you return any Papers from Lucknow, under a ſealed Cover, to Mr. Haſtings, in order that they might be opened when he ſhould think it expedient?
A. I did.

Q. Can you recollect what thoſe Papers were?
A. I believe One of thoſe Papers was a Copy of the Chunar Treaty, and the other Papers connected with it.

Q. Was there among thoſe Papers a Liſt of the Names of any Gentlemen, to whoſe Continuance at Lucknow the Nabob had conſented?
A. I do not recollect that there was.

Q. Did you ever ſend from Lucknow to Mr. Haſtings, before his Return to Calcutta, any ſuch Papers?
A. I do not recollect that I did.

Q. Did you receive from Mr. Haſtings, at Chunar, a Liſt of the Names of Engliſh Gentlemen allowed to continue at Lucknow?

A. I do not recollect that I did.

Q. Recollect a little carefully on this Subject.—What other Communication did you receive from Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject of Engliſh Gentlemen who were to be allowed to reſide at Lucknow?

A. Mr. Haſtings did mention, I believe, in Converſation, the Gentlemen whom the Nabob permitted to reſide at Lucknow.

Q. Are you ſure that Mr. Haſtings gave you no Paper upon that Subject, or that you took no Minutes of that Converſation?

A. I cannot be ſure.

Q. When had you this Communication or Converſation with Mr. Haſtings?

A. It was while I was with him at Chunar—I cannot exactly ſay—probably about the Time of ſigning the Treaty?

Q. Was it not expreſsly ſtipulated in the Treaty, that all the Engliſh Gentlemen, without Diſtinction, excepting only the Gentlemen of the Reſident's Office, ſhould be removed from the Nabob's Dominions?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, that the Treaty would ſpeak for itſelf.

Q. Do you remember any Thing about that?

A. I have ſome Remembrance about that.

Q. Whether any one Article of the Treaty was kept with the Nabob?

A. I muſt read the Treaty, and all that has paſſed upon it, before I could venture to give an Opinion upon that Subject.

Q. Here is the Treaty: Will you point out any one Article that was kept?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected.

Q. Whether that Part of the Treaty which was ſtipulated ſhould not be carried into Execution, namely, the Nabob's Part, was not in Fact the only Part that was carried into Execution?

A. With humble Submiſſion, I beg Leave to treat that, as a Part of the other Queſtion. It is really impoſſible for me to anſwer Queſtions of this Sort.

Q. Whether you was preſent at all, or any of the Times, that the Affidavits were ſworn before Sir Elijah Impey?

A. I beg to refer to the Anſwer I gave to that Queſtion before—that I did not recollect being preſent at any of them; though I admitted, at the ſame Time, the Poſſibility that I might have been preſent when ſome were taken.

Q. Do you know that there were Affidavits made by native Indians as well as by Engliſh Gentlemen?

A. I perceive, by Mr. Haſtings's Narrative, that there were.

Q. Do you know in what Manner thoſe native Indians had Notice to make thoſe Affidavits?

A. I do not know any Thing about it.

Q. Do you know of any Communication by Mr. Haſtings, to any Perſon beſides yourſelf, for the Purpoſe of having Affidavits taken?

A. Perhaps I may not underſtand that Queſtion perfectly. I take it for granted he communicated with Sir Elijah Impey upon taking the Affidavits; but I do not know any Perſon at Lucknow whom he communicated with.

Q. Do you know any Perſon at Lucknow that he did communicate with?

A. No; I certainly do not.

Q. Do you know who the Natives were that made theſe Affidavits?

A. I underſtood they were principally native Officers, belonging to Colonel Hannay's Corps. I do not ſpeak from my own Knowledge.

Q. Do you know a Perſon called Doond Sing?

A. No; I do not.

Q. Do you know a Perſon of the Name of Denoo Sing?

A. I do not.

Q. Or Kundiall Sing?

A. No: If theſe are the Perſons that have given their Affidavits, I do not recollect I ever ſaw one of them.

Q. Then

Q. Then you do not know by what Means theſe Perſons were informed they were to make the Affidavits before Sir Elijah Impey?

A. I do not. I always ſuppoſed the Communication was made to them by their Officers, that they were to depoſe, as far as their Knowledge went, to certain Circumſtances and certain Facts, and I know no more of the Matter.

Q. Did you give any Inſtructions to any Perſon, to deſire their Officers to deſire thoſe Perſons to make Affidavits?

A. I have already informed your Lordſhips of the Extent of my Communications upon Mr. Haſtings's Letter. I do not recollect I had any Communication with any Perſon whatever, upon that Subject, but Colonel Hannay, and to him I read Mr. Haſtings's Letter.

Q. Whether you did not know that Colonel Hannay, Captain Gordon, and Lieutenant Williams, were accuſed by the Begums and others, of having robbed the whole Country, and being themſelves the Cauſe of the Inſurrection, by their Oppreſſions?

A. I have ſome Recollection of Letters to that Purport, which have been read before your Lordſhips.

Q. How came you to confide the Management of the Depoſitions, which were to authenticate the Rebellion of the Begums, to the Perſons accuſed by them?

A. I have informed your Lordſhips of the Extent of my Interference. I did conceive the Intention of Mr. Haſtings's Letter was only, that the People who were to depoſe, ſhould be informed to what they were to depoſe, and I thought I had done my Duty by communicating the Letter to Colonel Hannay, who was the Commanding Officer, and it was his Duty to communicate it to thoſe Officers immediately under him.

Q. Then you mean to ſay, that it was a Part of Military Duty to do this?

A. I hope I am not out of Order, when I beg Leave to decline anſwering that Queſtion. It is impoſſible for me to know—I am no Military Man. I thought I did my Duty in communicating the Letter to Colonel Hannay.

Q. Whether you do not know that ſome of theſe Affidavit Men ſwore in Couples? Do you know whether more than One joined in an Affidavit?

A. I have already informed your Lordſhips I know very little about the Affidavits. I muſt refer to the Affidavits themſelves. I really do not know that they did.

Q. Whether there was any Man of the Law, as profeſſed by Mahometans or by Hindoos, to ſee that the Oaths were legally and properly adminiſtered to them, according to their ſeveral religious Tenets?

A. I really do not know whether there was or not.

Q. Did you take Care that there was? Did you give any Orders or Inſtructions for any ſuch Perſon to attend?

A. Certainly not.

Q. (*Croſs examined.*) Do you know, in point of Fact, whether any Leaves have been torn out of any of thoſe Books that were ſhewn you Yeſterday, ſince they were bound?

A. I cannot take upon me to ſay, whether they have or not. I beg to ſtate, that thoſe are not complete Copies of my Correſpondence: The complete Copies of my Correſpondence were left in my Office at Lucknow, as my Duty obliged me to do. Theſe are Books and Papers I had an Opportunity of taking for my own private Satisfaction. I cannot ſay in what Manner they have been treated. I am not ſenſible of any Leaves having been purpoſely taken out, or added.

Q. Do you know of any Leaves having been taken out at all, or added, whether purpoſely or not?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Whether thoſe Books contain, or did ever contain, any Letters to or from Mr. Haſtings?
A. This particular Book does not.

Q. What is the Deſcription of it?
A. Letter D: It is Copies of Letters to the Officers employed in the Nabob's Service.

Q. Do you know whether it ever contained any Letters to or from Mr. Haſtings?
A. I have every Reaſon to believe it never did.

Q. You have been aſked whether Hoolas Roy ever made any Affidavit—I underſtood you to ſay, you believed he did not: Do you know whether Hoolas Roy arrived at Benares before Sir Elijah Impey left it?

A. I do not know when he arrived at Benares.

Q. Do you know at what Time Sir Elijah Impey left Benares?
A. No, I cannot aſcertain it exactly.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether the Rebellion of the Begums did not exhibit itſelf both by the Aſſiſtance given to the Inſurgents in Baraitch and Goruckpore, and alſo in the Aſſiſtance given to Cheit Sing?

A. I have no Knowledge of that Circumſtance but what I have already ſtated.

Q. In the Uſe of the Word "Rebellion," do you apply it, as well to the Inſurgency in Baraitch and Goruckpore, as to the Aſſiſtance given to Cheit Sing?

A. As far as I have any Knowledge of it, certainly.

Q. Whether the Nabob ſent any Force of any Kind at any Time to ſuppreſs any Inſurrection in Baraitch and Goruckpore?

A. Moſt certainly he did.

Q. When did he?

A. I mean the Detachment under Major Naylor; I cannot ſay exactly when that marched; it was for the Purpoſe of quelling the Diſturbances in Baraitch and Goruckpore.

Q. At what Time was that?

A. It muſt be at the latter End of the Year 1781.

Q. Did the Nabob ſend that Detachment?

A. By his Orders it went.

Q. Whether that Inſurrection of Cheit Sing, in which the Nudjiebs were aſſiſting, was not ſuppreſſed by the Britiſh Forces?

A. No doubt it was.

Q. Whether you was in the Country of Oude at or ſhortly before the Death of Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. I was there a few Days before his Death; perhaps Ten or Twelve Days before his Death.

Q. Do you know where the publick Treaſures of Sujah ul Dowlah were depoſited?

A. I underſtood in the Zenana at Fyzabad, under the Care of the Bhow Begum.

Q. Do you mean that thoſe Treaſures were depoſited in the Zenana under the Charge of the Bhow Begum, as the Treaſurer of the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. I underſtood they were the Treaſures of the Nabob.

Q. But the Queſtion is, Whether ſhe was charged as Treaſurer to pay the Troops and other publick Purpoſes?

A. I underſtood ſhe had Charge of them, as the confidential publick Treaſurer; and I will mention One Reaſon for ſuppoſing ſhe was in that Situation. When the Nabob was employed againſt the Rohillas in Rohilcund, he had a Sum of Money to pay to the Eaſt India Company; the Begum happened to be with him in the Camp at that Time, and the Nabob Salar Jung, who was the Begum's Brother, was left in the Management of Affairs at Fyzabad. The Sum the Nabob had to pay the India Company was Fifteen Lacks of Rupees; he gave me an Order for Fifteen Lacks of Rupees upon Salar Jung at Fyzabad; I deputed a Gentleman of my Family to Fyzabad, for the Purpoſe of receiving the Money, and conveying it to Calcutta. However, upon his delivering the Nabob's Letter to Salar Jung at Fyzabad, a Difficulty aroſe, as there was no correſponding Order from the Begum for the Delivery of this Treaſure; and the Gentleman whom I deputed, whoſe Name is Grady, was detained there till an Order from the Begum did actually arrive, and upon the Receipt of her Order the Money was immediately paid out of the Treaſury.

Q. Do you underſtand, that the Order given by the Begum, upon that Occaſion, was an official Order, in the Character of Treaſurer to the Nabob?

A. I cannot take upon me to ſay in what Character ſhe iſſued the Order: Certain it was, that the Money was not paid till her Order was iſſued and received at Fyzabad.

Q. Do you underſtand that Order to have been given by the Begum as for the Diſpoſition of her own Property, or for the Diſpoſition of the Property of the Nabob?

A. I underſtood it to be for the Nabob's Property, for which the Nabob had previouſly given an Order himſelf.

Q. Do you know what was the Amount of the Treaſures, or, what was your beſt Information of the Amount of the Treaſures in the Zenana, at the Death of Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. It is impoſſible for me to aſcertain with any Sort of Accuracy; but it was ſuppoſed to be very conſiderable.

Q. What was the Amount of it, according to the beſt Information you could obtain upon that Subject?

A. I would wiſh your Lordſhips to underſtand it is an Opinion given very much at Random: I ſhould ſuppoſe, from the Information and Report of the People in general, that it was near two Crores of Rupees.

Q. What other Treaſures had the Nabob?
A. I do not know of any others that he had.

Q. Do you know of any other Place in which the public Treaſures of the Nabob were depoſited beſides this Zenana?
A. do not know of any other Place where any conſiderable Treaſures were depoſited: He had a nominal Treaſurer; but I do not believe he had Charge of any conſiderable Treaſure; not more than might be neceſſary for immediate Uſe. I certainly did underſtand, that the Nabob's principal Treaſure was at Fyzabad, under the Charge of the Begum.

Q. Neceſſary for immediate Uſe; what Uſe?
A. For his Expences.

Q. Expences of his Houſehold, or the Army?
A. For Expences of the Houſehold.

Q. But not for the Expences of his Civil Eſtabliſhment?
A. No, I ſhould imagine not; that would have been very conſiderable.

Q. Do you know what was the Amount of the Debt Sujah ul Dowlah owed the Company at the Time of his Death?
A. I cannot exactly ſay, but I believe it will appear in the Accounts; it was conſiderable, I know, but I cannot aſcertain the Sum.

Q. Do you recollect whether 40, 50, or 60 Lacks, or ſome ſuch large Sum?
A. It was, according to the beſt Recollection I have of it, between 40 and 50 Lacks, or thereabouts.

Q. Whether Sujah ul Dowlah had not a large Army, and what Number of Foot at the Time of his Death?
A. I do not know with any Degree of Accuracy; he had a very conſiderable Army.

Q. What is your Notion of a conſiderable Army?
A. From 50,000 to 70,000 Men.

Q. Do you know whether that Army was conſiderably in Arrear of Pay, at the Time of the Death of Sujah ul Dowlah?
A. I underſtood they were conſiderably in Arrear, many Months, near Twelve Months, I underſtood.

Q. Beſides the Arrears of Pay due from the Nabob, and beſides the Debt due to the Company, do you know whether the ſucceeding Nabob was burthened with any other Debts of his Father, owing to Individuals?
A. I believe there were ſome Debts to Individuals; but, I fancy, not conſiderable.

Q. Can you inform the Houſe, what was the aggregate Amount of all the Nabob's Debts?
A. It is impoſſible for me to give an accurate Anſwer to that Queſtion; I really do not know what his Army was in Arrear; or what the Pay of his Army was.

Q. What Difference is there, if you know it, between the Tenure of the Jaghires, and the Lands holden in Ultumgah?
A. My Idea of the Diſtinction is, that a common Jaghire is reſumable at Pleaſure; and that an Ultumgah is a Grant confirmed by the King, perpetual and hereditary.

Q. By "confirmed by the King," I underſtand you mean, confirmed at Delhi?
A. Confirmed by the Mogul: That is my Idea of it.

Q. Whether a Jaghire is in the Nature of a Rent Charge; or whether it carries with it the actual Poſſeſſion of the Land in general?
A. The Jaghiredar certainly has Poſſeſſion of the Land; but it is underſtood, that the Surplus, beyond the Sum for which the Jaghire was granted, does belong to the Prince who grants the Jaghire, if he chooſes to take it.—It is ſo underſtood.

Q. The Jaghire is granted then, as productive of a certain Sum?
A. The Jaghire is granted for a ſpecific Sum.

Q. Is it rated in the Grant as productive of a certain Sum?
A. Yes.

Q. Then, you hold that a Jaghiredar is accountable for the actual Profit he receives beyond that Sum?

A. He

A. He is accountable for it; if the Prince chooſes to call upon him, he is to account for the net Collections, and the Overplus belongs to the Prince—which is called, in the Language of the Country, Tophier.

Q. Whether you have not heard the Nabob frequently complain, prior to the Year 1781, of the Diſorders in his Country, occaſioned by the Independency of the Jagheerdars?

A. To the beſt of my Recollection, I have heard frequent Complaints.

Q. Whether the Jagheerdars do not keep a large Body of Forces, beſides what is immediately neceſſary for collecting the Revenue of their Jaghires?

A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay, what is neceſſary for the Collection of their Jaghires; they all certainly keep up a conſiderable Body of Troops in their reſpective Jaghires; I cannot ſay for what Purpoſe they keep them.

Q. Whether thoſe Troops, kept up upon the Jaghires, were under the Controul of the Nabob, or under the Controul of the Jaghiredars merely?

A. Entirely under the Controul of the Jaghiredars, as I underſtand.

Q. Whether the Nabob has not ſaid in Converſation with you, with reſpect to the Jaghiredars, that two Rulers were too much for one Country?

A. I cannot ſay I recollect the Expreſſion to myſelf.

Q. Whether the Nabob has not in Converſation with you complained that the Begums Servants had preſerved a total Independency, and that the Jaghiredars had beat the Officers of the Government, and refuſed Payment?

A. I do not recollect in thoſe very Terms; but I am very ſure the Nabob has frequently complained of the Begums People, and that they treated his Authority with Contempt; but I do not recollect thoſe particular Expreſſions.

Q. Whether any of the Jaghiredars in Oude have not frequently given Refuge to rebellious Zemindars, and weakened the Nabob's Authority?

A. I have heard of ſuch Inſtances.

Q. Upon the Independency of the Jaghiredars in general, has the Nabob complained to you, that they weakened his Authority?

A. To the beſt of my Recollection, the Nabob has made thoſe Complaints.

Q. Have you not Reaſon to believe, that thoſe Complaints were well founded? Specify your Reaſons, if you have any.

A. I certainly did believe the Complaints were well founded. It muſt be obvious to your Lordſhips, that large Diſtricts of Land, with conſiderable Bodies of Troops entirely unconnected and uncontrouled by the Authority of Government, muſt interfere with the Government itſelf.

The above Queſtion and Anſwer were read over by the Clerk.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Whether you know the Amount of the Jaghires which the Bhow Begum had at the Time of the Death of Sujah ul Dowlah; and what Increaſe was made to thoſe Jaghires, if any was made, by her Son Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. I know it only from ſubſequent Converſations. I underſtood it was but very inconſiderable upon the Death of Sujah ul Dowlah; and that it was largely increaſed by the Nabob.

Q. But the Amount of either the one or the other, you do not know?

A. I cannot aſcertain exactly how much; but I think the Begums Jaghire, at the Time it was reſumed, was about Six Lacks of Rupees a Year, or more.

Q. But what it was, at the Time of the Death of Sujah ul Dowlah, you do not know?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Have you ever heard from the Vizier or Bhow Begum, what that Amount was, or what it was at the Death of Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. I certainly have; but I cannot at this Moment charge my Memory with it: I do not think it was ſo much as Two Lacks of Rupees, as far as my Recollection of it goes.

Q. I underſtand you to have ſaid, according to the beſt Information you have upon the Subject, that the Jaghire of the Bhow Begum was under Two Lacks at the Time of the Death of Sujah ul Dowlah, and was increaſed to Six Lacks and upwards by Aſoph ul Dowlah: Do you know what was the Amount of her Annual Expences?

A. No, I certainly do not; and have no Means of aſcertaining it with any Sort of Accuracy.

Q. Was there any Appearance of Expence, to the Amount of her Jaghire?

A. If I might venture an Opinion, I ſhould ſuppoſe it could not have been any Thing like it; not a Fourth Part of it; but it is merely Matter of Opinion; it is mere Gueſs.

Q. Under

Q. Under whoſe particular Controul and Management were the Jaghires of the Bhow Begum?
A. Under the Management of her Two Eunuchs, Jewar and Bahar Ally Khan.

Q. Whether Jewar and Bahar Ali Khan had not, in many Inſtances, prior to the Year 1781, rendered themſelves obnoxious to the Nabob's Government?
A. I underſtood they had rendered themſelves obnoxious to the Nabob himſelf perſonally.

Q. Had they offended againſt his Government in any Manner?
A. I apprehend it muſt be in ſome Part of their Conduct in the Management of the Jaghires, that they had given the Nabob Offence; he alſo complained, to the beſt of my Recollection, that it was their View to keep him and his Mother at conſtant Variance—at conſtant Difference.

Q. Whether you remember her chief Agent Bahar Ally Khan having marched a conſiderable Force into Nabob Gunge, one of the Begum's principal Jaghires, declaring, that if any Attempt was made to reſume it, he would lay the whole Country waſte—Was Bahar Ally Khan her principal Miniſter?
A. He was.

Q. Had he made any ſuch Declarations of laying the Country waſte?
A. I would refer to the Letter.

Q. Do you know any Thing of a March into Nabob Gunge?
A. I have not a perfect Recollection of it.

Q. What were the Number of thoſe Jaghiredars in the Nabob's Country, immediately prior to the Reſumption of the Jaghires, or about the Time of the Treaty of Chunar?
A. There were a great many of theſe, Fifty or Sixty.

Q. Of what Deſcription of Perſons were the Bulk of thoſe Jaghiredars?
A. They were of all Deſcriptions.

Q. Were they People of low Condition in general, and who had done no particular Service to the Government from which they received thoſe Jaghires, or were they perſonal Favourites?
A. The Nabob's Family were included among them; there were alſo many of his Aumils and principal Officers, that were in charge of Military and Civil Offices, they alſo had Jaghires; and there were a great many of that Deſcription of People, called Orderlies, who had conſiderable Jaghires.

Q. What is an Orderly?
A. It is taken from their former Situation, in which they were before the Nabob's Acceſſion to the Muſnud; they attended his Perſon, as orderly Sepoys, Men who were always attendant upon him, they were Hindoos; upon his Acceſſion to the Muſnud he raiſed them to the Rank of Rajahs, and gave them conſiderable Jaghires.

Q. What was their Rank before he came to the Muſnud?
A. They were common Soldiers, Sepoys.

Q. Were they perſonal Favourites of the Nabob?
A. The Diſtinction with which he treated them, upon his Acceſſion to the Government, would ſeem to leave that beyond a Doubt.

Q. Were they People of low and inferior Condition prior to their Elevation by the Nabob?
A. They were in the ſame Condition as other common Sepoys.

Q. Whether you know if any, and what Sum, was realized by the Nabob, from Baraitch and Goruckpore, prior to Colonel Hannay's Appointment?
A. I believe the Sums he realized from that Country were but very inconſiderable; he was obliged to keep up a very large Force there to make the Collection, and I believe the Revenue of the Country did very little more than defray the Charge of thoſe Troops.

Q. Do you know what Sum was realized by the Nabob from the Country of Baraitch and Goruckpore, during the Time of Colonel Hannay's Command?
A. I cannot from Memory aſcertain exactly what the Sum was. The Company had a conſiderable Aſſignment on the Country upon thoſe Two Diſtricts, which was paid.

Q. Do you know nearly, within a Lack, what might be the Amount received by the Nabob annually, or in the Whole, during the Time Colonel Hannay had his Command? When were the Aſſignments given to the Company of thoſe Two Diſtricts?
A. I believe when Colonel Hannay firſt went there; they might have had Aſſignments before that.

Q. Did Colonel Hannay account to the Nabob for the Collections?
A. He did.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know what the Amount of that was? Did it pass through your Office?
A. It did not, further than the Company's Assignments: which, as far as I can charge my Memory, upon these Two Provinces, were 10 Lacks of Rupees.

Q. Were those 10 Lacks received by the Company in any One Year, or during a longer Period?
A. In One Year.

Q. Was there any other Money received by the Nabob, beyond the 10 Lacks that were received by the Company?
A. Yes; I understood there was certainly—that was not the Whole of his Collections.

Q. Have you any Idea of the Amount of the Sum received beyond the 10 Lacks?
A. I have not. I know other Assignments were given by the Nabob upon the Country, which were always paid.

Q. Do you know to what the Amount of those Assignments were?
A. I do not.

Q. Did you say any Thing about the Company's having Assignments upon Goruckpore before?
A. They had some small Assignments upon Baraitch, as I understood, before Colonel Hannay's going there. They were separate Districts, though laid together. They were under separate Governments.

Q. What became of those Assignments?
A. That was before my going up there; so that I do not know whether they were or were not paid.

Q. Whether the Sums received by the Vizier's Assignment, which came to the Hands of the Company, and the other Assignments you mentioned, were not after the Payment of the Troops employed in the Collection of those Districts?
A. That I do not know. Colonel Hannay's Troops were certainly not paid from those Collections, but from an Establishment at Lucknow; the other Troops belonging to the Nabob that were stationed in the Country, which were also considerable, were, I apprehend, paid from the Collections.

Q. So that the Collections were net, and this was their Produce, beyond the Payment of the Troops of the Nabob stationed in the Country, but not beyond the Payment of Colonel Hannay's Corps?
A. No; Colonel Hannay's Troops were paid at Lucknow.

Q. Whether you do not know, that the Establishment of Courts of Justice in Oude was proposed and recommended to the Nabob by Mr. Hastings?
A. It certainly was.

A. Whether, prior to that Recommendation by Mr. Hastings, any regular Courts of Justice had ever, as you have heard, been established at Lucknow; or whether Justice was not administered by the Foudjdars of the Country?
A. I do not know that there ever were any regular general Courts of Justice in the Country of Oude; each Foudjdar had a Jurisdiction, which he exercised I believe very much without any Controul. The Nabob was the Controuler, but he was left without Controul in the Management of his own District.

Q. What do you understand to be the Office of a Foudjdar?
A. It is a mixed Office, both civil and military.

Q. Whether you do not understand, that this Establishment of Courts of Justice, as proposed by Mr. Hastings, was defeated by the Opposition of the Nabob, and the principal People of the Country?
A. In Consequence of Mr. Hastings's Instructions, I used all the Influence I was Master of, to get Courts of Justice established at Lucknow, and throughout the Country; but it was a Measure not cordially acceded to, either by the Nabob or his Ministers; and all my Endeavours proved abortive. Some Steps had been taken towards it, though very reluctantly, by the Nabob and his Ministers, when I was recalled from my Situation at Lucknow; whether it was accomplished by my Successor, Mr. Bristow, or not, afterwards, I cannot take upon me to say.

Q. Have you, from any Communication with Mr. Hastings at the Time, Reason to believe that Mr. Hastings urged that Measure seriously and earnestly?
A. He certainly did.

Q. (*by a Manager*). Was the Begum in Receipt of the Revenue of the Country of Oude, during the Life-time of Sujah Dowlah?

A. The

A. The Collections, I understand, as they were received, were sent to Fyzabad, and deposited in the Zenana.

Q. Did the respective Collectors transmit them to Fyzabad as they were received?
A. Yes. The Nabob, as I said before, had a public Treasurer, but he had not the Charge of any considerable Treasure, more than what was necessary for his domestick Use.

Q. Did the several Aumils, Collectors, and Officers of the Revenue, transmit their Collections to Fyzabad to the Zenana there, or to that Treasurer you have alluded to?
A. I apprehend they transmitted the Treasure to the Nabob's Minister.

Q. Who was the Nabob's Minister?
A. Ellich Cawn.

Q. Was he the Treasurer, or what you call the Treasurer, there?
A. No, he had a Treasurer besides.

Q. After they were transmitted to Ellich Cawn, what became of them?
A. The Revenues are always remitted in Bills upon the Houses of the Shroffs at Fyzabad; the Minister, as I apprehend, realized those Bills, and deposited the Treasure in the Zenana; this I apprehend to have been the Course: Your Lordships will understand too, the Nabob, Sujah ul Dowlah, made Fyzabad his Residence at that Time; Lucknow afterwards was the Place of Government of the present Nabob.

Q. Then Sujah ul Dowlah all his Life-time resided at Fyzabad?
A. Yes, it was his Capital.

Q. You spoke of two Orders, one by which the Nabob directed the Payment of a certain Sum of Money to a Mr. Gready, a Gentleman in your Employment; that Order was disputed, did you see that Order?
A. I saw the Nabob's Order.

Q. Did you see the Order which came from the Begum, in consequence of which the Money was actually paid?
A. I do not remember I did see it; I do not recollect I did see it.

Q. Then, how do you know that the Begum drew for that Money as if it was the Nabob's Property?
A. I mentioned that as Matter of Opinion, concluding it was so, from the Nabob's having previously given an Order for the same Purpose: I never saw the Begum's Order, but I was informed of the Circumstance by Mr. Gready, who was detained at Fyzabad till it arrived.

Q. Whether the Circumstance of the Nabob's Draft not having been answered, and the Begum's Draft immediately producing the Money, did not give you a Presumption it was the Begum's Money, and not the Nabob's?
A. My Presumption was, that it was the Nabob's.

Q. Whether that is not a Circumstance that indicates the contrary?
A. It is a Matter that I cannot positively affirm one Way or the other; my Belief certainly was, it was the Nabob's?

Q. Is it your Belief now?
A. Undoubtedly.

Q. Whether you do not know, that in the Disputes respecting the Treasure in which Mr. Bristow was concerned in the Years 1775 and 1776, it was admitted by the Nabob, that all the Treasures which were in the Zenana belonged to the Begum?
A. I cannot say I remember that Circumstance; it will appear by Mr. Bristow's Letters; if it is so, I do not recollect it.

Q. Was you ever apprized of the Circumstance of the Begum's having come to Sujah ul Dowlah after the Battle of Buxar, with all the Treasures she could bring for his Relief?
A. I understood she did come to Sujah ul Dowlah, after the Battle of Buxar, and brought with her Jewels and valuable Effects; I do not know there was any Treasure, but large Sums of Money were raised from them.

Q. And with a View of raising a large Sum of Money upon them?
A. I cannot say that was the View, but that was the Consequence.

Q. Was it not generally considered, that it was in part owing to this Instance of her Affection, that the Nabob, Sujah ul Dowlah, ever after shewed her particular Deference and Attention?
A. I certainly have heard such Reports; I cannot speak particularly to the Certainty of them.

Q. Was it not generally known, that it was through the Influence which the Bhow Begum possessed with Sujah ul Dowlah, that the present Nabob, Asoph ul Dowlah, was left his Heir?

A. That

A. That is a Matter I cannot exactly ſpeak to, not having been there at the Time of Sujah Dowlah's Death.

Q. Have you never converſed with Aſoph ul Dowlah on the Subject?
A. I am pretty certain that I have heard that reported too, but I cannot trace it to any Authority.

Q. Did you ever converſe with Aſoph ul Dowlah about it?
A. No, certainly not.

Q. Nor heard him allude to it?
A. No, I do not believe I ever heard it, till within theſe very few Days.

Q. Did you never hear it mentioned as a Thing generally known, that the Bhow Begum had ſaved the Life of her Son, the preſent Nabob?
A. I have heard that as a Report too, certainly.

Q. When did you hear that?
A. A great many Years ago.

Q. Recollect what the Number of Perſons were, whom you ſtated to be dependant upon the two Begums at Fyzabad, when you viſited Fyzabad in the Year 1778; the Women and Children, the Family of the deceaſed Nabob, and his Relations?
A. I cannot recollect; I beg Leave to refer to the Letters.

Q. Whether they were 2000, more or leſs, as near as you can recollect?
A. I cannot recollect with any Accuracy; I wiſh the Letter to be read.

Q. What Fund was there for the Maintenance and Education of the Children belonging to the Zenana?
A. There were Aſſignments given upon the Nabob's Revenue for their Maintenance.

Q. Do you not know that thoſe Aſſignments were not paid, and that you ſo ſtated it? Upon what Part of the Revenue, in ſhort, were thoſe Aſſignments?
A. I do not recollect the particular Diſtricts at this Time.

Q. Were they ever paid?
A. Some certainly were paid; but they were not regularly paid, undoubtedly.

Q. Do you know the Amount of the Whole of the Aſſignments?
A. I do not.

Q. Or of the Part that was paid?
A. I cannot ſay I do. The Aſſignments were given to the Perſon in charge of the Khourd Mahl, who had the receiving of the Money from the Aumils, and he made frequent Complaints that the Payment was not regularly made.

Q. Whether, taking this Body of Women and Children altogether, in both Eſtabliſhments of the Zenana and Khourd Mahl, a very great Sum, and what Sum, was neceſſary for their Maintenance and future Proviſion?
A. It is impoſſible for me to give an Anſwer to the Queſtion, without knowing in what Sort of State they were to be maintained.

Q. Then you do not know how they were maintained?
A. I do not know at all how they were maintained, nor the Number of Women, but from Information I had upon the Spot.

Q. But, according to that Information, do you know what theſe Expences ought to have been?
A. It would certainly have required a large Sum of Money.

Q. What is your Idea of a large Sum of Money, as applied to that Subject? Have you any Conception what the annual Eſtabliſhment, and the accidental Expences of ſetting them out in Life, would amount to?
A. No; I really cannot give any Opinion upon it. I know the Expence of the Khourd Mahl, which was never paid by either of the Begums, was very inconſiderable, compared to the Number of People that it was ſuppoſed were in it. So far as I have a Recollection of the Matter, I do not believe there ever were more than 50,000 Rupees collected for the Payment of the Women and Children of the Khourd Mahl.

Q. Paid by the Year, do you mean, or in the Whole?
A. By the Year.

Q. Are you aware of the Demands which the Eſtabliſhment of the Khourd Mahl, or the Zenana, would make upon the Nabob, for the Marriage of the Children, or of any other incidental Advance?
A. No; that is a Matter upon which I cannot venture to give any Opinion.

Q. Was

Q. Was it not, becauſe there was ſo ſmall a Sum collected and paid for the Khourd Mahl; was it not upon that Account, that the Burthen of maintaining them fell to the Elder Begum?
A. I muſt beg Leave to refer to my Letter upon that Subject.

Q. What was the Amount of the Plunder taken in the Rohilla War, ſuppoſed to be lodged in the Zenana?
A. I really cannot recollect what the Amount was; but I recollect undergoing an Examination upon the Subject at the Time, which I would rather refer to. It is ſo many Years ago, I cannot poſſibly recollect.

Q. An Examination where?
A. In Calcutta.

Q. Upon the Subject of the Rohilla War?
A. Yes.

Q. Is that upon Record?
A. Yes.

Q. What was the Debt due to the Company at the Death of Sujah Dowlah, for their Aſſiſtance in extirpating the Rohillas?
A. There were other Sums due from Sujah Dowlah, beſides that Sum. I ſuppoſe the Queſtion means the Stipulation for our Aſſiſtance in the Rohilla Campaign; that was 40 Lacks of Rupees.

Q. Had any Part of thoſe 40 Lacks of Rupees been paid, in the Lifetime of Sujah Dowlah?
A. It is difficult to diſtinguiſh; the Whole was thrown together. That Sum, and what he owed to the Company on other Accounts, was all included in One Account; and he made One Payment, upon that Account, of 15 Lacks of Rupees, before his Death.

Q. What Sum, do you ſuppoſe, remained due of fair Debts to the Company at the Time of Sujah Dowlah's Death?
A. I believe I have before informed you, as far as I can recollect, that it was between 40 and 50 Lacks of Rupees.

Q. Whether, in the Settlement in the Year 1775, the Nabob did not receive 56 Lacks from the Begum?
A. I was not there at the Time: I would rather refer to the Record.

Q. Do you not know that the Elder Begum had a Jaghire that ſhe held by a Sunnud from the Mogul, of the Nature you deſcribed before, the Ultumgah?
A. I have heard that ſhe had: I cannot aſcertain the Fact.

Q. Had not the Begum the ſame Right to maintain Troops for her Jaghires, as the Nabob had to maintain Troops in any Part of his Government?
A. That is a ſpeculative Queſtion: I could wiſh to be excuſed anſwering it: They had the ſame Right the other Jaghiredars had; whether that Right was equal to the Nabob's, I cannot ſay.

Q. Was it not as eſſential to the Eſtabliſhment of the Jaghires, that the Jaghiredars ſhould maintain Troops within their Diſtricts, as that the Nabob ſhould maintain Troops within the whole Province?
A. It was eſſential to the Collection, that they ſhould have a certain Number of Troops; but what Number was neceſſary for the Collection, it is impoſſible for me to ſay.

Q. Was there any Doubt of their Right to have Troops in their Forts, for the Collection of their Jaghires. Were the Troops ſuch as they naturally had upon the Eſtates they held, or were they of any other Deſcription?
A. At Fyzabad, I underſtand, they had a conſiderable Number of Troops at the Time we went there, beſides thoſe employed in the Collection of their Jaghires.

Q. But the general Eſtabliſhment of Troops, which they had upon their Jaghires, was ſuch as naturally flowed from the Conſtitution of the Jaghires?
A. Certainly.

Q. You have ſaid that Bahar Ali Cawn and Jewar Ali Cawn had offended the Nabob; do you not recollect that the Nabob was continually endeavouring to encroach upon the Jaghires, and the Rights of the Begums?
A. Certainly there was always a very great Contention between the Nabob and the Begum; ſhe occaſionally complained very much of his ſuffering his People to infringe upon her Rights; that was One of the great Complaints of the Begum againſt the Nabob.

Q. Do you know, or not, whether that Complaint was well founded?
A. I have known an Inſtance where the Nabob has not puniſhed his Servants for interfering with the Rights of the Begum. I have heard of Inſtances which I believed at the Time.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether it was not the Duty of the Begum's Miniſters, to oppoſe thoſe Encroachments?
A. I preſume it was their Duty to execute the Charge given to them, in the beſt Manner they could.

Q. Was it to watch over any Encroachments made upon their Eſtates, and to complain?
A. I ſhould preſume it was.

Q. Whether their Want of Favour with the Nabob, is not referable to that Particular amongſt others.
A. That might have been One Cauſe, undoubtedly.

Q. Do you know any other Cauſe the Nabob had, to complain of their Behaviour?
A. I know of nothing more than what I have heard from the Nabob himſelf; his Complaints were general.

Q. You have ſaid, that the Nabob frequently complained of the Jaghiredars; whether he has not more frequently complained of the Interference of the Engliſh, and that the Engliſh Gentlemen cauſed great Diſtreſs and Confuſion in his Government?
A. I have heard of ſuch Complaints, certainly; but I believe my Information is drawn from what is now before your Lordſhips, more than from any Complaints the Nabob made to me; at the ſame Time I do not mean to ſay, that the Nabob has not in ſome Inſtances complained in the Manner ſtated in the Queſtion.

Q. Whether he did not repreſent it, in negociating with Mr. Haſtings and you about the Treaty of Chunar, as an intolerable Burthen, and the Source of all his Diſtreſſes?
A. I do not recollect he did to me; what he did to Mr. Haſtings, I cannot ſay.

Q. Did he, or not, in any Converſation with you, complain of the Interference of the Engliſh in Matters of his Government, as a Grievance to his Country?
A. He has made ſuch Complaints to me, certainly.

Q. In the Treaty of Chunar, did he ſtipulate that all the Engliſh Gentlemen ſhould be removed except the Reſident?
A. I believe that was a Stipulation in the Treaty of Chunar.

Q. Upon what Ground did he proceed to urge that Stipulation?
A. I conceive the principal Ground was, to rid himſelf of the Expences of it.

Q. Upon what Ground did he ſtipulate to remove the temporary Brigade, upon the 19th of September.
A. That was upon the ſame Ground, I preſume, to get rid of the Expence.

Q. Was it not upon the 19th of September, that you ſtated the Rebellion raged moſt in his Country?
A. It was about that Time.

Q. Can you account for the Nabob's ſtipulating, that the Britiſh Army ſhould be withdrawn from his Dominions, at the Time the Rebellion exiſted?
A. I ſhould ſuppoſe his Intention was not to have the Britiſh Army removed, till the Rebellion was quelled, and the Diſturbances of the Country had ſubſided.

Then the following Paſſage of a Letter from the Vizier to Mr. Haſtings, dated 20th May 1781, was read:

"I have frequently written to you, that I cannot ſubmit to the Authority of the Two Gentlemen."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Do you know any thing of that Tranſaction?
A. I do not recollect ever ſeeing the Letter.

Q. Did you ever hear the Nabob ſpeak upon that Subject?
A. No; I cannot ſay I have.

Q. What Two Gentlemen were there in ſuch a Situation as to have afforded that Cauſe of Complaint?
A. The Letter itſelf mentions them by Name.

Q. Do you know the Names or not?
A. Certainly, Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Middleton.

Then

Then the following Extract from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book A, already delivered in, was read:

" Letter from Mr. Davy to Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire.

" Sir,

" I am directed by the Governor General to inform you, that the Bearer Holaus Raie, who attended here by your Orders, has been examined as to the Points on which he could give Information, and has now received Permiſſion to return.

" I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
(Signed) W^m Davy.
P. Perſ^n Tranſl."

" December 21ſt, 1781,
Benares.

" Nath^l Middleton Eſquire.

Then the Managers for the Commons requeſted, that the Examination of the Witneſs, relative to Hoolas Roy's Teſtimony, might be read. (*a*)

The ſame was read by the Clerk, as follows:

" Q. Do you know any Reaſon, why the Teſtimony of Hoolas Roy, who was ſent to be examined, does not appear; do you know of his being ſent to be examined?

" A. He was ſent—certainly ordered to attend.

" Q. Do you know whether he was in fact examined?

" A. I do not.

" Q. Do you know of any Reaſon, or have you heard from Mr. Haſtings, why he was not in fact examined?

" A. I have not."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs.

Q. Whether you ever heard of any Reſiſtance, or Preparations for Reſiſtance, in any other Jaghire, than in that which was called Nabob Gunge?

A. I cannot recollect at this Time; if I were to read the Letters, I might ſee; I think, in all Probability, there were other Inſtances; I had no Doubt there were other Reſiſtances.

Q. Do you remember any Inſtance of actual Reſiſtance in any other Place, beſides Nabob Gunge.

A. Not any actual Reſiſtance, but only Threats to reſiſt.

Q. What Memory have you of any Preparations to reſiſt, in any other Place but that?

A. I have a Recollection of having written upon the Subject at the Time.

Then a Letter, dated Lucknow, 27th December 1781, was ſhewn to the Witneſs, and he was aſked;

Q. Is that a publick or a private Letter?

A. It appears to me a publick Letter.

Q. Do you call it a publick Letter?

A. I do.

Then the following Extract was read, from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book, A, already delivered in.

" To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Court of the Vizier.

" Sir,

" I was favoured with yours of the 3d this Morning, and have the Pleaſure to repeat to you every Thing * perfectly quiet in this Purgunnah of Nabob Gunge.

* Sic in Orig.

(Signed at the End) " F. Naylor."

Then the Witneſs was aſked;

Q. (*by Counſel.*) Whether, in a Letter from Sir Elijah Impey, you had this Communication from the Begum or her Miniſter,—" If my Jaghire is touched, the whole Country ſhall go with it:"—Have you ſuch Remembrance?

A. I have, and beg Leave to refer to the Letter itſelf.

Q. Whether you have now any Recollection of the Fact of Hoolas Roy having made any Affidavit, or not?

A. I really recollect nothing at all further about it, than his being ordered down; nor did I recollect, till I had heard the Letters read from Mr. Haſtings and Mr. Davy, any Thing about it. I know nothing of his having made it, but what I draw from that Letter.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 731.

Q. Did Hoolas Roy inform you he had made any Affidavit?
A. He never did; or I ſhould have remembered it.

Q. Did he ever hold any Converſation with you about it?
A. I do not recollect he ever did.

Q. Whether there were Two leſſer Zenanas, or only One?
A. Only One.

Q. Whether the Children of Sujah Dowlah, if there were any, reſided in the Khourd Mahl?
A. Certainly.

Q. Were there any Children of Sujah Dowlah not reſiding in the Khourd Mahl?
A. Yes; there were many.

Q. Were there any diſtinct Aſſignments made for thoſe Children?
A. Yes; there were.

Q. Was that Proviſion either for the Children in the Khourd Mahl, or out of it, in any Manner under the Controul or Direction of the Begum?
A. Certainly not.

Q. What was that Proviſion?—What was the Proviſion for the Children, either within or out of the Khourd Mahl?
A. I have mentioned before, that the Proviſion for the Women and the Children within the Khourd Mahl was about 50,000 Rupees; for thoſe who were out of the Zenana, one was Mirza Saadit Ally, he had a Proviſion of Three Lacks of Rupees per Annum allowed him for his Maintenance.—There were ſeveral others, but I do not recollect what their Allowance was; they had ſome Allowances always, as I underſtand.

Q. Were thoſe Allowances under the Controul of the Britiſh Reſident?
A. No; he had nothing to do with them, except Mirza Saadit Ali; when he firſt came to the Nabob's Court, his Allowance was under the Controul of the Reſident, the Reſident had the Payment of it.

Q. How long did that continue?
A. A very ſhort Time after he went to Benares, the Reſident ceaſed to have any Thing to do with that Allowance for his Maintenance.

Q. In what Year was it he went down to Benares?
A. I think it was in 1778: I think ſo.

Q. After that Time, had the Reſident the Controul over the Funds aſſigned for the Maintenance of any Part of the Nabob's Family?
A. It conſtituted no Part of the Reſident's official Duty to ſuperintend the Khourd Mahl, or the Maintenance of the younger Branches of the Family.

Q. Did not you underſtand it as mere voluntary Humanity, when you interfered to make Application to the Nabob for ſuch Allowances; did you make Application for the Allowances to any Part of the Family?
A. I have occaſionally.

Q. Did you underſtand it to be a Part of your Duty, or did you do it from any particular Attention of your own to them?
A. Not from any Senſe of Duty at all; I did not conſider it a Part of my official Duty.

Q. Had you any Inſtructions from the Government upon that Subject?
A. Not particularly, that I recollect; I believe my Inſtructions, in general, were to pay all the Attention in my Power to every Branch of the Nabob's Family.

Then, the following Extract was read from Book 26, already delivered in, from a Conſultation of the 22d June 1780, beginning at Page 524 of the ſame Book.

"That when the Nabob ſhall arrive, I (Mr. Middleton) will procure ſuitable Allowances to be made to the Ladies of the Zenana, and the Children of the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, and take care that they are paid (*a*)."

Q. (*from a Lord.*) I underſtood you, in the Examination of Yeſterday, to have ſaid, that your Letter Books, now in Court, were copied at Lucknow, and bound up afterwards elſewhere; is that ſo?
A. There were ſome copied at Lucknow, and ſome at Calcutta.

Q. Where were they bound up?
A. I believe they were principally bound up at Calcutta.

Q. You ſtated Yeſterday, that the Letters were copied before they were bound into the Books;

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 461; alſo Appendix, N° XX.

was

was that the Caſe with reſpect to all the Books, or only with reſpect to ſome of them. Were any of the Letters copied after the Book was bound up?

A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay whether they were or not; it is very poſſible they might have been, but I cannot take upon me to declare, whether they were ſo or not. I would wiſh again to repeat, that I never put thoſe Books in as compleat Copies of my Correſpondence; on the contrary, when I preſented them, I mentioned it to be otherwiſe: When I was called upon by the Commons, I was frequently able to reconcile the ſeeming Deficiency in it; but, at the ſame Time, I took an Opportunity of remarking, that I ſhould not have been ſurpriſed if ſuch Deficiency appeared; becauſe I never looked upon them to be compleat Copies of my Correſpondence, nor do I believe they are ſo.

Q. I want you to explain what you ſaid Yeſterday. A Book was ſhewn you, and it appeared, as ſtated to us, that the different Leaves of the Book were not all of an equal Length. You ſtated, in Anſwer, if I recollect right, and I wiſh to know whether I do recollect right, that the Reaſon was, becauſe the Letters were copied firſt on Sheets, and bound up in the Book afterwards?

A. That is the Caſe of a great many Letters, I have no Doubt; they are copied in ſeparate Sections of Paper, and afterwards put together.

Q. Can you ſay, whether that is the Caſe with reſpect to the Book marked D; and whether the Letters in that, were copied before the Book was bound, or copied into the Book after it was bound?

A. I really cannot take upon me to ſay, whether they were, or not.

Q. I underſtood you to have ſaid Yeſterday, that Mr. Haſtings's Anſwers to you were all in thoſe Books, to your Knowledge: Is it ſo?

A. No: Not all: All my publick Correſpondence with Mr. Haſtings I did ſuppoſe to be in thoſe Books, unleſs, from the ſame Cauſe, they are not complete.

Q. You ſay, not with reſpect to the private Correſpondence, but with reſpect to publick Correſpondence, they are all in ſome of thoſe Letter Books in the Court; then you make an Exception with reſpect to Inaccuracies of thoſe which are left out. Whether you mean to ſay poſitively, or negatively, that all the publick Letters of Mr. Haſtings are in ſome of thoſe Books?

A. I have no Doubt that they are; but, from the Circumſtances I have taken the Liberty of ſtating to your Lordſhips, I cannot affirm poſitively, they are; though, to the beſt of my Belief, there is every publick Letter I wrote or received, except thoſe delivered up, as I ſtated formerly.

Then the Book D was ſhewn to the Witneſs.

Q. Open the Book at Page 114; obſerve the different Circumſtances in it; firſt, the looſe Threads that follow Page 114, alſo the Catch-word at the End of the Page 114, and the Letter which begins in Page 114, and which has no Ending; I mean, no Ending in the Page bound up in that Book?

A. Yes: I obſerve all thoſe.

Q. Whether under all thoſe Circumſtances any Leaves, have or have not, been torn out of that Book?

A. It certainly appears that they have; I cannot account for the Circumſtance; thoſe Letters are dated juſt about the Time of my leaving Lucknow, and upon Mr. Briſtow's coming up there; many of thoſe that afterwards follow, were Letters written from Calcutta, and received in Calcutta?

Q. Look at thoſe looſe Leaves, and ſay when thoſe looſe Leaves were put into that Book, when they were copied?

A. Thoſe were certainly copied in Calcutta; I know it from the Hand Writing of the Letters.

Q. Do you know when they were copied?
A. No; I cannot ſay when.

Q. Do you know when they were put into the Book?
A. No; I do not, indeed.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Do you know the Year when they were copied; I mean the looſe Leaves?
A. I take it for granted they were copied in the End of 1782.

Q. But what is the lateſt Period you can be poſitive they were copied?
A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay; the Date of the laſt Letter here is the 24th of November 1783.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Were they copied ſo late as January laſt?
A. No; certainly not.

Q. Were they copied ſo late as January 1787?
A. No; certainly not.

Q. As January 1786?
A. No; certainly not.

Q. As

Q. As January 1785?
A. I muſt recollect when I left the Country; they were copied in Calcutta—the looſe Papers were all copied in Calcutta.

Q. The laſt looſe Papers, as well as the reſt, were copied in Calcutta?
A. The looſe Papers, as well as the reſt, were copied in Calcutta.

Q. I ſpeak of looſe Papers only; aſcertain the lateſt Period ſince which you are ſure they have not been copied?
A. I can only be ſure they have not been copied ſince I left Calcutta.

Q. When did you leave Calcutta?
A. In January 1784.

Q. Do you know whether they were copied the Year before you left Calcutta, or not?
A. It is impoſſible they could be, becauſe ſome of them are dated in the End of the Year 1783.

Q. You ſay, the looſe Leaves were copied in Calcutta: Where were the other Parts of the Books copied; whether at Calcutta, Lucknow, or elſewhere—particularly Page 114?
A. That, I have no Doubt, was copied at Lucknow.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, that when the ſame Letter appears by that Book and by the Leaves that were added, upon Two Leaves, namely, the Page 114, which is in the bound Book, and upon 115, which is upon the looſe Leaves: Do you mean to ſay the ſame Letter was Part of it copied at Lucknow, and Part of it at Calcutta?
A. It certainly does appear ſo.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, you ſo underſtand it?
A. I certainly do; for I know this Part of the Letter was copied at Lucknow, and this at Calcutta: I know it from the Hand-writing.

Q. Is it the ſame Hand-writing?
A. No, it is not.

Q. Can you account, then, why a Part of the ſame Letter was copied at Lucknow, and another Part of the ſame Letter copied at Calcutta?
A. I have already remarked to your Lordſhips, that I cannot account for any Deficiency in the Correſpondence, further, than that I did not conſider it to be a complete Copy of the Correſpondence; and I never delivered it as ſuch. The Copies of thoſe Letters, I take it for granted, were made under the Direction, or the Inſpection, of Mr. Johnſon, whoſe Writer, I obſerve, has copied them.

Q. Which are thoſe?
A. The looſe Leaves.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* You have ſaid repeatedly, thoſe Books were made for your own private Uſe; being ſo, have they been in your own Cuſtody ever ſince you have been in England?
A. They have been, ever ſince I have been in England, in my own Cuſtody, till they were taken from me by Order of the Houſe of Commons.

Q. Whether, previous to your coming to England, between the Time of your leaving Calcutta and the Time of having received thoſe Books, they were in your Cuſtody; or, if not, in whoſe Cuſtody?
A. They certainly were not in my Cuſtody the whole Time; they were a conſiderable Part of the Time in Mr. Johnſon's Cuſtody. Mr. Johnſon himſelf had Charges preferred againſt him by the Governor General and Council; and there are ſeveral Letters written in this Book to which it was neceſſary he ſhould refer; and for that Purpoſe the Letter Books were put into his Cuſtody by me; how long they remained there, I cannot pretend to ſay.

Q. Were they put into his Cuſtody by you?
A. By me.

Q. But you ſay, ever ſince you have been in England, they have always been in your Cuſtody, until they were delivered to the Houſe of Commons?
A. Yes.

Q. Whether you have had preſent Occaſion to look at it, or never to have uſed it ſince it has been in England?
A. I have looked at it occaſionally.

Q. Do you recollect to have obſerved, whether thoſe looſe Leaves were in, when you firſt looked at it?
A. I cannot ſay I have any poſitive Recollection upon the Subject, but I have no Doubt they were.

Q. I underſtand you to have ſaid, you do not recollect having been preſent when the Affidavits were ſworn to before Sir Elijah Impey; but I wiſh to aſk, Whether you ever did introduce to Sir Elijah Impey any of the Perſons who went to make Depoſitions or ſolemn Declarations before him?

A. At this Diſtance of Time, I cannot take upon me to ſay, I might not introduce ſome Gentlemen that made Affidavits. Myſelf and the reſt of the Gentlemen went Twenty Miles to meet Sir Elijah Impey; I introduced to him every Gentleman that was with me at the Time.

Q. Whether you ever carried any of them, in order to their making their Affidavits?

A. Moſt certainly not.

Q. Who is the Perſon ſtated in One of the Affidavits to be the Rajah of Gwallior? What is his Name, do you know?

A. I apprehend it is a Miſtake. It cannot be Gwallior; that is at a very conſiderable Diſtance from the Scene of Action. That is One of the Forts belonging to the Mahrattas.

Q. Do you know who is meant by that Name to the Affidavit?

A. I do not know.

Q. There is a French Affidavit of One Jean Honore Mordelait, Private of the Company of Chaſſeurs. Then there is an Engliſh Tranſlation; but the French ſays, 'qu'ils fûrent entourés 'pendans deux Heures qu'ils y reſtérent par environ deux ou trois mille Gens qui les inſultérent 'groſſiérement, et particuliérement les accuſa * d'avoir aſſaſſiné le Raja de Gualier;'(*a*) and, as that is tranſlated in the Engliſh, 'particularly accuſed them of having aſſaſſinated the Rajah of Gwal-'lior:'(*b*) do you know who is meant by this?

* Sic in Orig.

A. I do not know any Place of that Name, but the One I have mentioned.

Q. Do you know who is meant?

A. I do not.

Q. Do you know of ſuch a Perſon as the Rajah Muſtapha Khan?

A. I have heard of ſuch a Perſon.

Q. Of what Country was he Rajah?

A. He was a Rajah, or had been a Rajah, either in Baraitch or Goruckpore; but in which particular Place, I cannot juſt now recollect.

Q. In what Country is the Place called Gwallior? Where is that Place? In what Country?

A. That is in the Mahratta Country.

Q. Do you know of ſuch a Perſon as the Rajah Guggat Sing?

A. No, I do not.

Then the Witneſs's Letter Book, marked A, was ſhewn him, and he was aſked,

Q. Do there appear to be any Leaves torn out at the End of that Book?

A. There are looſe Leaves in this as well as in the others. I cannot ſay whether there have been any torn out, or not. It does not appear to me there have. I muſt once for all obſerve, if I had expected ſo ſtrict an Examination concerning theſe Books, I ſhould moſt certainly have taken better Means to aſcertain the State of them.

Q. Whether there is not a looſe Thread, which ſhews ſome Leaves taken out? Does it ſo appear to you?

A. It is a Matter upon which any Body can judge as well as myſelf: It does not appear to me they have.

Q. Do you not ſuppoſe thoſe looſe Leaves did form a Part of that Book, and that they have either been torn or dropt out?

A. They do not appear ever to have been bound up with the Book, as far as my Obſervation goes?

Q. Look at the Date of the laſt Letter in that Book, and the Date of the firſt Letter among the looſe Leaves.

A. I have looked at them.

Q. Do the looſe Leaves appear to be a Continuation of the Correſpondence in the bound Part of the Book?

A. Yes; they do.

Q. Name the Dates: here are two of the 19th of October, and then comes one of the 20th of the ſame Month: What is the Date of the laſt Letter bound in the Book?

A. The 19th of October.

Q. The next is a Letter of the 19th, and the next the 20th: Is it ſo?

A. Yes; it is.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 264, Line 12 from the Bottom.
(*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 265, Line 7 from the Bottom.

Q. Now look at the Water Mark of this Paper, and the Water Mark of the other; are they the ſame Paper?

A. They are certainly not the ſame Paper.

Then the following Letter from Major Gilpin to Mr. Middleton was read, from the ſame Book, beginning at Page 119.

" To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" The incloſed Letter from the Bow Begum is in reply to yours, which I delivered on my Return to this Place.

" She obſerves to me, that her Situation is truly pitiable, her Eſtate ſequeſtered, her Treaſury ranſacked, her Cojahs Priſoners, and her Servants deſerting daily from her for want of Subſiſtence; that ſhe has ſolicited the Loan of Money, to ſatisfy the Demands of the Company, from every Perſon that ſhe imagined would or could aſſiſt her with any; but the Opulent will not liſten to her Adverſity. She did hope the Wardrobe that was ſent to Lucknow might have ſold for at leaſt one Half of the Company's Demands on her, but even Jewelry and Gold ſhe finds (from woeful Experience) loſes its Value the Moment it is known they come from her.

" That ſhe has now ſolicited the Loan of Caſh from Almaſs Ally Cawn, and if ſhe fails in this Application, ſhe has no Hopes of ever borrowing a Sum equal to the Demand.

" She thanks you kindly for your Friendſhip towards her, and hopes you will lay the Copies of thoſe original Letters, which I gave you to read, before the Honourable the Governor General and Supreme Council, to convince them, that the Information they received reſpecting any rebellious Principles on her Part, at the Time of Cheyt Sing's, was wicked and without Foundation.

" The above, Sir, is the Subſtance of Converſation, on her Part, to the urging Arguments which I have uſed to obtain the Balance.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your, &c. &c.
(Signed) Martin Gilpin,
Major Commandant."

" Camp, at Fyzabad,
19th October 1782.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Where are the Encloſures from Major Gilpin mentioned in that Letter; and how come they not to appear in that Book?

A. The Encloſures from Major Gilpin were Letters from Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon, of which I took Copies; at this Time I was juſt leaving Lucknow; I took Copies and left them in the Office at Lucknow; the Originals I returned.

Q. Whether, if thoſe Encloſures had been copied in that Book, they would not have immediately followed the Place in that Letter Book, inſtead of thoſe Leaves?

A. Thoſe Encloſures were Perſian Letters. If I had made Tranſlations of them, I ſhould in all Probability have let them follow the Letters themſelves; but I believe it will not be found that there is a Tranſlate of a Perſian Letter throughout the whole Book; it was not my Method to put them in.

Q. What were the Copies of the Letters you left at Lucknow, of which you ſtate you returned the Originals; in what Language?

A. In Perſian.

Q. Were the Copies left in Perſian?

A. In Perſian.

Q. Have you not conſtantly been uſed, and was it not your Duty, to tranſlate Perſian Correſpondence, and to leave the Engliſh Copies in the Office?

A. It was not the Practice of the Office.

Q. How came Major Gilpin by the Engliſh Copies of that Correſpondence?

A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay; Major Gilpin in all Probability may be able to inform your Lordſhips; I do not know.

Q. *(by Counſel.)* Where is Major Gilpin?

A. In London.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* By what Means did you underſtand the Contents of thoſe Letters, or how were you to lay them before the Governor General, if they were not tranſlated?

A. I conceived I was to lay the Originals themſelves before the Governor General. I imagined that was the Intention; but being removed juſt at this Time from my Situation at Lucknow, I thought I fulfilled my Duty, in taking Copies of the Letters, and leaving thoſe Copies in the Office. I believe the Letters were returned back into Major Gilpin's Hands, to be delivered to the Begum.

Q. Were thoſe the Letters you copied in Perſian?
A. Thoſe were the Letters I copied in Perſian.

Q. Do you mean to ſwear, you had no Tranſlation made of thoſe Letters?
A. I do not remember that I had, and I am pretty certain I had not; I had not Time for it.

Q. Then how did you come to the Knowledge of the Contents?
A. I underſtand the Perſian Language enough to read them and underſtand them.

Q. Did you copy them yourſelf in Perſian?
A. No, not myſelf.

Then the abovementioned Letter, from Major Gilpin to the Witneſs, dated the 19th of October, was read again.

Q. (*from a Lord*). There was a Letter from the Bhow Begum, encloſed together with other Letters, which were to vindicate her Conduct reſpecting her Part of the Rebellion, all to be tranſmitted to the Governor General and Council; were the Copies tranſmitted to the Governor General and Council?

A. No, they were not by me; I was juſt at that Time giving up my Situation to Mr. Briſtow at Lucknow; what I did, therefore, was to take Copies and leave them in the Office.

Q. (*from a Lord*). Having received ſuch an expreſs Requeſt from the Bhow Begum, to tranſmit them to the Governor and Council, had you not Leiſure enough, between the Receipt of them and your Departure from Lucknow, to have given Directions to have thoſe Copies ſent to Calcutta?

A. There certainly was, if it had occurred to me as immediately neceſſary. I took it for granted, my Succeſſor would do what was right reſpecting the Letters.

Q. Why did you not, as you yourſelf were going to Calcutta, carry theſe Papers with you?
A. It did not occur to me to do it.

Q. (*from a Lord*). How long was it after the Receipt of this Letter from Major Gilpin, that you left the Reſident's Office at Lucknow?
A. I cannot ſay to a Day; it was immediately upon it, almoſt.

Q. Was it a Week?
A. In leſs than a Week.

Q. Was Mr. Briſtow arrived in Lucknow before you left Lucknow?
A. Yes, he was.

Q. How long?
A. About Two Days. I ſtaid there about Two Days after his Arrival.

Q. You have ſaid, that you knew the Contents of theſe Letters, from the Knowledge you had of the Perſian Language; did Colonel Hannay, to your Knowledge, underſtand the Perſian Language?
A. I do not know that he could read it; I believe he underſtood it when it was read to him.

Q. Did Major M'Donald underſtand the Perſian Language?
A. I do not know; I rather think he did; I think that he had ſome Knowledge of it.

Q. Are you ſure of that?
A. I am not ſure.

Q. Did Captain Williams underſtand the Perſian Language?
A. I really do not know.

Q. Did Captain Gordon underſtand it?
A. Captain Gordon, I believe, did very well.

Then the following Extract of a Letter, from Mr. Haſtings to the Witneſs, dated Chunar, 15th November 1781, was read.

" Reſpecting the Levies made at Fyzabad, the March of Shake Cawn with a Force declared for the Service of Cheit Sing, the public Invitations of Jewar Ally Cawn, the Certificates under the Seal of Cheyt Sing, in the Poſſeſſion of the Zemindars of Gorookpoor and Baraick, his Letters to the Begums or their Miniſters, the Plan concerted for the Extirpation of the Engliſh, I muſt earneſtly recommend it to you to obtain ſuch Evidence as can be required reſpecting each of theſe Points, whether ſuch Evidence ſhall aſcertain or refute, or qualify their Reality; and, if it be poſſible, to gain Poſſeſſion, of the original Letters and Certificates, ſaid to have been written by Cheyt Sing, as aboveſaid.

" You will be careful to aſcertain the Dates and Places of Facts, and the Names, and Places, and Perſons, in the Depoſitions taken, that their Evidence may not be defective or ambiguous from the Want of Preciſion.

" Reſpecting the Murders ſaid * ſaid to have been committed at Gopeegunge, I have already written to you, and now ſend you a Duplicate of my Letter on that Subject. * Sic in Orig.

" I alſo ſend you the Form of a Caption, or Introduction to each Depoſition, of which you will be pleaſed to furniſh Copies to each of the Engliſh Gentlemen who ſhall have Occaſion for the Uſe of them. The Depoſitions of the native Witneſſes muſt be written in the Languages which they underſtand, and muſt be verified on Oath, and ſigned; or, if they ſhall object to the Oath as contrary to their religious Tenets, they muſt be required to ſubſcribe ſuch a ſolemn Atteſtation as ſhall be equivalent to the Sanction of an Oath, and add your Signatures to it.

" I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
(Signed) Warren Haſtings." (*a*)

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Did you not underſtand this to be a Direction to you, perſonally to be acquainted with the Purport of the Depoſitions then to be taken?

A. No, I did not underſtand it in that Extent, certainly: I underſtood it only as a general Inſtruction.

Q. Weigh your Anſwer a little. The Words are—" You will be careful to aſcertain the Dates " and Places of Facts, and the Names, and Places, and Perſons, in the Depoſitions taken, that " their Evidence may not be defective or ambiguous, from the Want of Preciſion."—Upon reading that again, do you, or not, underſtand the Duty put upon you was, to ſee that the ſeveral Depoſitions that were to be taken under that Authority, ſhould be exact in all thoſe Points?

A. It is more particularly worded, certainly, than I hitherto before underſtood it. I underſtood it only as a general Inſtruction for the Form of the Affidavits that were to be taken; and having communicated it to Colonel Hannay, who was the Commanding Officer of all the Gentlemen that were to depoſe, I thought I had fulfilled the Line of my Duty.

Q. Do you know, upon your further Recollection, or wiſh to have it underſtood, that the Whole of your Duty was performed, by only communicating the Letter to Colonel Hannay?

A. I certainly wiſh your Lordſhips to underſtand it. I wiſh to give you every Information I am capable of giving; I have informed you, to the beſt of my Recollection and Knowledge, what I did; if I have failed in my Duty, I am in the Judgment of your Lordſhips.

Q. (*from a Lord*). There is another Part of the Letter which ſays: " The Depoſitions of the Native Witneſſes muſt be written in the Languages which they underſtand, and muſt be verified on Oath, and ſigned; or if they ſhall object to the Oath, as contrary to their religious Tenets, they muſt be required to ſubſcribe ſuch a ſolemn Atteſtation, as ſhall be equivalent to the Sanction of an Oath; and add your Signatures to it."—Now, Colonel Hannay not underſtanding (as you ſay) the Perſian Language, ſo as to read it, how could you be made certain, through the Communication of Colonel Hannay, that any one of thoſe Witneſſes did, in fact, underſtand what they put their Names to?

A. At the Time I communicated that Letter to Colonel Hannay for his Inſtructions, I did not know whether any Natives, or who, were to make their Depoſitions upon this Subject.

Q. Do you know whether any Natives, in fact, did make Depoſitions upon that Subject?

A. I knew it only from the Narrative of Mr. Haſtings afterwards; I do not recollect that I knew, or had heard before, that any Natives made Depoſitions.

Q. You ſaid you was with Sir Elijah Impey at the Time; refer to the Affidavits, and ſee whether Seven Natives did not make Depoſitions upon the 26th of November, and you yourſelf make your own Depoſition upon the 27th of November: Were you ignorant of thoſe Seven Natives having made Depoſitions the Day before you depoſed?

A. Certainly: Sir Elijah Impey and myſelf reſided in different Houſes, he received his Viſitors without my Knowledge, or my Introduction.

Q. Did you know nothing of this going on, only except ſimply that you made your own Affidavit?

A. I knew that Colonel Hannay and his Officers were making Affidavits. At the ſame Time, I can ſay I certainly did not know who was to make Affidavits before Sir Elijah Impey.

Q. Do you remember, whether Sir Elijah Impey dined with you upon the Day you made your Affidavit?

A. I do not recollect whether he did or not.

Q. Did you underſtand that the Witneſſes prepared their own Affidavits?
A. Yes; the Britiſh Officers, I underſtood, prepared their own.

Q. As to the Natives, you know nothing of it?
A. No, I do not.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 630.

Q. You

Q. You did not know, at the Time Sir Elijah Impey was at Lucknow, that any Natives had made Affidavits?

A. I cannot ſay I poſitively knew it; I might have heard of it. I really cannot ſay I poſitively knew it, that any Native had made an Affidavit before Sir Elijah Impey.

Q. Whether, in the Execution of other Parts of your Inſtructions, you did not do the material Buſineſs yourſelf? I mean, whether, when you was inſtructed in other Points, you left it to Colonel Hannay, or any other Perſon?

A. I have occaſionally left other Parts of my Duty to another Perſon, to my Aſſiſtant, moſt certainly.

Q. Whether, in executing thoſe Parts of your Inſtructions that related to the Reſumption of the Jaghires, and the Seizure of the Begums Treaſure, you executed them yourſelf, or left them to any other Perſon?

A. As far as appears before your Lordſhips, I certainly executed them myſelf in Perſon; I did not entruſt them to any Body elſe.

Q. *(by a Manager.)* You have ſaid, the Originals were ſent to you, and that you made Perſian Copies of them, and left them in your Office; whether that was the Cuſtom of your Office ever to take a Perſian Copy of a Perſian Letter, or whether it was not the invariable Courſe to have a Tranſlate of all the Perſian Correſpondence, and to enter the Engliſh Copy?

A. It was not the invariable Cuſtom of my Office, and I believe it was a Cuſtom uſed in very few Inſtances indeed. From the Number of Perſian Letters the Reſident received, it was impoſſible he could tranſlate them. Such as were of Conſequence, and neceſſary to ſend down to the Governor General and Council at Calcutta, were occaſionally tranſlated.

Q. Whether all the Letters that were thought of Conſequence enough to be tranſmitted to Calcutta, were not invariably tranſlated, to be ſo tranſmitted?

A. I believe the Practice was both Ways; occaſionally a Perſian Copy, and occaſionally a Tranſlation, was ſent: The Cuſtom, in either Caſe, was not invariable.

Q. If either of thoſe Two Modes were purſued, whether your leaving Copies in the Office would not have led your Succeſſor to have imagined they had been tranſmitted to Calcutta?

A. Moſt likely not, as he would have perceived, from the Publick Correſpondence, there was no Mention of their having been ſo ſent to Calcutta.

Q. Will you poſitively ſwear, that Mr. Gilpin did not bring you Engliſh Copies with thoſe original Letters from the Begums?

A. I am as poſitive as I can be to any Circumſtance, at this Diſtance of Time: Major Gilpin is in London at this Time, and I wiſh him to be aſked. As far as my own Memory goes, moſt undoubtedly he did not.

Q. Whether the original Perſian Letters were brought to you only by Major Gilpin from the Bhow Begum?

A. To the beſt of my Memory, only the Originals.

Q. In a Letter from the Bhow Begum to Mr. Briſtow, ſhe ſays, "the Letters of Thanks "I received from both theſe Gentlemen, are ſtill in my Poſſeſſion; Copies of which I gave "in charge to Major Gilpin, to be delivered to Mr. Middleton, that he might forward them "to the Governor General. To be brief, thoſe who have loaded me with Accuſations, are "now clearly convicted of Falſehood. But is it not extraordinary that, notwithſtanding the "Juſtneſs of my Cauſe, Nobody relieves my Misfortunes. Why did Major Gilpin return with-"out Effect?"—Upon what Ground was it, that, Four or Five Days afterwards, the Begum ſhould write to Mr. Briſtow in the Manner ſhe did? How do you underſtand that Expreſſion of the Begum's—"Why did Major Gilpin return without Effect?"

A. It is impoſſible I can give any Conſtruction to it. I wiſh, for my Satisfaction, as my Teſtimony ſeems to be doubted, Major Gilpin himſelf may be aſked, whether he brought Copies or not.

Q. Whether, to the beſt of your Remembrance and Belief, you declare the Book D, to be now in the ſame State in which you received it from the Bookbinder at Calcutta?

A. To the beſt of my Belief it is. But I muſt ſtill beg an Allowance for what I have already ſtated: To the beſt of my Belief, they are in the ſame State as I received them from the Bookbinder in Calcutta, with the Addition of theſe Leaves afterwards.

Q. Did you ever receive a Book from the Bookbinder in that mutilated State, with a great Number of looſe Strings to which no Leaves were attached?

A. It will be neceſſary for me to look at ſuch Books as I may have received from the Bookbinders, before I can anſwer that Queſtion.

Q. But if, inſtead of being intire and perfect, a Bookbinder had ſent you a Book, a broken Book, and Strings out of it, would it not have occurred to you to have obſerved upon the Circumſtance?

A. Moſt certainly it would.

Q. Did

Q. Did you obſerve any ſuch Circumſtance when this Book was ſo delivered?
A. I cannot ſay I did: The Bookbinders in that Country and in this are upon a very different Footing.

Q. But if a Bookbinder in that Country had ſent you a Book with looſe Threads ſtanding out, and Part of the Contents of it, would you not have thought it a very ſlovenly Thing?
A. Certainly.

Q. Did any ſuch Thing ſtrike you, when theſe Books were received?
A. No: I cannot ſay it did; but theſe Strings may have been left for Letters to be ſubſequently copied. I cannot pretend to ſay, as I already informed your Lordſhips; I cannot give any account of the State of thoſe Books farther than I have already done.

Q. You ſtated, in a former Part of your Evidence, that you left your official Correſpondence at Lucknow in a complete State, and that you took not complete, but partial Copies, of that Correſpondence for your own Uſe. One Part of the Letter is copied at Lucknow, and the other Part at Calcutta: What I wiſh to aſk is, by what Means they had, at Calcutta, a Copy, from which to make a Tranſcript of that Part of the Letter which was copied at Calcutta, in the Book D, on the looſe Leaves?
A. It muſt have been in the Book, no Doubt.

Q. In the Book itſelf?
A. In the Book itſelf.

Q. Then it muſt have been torn out?
A. I ſuppoſe ſo: I cannot account, by any Circumſtance, in what Manner it has been torn out, or in what Manner thoſe looſe Leaves have been ſupplied.

Q. But I underſtand you to ſay, as to the Letter, which is now in Two different Shapes, that the Remainder muſt have been copied from a Letter that exiſted in the Book?
A. I ſuppoſe it muſt have been in the Book.

Q. Can you give any Account of that Letter having been torn out of the Book, in order to be tranſcribed upon the looſe Leaves?
A. I cannot: I can only declare moſt poſitively, it was not torn out by me, or with my Knowledge, or by any Body with my Conſent. The Book, as I before obſerved to your Lordſhips, was ſome Time in the Cuſtody of Mr. Johnſon and his Writers, in Calcutta.—I will farther inform your Lordſhips, I moſt firmly believe, thoſe Books contain all the publick Letters that were ever written upon that Subject. Notwithſtanding the State in which they appear, I believe there is no publick Letter whatever deſtroyed: that is my Belief.

Q. Do you make that Declaration upon a careful and accurate Peruſal of the whole Correſpondence, or upon what other Ground?
A. Upon my own Belief founded upon this, that I cannot aſſign any Motive for the Deſtruction of any one of thoſe Letters.

Q. Did you, upon your Arrival at Calcutta, communicate, either to the Council, or the Governor General, the Subſtance or Contents of the Letters which came from the Bow Begum, that were tranſmitted to you by Major Gilpin?
A. I do not recollect that I did.

Q. What Inducement had you for ſuppreſſing from the Knowledge of the Governor General and Council, that which the Bow Begum conſidered as ſo material to her Defence and Juſtification?
A. I had no Inducement or Motive whatever. When I delivered up my Office at Lucknow, I conſidered it as the Duty of my Succeſſor, Mr. Briſtow, to deliver thoſe Letters, and make what Uſe of them he thought proper.

Q. In a Letter, dated December 6th 1781, do you remember the Words "the Meaſure heretofore propoſed will ſoon follow the Reſumption of the Jaghires"—Do you remember that Paſſage in the Letter?
A. I do.

Q. What did you underſtand was the Meaſure heretofore propoſed?
A. The ſeizing of the Begum's Treaſures.

Q. What do you underſtand by, "heretofore;" was it prior or ſubſequent to the Treaty of Chunar?
A. Long after the Concluſion of the Treaty of Chunar.

Q. How do you underſtand, that in a Letter of yours, of the 6th of December, in Anſwer to the Communication made to you, by Sir Elijah Impey, in which you uſe the Words, "the Meaſure heretofore propoſed," and that "heretofore" being neceſſarily prior to the Date of the Order, communicated by Sir Elijah Impey, it could be long ſubſequent to the Treaty of Chunar?
A. The Treaty of Chunar was concluded the 19th of September, and this was in December.

Q. Repeating

Q. Repeating thoſe Orders ſo received, and mentioning this particular Meaſure, under the Deſcription of a Meaſure heretofore propoſed; how can you ſtate it to have been long ſubſequent to the Treaty of Chunar? What do you mean by the Words, "long ſubſequent to the Treaty of Chunar?"

A. I mean ſome Months.

Q. By, the Meaſure heretofore propoſed, am I to underſtand you had any Knowledge of the Meaſure of ſeizing the Treaſures, previous to the Communication made by Sir Elijah Impey?

A. Not from Mr. Haſtings, certainly. I have obſerved, in my former Examination upon this Subject, that I recollect having a Converſation with the Vizier, or his Miniſter, or both, upon the Subject; but from Mr. Haſtings I certainly had not.

Q. Then you mean, heretofore propoſed by the Nabob, or any other Perſon?

A. I refer it to the Propoſition of the Nabob.

Q. You ſtated, that the Nabob had repeatedly declared to you the Nabob's Opinion of his Right to take the Begum's Treaſures; did the Nabob ground his Opinion of this Right upon any Circumſtances of the Begum's ſuppoſed Rebellion to him the Nabob?

A. He did not plead that as the Foundation of his Right; but that it was his Right by the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country.

Q. (*by the Managers.*) If it was uſual for the Princes of Indoſtan to demand of the Jageedars the Overplus of the Produce of the Jagheerdary beyond the Rent at which they were granted?

A. I believe it is not uſual.

Q. Whether you recollect any Inſtance of it, and what?

A. I have ſome Recollection of the Nabob's making a Claim of that Sort upon Fyzoolla Cawn.

Q. Was that Claim upon Fyzoolla Cawn a total Reſumption of the Whole, or only of the Surplus of the Produce beyond the Rent at which it was granted?

A. I believe the Nabob's Wiſh was to reſume the whole Jaghire, and to have allowed Fyzoolla Cawn the Amount for which it was originally granted in Money.

Q. If either the Perſons who copied the Letters, or the looſe Papers in the Books, are now in England?

A. I believe not; they will be found to be copied in Four or Five different Hand-writings: Some were copied by the Natives of the Country; the others by the Black Portugueſe. I do not know that either of them are in England.

Q. Is Mr. Johnſon in England?

A. No.

Q. You ſaid, if you had known you ſhould have been examined ſo ſtrictly upon this Point, you would have endeavoured to have got better Information upon the Subject. What better Information could you now get upon it?

A. I believe my Anſwer has been miſtaken; my Obſervation upon it, and my Meaning was, that if I had expected ſo ſtrict an Examination of the Papers, I ſhould have taken care they ſhould have been in a State more proper for your Lordſhips Inſpection.

Q. You have ſtated, that the Nabob claimed a Right to the Treaſures in the Poſſeſſion of the Begums; whether, after the Treaty in 1775, the Begum was underſtood to have obtained a perfect Right to thoſe Treaſures when ſhe had given up Fifty-ſix Lacks to her Son?

A. Certainly: ſhe underſtood herſelf to have a perfect Right to them, as they were guaranteed to her by her Agreement between the Nabob and the Engliſh.

Q. Was that perfect Right allowed by the Nabob?

A. I cannot ſay it was entirely; he certainly would have taken her Treaſures from her, or ſome Part of them at leaſt, if he had not conceived we ſhould have prevented him: that was my Opinion of his Diſpoſition.

Q. Then, the Nabob had never renounced his Claim to his Treaſures?

A. He certainly renounced them by his Agreement with the Begum.

Q. Whether when it is ſtated, that the Begum had a Right to all the Effects in the Zenana, that extended to all the Effects there, Treaſures, and others, or only to her perſonal Effects?

A. To the Nabob's publick Treaſure, which I underſtood to be in the Zenana.

Q. Was her Right then eſtabliſhed upon the Treaty of September 1775?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. You have ſtated, that a certain Perſon at Calcutta copied the looſe Leaves that are now in Court; if he copied them, he muſt have copied them from ſomething; from what did he copy thoſe looſe Leaves? Did you mean to ſay, that the Perſon who copied the looſe Papers, muſt have copied it from a Leaf in the Book at the Time he took the Copy?

A. I ſhould ſuppoſe it could be no otherwiſe.

Q. If

Q. If all thoſe Letters, now copied upon the looſe Leaves, were at that Time in the Book, and the Book compleat, why did you cauſe that Copy to be made upon the looſe Leaves; did you cauſe a Copy of the looſe Leaves to be made?

A. I do not recollect I did: the Letters are, by their Dates, Letters I received or wrote after I arrived in Calcutta.

Q. I underſtand you ſaid this Book was for your Uſe, was it not you who cauſed that Book to be copied?

A. Certainly, I gave Directions for it to be copied.

Q. Did you, or did you not, give any ſpecial Directions for thoſe looſe Leaves to be copied?
A. I do not recollect that I did give any ſpecial Directions about it.

Q. Who was the Perſon that copied them, do you know the Hand?
A. They are in Two different Hands, Two Black Portugueſe Writers.

Q. Who did thoſe Writers belong to, in whoſe Service?
A. The one was in Mr. Johnſon's, the other in my Pay, at Calcutta.

Q. What are the Names of thoſe Perſons?
A. I cannot recollect their Names at this Time.

Q. Are they in England?
A. No, certainly not.

Q. *(by Counſel.)* How ſoon after you received the Orders of the Houſe of Commons, for the Production of thoſe Books, did you comply with that Order?

A. The next Day, to the beſt of my Recollection.

Q. Whether, at any Time ſince you left Calcutta, you have, directly or indirectly, altered, or procured to be altered, or permitted or known of any Alteration being made, in any Manner whatever, in it?

A. No, certainly not.

Q. Have you known of any Alteration, ſince you left Calcutta?
A. No.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Martis, 20° *Maij* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would now proceed very ſhortly to ſhew, that whatever the Circumſtances of the Danger might have been pretended to be in the Dominions of Oude, before the Time of ſigning the Treaty of Chunar, yet, after that Time, and after the Seizure of the Treaſures was determined upon, no State Neceſſity whatſoever exiſted, upon which the Defendant could pretend to juſtify that Meaſure.

Read, the following Extract from the Appendix to the Benares Narrative, beginning at Page 52 of the ſame.

NUM. 4. B.

" Copy of a Letter from the Governor General to Colonel Muir; dated Chunar, the 10th of September 1781.

" To Colonel Muir.

" Sir,

" I have lately ſent you Diſpatches in Duplicate, containing Inſtructions and full Powers for negociating and concluding a Treaty of Peace with Mahdajee Scindia, either for himſelf ſeparately, or with a Reſervation in favour of the Peaſhwa, in caſe it ſhould be agreed to include him as a Party in the Treaty. I have ſince received Intelligence that one of my Diſpatches has been intercepted, and it is not unlikely that the other may meet with the ſame Fate. I have alſo ſent a ſecond Letter, of the ſame Subſtance with the firſt, but without Credentials. As the preſent Opportunity promiſes a more ſafe Conveyance, I now ſend you a Duplicate of my laſt Letter of Inſtructions, together with a more full and regular Commiſſion than it was before in my Power to forward to you.

" I had Yeſterday the Pleaſure to receive your Letter of the 17th ultimo. The one which you mention to have written on the 13th has not reached me; I imagine it has fallen into the Hands of Cheit Sing's People. It is with great Satisfaction I obſerve, from the Deputation of Chimnajee Row, that Mahadjee Sindia has in ſome Degree anticipated the Overtures of this Government, and that the general Expreſſions of a Deſire of Peace, uſed at his firſt Interview with Mr. Ford, indicate a Diſpoſition ſo conſonant with our own. If Sindia ſhould urge the Return of your Detachment beyond the Boundaries of his Dominions, I ſee no Objection to this Condition being granted; on the contrary, I deſire it. There can be no Uſe for the Continuance of the Detachment after Peace is concluded, nor will there be any Thing in the ſmalleſt Degree diſhonourable in agreeing to its Return.

" The Objects of its Equipment were, to divert Mahdajee Sindia from the Operations on the other Side of India, or to withdraw him from the Alliance of the Miniſters of the Peaſhwa; and theſe Objects having been effected, its Return becomes a natural Conſequence.

" We are under no Engagements to protect the preſent Dominions of the King, nor thoſe of Nudjiff Khan and the Rajah of Jaynagur; and if Peace is ſettled betwixt Mahdajee Sindia and us, I do not deſire that he ſhould be reſtrained in carrying into Execution any Plans which he may have formed againſt them; at the ſame Time, I think it neceſſary to caution you againſt inſerting any Thing in the Treaty which may expreſsly mark either our Knowledge of his Views or Concurrence in them. It will be ſufficient for us (and Sindia ought to be ſatisfied with the Latitude implied in it), if he is only reſtricted in the Treaty from making Encroachments on our own Terri-

 tories

tories and thoſe of our Allies, the Nabob Vizeer, the Ranah of Ghode, and Futteh Sing Guycwar: For theſe, an expreſs Proviſion muſt be made. He muſt in direct Terms engage, that he will never invade, or in any reſpect moleſt them, as we will in the ſame Manner ſtipulate with reſpect to his Territories. In my Letter of the 29th ultimo, I inſtructed you to obtain the Reſtoration of the Chundery Rajah, and to ſecure the Intereſts of the Rajah of Nurwar, and any other Chiefs who have been active in our Cauſe. This Subject I muſt now leave to your Diſcretion, as it is not in my Power to ſend you ſuch explicit Inſtructions as I could have wiſhed, not having Acceſs at preſent to your and Colonel Camac's Letters, which point out the Nature and Extent of our Connections with each of theſe Rajahs, and the Claims which their paſt Services may have given them to our Protection. In diſcuſſing their Intereſts, we muſt make a Diſtinction betwixt actual and implied Engagements. No actual Engagements whatever exiſt between us and any of theſe Rajahs: Such of them however as have taken an active Part in our Cauſe, are entitled to ſome Degree of Conſideration. You who are on the Spot can beſt judge of their ſeveral Merits, and will attend to them, as far as you may be able, without hindering the more important Objects of our Negociations.

" It ſeems probable, that few Difficulties will ariſe in ſettling a ſeparate Treaty with Mahdajee Sindia; and this is the Object which I have principally at Heart. Let it not be impeded or retarded by the Obſtacles which may occur in adjuſting the more complicated Matters remaining in Diſpute betwixt us and the Peaſhwa. A Peace with the one muſt ſoon produce a Peace with the other. Let an Opening be left for it in the Treaty with Sindia, on the Terms I have mentioned; and though theſe Terms comprehend in our Favour every Object which we could deſire, yet they are, on the Whole, ſo advantageous to the Peaſhwa, that I think his Miniſters will acquieſce in them, rather than continue a precarious and expenſive War, deprived of the Support and Aſſiſtance of Mahdajee Sindia.

" It will be neceſſary to ſtipulate, that in caſe they ſhall not accede to the propoſed Terms of Peace, Mahdajee Sindia ſhall not, directly or indirectly, aſſiſt them, or ſuffer any of his Tributaries or Subjects to aſſiſt them, with Men, or Money, or Arms, or any other Means of carrying on the War againſt us.

" This muſt be either expreſsly ſtipulated, or ſo clearly and ſtrongly implied, that no Doubt ſhall remain regarding it.

" In the Event of a Peace being ſettled with the Peaſhwa, it will perhaps be thought proper to recall General Goddard's Detachment, and their beſt Route lies through Mahdajee Sindia's Territories. With a View to ſuch an Event, you will ſtipulate with Mahdajee Sindia, that he ſhall allow them a free Paſſage, and aſſiſt them in procuring Proviſions and other Neceſſaries on the Road.

" I encloſe a Letter which I have written to Sindia, informing him of the Powers which I have delegated to you, and deſire that you will urge him to an immediate Deciſion on the Propoſitions which you have to make to him. Inform him, that any Delay or Evaſion on his Part may preclude an Accommodation for ever; and that by your Anſwers I ſhall be regulated in entering into another Plan of Connections, which will not only prove an inſuperable Bar to the Views he has at preſent formed on the Northern Provinces, but draw ſuch a powerful Attack on his own Territories as muſt infallibly end in his Expulſion and Ruin.

" If after the Concluſion and Execution of the ſeparate Treaty with Mahdajee Sindia, he ſhould deſire to promote a Peace between us and the Peaſhwa, I will appoint a Perſon with full Powers to negociate the ſame, through the Channel of his Introduction and Mediation.

" I am, &c.
Warren Haſtings." (*a*)

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſaid Appendix, beginning at Page 13.

" NUM. 1. F.

" Second Minute of the Governor General, containing his Anſwers to poſſible Objections to be made againſt the ſeveral Parts of his Agreement with the Vizeer.

" To the firſt Article it may be objected;

" 2dly, That the internal Safety of the Nabob Vizeer's Dominions will not admit of our immediately withdrawing our Officers from his Service." (*b*)

" 2dly, This is not our Concern, if the Nabob, whoſe it is, affirms the contrary; and though it may eventually affect us, we ſhould be leſs liable to ſuffer by a remote Contingency, than by the immediate Privation or Diſſipation of our own Troops, employed in Anticipation of poſſible Evils affecting us through him, while our own Exigencies immediately demanded their Exertions. But in Truth, I much ſuſpect the Po-

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 176.

(*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 144.

ſition;

fition; having been too much accuſtomed to the Tales of hoſtile Preparations and impending Invaſions, againſt all the Evidence of political Probability, to regard them as other than Phantoms raiſed for the Purpoſe of perpetuating or multiplying Commands. Who are the Invaders of the Doaub and Rohilcund? Not the Marattahs; they are fully occupied in the Defence of their own Territories: Not the Sicks; they are engaged with Nudjiff Khan in an unequal War: And Nudjiff Khan, with foreign Concerns, with domeſtic Intrigues, and the Habits of late-acquired Sloth, and an unwieldy, unpaid, and licentious Army, can have little Leiſure or Inclination to embroil himſelf in new Difficulties by a War with the Vizeer and the Engliſh." (*a*)

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next read a Letter, to prove the Time when Mr. Haſtings became acquainted with the Succeſs of the Engliſh Arms in the Carnatic.

Read, from Book B, already delivered in, the following Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Governor General, dated the 28th of October 1781.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

" Sir,

" I have been honoured with the Receipt of your Letter under Date the 24th inſtant, incloſing Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor General and Council, communicating to you the firſt Intelligence of a complete Victory obtained by the Honourable Company's Arms, under the Conduct of General Sir Eyre Coote, over Hyder Ally Cawn, and an Addreſs to the Nabob Vizier on that Subject.—Permit me, Sir, to congratulate you on this happy Effect of the Meaſures of your Adminiſtration againſt the moſt powerful Oppoſition we have yet had to encounter in Hindoſtan, which cannot fail to promote our Credit and Influence in the publick Opinion, and to eſtabliſh the Reputation of our military Character on the moſt ſolid and permanent Baſis.

" I immediately waited on the Nabob with your Letter, who expreſſed much Satisfaction at the joyful Intelligence it conveyed, and directly announced it to his Subjects by the moſt publick Proclamation in his Durbar, and a Diſcharge of his Cannon, which was alſo followed with a Royal Salute from the Guns of the Honourable Company's Regiment ſtationed at Lucknow; and I have further taken care to make it properly known to all the native Powers with whom I have any Correſpondence.

" Incloſed I have the Pleaſure to forward you his Excellency's Congratulation on this fortunate Occaſion; and am, with the greateſt Reſpect,

" Sir,

" Lucknow, Yours, &c. &c.

the 28th October 1781. (Signed) Nathaniel Middleton."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they had now concluded this Head of the Evidence, and ſhould next proceed to ſhew the Situation in which the Nabob Vizier ſtood, with reſpect to the Britiſh Government in India:—They obſerved, it was alleged in the Charge, that the Nabob of Oude was in Subſtance and Effect, as well as in general Repute and Eſtimation, dependant upon and under the Controul of the Governor General: (*b*)—That this Allegation was poſitively denied by the Defendant, (*c*)—and therefore they ſhould now produce Evidence to prove the abject State the Nabob was in to the Government, and his uniform Submiſſion to the Will of the Governor General.

Read, the following Extract from Mr. Haſtings's Defence at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, beginning at Page 211 of the ſame.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 144.
(*b*) Vide printed Copy of the Articles of Charge, Page 10.
(*c*) Vide printed Copy of the Anſwer to the Articles of Charge, Page 14.

"*Charge the Fourth.*

"PRINCESSES of OUDE.

" It is certainly not true, that the Nabob of Oude was ever under the Coutroul of the Bengal Government, in the Extent ſtated in this Charge. That the Reſident, who repreſented the Council General, had an Influence at his Court, cannot be diſputed; but it is notorious that the Acts of the Nabob's Government were, on various Occaſions, remonſtrated againſt, and ineffectually oppoſed by the Reſident, as may be ſeen by the publick Correſpondence of Meſſrs. Middleton and Briſtow. It cannot, therefore, be admitted, that " the Engliſh Name and Character were concerned in every " Act of his Government, or in any not authorized by them."

" Allowing it to be true, that the Country of Oude was in a flouriſhing State before our Interference, ſurely I cannot be chargeable with the Evils reſulting from the Syſtem we eſtabliſhed, ſince I gave all the Oppoſition I could to the firſt Introduction of it. The Syſtem was undoubtedly very defective, and generally prejudicial to the Nabob's Affairs, inaſmuch, as it neceſſarily eſtabliſhed a Degree of Interference in his Government, undefined by any preciſe Rule: which, however diſcreetly uſed, would not fail to weaken his Authority, and in many Caſes to be productive of all the Evils conſequent on a divided Government." (*a*)

Read, the following Extract from the Paper called, " The Second Defence;" beginning at Page 1 of the ſame.

" The Nabob of Oude, by the Privation of a conſiderable Part of his Patrimonial Eſtate, and the Enlargement of his Subſidy, was reduced to great and very early Diſtreſs. This I repeatedly predicted at the Time, that the Majority which conſtituted the efficient Government of Bengal in 1775 forced from the Nabob thoſe Conditions of the Treaty concluded with him. From the ſame Cauſes his Army, which was enormous, became diſaffected, refractory, and mutinous, ſo as at Times to endanger his Perſon; becauſe he had not the Means of paying their growing Arrears, nor of ſtopping the Evil by diſbanding them. This threw him of courſe on the Engliſh Power for his Protection; and ſo far only was he dependent on it." (*b*)

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next ſhew Mr. Haſtings's own Account of the Origin and Progreſs of the Nabob's Vaſſalage, which they would ſubſtantiate afterwards by ſubſequent Evidence.

Read, from Book 84, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 29th September 1783, beginning at Page 282 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 29th September 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;

Secret Dept. Monday.

John Macpherſon, and John Stables, Eſquires.

Edward Wheler Eſquire, up the Country.

" The Governor General delivered in the following Minute, containing his Obſervations on Mr. Briſtow's Letter and Defence.

" The Means by which our Government acquired this Influence, and its Right to exerciſe it, will require a previous Explanation: Both originated in our Connection with the Nabob Suja Dowla. I found him a Dependant on the Company, or rather on the Commander in Chief of the Army. Under the Authority of the Council of which I was the Preſident, in the Year 1773, I concluded a Treaty with him, which left him optionally free, but virtually dependant on our Government, by the reciprocal Obligations of it, which on our Part conſiſted in Military Aſſiſtance whenever he demanded it; and on his, the Payment of a fixed Monthly Subſidy for the Expences attending it. He remained the abſolute Sovereign of his own Dominions; and whenever he found the Preſence of our Army, or the Aſcendant of our Alliance, too powerful for his Eaſe or Dignity, he might free himſelf from both, by the Diſmiſſion of the former. But the Neceſſity of his Affairs rendered it unſafe or inconvenient to part with it, as was evinced by the Experiment of a few Months, in which the Army was remanded to our Frontier, and again recalled for his Service; and thus its Attachment to him, and the Kind of Tribute which he paid for the Uſe of it, were rendered permanent, but in ſuch a Mode, as conduced to his Intereſt and Safety, without a Diminution of Perſonal Conſequence. He was himſelf the Inſtrument of forming this Relation; he felt the Advantages of it; he experienced nothing humiliating in the Superiority of the Part aſſigned to our Government in it; and in the ſhort Interval which followed the Conſtruction of it, Two rich and extenſive Members were added to his Paternal Dominions, beſides that which he acquired with it. Let me add, without

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 413.

(*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 362.

the

the Imputation of assuming too much Self-consequence, that my personal Behaviour to him was unvariably marked by a studied Respect. In public, I addressed him as my acknowledged Superior; in private, for only one Person was ever privy to our Conferences, I made my Demands in firm but decent Language; exacted his Compliance, by stating the Grounds of our mutual Necessities, without either Concealment or Exaggeration; and obtained, with his chearful and most willing Concession, the best Accession of a new Dominion, a Portion of the Wealth of a valuable and remote Territory, without the Burthen of its Administration. He parted from me contented; and if I may trust to those Assurances, which my Station may be suspected to have extorted from private Adulation, he publickly and frequently acknowledged the Obligations which he owed to me; and even in his last Moments recurred to them, in the Line of Conduct which he recommended to his Son and Successor, the present Nabob Assof u' Dowla.

" With his Death a new political System commenced, and Mr. Bristow was constituted the Instrument of its Formation, and Trustee for the Management of it. The Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah was deprived of a large Part of his Inheritance, I mean the Province of Benares, attached by a very feeble and precarious Tenure to our Dominions; the Army fixed to a permanent Station in a remote Line of his Frontier, with an augmented and perpetual Subsidy; a new Army, amphibiously composed of Troops in his Service and Pay, commanded by English Officers of our own Nomination, for the Defence of his new Conquests; and his own natural Troops annihilated or alienated by the Insufficiency of his Revenue for all his Disbursements, and the prior Claims of those which our Authority or Influence commanded; in a Word, he became a Vassal of the Government: But he still possessed an ostensible Sovereignty, his titular Rank of Vizier of the Empire rendered him a conspicuous Object of View to all the States and Chiefs of India; and on the Moderation and Justice with which the British Government in Bengal exercised its Influence over him, many Points most essential to its Political Strength, and to the Honour of the British Name, depended.

" This is not a Place, nor have I Room in it, to prove what I shall here content myself with affirming, that by a sacred and undeviating Observance of every Principle of Publick Faith, the British Dominion might have by this Time acquired the Means of its Extension, through a virtual Submission to its Authority, to every Region of Hindostan and Deccan. I am not sure that I should advise such a Design, were it practicable, which at this Time it certainly is not; and I very much fear that the limited Formation of such equal Alliances as might be useful to our present Condition, and conduce to its Improvement, is become liable to almost unsurmountable Difficulties. Every Power in India must wish for the Support of ours, but they all dread the Connection.

" The Subjection of Bengal, and the Deprivation of the Family of Jaffier Ally Cawn, though an Effect of inevitable Necessity, the present Usurpations of the Rights of the Nabob Wallar Jau, in the Carnatic, and the licentious Violations of the Treaty existing between the Company and the Nabob Nizam ul Dowla, though checked by the remedial Interposition of this Government, stand as terrible Precedents against us. The Effects of our Connection with the Nabob Affof o Dowla had a rapid Tendency to the same Consequences, and it has been my invariable Study to prevent it, by the Removal or Restriction of every Authority or Influence derived from our Government which interfered with his, and by the Promise of whatever Means I might possess for withdrawing that Interposition of it in the internal Management of his Affairs, which we exercised in the Assignments made of Portions of his Revenue for the Payment of the Company's Debts, whenever he should either have discharged them, or could afford a Security for their Payment. It is not unknown to the Members of the Board, who composed it in the Beginning of the Year 1781, how much it was my Wish, even then, to return on a New Commission to the Residence of the Nabob of Owd, provided I could be entrusted with Powers to make such an Accommodation, for his Finances were daily diminishing; the Presence of the Representative of our Government enfeebled that of the Nabob in its executive Acts, and all the Provinces of his Dominions were gradually sinking into Decline, the Reproach of which, even from our own Countrymen, was cast upon our Government as the Cause of it." *(a)*

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the House, they would next read the Treaty between the British Government and Sujah ul Dowlah in the Year 1768, to shew, before Mr. Hastings had secured and rivetted the Connexion of the Nabob, and before any other Bond or Connexion had been formed with him, that even at that Time the Court of Common Pleas thought the Governor General responsible for an Act of the Nabob's Troops, in the Case of Rafael v. Verelst and another, in Mr. Justice Blackstone's Reports, Vol. 2. P. 983 and 1055.

The Witness produced Book 127, intituled, " Bengal Secret Committee, 1769."

(a) Vide Appendix, N° LXIV.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 4th January 1769, beginning at Page 11 of the ſame Book.

"Fort William, 4th January 1769.

" At a Select Committe; Preſent,
The Honourable Harry Verelſt Eſquire, Preſident;
Francis Sykes,
Richard Becher, and } Eſquires.
Charles Floyer,

" Read, the following Letter from Meſſrs. Cartier, Smith, and Ruſſell.

" Whereas unbecoming Rumours have been propagated abroad, which tend to the Interruption of the firm Friendſhip, Union, and Confidence, formerly eſtabliſhed between his Highneſs the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, Vizier of the Empire, on one Part; and the Right Honourable Robert Lord Clive, and General John Carnac, in Behalf of the deceaſed Nabob Nudjim ul Dowlah, late Subadar of Bengal, Bahar and Orixa, and the Engliſh Company, on the other Part; Harry Verelſt Eſq. Preſident and Governor of Fort William, and the Council thereof, with a View to the Removal of all Cauſes of Jealouſy and Diſagreement, and the Confirmation of a good Diſpoſition on both Sides, have deputed John Cartier, Colonel Richard Smith, and Claud Ruſſell, Three Members of the Council, from Calcutta, perſonally to confer with his Highneſs aforeſaid: And whereas the aforeſaid John Cartier, Colonel Richard Smith, and Claud Ruſſell, after effecting an Interview with his Highneſs aforeſaid, have Reaſon to be ſatisfied with his ſteady Attachment to the Engliſh, they therefore, in Behalf of his Excellency the Nabob Syfect Dowlah, Subadar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, and the Engliſh Company, renew and confirm the former Treaty, Letter by Letter, and Article by Article; and his Highneſs the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah aforeſaid, doth likewiſe renew and confirm the ſaid Treaty; and moreover, out of a pure Deſire effectually to eradicate all Doubts and Jealouſies, to eſtabliſh the preſent Harmony on the moſt durable Baſis, and to confirm the former Treaty, doth conſent and agree, that the following Words ſhall be inſerted as an Explanatory Clauſe in the ſaid Treaty:—It is by the Advice and Conſent of the Preſident and Council aforeſaid, agreed that his Highneſs ſhall not entertain a Number of Forces exceeding Thirty-five thouſand Men, whether Sepoys, Cavalry, Peons, Artillery Men, Rocket Men, or Troops of any Denomination whatever; of this Number, Ten thouſand are to be Cavalry, Ten Battalions of Sepoys, including Subadars, Jemadars, Havildars, and all Ranks of Officers, not to exceed Ten thouſand Men; the Nujib Regiment conſiſting, of Five thouſand Men with Matchlocks, to remain always in its preſent Eſtabliſhment: Five hundred Men for the Artillery, and that Number never to be exceeded: The remaining Nine thouſand five hundred Men are to be Irregulars, neither to be cloathed, armed, or diſciplined after the Manner of the Engliſh Sepoys, or Nujib Regiment. And his Highneſs alſo engages to arm none of his Forces, beſides the Ten thouſand Men mentioned in this Treaty, after the Engliſh Manner; nor to train them in the Diſcipline of the Engliſh Troops. In Conſideration thereof, the ſaid John Cartier, Colonel Richard Smith, and Claud Ruſſell engage, in behalf of his Excellency the Nabob Syfut Dowlah, and the Engliſh Company aforeſaid, that whilſt his Highneſs Shujah ul Dowlah aforeſaid, and his Succeſſors, ſhall abide by the Articles of this Treaty, neither the preſent Council of Fort William, nor any future Council, ſhall hereafter introduce any new Matter relative hereto, beſides what has been formerly agreed to, and is now concluded upon; and both Parties ſhall conſider this Agreement as firm and binding. His Highneſs aforeſaid ſhall ſwear upon the Koran; John Cartier, Colonel Richard Smith, and Claud Ruſſell, upon the Goſpel, never to infringe the minuteſt Part or Meaning hereof, and to tranſmit it inviolable to their Poſterity.

" Signed, ſealed, and ſolemnly ſworn to, according to their reſpective Faiths, by the contracting Parties, at Benaris, the 29th Day of November, in the Year of our Lord 1768, in the Preſence of us,

(Signed)
John Cartier. (L. S.)
Richard Smith. (L. S.)
Claud Ruſſell. (L. S.)"

Signed
Gabriel Harper,
C. W. Boughton,
W. H. Coxe."

" A Literal Copy.
W. H. Coxe,
Secretary to the Deputation."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 4th October 1773, from Book 3, already delivered in, beginning at Page 522 of the ſame Book.

" Fort

" Fort William, the 4th October 1773.

" At a Conſultation; Preſent,

Secret Dept. Monday.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, being returned, now reſumes his Seat at the Board as Preſident;

William Alderſey, Philip M. Dacres, Henry Goodwin, John Graham, } Eſquires;

George Vanſittart Eſquire, who is alſo returned with the Governor, and takes his Seat accordingly.

" The Governor delivers in to the Board the following Report of his Negociations with the Nabob Suja ul Dowla at Benaras, and of his other Proceedings during his Abſence from the Preſidency, with all the Papers referred to in the Report.

" In the Courſe of our Converſation, the Vizier frequently expreſſed the Satisfaction which he had received from our Meeting, and from the friendly and confidential Intercourſe which had taken place between us. Though ſuch Profeſſions are not always to be received in their literal Senſe, I took Occaſion from them to aſk him, whether it would be agreeable to him that a Perſon in whom I confide ſhould be appointed by me to reſide near his Perſon, for the Sake of perpetuating and ſtrengthening the good Underſtanding ſo happily begun, as well as for the Tranſaction of ſuch ordinary Affairs as might not ſuit the Formality of a Correſpondence by Letter, but which, in their Amount, are always found to be productive of important Effects? That I deſired it myſelf; but unleſs it was equally his Wiſh, I would neither propoſe nor conſent to it, as it would not, in ſuch a Caſe, be productive of the good Effects which I meant to derive from it. He declared to me, that it would be entirely pleaſing to him. I told him, that I would again addreſs him after my Return to Calcutta on the ſame Subject, when I ſhould have made Choice of a Perſon duly qualified for ſo important a Truſt. It now reſts with you, Gentlemen, to determine on the Propriety of this Appointment. I will offer it frankly as my Opinion, that if you ſhall think it proper to entruſt with me the ſole Nomination of ſuch a Reſident, and the Power of recalling him whenever I ſhall judge his Preſence to be no longer neceſſary, it may be attended with good Effects. In any other Mode, I fear the Appointment would exclude me from being any longer the Channel of Connection between this Government and the Vizier, and prevent me from availing myſelf of that Influence with him, which I have taken much Pains to eſtabliſh, and I hope not altogether unſucceſsfully." (*a*)

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that the next Point they ſhould proceed to prove was, the Means which Mr. Haſtings took for the better eſtabliſhment of his Authority, upon the Re-appointment of Mr. Middleton to the Reſidentſhip at Oude, immediately upon the Death of Colonel Monſon; and in the Firſt Inſtance, by his Eſtabliſhment of the temporary Brigade, which gave him in Effect almoſt the whole Authority over the Tranſactions of the Troops ſtationed in the Dominions of the Vizier.

Read, from Book 109, already delivered in, the following Letter from the Governor General to the Nabob Vizier, beginning at Page 328 of the ſame Book.

" To the Nabob Vizier. Written 21ſt May 1777.

" 1ſt. That of the Troops now belonging to your Excellency, and commanded by Britiſh Officers, the following Corps be transferred to the Service of the Company, viz. Nine Battalions of Sepoys, Three Companies of Artillery, and Two Regiments of Horſe, one more to be added for that Purpoſe to complete the Eſtabliſhment.

" 2dly. That theſe Corps be formed into a Brigade for the Service of your Excellency entirely; but, for the Sake of maintaining Diſcipline and Subordination, be immediately ſubjected to the Authority of this Government, by which their Pay is to be iſſued, their Accounts regulated, their Expence controuled, and their Conduct ultimately directed; but they ſhall act ſolely under your Orders in all their Military Operations for the Defence of every Part of your Dominions, whilſt you retain them in your Service.

" 3dly. That an Eſtimate be formed of the Expence of this Eſtabliſhment, on the Trial of One or Two Months, which your Excellency will defray; and after that, the ſame ſhall remain a fixed Charge for ſo long a Time as you ſhall require the Corps for your Service." (*b*)

Read, the following Letter from the Nabob Vizier to the Governor General, from Book 132, already delivered in, beginning at Page 349 of the ſame Book.

" From the Vizier. Received 17th June.

" It is alſo equally certain, that I regard it as an indiſpenſible Obligation on me to preſerve the warmeſt Friendſhip for the illuſtrious Engliſh Chiefs from that Day, when, by the Means of the Engliſh

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXV. (*b*) Vide Appendix, N° LXVI.

Engliſh Friendſhip, I aſcended, by hereditary Right, the Muſnud of my Anceſtors. It has been my moſt earneſt Deſire deeply engraved on my Mind by every Means to preſerve a ſtrict Friendſhip and Union with them, and to cultivate and improve it to the utmoſt, which would be the Means of enſuring my Stability and Intereſt. Actuated by theſe Sentiments, I intruſted my Intereſts to the Engliſh Chiefs, and have, on every Occaſion, regulated my Conduct by their Opinion and Advice, and have never in any one Inſtance acted contrary to their Pleaſure." (*a*)

The Managers for the Commons ſtated to the Houſe, that the Second Inſtance of the Defendant's Attempt to acquire to himſelf the Authority over the Nabob's Dominions, would appear in the Letter about to be read, by the Diſmiſſion of the Nabob's Favourites, and the Appointment of Two Miniſters recommended by himſelf.

Read, the following Letter from the Governor General to the Nabob, from Book 109, already delivered in, beginning at Page 329 of the ſame.

" To the Nabob Vizier. Written the 26th May 1777.

" The heavy Arrears which I underſtand are at this Time due to the Brigade, appointed for the Protection of your Perſon and Dominions, the Balance of your general Account with the Company, and the Pay of yur own Forces under the Command of Britiſh Officers, which muſt ultimately fall on the Company, if your Means are unequal to diſcharge it, are Circumſtances which impreſs me with the greateſt Alarm both for the Security of your Affairs, and of the Company's Property involved in them. The Ties of Alliance and Friendſhip oblige me to offer my Advice and Aſſiſtance in all Caſes in which your Intereſts may be affected.

" To theſe Obligations is ſuperadded the Safety of the Company's Intereſts intruſted to my Care; and theſe accumulated Conſiderations not only call upon me to recommend to you ſuch Meaſures as are neceſſary for the Advancement of our common Good, or the Relief of our common Difficulties, but entitle me to your Compliance with them, unleſs you can point out others more effectual. On theſe Principles I proceed to inform you, that it is in the Mouth of the whole World, that your Country is in a State of unbounded Diſorder and Want, and your Revenues ſunk and anticipated, and your Treaſury exhauſted, not on the Services of your State, but in Embezzlement and Diſſipation.

" Theſe Calamities are univerſally aſcribed to the Want of a regular Authority in the Adminiſtration of your Affairs, and to the treacherous and ungrateful Abuſe which is made of your Confidence by thoſe on whom you have unworthily placed it. At the Head of theſe is Imaumbukſh, who is notoriouſly repreſented as a Wretch, of ſo mean an Extraction, and of ſo vile a Character, that your Credit and Honour ſuffer by your Countenance of ſuch a Man. To him the World imputes the enormous Expence with which you are burthened of a Military Eſtabliſhment, conſiſting nominally of more than 50,000 Men; and the Waſte of your Collections, which are all in the Poſſeſſion and at the Mercy of his Creatures and Dependants; Men of Characters baſe, rapacious, unfaithful, and devoid of Underſtanding, like his own. Theſe Facts I could not mention to you, had I received them only from common Report; but they are of ſuch known and well atteſted Authority, that every Man, who comes from that Quarter, agrees exactly in the ſame Repreſentation; and in lamenting that a Heart, ſo benevolent as your Excellency's, ſhould beſtow its Affections on Men ſo undeſerving of it. Few who approach you will dare to inform you of the Truth, becauſe of the Danger which they muſt incur from the Reſentment of thoſe who poſſeſs your Authority; and this is another powerful Motive that I ſhould make it known to you, and appriſe you of the Dangers with which you are ſurrounded.

" But it is not enough to point out the Evils of your Situation, unleſs I likewiſe preſcribe the Remedy. It is this; and I beſeech you, by the Friendſhip which I bear for your Excellency, and by your Alliance with the Company, and may it laſt for ever! and by all your Hopes of Happineſs and encreaſing Reputation, that you will hearken to my Advice, and literally conform to it.

" 1ſt. Let Imaumbukſh be baniſhed for ever from your Preſence, and from your Dominions. This is moſt and indiſpenſably adviſeable.

" 2dly. Chuſe a Naib of Capacity, of Integrity, and of old and approved Attachment to your Family; ſuch is the Character of your preſent Naib, Imaumbukſh*: Let him be publickly and formally nominated to the Exerciſe of your Authority in the Management of all your Affairs, and let all Orders be tranſmitted through him, and regiſtered in the reſpective Affairs under his Direction, that he may be duly accountable for their Effect. Let him be invariably ſupported with your whole Authority, nor any other Influence ſuffered to be placed in Competition with his.

* Sic in Orig.

" 3dly. Let him be eſpecially inſtructed to reduce your Expences, to regulate the Accounts of them, and to place proper and practiſed Muttaſeddies in the Charge of your Revenue.

" As this is the Seaſon of the Year in which your Excellency will be leaſt liable to Interruption from foreign Concerns, and the Period is approaching for forming the new Settlement of your publick Revenues, I hope you will take theſe Counſels into your immediate Conſideration, and iſſue ſuch Orders thereon as your Wiſdom ſhall preſcribe for obtaining the Effects propoſed to be derived from them."

Read,

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXVII.

Read, the following Letter from the Vizier to the Governor General, from Book 132, already delivered in, beginning at Page 405 of the ſame.

" From the Vizier. Received 9th Auguſt 1777.

" My Friend. My Nature revolts at all baſe and unworthy Characters. Before the Arrival of your friendly Letter, I had expreſſed my Diſpleaſure againſt Imaum Bukſh, and driven him from my Counſels; nor did I admit any Perſon of ſuch a Character in my Preſence. I had long before that Period given the ſole Direction of all my Affairs, Civil and Military, into the Hands of Huſſein Reza Khan. It is true, that he is a Man of old and proved Attachment to my Family, and of great Capacity, Experience, and Diſcernment; and I am fully convinced of, and highly ſatisfied with, his Integrity and Fidelity; and ſince you, my Friend, have judged it adviſable that he ſhould be entruſted with the Management of the Affairs of my Government, and have given it me as your Advice accordingly, requiring no further Inducement, I have inveſted him with the Charge thereof, and given expreſs Injunctions to all my Officers implicitly to obey all my Orders iſſued by the ſaid Khan. You may rely with the utmoſt Confidence on theſe Declarations which I have made. My Deſire to comply with your Advice on every Occaſion is without Bounds." (*a*)

Read, the following Letter from the Governor General to Huſſein Reza Khan, from Book 109, already delivered in, beginning at Page 345 of the ſame.

" To Hoſſein Reza Khan. Written 15th Auguſt.

" I have received your agreeable Letter, informing me of your having been honoured by your Maſter with a Kellaat, confirming you in the Niabut, with other Particulars, which afforded me the greateſt Pleaſure.

" I congratulate you on this Appointment, and have no Doubt but you will prove yourſelf worthy of it, by a ſteady and uniform Attention to the Intereſts of your Maſter, and of the Company, which are inſeparably united. Be aſſured, that ſuch a Conduct will at the ſame time advance your own Intereſt and Honour, and preſerve to you the Friendſhip and Countenance of this Government. It gives me great Pleaſure to hear that ſo ſtrict a Friendſhip and Union ſubſiſts between you and Mr. Middleton; and I have no Doubt, but, through your joint Endeavours, the Affairs of the Nabob will put on the moſt flouriſhing Aſpect. Knowing me intereſted in your Welfare, let me frequently have the Pleaſure to hear from you.

" P. S. I cannot conſiſtently with the Rules of the Service accept of your Nuzzir, which has been preſented to me; but, for your Satisfaction, have received it for the Company, and ordered it to be carried to their Account. Your Intention I regard with equal Pleaſure, as if I had accepted it."

To prove, that thoſe Diſtricts, upon which Aſſignments had been received for the Uſe of the Company, were aſſigned over to the Company, at a Time when the Expences of the Vizier had been conſiderably increaſed, by fixing the Temporary Brigade upon him;

Read, from Book 133, before delivered in, the following Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Board, dated the 18th Auguſt 1777, beginning at Page 548 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 4th September 1777.

Secret Dept. Thurſday.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

" The Proceedings of the 1ſt inſtant read and approved. Read, the following Letter from Mr. Middleton:

Mr. Middleton, 18th Auguſt.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" Not being favoured with your Commands, in Reply to my Addreſs of the 26th June, and being moreover apprehenſive, that with the very large Claims which the Company now have on his Excellency, the Mode I there propoſed, of taking, in every Inſtance, Aſſignments of whole Diſtricts, where the Vizier's Power of Controul over the Aumils, on the Troops ſtationed with them, ſhould in no Reſpect be exerted, would almoſt annihilate every Appearance of his Excellency's retaining any Authority in his own Dominions; I thought it better to conſent to what the Nabob himſelf appeared willing to allow, and what, I flatter myſelf, will be deemed by the Honourable Board as adequate a Security for the Claims of the enſuing Year, as the preſent State of Affairs in this Country would admit of. His Excellency has agreed to aſſign over the Rents of

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXVIII.

the Provinces of Rohilcund and the Doaub, after deducting the Charges of Collection, the uſual ſtationaty Troops there, and the Claims for recoverable Balances of laſt Year, excluſively to the Payment of the Company's Demands; the Aumils to be either of my Appointment, or ſuch as I ſhall approve; and with whom I am at Liberty to expreſsly ſtipulate, that, except on the Accounts above mentioned, they ſhall not pay any Drafts whatever but mine, on Pain of their immediate Removal. The Diſtricts of Allahabad, Corah, Shahrah, Jugdriſpoor, &c. are to be aſſigned over to me in the ſame Manner, after deducting ſuch Part of the Jagheers of Sallar Jung and Mirſa Allee, as have always been upon thoſe Diſtricts. For the Remainders of the Company's Claims, his Excellency has ordered his Miniſters to lay before me ſuch a State of Aſſignments as ſhall, in Amount and Security, appear to me fully ſufficient, and gave me a ſolemn Aſſurance, that he would not make a Grant of a ſingle Tuncaw upon any of his Diſtricts until this be done. As the making the Bundobuſt of the Country, with the ſingle Stipulation in Favour of Bow Anny Sing, has been committed to the Miniſtry, I hope, with their Aſſiſtance, to have ſuch Aumils appointed, and ſuch an Influence over them, that I need be under no Apprehenſions, where I have even only partial Drafts on them, of their paying the Claims of others in Preference, or to the Injury of the Company's. The Nabob's Orderlies, from whom I ſhould have moſt to dread, will be excluded, unleſs it may, perhaps, be judged expedient to give ſome ſmall Diſtricts to one or two of them, who have ſome Claim to Favour, from having paid the Aſſignments on them this Year entirely, or nearly, without Balance. For a further Security to the realizing the Aſſignments given in Favour of the Honourable Company, and to obviate one of the moſt ordinary and principal Cauſes of Balances this Year, the diſorderly Behaviour of the Troops ſtationed for the Defence of the Provinces, or quartered on them for Subſiſtence, I have obtained his Excellency's Conſent to Three of his Battalions being delivered over to me, for the Purpoſe of aſſiſting the Aumils in the Maintenance of their Authority, both over the Zemindars, and againſt any Troops who may diſtreſs the Province by riotous Behaviour or oppreſſive Exactions; and alſo to ſecure the realizing of my Claims, when and wherever I may think them in Danger of being invaded or violated. (*a*)

(At the End)

"Lucknow, 18 Aug. 1777. "Nathaniel Middleton."

To prove the Opinion of the Reſt of the Council upon this Subject;

Read, from Book 138, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 19th May 1777, beginning at Page 787 of the ſame Book.

"Mr. Francis.—I conceive it to be impoſſible that the Nabob, or any Prince, whoſe Underſtanding is capable of forming the Idea of Independency, can give a voluntary Conſent to a Meaſure which dethrones him.

"Nothing is left for me however, but to proteſt againſt it." (*b*)

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, Page 788.

"General Clavering.—I proteſt againſt it, and all the Conſequences of it (*c*)."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 11th of Auguſt 1777, from Book 110, beginning at Page 379 of the ſame.

"Fort William, the 11th Auguſt 1777.

Secret Dept. Monday. "At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General Sir John Clavering,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

"The Commander in Chief, agreeably to the Intention which he before expreſſed, now delivers in the following Proteſt to the Plan for the new Brigade propoſed by the Governor General, and agreed to by the Board, on the 7th inſtant."

"PROTEST.

"Becauſe taking the Army from the Nabob is an Infringement of the Rights of an independant Prince, leaving only the Name and Title of it, without the Power.

"It is taking his Subjects from him, againſt every Law of Nature and of Nations." (*d*)

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXIX.
(*b*) Vide Appendix, N° LXX.
(*c*) Vide Appendix, N° LXX.
(*d*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXI.

Read,

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the Board, from Book 133, already delivered in, beginning at Page 555 of the ſame.

" Fort William, the 4th September 1777.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

" Mr. Francis.—By the foregoing Letter from Mr. Middleton it appears, that he has taken the Government of the Nabob's Dominions directly upon himſelf. I was not a Party to the Reſolutions which preceded that Meaſure, and will not be anſwerable for the Conſequences of it." (*a*)

Read, from the ſame Book, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 8th September 1777, beginning at Page 624 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 8th September 1777.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

" Mr. Francis.—Mr. Barwell is pleaſed to ſay, that he knows of no particular Change that the Government of Oude has undergone ſince the Nomination of a Reſident at the Court of Oude, of Mr. Briſtow by Mr. Francis. I ſaid that we had in effect taken the Government from the Nabob. I will not put it upon Mr. Barwell to affirm the contrary; the Nabob is a Cypher, and known to be ſo to all.

" Within theſe very few Months, we have taken his Army from him; we have inſiſted on his committing the Civil Adminiſtration to one particular Perſon.

" We have inſiſted on his diſmiſſing his Favourites; and now Mr. Middleton tells us that he has taken the Collection of the Revenues of the Doaub and Rohilcund under his own Direction, or to that Effect. I refer to his Letter of the 18th Auguſt.— I ſhould be glad to know what Branch of the ſovereign Power is really left to the Nabob; as for the Reſt, I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that all the foregoing Acts are ſubſequent to Mr. Briſtow's Recall. Before this happened, he neither has nor could have the Power which Mr. Barwell attributes to him." (*b*)

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 23d December 1779, from Book 112, already delivered in, beginning at Page 966 of the ſame.

" Fort William, 23d December 1779.

Secret Dept. Thurſday.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

Sir Eyre Coote abſent on a Viſit to the different Stations of the Army.

" Received the following Letter from the Commander in Chief.

" Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

" The Day before Yeſterday I encamped near Allahabad, where the Vizier did me the Honour of a Viſit; and Yeſterday Morning, in my way hither, I returned it, and was received by his Excellency with every Mark of Reſpect and Diſtinction.

" This Morning he called here, and we had ſome general Converſation, which principally turned upon the Subject of his Attachment to the Engliſh, and his Readineſs to ſhew the Sincerity of it upon all Occaſions.

" It is to be wiſhed we had employed the Influence which ſuch favourable Sentiments muſt have given us more to the Benefit of the Country and ourſelves; but I fear the Diſtreſſes which evidently appear on the Face of the one, and the Failure of Revenues to the other, are not to be wholly aſcribed to the Vizier's Miſmanagement.

(At the End of the Letter)

" Poppa Mow, near Allahabad, the 11th December 1779." " Eyre Coote." (*c*)

To ſhew what the Opinion of the neighbouring Princes was, concerning the true State of the Nabob Vizier;

Read, the following Extract from Book 132, intituled, " Perſian Country Publick Correſpondence," already delivered in, beginning at Page 8 of the ſame.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXIX. (*b*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXII.
(*c*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXIII.

" Tranſlation

" Tranſlation of a Newſpaper, giving an Account of the Tranſactions of the Royal Durbar, dated 26 Shwaul, received 1ſt January 1777.

" It is well known that the Dominions of Aſoph ul Doulah extend to within Three Days Journey of Delhi, and that the Engliſh are Maſters of his Country, and he himſelf a mere Spectator of what is acted therein." (*a*)

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book, beginning at Page 9 of the ſame.

" Copy of the Anſwer which his Majeſty returned to Timur Shals.

" Sujah ul Doulah, by the Influence of the Engliſh, even took Poſſeſſion for himſelf of the Province of Illahabad; and his Son the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah being immerſed in Voluptuouſneſs, the Soubah of Illahabad, and even of Oude, are in Reality under the Dominion of the Engliſh.

" A ſmall Remnant of Mahometaniſm was left in Rohilcund; their Country alſo, which is not leſs than a Soubah, is apparently under Aſoph ul Doulah, but the Engliſh are in Fact the Maſters of it, for Aſoph ul Doulah is abſolutely incapable of Buſineſs; thus undoubtedly there are 5 Soubahs under the Engliſh Government." (*b*)

Read, from Book 102, already delivered in, the following Extract of an Incloſure in a Letter from Fyzoolah Khan to the Governor General, received the 13th February 1778, beginning at Page 46 of the ſame Book.

" This Country of Cutthar, which formerly depended on the Rohilla States, and which I conſider as now appertaining to the Company, was very populous and flouriſhing; but ſince the Commencement of the Nabob Vizier's Government, the Farmers appointed by his Miniſters have deſolated the Country; its Situation is at preſent very ruinous; Thouſands of Villages, formerly populous, are now utterly deſerted, and no Trace is left of them. I have already written to Roy Buktawur Sing, a full Account of the Tyranny and Oppreſſion exerciſed by the Farmers, to be communicated to you. The conſtant Revenue of a Country depends on the Care of its Rulers to preſerve it in a flouriſhing State.

" I have been induced to make the Repreſentation by my Attachment to the Intereſt of the Company, for otherwiſe it is no Concern of mine.

" Should theſe Oppreſſions continue One or Two Years longer, and the Rulers take no Meaſures to put a Stop to them, the whole Country will be a Deſert." (*c*)

Read, the following Letter from the Nabob Vizier to the Governor General, from Book 116, already delivered in, beginning at Page 154 of the ſame.

" From the Nabob Vizier. Received 15th March 1780.

" I before this repreſented to you the Particulars of my Situation, and my Deſire of an Interview with you. I am now anxiouſly expecting your Anſwer at preſent. I have written to Rajah Gobend Ram every Thing which the General, from his noble Diſpoſition, ſaid to me, and what I ſaid in Anſwer, with Directions to make them all known to you; which he doubtleſs has done. He has now told me, that he has Occaſion for the new Brigade, and my Houſehold Guard, to ſend them acroſs the Jumman. I do not know whether this has been demanded of me by your Directions, or from himſelf. You have given full Powers to the Gentlemen here in all my Affairs, who have done whatever they choſe, and ſtill continue to do it. I never expected that you would have brought me into ſuch Apprehenſions, and ſo weak a State, without even writing to me on any of theſe Subjects, ſince I have not the ſmalleſt Connection with any Body except yourſelf. I have no Doubt that the March of the new Brigade is in conſequence of your Orders; but I knew nothing of the Intention of it. What further may be demanded of me, who am now left without any Authority, or what I can ſay in caſe of any Demand being made, I know not. Whatever you will write to me, I will conform to. If I am left at Reſt till the Arrival of your Directions, I will then act agreeably to them; but ſhould any Thing be begun in the meanwhile, I have no Power to oppoſe, and will then inform you of what ſhall have taken place. I am in ſuch Diſtreſs, both Day and Night, that I ſee not the ſmalleſt Proſpect of Deliverance from it, ſince you are ſo diſpleaſed with me as not to honour me with a ſingle Letter."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next open to their Conſideration ſome further Means that were taken to increaſe and confirm, if poſſible, the Dependance of the Vizier.

Read, the following Extract of the Appendix to the Benares Narrative, beginning at Page 18 of the ſame.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXIV. (*b*) Vide Appendix, ibid. (*c*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXV.

" Num. 1. G.

" Letter of Inſtructions from the Governor General to the Reſident at the Vizeer's Court.

" To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at the Court of the Nabob Vizeer.

" I need ſcarcely inform you, that my chief Object in my Negociations with the Nabob has been to induce and aſſiſt him to bring his Government and Finances into ſuch Regularity, as to prevent his Alliance from being a Clog, inſtead of an Aid, to the Company; and to enable him to diſcharge his Debt in the ſhorteſt Time poſſible. To this End, the moſt eſſential Point is to limit and ſeparate his perſonal Diſburſements from the publick Accounts. They muſt not, in their total annual Amount, exceed what he has received in any of the laſt Three Years. This Amount, in Twelve equal Parts, ſhould be paid him monthly out of the Firſt Receipts, and the Remainder of the net Collections placed ſeparately in a publick Treaſury, from whence his publick Military and Civil Eſtabliſhment muſt be paid, under the ſole Management and Controul of the Miniſters, with your Concurrence. It is of courſe to be underſtood that this has no Connection, and is in no Shape to interfere with the Company's Aſſignments, and the Collections upon them, which are to be conducted as uſual: And as by the Addition of the Jagheer Lands, with their Revenues, to the Nabob's regular Collections, his Income will, or ought to be, conſiderably increaſed, I ſhall expect that the Whole of the Exceſs be appropriated to the Diſcharge of the Nabob's Debt to the Company.

" After ſettling the Amount of the perſonal Diſburſements of the Nabob Vizier and his Houſehold, the next Point that will require your Exertions towards the general Arrangement of the public Charges, is to reform the eſtabliſhed Muttaiena Troops, reducing them into One eſtabliſhed Corps for the whole Service. If this Corps ſhould be brought to conſiſt ſolely of Cavalry, it would beſt anſwer mutual Benefit; leaving no Infantry in the Nabob's Service but what may be neceſſary for his Body Guard; and to ſupply the Deficiency, ſhould any occur from ſuch Arrangement, our Infantry may be employed where Infantry are wanted.

" The Corps reformed and eſtabliſhed, their Pay muſt be iſſued from the publick Treaſury. No Aſſignments to be in future granted them, and thoſe already iſſued to be recalled. To complete this, all Numbers above what the real Service may require, or the actual net Receipts may be adequate to the full Payment of, muſt be diſbanded as faſt as their Arrears can be paid off.

" The Nabob will ſelect and appoint his own Commanders; but if he ſhould nominate improper Perſons, ſuch as Men commonly known by the Name of Orderlies, or others deriving their Influence from them, or of known Diſaffection to our Government, you are in ſuch Caſe to remonſtrate againſt it; and if the Vizeer ſhall perſiſt in his Choice, you are peremptorily, and in my Name, to oppoſe it, as a Breach of his Agreement.

" For the Management of the Collections, the Miniſters, with your Concurrence, are to chooſe all Aumils and Collectors, and in their Choice to be guided by the Reſponſibility, good Reputation, and known Ability of the Perſons they elect, that Changes may, as far as poſſible, be avoided (*a*).

" Chunar, (At the End)
23d September 1781. Warren Haſtings."

Read, from Book 105, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor General.

" No. 57. From the Vizier.

" I have never been deficient in the Friendſhip of the Company, and Obedience to your Pleaſure. I have looked upon my Difficulties as a Cauſe of Satisfaction, and am always ready to execute your Commands. In theſe Propoſitions I am aſtoniſhed and confounded at my bad Fortune, that I ſhould have ſuch a compaſſionate Friend as your Highneſs, and be involved in ſuch a Situation. What Anſwer can I give, and how can I ſupport my Life?

" Difficulty, with your Favour, becomes eaſy; what is eaſy, by your Neglect, becomes difficult. Night and Day paſs in Grief and Affliction. Either make looſe my Difficulties, or elſe call me to your Preſence. I will reſide with your Highneſs, and whenever you ſhall give me my Diſmiſſion, with the Favours and Affection which belong to you, I ſhall return to my Country, and be releaſed from continual Afflictions."

" Encloſures.

" No. 1. Copy of a Letter from the Nawab Vizier to Major William Palmer, dated 19th Shabaun.

" On the Subject of Ten Lacks of Rupees, you repeatedly have ſaid, that the Nawab Governor's Pleaſure is, that I ſhould give them for the Expences of the Company's Sircar. The Nawab Governor's Will is binding upon me. I can make no Excuſes. Take Ten Lacks of Rupees for the Expences of the Company's Sircar. But you have ſaid, that if I am willing to aſſiſt

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 146.

 the

the Affairs of the Company's Sircar, you will fulfil my Requeſts agreeably to the Paper, as the Nawab Governor's Permiſſion is arrived. With reſpect to the Two Points of which you have ſpoken, I agree to both of them, and will give for the Expences of the Company's Sircar Ten Lacks of Rupees this Year, and Six Lacks of Rupees yearly, in lieu of Regiments, upon Condition that I obtain my Requeſts and Authority. It is proper that you adjuſt my Requeſts, agreeably to the Paper upon which the Nawab Governor has given Orders, and reſtore me to the Management of every Concern."

" No. 2. Copy of a Letter from the ſame to the ſame, dated 30th Shabaun.

" In Anſwer to your Demand of a Loan of Sixty Lacks of Rupees, I repreſented and explained to you, with the greateſt Reverence, the full Particulars of my Inabilities; that in Caſes where I have Power and Ability, I am never negligent, to the Extent of my Life, in promoting the Affairs of the Company's Sircar, and in obeying the Nawab Governor's Orders. You, in my Preſence, ſpoke to me, and ſent a Meſſage to me, that if I did not give Sixty Lacks of Rupees, by way of Loan, the Nawab Governor would be highly diſpleaſed, and would quit my Friendſhip, and would alſo recall the old Brigade which is here; and beſide, the * whatever may be the Nawab Governor's Will you did not know. Why did not you give me prior Information that it would proceed to this Extremity?

* Sic in Orig.

" My Friend! the Friendſhip of the Company, the Nawab Governor, and the Gentlemen of the Council, is fixed in my Heart, and I have remained ſo inattentive and forgetful, from a Dependence on their Friendſhip and Satisfaction, that I have nothing left to me but my Name; and every Thing elſe belongs to them.

" To the Glorious and Omnipotent God it is known, what Diſtreſſes having brought upon myſelf, in the Obedience to his Pleaſure, I have ſupported Life." *(a)*

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next produce the Miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn's Opinion of his own Situation and that of his Maſter, and the Tenure by which they both held their Offices.

Read, from Book 80, already delivered in, Extract of a Conſultation of the 21ſt April 1783, beginning at Page 401 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 21ſt April 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;

Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon,
John Stables,
} Eſquires.

" Sir Eyre Coote gone to Fort Saint George.

" From Hyder Beg Khan to the Honourable the Governor General.

" Uſual Introduction. Received April 7, 1783.

" I formerly repreſented to you the Particulars of the Perſecutions exerciſed towards his Highneſs by Mr. Briſtow, and the Unhappineſs and Diſtreſs of Mind under which his Highneſs laboured. A Repetition of the ſame Circumſtances muſt alſo have reached your Ears through other Channels, in as much as they have come to paſs in ſo publick a Manner as to be known almoſt to every Body.

" Relying on your Goodneſs, his Highneſs has requeſted the Removal of Mr. Briſtow, and the Grant of diſcretional Authority to him in the Management of his Country, and for the Payment of the Company's Monies: If you ſhould be graciouſly diſpoſed to comply with his Requeſt, and at the ſame Time ſo far to favour me as to appoint me from yourſelf to the Management of Affairs here, agreeably to the Propoſals here made to you by his Highneſs, both reſpecting the Sums remaining due on Teep, and on Mahajun's Bills, and with regard to the preſent Year 1190 Fuſily, and for the enſuing Year Fuſily 1191, in any Manner you ſhall pleaſe to direct, I will engage, in Obedience to your Orders, to remit the ſame to you, Kiſt by Kiſt in Bills, and as much thereof as ſhall be neceſſary for the Payment of the Company's Troops in this Quarter." *(b)*

Read, alſo, the following Extract, from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 356 of the ſame.

" From Hyder Beg Khawn to the Honourable the Governor General.

" We the Miniſters owe our preſent Stations to your Bounty.—His Highneſs alſo is devoted to your Pleaſure in all Reſpects; and from the Interchange of Turbans between you and the late " Received March 28, 1783.

(a) Vide Appendix, N° XXIV.

(b) Vide Appendix, N° LXXVI.

Nabob, he conſiders you as the Brother of his Father.—Whatever may be your Pleaſure in Behalf of his Highneſs, and with reſpect to the well Government of this Country, which, in a peculiar Manner, appertains to you, his Highneſs does in no reſpect whatever object.—Whatever Directions you may give, thoſe Directions he will obey." (*a*)

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 386 of the ſame.

" Anſwer from Hyder Beg Kawn to Mr. Briſtow.

" My Power and Authority in the Sircar of his Highneſs, is the Gift of the Governor General; and I have hitherto received the Support and Aſſiſtance of the Gentlemen in Power here. Regardleſs of the Enmity of People at his Court, and contemning their Animoſity, I have continued to do my Duty; and in Return for faithful Services, I have been included in the Objects of the Governor General's Favour. From you I hoped for an Increaſe of Support, and Aſſiſtance of Credit, and of Power. It muſt have proceeded from a Change in my own Fortune, and not from any Deficiency of Favour on your Part, that my Repreſentations, by the Efforts of Enemies, have been rendered ineffectual.

" From the Moment of your Arrival, I have not, in any Manner whatever, been deficient in Obedience, but have in every Buſineſs, and without Heſitation, fulfilled your Commands, of whatever Nature they might be. As in the important Buſineſs reſpecting the Regiments at Futty Gurr, the Execution of which you were pleaſed to direct ſhould not be ſuſpended by Attention to the Nawab's Permiſſion, or by the Neceſſity of informing him thereof, in the ſame Manner in every Buſineſs whatever on which I have received your Orders, at whatever Time received, and whatever the Nature of them, I have paid the moſt implicit Obedience to thoſe Orders. On the Inſtant from my firſt Appointment to the Neabut, I have been enabled to conduct the Affairs of both Sircars, which I have ever conſidered as one and the ſame, by the Aſſiſtance and Support of the Gentlemen here, and have on all Occaſions acted in Obedience to their Directions; and thus I have repeatedly repeatedly * repreſented to you, that on Condition of Support and Aſſiſtance, I would execute all your Commands, and that in the Affairs of the Company I was ready to fulfil the Commands of the Governor General, thoſe of the Gentlemen of the Council, and your Pleaſure, without Heſitation or Evaſion, at the Hazard of my Life, in as much as I conſider my own Intereſt and Proſperity as depending thereon.

* Sic in Orig.

" When you formerly ſpoke to me reſpecting the Toorkſawars, and the Houſehold Eſtabliſhments of the Nuvvaub Vizier, I then informed you that I never had had any Concern in the Management of thoſe Eſtabliſhments. That the Circumſtance was known to the whole World, that they were under the Direction of the Vizier's own People, and that he never would voluntarily conſent to the Meaſure. You told me in reply, that the Governor General's Orders were to be obeyed, and ſo I muſt inform the Nabob.

" I, on my Part, told his Highneſs in the moſt pointed Terms, that there was a Neceſſity for his Compliance with whatever Propoſals you ſhould make by the Governor's Order for the Improvement of his Affairs. But other People, at the ſame Time, carried Meſſages from you to the Navvaub, importing that whatever his Pleaſure might be, you would act agreeably thereto; nay, you even went ſo far as to recommend in Perſon to the Nabob, that I ſhould not be employed in theſe Affairs, but that he ſhould conduct them as he thought proper himſelf. Other Expreſſions dropt from you with reſpect to me, which I know not how to repeat, for ſuch I never could have expected from you. This being the Caſe, in Juſtice conſider, that having expreſſed yourſelf as you did expreſs yourſelf, what Authority, or Influence, or Reſpectability can remain with me? The Conduct of this Buſineſs did not depend upon me, and therefore the Delay cannot have ariſen from Neglect on my Part. Several People have been employed in Conferences on this Subject with the Nabob Vizier by your Orders—now, that from Motives of Kindneſs and Favour, you have directed me to forward this Buſineſs, and added Declarations reſpecting Support and Aſſiſtance, I am, as I have always declared, ready to obey; to whatever you ſhall pleaſe to command, I ſhall never object; and I am every Way ready to obey your Orders in the Execution of Affairs, independant of the Inclinations of the Nabob Vizier, if you will aſſure me of Support and Protection in caſe of his Diſpleaſure. I have never yet objected, nor will I now object. Devoted and powerleſs as I am, the Increaſe of my Reſpectability and Influence depends upon your Favour towards me; and their Diminution proceeds from oppoſite Cauſes. Thus I have ever acted, and this I have repeatedly declared, and I now repeat, that in the Affairs of both Sircars, I am ready to obey the Orders of the Governor General and the Gentlemen of the Council, and your's, at the Hazard of my Life, and without Evaſion or Excuſe." (*b*)

To ſhew Mr. Haſtings's own Opinion of the Situation and Character of the Nabob;

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXVI. (*b*) Vide Appendix, N° Ibid.

Read,

Read, the following Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 279 of the ſame.

" The Governor General deſires that his Inſtructions given to Mr. Briſtow, which were read to the Members of the Board, and minuted in Conſultation, on the 24th of October laſt, may be now entered.

" To Mr. John Briſtow.

" 4th. Immediately on your Arrival, found the Diſpoſition of Hyder Beg Cawn; his Conduct has for ſome Time paſt been highly reproachable. Till within theſe Three Months, when Mr. Johnſon aſſumed a large Portion of his Authority, he poſſeſſed, without Controul, both the unparticipated and entire Adminiſtration, with all the Powers annexed to that Government, the Nabob himſelf being, as he ever muſt be in the Hands of ſome Perſon, a mere Cypher in his, and the Sanction by which he exerciſed his Authority; yet he has dared to uſe both the Nabob's Name, and even his Seal, affixed to Letters, either dictated to the Nabob, or written from him without his Knowledge, containing very improper Demands on our Government, and ſuch as evidently tended to promote Hyder Beg's Influence and Intereſt, and even to make him aſſume a very unbecoming Tone of Refuſal, Reproach, and Reſentment, in Oppoſition to Meaſures recommended by me, and even to Acts done by my Authority, in literal Conformity to the Nabob's own and earneſt Solicitations; ſuch as the Reſumption of the Jagheers, and the Seizure of his Father's Treaſures, which had been ſo long ſuffered to remain in the Hands of the Begum his Mother, and the other Conditions of the Engagements exacted from me at Chunar. On every Occaſion of this Kind, the late Reſident has been the faithful Echo and Support of the Miniſter's Pretenſions; I muſt therefore have Recourſe to you for the Introduction of a new Syſtem in that Government; nor can I omit, while I expreſs my Reliance upon you for this Purpoſe, to repeat the Sentiments which I expreſſed in the verbal Inſtructions which I gave you at your Departure, " that there can be no Medium in the Relation between the Reſident and the Miniſter, but either the Reſident muſt be the Slave and Vaſſal of the Miniſter, or the Miniſter at the abſolute Devotion of the Reſident." Much as I am diſpleaſed at the Conduct of the Miniſter, I impute it more to the Sufferance of Mr. Middleton than to himſelf; and if he will ſubmit to hold his Office on ſuch Conditions as I require, I would certainly prefer him to any other Man who could be nominated to his Office, becauſe he poſſeſſes Abilities, and a Knowledge of Buſineſs. He exiſts by his Dependance on the Influence of our Government; and above all, becauſe a Change of Adminiſtration in a Government ſo looſe as that of Oude, where all the Parts of it are held together by the Exertion of actual Power, and not by the Springs of an eſtabliſhed Conſtitution, would be unavoidably productive of Confuſion, and Loſs of Revenue; therefore it muſt be adviſeable to try him by the Mode of Conciliation, in your final Converſation with him, at the ſame Time that it will be neceſſary to declare to him, in the plaineſt Terms, the Footing and Condition on which he ſhall be permitted to retain his Place, with the Alternative of Diſmiſſion, and a Scrutiny into his paſt Conduct, if he refuſes it. In the Firſt Place, I will not receive from the Nabob, as his, Letters dictated by the Spirit of Oppoſition; but ſhall conſider every ſuch Attempt as the Miniſter's, and as an Inſult on our Government. In the Second Place, I ſhall expect that nothing is done in his official Character but with your Knowledge and Participation; at the ſame Time, the Firſt Share of the Reſponſibility will reſt with you. The other Conditions will follow diſtinctly in their Places, becauſe I conſider you as reſponſible for them.

" Fort William,
23d Oct. 1782. (Signed) At the End,
Warren Haſtings." (a)

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they would next produce Mr. Haſtings's own Explanation of theſe Expreſſions, when it anſwered his Purpoſe to deny their Effect.

Read, from Book 84, already delivered in, Extract of a Conſultation of the 29th September 1783, beginning at Page 231 of the ſame Book.

Secret Dep. Monday.

" Fort William, 29th September 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
John Macpherſon, and } Eſquires.
John Stables, }
Edward Wheler Eſquire, abſent up the Country.

" The Governor General delivers in the following Minute, containing his Obſervations upon Mr. Briſtow's Letter and Defence.

" It made a Part of a general Injunction to treat the Nabob with every poſſible Delicacy, Conciliation, and Attention, and was written purely from the Apprehenſion of a Deficiency in the publick

(a) Vide Appendix, N° LIX.

Funds

Funds not admitting the full Payment of the Company's juſt Claims, and the Calls of his perſonal and neceſſary Wants; and may I add, without the Hazard of drawing on myſelf a ſevere Cenſure from ſuch of my Conſtituents as ſhall think that in the Time of their Diſtreſſes, my firſt and excluſive Care ſhould be given to their Relief, * than that of having authorized the Deprivation of an unhappy Prince, whoſe Alliance had ſubjected him to a ſervile Dependence on the Power of this Government; that it was my Intention to preclude the Operation of ſuch a Plea, by directing that the Nabob's perſonal Share of his own Finances ſhould be fully allotted to him, although the Company's Debt remained wholly in Balance. Let me be judged with Candour. Our Alliance has proved the Extinction of his Sovereignty, and the Impoveriſhment of his Country and Revenue; and it was but juſt to allow him the Means of Subſiſtence, if no more remained of the Reſources of his Inheritance. (*a*)

* Sic in Orig.

(Signed at the End)

"Warren Haſtings."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe they would next produce Acknowledgments from the Vizier himſelf of his own Dependance upon Mr. Haſtings, after the Time that Mr. Haſtings had entered into Engagements, the declared End of which was to free the Nabob from that Dependance.

Read, from Book 148, already delivered in, the following Letter from the Nabob Vizier to the Governor General, received the 17th February 1784.

"From the Nawab Vizier. Received 17th February 1784.

"14. Before this I was entirely guided by your Pleaſure, but now I am more ſo than ever. What you deſired regarding the Securities for the Company's Money has been done, and I have given the Teeps of the Merchants in addition to that Security: My Country and Family which are alſo yours, are ready in further Pledge. Set then your Mind perfectly at Eaſe, concerning the Payment of the Company's Demands, for my Honour and Reputation are bound with your own: I am, with my Heart and Life, ready to obſerve your Wiſhes; therefore, whatever you ſhall judge adviſeable let me know, that I may comply with it. I can have no Excuſe in my Duty and Submiſſion to yourſelf."

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, the following Extract of a Letter from the Nawab Vizier to the Governor General;—received 14th December 1784.

"No. 92. Important Events are on the Tapis; his Royal Highneſs is here, and all my Affairs are dependant upon yourſelf. Nothing can be reſolved or undertaken without your Advice by me. The Care of this Government is in every way incumbent upon you, for my Government and that of the Engliſh are one; great Events are probable, and there is no Dependances on the Conduct of the Chiefs of this Time. The Charge of all Affairs depends perſonally on you, my Friend, ſo that your coming here is every Way adviſeable. When you are here all Affairs can be ſettled in the Manner you ſhall judge adviſeable. I hope that out of Friendſhip to me, and for the Welfare of our Government, you will ſpeedily come." (*b*)

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, the following Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor General, received the 23d December 1784.

"From the Vizeir. Received 23 December 1784.

"N° 95. Your Excellency's Letter, in Reply to mine, arrived. I ſhall ſend ſuch an Anſwer to his Majeſty's Shokeh, commanding me to the Sublime Preſence, as you ſignified; but the Raſhneſs of the Chiefs who are now in the Royal Preſence, and the Change of Times, are ſuch, that there is no Opportunity for Addreſſes to be conveyed, in Anſwer to the Orders and Shokehs of his Majeſty, till a Plan be formed, how will Rivals, confuſing Affairs, give Leiſure? From the News, and other Circumſtances, you will have heard of the State of Affairs. Shokehs to his Royal Highneſs, according to the Pleaſure of the Pateel Mahajee Sindia, and an Arzie from him, are arrived; Copies of which will reach you, encloſed in this. From the Contents of Mahajee Sindia's Letter, his Sentiments and Intentions concerning his Royal Highneſs will be explained. I can give no Anſwer to ſuch Points without your Directions; ſo that I beg you will communicate your Pleaſure. My Friend, now that you are at ſuch a Diſtance, much Diſtreſs affects my Mind; for all my Affairs depend on your Perſon." (*c*)

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired Captain Edwards might be called.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXIV.
(*b*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXVII.
(*c*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXVIII.

CAPTAIN EDWARDS was called in, and, being ſworn, was examined as follows:

Q. How long was you in the Upper Provinces, and at Lucknow?
A. Between Seven and Eight Years.

Q. In what Capacity?
A. In ſeveral Situations: Firſt an Enſign; then a Lieutenant; and, latterly, Aid de Camp to the Nabob of Oude.

Q. When did you firſt go there?
A. I went there in the Year 1774.

Q. And when did you come away?
A. I left that Country in the Year 1783.

Q. Was you at Lucknow about the Month of Auguſt in the Year 1781?
A. I was.

Q. Did you accompany the Nabob, in his Journey at that Time from Lucknow to Chunar?
A. I did.

Q. In what Character did you accompany the Nabob?
A. Officially, as Aid de Camp.

Q. Did you hear, as you paſſed through the Country with the Nabob, from Lucknow to Chunar, of any Rebellion of the Begums then exiſting?
A. No, I never did, not at that Time: I have heard ſince.

Q. Did you arrive at Chunar, with the Nabob, at the Time the Nabob met Mr. Haſtings?
A. I did.

Q. In what Character was you then employed at Chunar?
A. I arrived at Chunar officially, as Aid de Camp to the Nabob, in conſequence of a Detachment being ſent from the Nabob of Oude's Encampment to attend upon Mr. Haſtings. I offered my Service as a Volunteer, and was, in Conſequence, appointed to the Command of that Detachment, commonly called the Reſident's Body Guard. Mr. Middleton was then Reſident at Oude.

Q. You commanded a Detachment which came from the Encampment of the Nabob, the Service of which was to attend upon Mr. Haſtings?
A. It was to attend upon Mr. Haſtings, and to obey any other Order I might receive from the Commanding Officer then ſtationed at Chunar, who was Colonel Blair; and who frequently uſed to ſend me with Military Stores from Chunar to Colonel Popham, who was then ſtationed about Ten Miles from that Place.

Q. What do you know, reſpecting the Treaty ſigned at that Time at Chunar, between the Nabob and Mr. Haſtings?
A. I know nothing very particular. I heard there was a Treaty ſigned at Chunar, but the Particulars were kept a profound Secret.

Q. According to your Obſervation, did the Nabob appear to be his own Maſter, and to act from his own free Will, or did he appear to be dependant upon the Britiſh Government; and what were the Obſervations you made?
A. I did not make any particular Remarks at that Time, but I frequently remarked he was entirely ſubſervient to the Will both of the Reſident and Miniſter in every Particular; not only regarding that Treaty, but every Thing elſe relative to the interior Part of the Management of his Revenue in general.

Q. Did the Nabob's Miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn, appear to be in a ſimilar Degree of Subſerviency to the Britiſh Government? did you make ſimilar Obſervations in reſpect of him?
A. Yes, I did; he ſeemed to be controuled entirely by the then Reſident at Lucknow.

Q. What were the Particulars you did obſerve?
A. I obſerved, that nothing material was tranſacted, either at Lucknow or in any other Part of the Nabob's Provinces, without the Sanction of the Britiſh Government; that the Miniſter always conſulted the Reſident, whoever he might be. I was there for ſeveral Years; I was there during the Reſidency of Mr. Middleton, of Mr. Briſtow, of Mr. Purling, of Mr. Hoſier, and of ſeveral others, and latterly of Mr. Palmer.

Q. What Means had you of knowing, that he conſulted the Reſident?
A. Whenever I had any Application myſelf to make, or whenever any of the Natives had any Application to make, relative to the Management or Government of the Country at large, they always were referred by the Miniſter to the then Reſident.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether, while you was at Chunar with Mr. Haſtings and the Nabob, you was applied to for any Information reſpecting the Diſturbances in Fyzabad, or in the Neighbourhood?

A. No: I never was.

Q. Did you know, or hear, of any Troops being detached from Chunar to quell any ſuppoſed Diſturbances in that Place?

A. No: I never heard there were.

Q. Was it poſſible that any Rebellion ſhould have exiſted at Fyzabad at that Time, without its coming to your Knowledge?

A. I think not.

Q. Could any general Opinion of the Diſaffection of the Begums towards the Engliſh Government have prevailed, without its coming to your Knowledge?

A. Not a general Opinion, but certainly private Opinion might have prevailed, without my hearing any thing of the Matter; bur, if it had been very general, I think it muſt have come to my Knowledge: at leaſt I think ſo; for I had Servants detached, in different Parts, and I had frequent Intercourſe with the Natives; and, I really believe, if a Rebellion had exiſted at that Period, I ſhould have known, or have heard ſomething of it, at leaſt by Report.

Q. Did you return with the Nabob from Chunar to Lucknow, when the Nabob parted with Mr. Haſtings?

A. I returned Part of the Way with his Excellency the Nabob, but not the Whole of the Way. When he came within a ſhort Diſtance of Lucknow, I recollect he ſtruck off for Fyzabad, and I immediately went for Lucknow. I think, at that Time, Mr. Middleton, who was then Reſident, and Hyder Beg Cawn, who was then Miniſter, accompanied his Excellency the Nabob to Fyzabad.

Q. Upon what Account did you ſuppoſe the Nabob went to Fyzabad, with what View?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to the Queſtion.

Q. Have you any Reaſon to know, why the Nabob went to Fyzabad?

A. I have no Knowledge in particular, only from common Report.

Q. Did you hear of any Rebellion at that Time, upon your Return?

A. No, not immediately at that Time, but I have heard ſince.

Q. Have you any Reaſon to know, what was the Inducement of that Journey?

A. No, I have not.

Q. Did you at that Time, when you returned, upon the Road, and before you parted with the Nabob, hear of any Rebellion exiſting, or that was paſſed, on the Part of the Begums?

A. I never did.

Q. Did you ſay, that Mr. Middleton and the Nabob went together, when they went to Fyzabad?

A. They left the Encampment together, and I underſtood they were going to Fyzabad, and that they all went to Fyzabad.

Q. What Guard did the Nabob take with him to Fyzabad?

A. I cannot exactly mention the Number, but I dare ſay, moſt of the Cavalry he had then accompanied him; but the Infantry remained in the Encampment.

Q. What Number of Cavalry?

A. I cannot ſay what Number it conſiſted of at that Time; ſome Hundred Horſe; but I cannot exactly recollect the Number.

Q. Do you think there were Two thouſand Horſe?

A. No; I do not believe there were ſo many, nor yet One thouſand Horſe. I am ſure there were not ſo many Regulars, what is generally called the Nabob's Cavalry; but there were a great Number of Horſemen belonging to his Attendants, not particularly attached to his Perſon.

Q. Do you, or do you not, know how many there were upon the Military Eſtabliſhment, and how many of another Sort?

A. I fancy there were about Five or Six hundred, called his Regulars; all of which are his Cavalry. The Mogul Cavalry are Troops attached to his Dependents, and he had a great many of them. There were undoubtedly a great many of the firſt People of that Country that attended his Excellency; there was his Uncle, and a great many other Perſons.

Q. Were there any Military, but what attended his Perſon?

A. Not Cavalry, but a great many Infantry.

Q. I thought you ſaid, there were none but Cavalry that went with him to Fyzabad?

A. None but Cavalry went with him from the Encampment to Fyzabad. He travelled ſo expeditiouſly, he could not well take the Infantry with him.

Q. Then

Q. Then the Infantry remained with you in the Encampment?
A. They did.

Q. Whether the regular Troops you ſpoke of, were well paid and well appointed Troops, and ſuch as the Nabob could have depended upon for any regular Service?

A. No; I do not believe they were; for I recollect at that Time they were a great many Months in Arrear, and very poorly clothed, and very poorly mounted, and ſeemed very much diſaffected. I have known them refuſe to go upon the Service when they were deſired to hold themſelves in Readineſs, unleſs the Miniſter paid them their Arrears of Pay, which at that Time, I believe, were very conſiderable, at leaſt by Report; they amounted to a very large Sum. I think his Horſemen at that Time were at leaſt Fifteen or Sixteen Months in Arrear. I only know thoſe Circumſtances by Report; I have no Knowledge officially.

Q. But you was there at the Time?
A. I was there at the Time.

Q. From their Behaviour and Countenance, did you look upon them as Troops that could be depended upon, or in another View?

A. I looked upon them in another View, that they could not be depended upon.

Q. What were the Number of Infantry which were left in the Encampment?
A. I really cannot mention the Number of Troops they conſiſted of, but there were a great many Battalions of Sepoys.

Q. How far was that Encampment from Fyzabad?
A. I cannot rightly mention the particular Diſtance, becauſe it was in the direct Route from Fyzabad to Chunargur, and the Diſtance I am not particularly acquainted with.

Q. How far was it from Lucknow?
A. It was about Sixty Miles from Lucknow.

Q. But the Diſtance from Fyzabad you do not know?
A. The Diſtance from Fyzabad I think muſt have been thereabouts; I recollect hearing the Nabob got to Fyzabad that Night, the ſame Day he left us encamped, and his Excellency generally travelled very expeditiouſly. I have known him travel Fifty or Sixty Miles in a Day, having relaid Elephants for that Purpoſe.

Q. Could the Cavalry get on at the ſame Rate?
A. No, they could not; they got on as faſt as they conveniently could, but they could not travel at that Rate.

Q. You conceive the Nabob muſt have arrived at Fyzabad without his Cavalry?
A. I certainly do, and I am perfectly ſure if he arrived that Day, which I am not very certain of, only by Report, he certainly muſt have arrived there without his Cavalry.

Q. Whether the Nabob, upon leaving the Country to join Mr. Haſtings, did not take with him all the Troops he could get together, in order to bring them to the Aſſiſtance of Mr. Haſtings?
A. He did.

Q. And took them with him out of the Country?
A. And took them with him; they joined him upon the Line of his March as expeditiouſly as they could, becauſe they were ſent for from different Parts of the Country.

Q. What Quantity of Troops did you carry to Chunar?
A. His Rabble and Camp-followers, and all together, amounted, I dare ſay, to 30,000.

Q. How many Regulars or Military were there?
A. Regulars but very few.—I think his Excellency had about 8,000 Regulars, but there is a great Diſtinction obſerved in that Country between the Regulars and the other Mogul Troops; the Regulars are diſciplined in the ſame Manner as the Britiſh Troops, and armed and clothed with the ſame Accoutrements; the native Troops are not; they are generally called Matchlock Men, and Peons: they go by different Names according to the Country they ſerve in.

Q. Did you hear, upon the Nabob's and Hyder Beg's Return to Lucknow, any Charge or any Thing that led you to believe, that Diſcoveries of Rebellion or Treaſon had been made by the Nabob while at Fyzabad?
A. No, I did not.

Q. When did you firſt hear of any Accuſation, or Charge of any Rebellion or Diſaffection againſt the Begums?

A. Some Time after I arrived at Lucknow; about a Fortnight after, I heard the Gentlemen in the Reſident's Family mention the different Accounts that Colonel Hannay and his Officers had ſent.

Q. Was

Q. Was the Intelligence you received upon that Subject, confined to Communications made by Colonel Hannay and his Officers to the Reſident's Office, or did you hear of any other beſides?

A. I heard that ſuch Reports prevailed at Lucknow, among the Natives, which were not generally believed, and there were a few who mentioned they had heard the Reports.

Q. The Queſtion put to you is, whether you heard of any other Inſtances than thoſe mentioned by Colonel Hannay and his Officers?

A. I heard my own Servants ſay, as they went through the Market Place, they had heard from the Reſident's Servants, that they had heard ſuch Reports did prevail.

Q. Meaning the Reports from Colonel Hannay?

A. Yes, meaning thoſe Reports.

Q. Did the Natives in general give any Credit to thoſe Reports?

A. No, I do not think they did.

Q. Did you not hear more of this Sort of Report, after the Treaſure was ſeized in January 1782?

A. I did; I heard the Treaſures were ſeized in conſequence of the Report, and the Charge and Accuſation made by Colonel Hannay, and ſome of his Officers, that the Begums had been in a State of Rebellion; and I underſtood from the Reports which I heard there, that the Treaſures were ſeized in conſequence of a Rebellion being in Exiſtence.

Q. But after the Treaſures were ſeized, did you hear more particular Circumſtances, or how?

A. I heard no more than I have juſt related.

Q. Had you an Opportunity of obſerving the general State of the Country of Oude, when you Firſt arrived there, and for Two Years afterwards?

A. No, I had not when I firſt arrived.

Q. How ſoon after your Arrival there, had you ſuch an Opportunity?

A. The only Opportunity that I had of knowing the State of that Country, was by marching and countermarching repeatedly through the different Provinces of the Nabob's Dominions; and afterwards, when I was appointed Aid-de-Camp to the Nabob, and attended his Excellency's Perſon whenever he took the Field, or went a hunting, or upon any Excurſion he might make into the interior Part of his Dominions.

Q. When was you appointed Aid-de-Camp to the Nabob?

A. I was appointed his Aid-de-Camp, I believe, in the Year 1780.

Q. Had you not an Opportunity of obſerving the general Face of the Country, in the Time of Sujah Dowlah?

A. I had.

Q. Did you remark any Difference in the general State of the Country at that Time, and the Period when you made your latter Obſervation: Did you obſerve any Difference between the Condition of the Country at that Time, and that of Sujah Dowlah in the Year 1774, the latter Period you have mentioned?

A. I did, a very material Difference.

Q. In what Reſpect?

A. In the general Aſpect that the Country bore, and the Cultivation of the Country, that it was infinitely better cultivated in 1774 than it was in 1783.

Q. You ſaid, you had no Opportunity of obſerving the State of the Country, till you was appointed Aid de Camp to the Nabob?

A. No, except by marching and countermarching. I marched in the Year 1774 through the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah's Provinces, into Rohilcund.

Q. Had you thoſe Opportunities from the Time of your going there, in the Year 1774?

A. I had; but not ſo much as I had after being appointed Aid de Camp to the Vizier, becauſe I was always before in a ſubordinate Situation; I marched in a direct Line before with the Troops: but afterwards, when I was Aid de Camp to his Excellency, I was my own Maſter, and made frequent Excurſions into the different Parts of the Country.

Q. Had you an Opportunity of obſerving the Difference in the general Happineſs and Diſpoſition of the People?

A. I had.

Q. Did you obſerve a Difference in that Reſpect alſo, between your firſt coming and the Year 1783?

A. Yes, a very ſenſible Difference; in Sujah ul Dowlah's Time the Country was in a very flouriſhing State, in Merchandize, Cultivation, and every Article of Commerce, and the People then ſeemed to be very happy under his Government; which, latterly was not the Caſe; becauſe the Country in Reality appeared in the Year 1774 in a flouriſhing State, and in the Year 1783 it appeared comparatively forlorn and deſolate.

Q. Was the Court of Aſoph ul Dowlah, when you left India, equal in Point of Splendor to what it was in the Time of Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. By no means, it was not equally ſplendid, but far inferior.

Q. Were the Dependants and Officers belonging to the Court, paid in the ſame punctual Manner?

A. No, I really cannot ſay whether they were paid more regularly in Sujah ul Dowlah's Time; only they appeared more wealthy, and more able to live in a ſplendid Stile, in his Time, than they ever have done ſince his Death.

Q. In what Situation was Colonel Hannay in thoſe Provinces?

A. I underſtand that he rented a great Part of the Nabob's Country, called Baraitch and Goruckpore.

Q. You heard ſo?

A. I heard ſo, only by Report.

Q. Do you know, what was the general Fame of the Country with reſpect to Colonel Hannay's Adminiſtration in thoſe Provinces?

A. Only, from Report.

Q. What was that Report?

A. That the Meaſures of his Government, appeared to the Natives there, very unjuſtifiable and oppreſſive.

Q. What particular Inſtance of this Injuſtice and Oppreſſion did they generally report in the Country?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to general Report of particular Facts.

Q. Did you ever ſee or know, any Fact or Circumſtance, from which you could infer in the ſame Manner?

A. When I accompanied his Excellency the Nabob into that Country, I believe it was the latter End of the Year 1779, or early in the Year 1780, the Country ſeemed to be little cultivated, and very few Inhabitants made their Appearance, and the Few that were in the Country ſeemed much diſtreſſed, and I underſtood that the Country had been better peopled, but that they had all left the Country in conſequence of Colonel Hannay's Adminiſtration.

Q. Did you ever ſee any Priſons, Forts, or Cages, which you underſtood were made uſe of by Colonel Hannay?

A. I ſaw what they called Priſons, but I ſaw no Priſoners there. I ſaw a Place that the Country People called a Priſon, but there were no Priſoners there at that Time.

Q. Deſcribe what Sort of Place that was, which they called a Priſon?

A. It was a large Place, fenced round with what they call Bamboo, a very ſtrong Reed, that grows in that Country, a Kind of Cane, and it was a Place fenced round with this Cane.

Q. Of what Circumference?

A. I take it to be about 60 Feet ſquare, but I cannot exactly mention the Circumference. I took no particular Notice of it, other than juſt ſeeing the Place; and they told me, that was the Priſon where the Natives, who had not paid their Rents regularly, were confined.

Q. Confined, by whom?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to an Examination to the Report of particular Facts.

Q. Do you know of any Body being confined?

A. No: I do not.

Q. What did the People call thoſe Forts or Cages; by what Name?

A. They were called differently; ſome called them Cages, others called them Forts, and others called them Priſons.

Q. Had not Colonel Hannay left thoſe Provinces when you ſaw thoſe Forts, Cages or Priſons, empty?

A. No, he had not, he was then in the Country.

Q. Was it in Baraitch or Goruckpore that you ſaw thoſe Priſons?

A. I really cannot diſtinctly mention the Place, whether it was in the Goruckpore Province, or the Baraitch Province; but it was at a Place called Byapore.

Q. When was it you ſaw this?

A. I cannot exactly mention the Month; however, I think it was, to the beſt of my Recollection, the latter End of the Year 1779, or early in the Year 1780.

Q. Had

Q. Had you ever ſeen ſuch Priſons in any other Province?
A. Not exactly alike; but I have ſeen ſeveral other Priſons in different Parts of the Nabob's Dominions.

Q. Whether you ever heard any Native of Credit and Authority in the Nabob's Dominions, who appeared to believe the Rebellion of the Begums?
A. No, I never did.

Q. On the contrary, have you any Reaſon to believe that the Nabob gave Credit to it?
A. I really cannot rightly preſume to ſay, whether the Nabob did, or did not; but I am apt to believe that he did not.

Q. Have you any Reaſon, and what, to form a Belief about it?
A. I have. I think, if he ſuppoſed the Rebellion ever exiſted at Fyzabad, he would have been the firſt Perſon to take, and give the Alarm to the Britiſh Troops.

Q. And no ſuch Alarm was taken, or given to the Britiſh Troops?
A. No, I think not. As I was always about his Perſon, and in the Camp, I think I certainly muſt have known it, or heard of it; but I never did.

Q. When you did hear of this Rebellion, did not you underſtand it to have been alledged, that one Object of it was to dethrone the Nabob himſelf, as well as to extirpate the Engliſh?
A. I underſtood that the Intention of the Princeſſes, the Begums, was to extirpate the Engliſh Troops out of the Country, and out of thoſe Dominions; and likewiſe to depoſe her Son, and ſet another Son, who ſeems to have been a greater Favourite of that Family, upon the Throne, in the Room of the preſent Nabob; and that Son's Name is Saadit Ally. I have only heard this from Report; I have no other Knowledge but mere Report. I underſtood from the Report, ſhe was to extirpate the Engliſh, and depoſe her Son who is now upon the Throne.

Q. Was it after, or before, the ſeizing of the Treaſures, that you heard a circumſtantial Account of the ſuppoſed Object of the Rebellion?
A. The Report was more general after the ſeizing of the Treaſures; but yet there were Reports prevailing in the Neighbourhood, that our Troops were ſent there in conſequence of the Charge that was made by Colonel Hannay and ſome of his Officers, of a Rebellion exiſting then at Fyzabad, or having exiſted, I cannot rightly ſay which.

Q. Was that Report, after the Order for the Troops to march to Fyzabad?
A. It was more general; it was very general then, when the Troops did march there; and more general after the ſeizing of the Treaſures.

Q. When did the Troops firſt march?
A. It was ſome Time in the Month of January, I believe, in the Year 1782.

Q. While you was with the Nabob, in paſſing from Lucknow to Chunar, and while you was with him or the Army, returning from Chunar, did you then, out of the whole Army, regular or irregular, ever hear of any Report of the Begums being in Rebellion?
A. No, I do not recollect I ever did.

Q. (*Croſs Examination.*) Do you recollect at what Time in Auguſt 1781, you left Lucknow to proceed with the Nabob to Chunar?
A. No, I cannot rightly mention the Date; all that I know is this, that I accompanied the Nabob, Mr. Middleton, and his Attendants, all the Way from Lucknow to Chunargur: I really cannot recollect; I have no Notes; and it is ſo diſtant a Time ſince, that I do not recollect the Particulars of the Month, or the Day; but I recollect perfectly, I accompanied the Nabob all the Way from Lucknow to Chunar, and returned again with him, until he ſtruck off on the Road for Fyzabad.

Q. Do you recollect at what Time you arrived at Chunar?
A. I arrived at Chunar in the Year 1780 or 1781, I really cannot particularize it; in 1781, I think.

Q. During the Time you was at Chunar, was you, or not, principally employed in the Fort?
A. No; I was employed, that is, my Detachment was ſtationed, as the Out-poſt of that Garriſon, during the Rebellion of Cheit Sing: At Night, all Night, I laid upon my Arms, as Out-poſt, and in the Day-time I ſupplied Colonel Popham's Detachment with Victuals and military Stores of all Kinds; and again, at Night, I returned to my Duty, ſtationed about Half a Mile beyond Chunar, as an Out-poſt to the Garriſon.

Q. Can you ſtate, when it was you was firſt ſent by Colonel Blair to Colonel Popham's Detachment?
A. I was ſent the following Day, after taking Charge of this Detachment, which I now ſpeak of, the Detachment I commanded, and, in conſequence of an Application, I was diſpatched the following Day.

Q. Did

Q. Did you take the Command of the Detachment the Day after your Arrival?
A. I believe I did; I took the Command immediately upon Mr. Haſtings requeſting he might have ſome Troops for his Service granted him by the Nabob. The Nabob ſent this Detachment without being commanded by any European Officer: Finding that, I offered my Service, and then I joined the Detachment, and it was employed in the Manner I have already deſcribed.

Q. Which you take to be the Day, or the Day following, after your Arrival at Chunar?
A. Yes.

Q. Did you ſerve under Colonel Popham in quelling the Rebellion of Cheit Sing?
A. No further than delivering the Military Stores which Colonel Blair detached to the Encampment; and while I was under Colonel Popham, I was amenable to all the Orders he might give me, and he frequently gave me Orders to Mr. Haſtings or Colonel Blair. Sometimes I was to deliver a Meſſage perſonally to Mr. Haſtings, ſometimes I was to deliver a Meſſage perſonally to Colonel Blair; and ſometimes he has ſent Priſoners with me, that he took in the Courſe of the Day, back to Chunargur.

Q. But you were employed in no active Service under Colonel Popham?
A. No, I was not.

Q. Do you recollect how long you were at Chunar?
A. I came there with his Excellency the Nabob, and I returned with him.

Q. Can you recollect how long that was?
A. No, I really cannot; I took no Notice at the Time; I only know this, I went with the Nabob, and I returned with the Nabob.

Q. Was you at Fyzabad, during the Month of September, or October, 1781?
A. No, I believe I was not; I do not recollect that I was.

Q. Was it not poſſible that the Begums, or their Eunuchs, might have raiſed Troops for the Aſſiſtance of Cheit Sing, without that Fact coming to your Knowledge?
A. It was poſſible.

Q. Having ſpoken to the State of the Country of Oude in the Year 1774, as being better than in the Year 1783, whether in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782, there had not been conſiderable Droughts in Oude?
A. Only from the Nature of managing the Country, not from any other Cauſe.

Q. Whether you will take upon you to ſwear, there had not been ſuch Droughts from natural Cauſes? Do you underſtand what is meant by Drought?
A. Yes.

Q. You have referred it to the Management of the Country: Was it, or not, referable to natural Cauſes in thoſe Years?
A. I never heard of any natural Cauſes in thoſe Years having happened.

Q. The Seaſon therefore was as wet in thoſe Years, as ordinarily in other Years?
A. I can only mention that I was ſtationed in the Country; if there was any prior to the Time of my being there, I cannot give any Information, but when I went there in the Year 1774, the Seaſons after that, appeared to be as favourable as the Seaſon of that Year.

Q. But the Queſtion now is, Whether the Seaſons in the Years 1780, 1781, or 1782, were in any reſpect peculiarly unfavourable, more ſo than thoſe you met with in the Year 1774?
A. I never heard they were.

Q. You obſerved you was there from the Year 1774 to the Year 1783?
A. I was, excepting an Interval of 18 Months; I went up there in the Year 1774 the firſt Time, and then I was ſtationed in the Company's Provinces for about 18 Months; and afterwards I was appointed in the Year 1777 to the Nabob's Service, owing to a perſonal Application of his.

Q. What was the Miſmanagement to which you attributed the Drought of the Years 1781 and 1782?
A. The Miſmanagement of the Nabob's Miniſter.

Q. How did that affect the Country with Drought? I underſtood you to ſay, that the Droughts you obſerved were in the Years 1780, 1781, or 1782?
A. I never obſerved any Droughts while I was in that Country at all; only I obſerved the Country was leſs cultivated; and there was great Waſte of Land, owing more to the Miſmanagement in Oude, not from any natural Cauſe.

Q. Therefore you never obſerved any Drought at all?
A. No, I never did.

Q. (by

Q. (*by Counſel*). Do you mean, that from the firſt Time you went to reſide at Lucknow, down to the Period when you left it, you never obſerved any Drought whatever; that in all the Seaſons, during the ſeveral Years you were there, you never obſerved any Drought to prevail?

A. I never recollect that I did: A Drought might have happened in ſeveral Parts of the Country that I had not ſeen; but the Country I travelled through, and all the Neighbourhood, appeared as well cultivated as it has ſince; in ſhort, there was no natural Defect.

Q. Was your general Reſidence at Lucknow?

A. While Aid de Camp to his Excellency, it was; it was always my Reſidence: But, previouſly to that Appointment, I was ſtationed in different Parts of the Nabob's Dominions, in Rohillcund, Farruckabad, and other military Stations.

Q. But in all thoſe Stations, were you confined to your reſpective Station, or did your Employment carry you ſo as to traverſe the Country?

A. I was always at Liberty to travel about the Country for a few Days, by obtaining Leave of my Commanding Officer.

Q. Did you do ſo?

A. Yes, frequently.

Q. Did you make thoſe Excurſions to any conſiderable Diſtance from Lucknow, during the Time you was Aid de Camp?

A. About Sixty, Seventy, or Eighty Miles.

Q. Did the Nabob himſelf frequently go up into the Country and make Excurſions?

A. Every Year, and particularly in the Year 1780.

Q. Where did he go then?

A. I think he went either in the latter End of the Year 1779, or early in the Year 1780, to Colonel Hannay's Country?

Q. Did you attend him there?

A. I did.

Q. Did he make any other Progreſs round his Country?

A. He did not make any other Progreſs at that Period, but he frequently uſed to make Excurſions backwards and forwards, according as the Weather ſuited him.

Q. You always attended him?

A. I always attended him.

Q. What was the Number of Mogul Cavalry, that went with the Nabob to Chunar?

A. I cannot pretend to inform you; I do not know.

Q. What was the general State of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, when you left India in the Year 1783?

A. It was in a very flouriſhing State.

Q. Did the Natives appear to be happy, or otherwiſe?

A. They always appeared to be very happy.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Does not the Cultivation of the Country depend upon the Supply of Water from Wells and Tanks, more than from the Seaſon, or Rain Water?

A. It certainly does.

Q. (*from Counſel.*) Have you any Reaſon whatever to believe, that the Reports of Colonel Hannay's Conduct, ſuch as they were, reached the Knowledge of Mr. Haſtings? Do you know any Thing of it?

A. No, I do not; for I really believe, that if the Reports which then prevailed had reached Mr. Haſtings' Knowledge, he would immediately have removed Colonel Hannay from his Appointment.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Whether the Cavalry, by whom the Nabob was attended to Chunar, were his uſual Body Guard, or in what Proportion did they exceed his common Body Guard?

A. I cannot rightly inform you of the Proportion; but, to the beſt of my Recollection, he had at this Time, when he went to Chunargur, all his Cavalry along with him; and when he only went a hunting, and made the other Excurſions, he frequently granted Furloughs to his Cavalry, and only took along with him ſuch a Number: He did not require an exact Number to accompany him.

Q. Cannot you recollect the ordinary Number?

A. No; he took more or leſs, according to his Pleaſure; but when he went to Chunargur, he took all with him he could collect: He ſent round the Country to collect thoſe who were on Leave of Abſence to join him, and they all joined him before he got to Chunar.

Q. Did the Orders come from you as Aid de Camp?

A. Never.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Whether the Nabob was in an equal State of Subordination to the other Reſidents, as he was to Mr. Middleton; or whether that Subordination was peculiarly to Mr. Middleton?

A. To all the Reſidents alike.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Whether the Priſons of which you ſpoke, which you ſaw in Baraitch and Goruckpore, were the uſual Priſons of the Country, or were they occaſionally put up for any particular and ſpecial Purpoſe?

A. I really cannot ſay, for I never had been in that Country previous to the Time I mentioned, that is, when Colonel Hannay was in Poſſeſſion of the Country.

Q. But have you ſeen any Priſons in any other Part of the Country?

A. I have.

Q. Were thoſe Priſons of the ſame Conſtruction as thoſe which you then obſerved, or of any peculiar Conſtruction?

A. They were much of the ſame Conſtruction.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Was it at Lucknow that you heard the Reports concerning Colonel Hannay and his Oppreſſions?

A. It was both at Lucknow and at many other Places; it was a general Report.

Q. Whether thoſe Reports might have reached the Reſident's Ears as well as your's?

A. I have no Doubt but they did, but I really cannot ſay whether they did or did not; but I have not the leaſt Doubt of their reaching the Reſident's Ears.

Q. Were there any Arrears of Pay due to you, as Aid de Camp to the Nabob, when you attended him to Chunar?

A. There were.

Q. What Arrears?

A. About Five Months Arrears.

Q. What Orders were left for the Infantry: Were they to follow, to remain in Camp, or to return to Lucknow, at the Time of your Return from Chunar, when you ſeparated from the Nabob?

A. I cannot ſay, for immediately upon the Nabob's going from Chunar to Fyzabad expreſs, he went Poſt, I could not follow him; therefore I left his Encampment and returned to Lucknow.

Q. You ſaid, you ſuppoſed very few Troops attended the Nabob to Fyzabad; do you know that of your own Knowledge, or from Report; and what Number of Troops came in with him to Fyzabad?

A. I do not know the Number of Troops that were ordered to attend him to Fyzabad, but there were very few, or none at all, that could have followed him, when he entered Fyzabad; I ſpeak that only as a Matter of Opinion.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* The Mogul Horſe are an irregular Body of Cavalry, which the Dependants of the Nabob are obliged to furniſh him with, by the Nature of their Tenure?

A. The Horſe that the Dependants upon the Nabob are obliged to furniſh him with, are very irregular; but the Mogul Cavalry are ſometimes very regular; they are not always obliged to ſupply his Excellency with Mogul Cavalry, any Sort of Cavalry anſwers their Purpoſe.

Q. Were thoſe which attended the Nabob, Mogul Cavalry?

A. Not all; there were very few in compariſon with the others; the others were native Cavalry, but not Regulars; there is a Diſtinction between the native Cavalry, the Regulars, and the Mogul Cavalry.

Q. How are the irregular Cavalry armed?

A. With Sabres and Spears, and ſometimes with Matchlocks.

Q. Was you at the Battle of Buxar?

A. No; I was not.

Q. Was you ever employed in the Carnatic?

A. No, I never was.

Q. Was you acquainted with Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. I was.

Q. Did you not conſider him as a Man of Abilities and Attention to Buſineſs?

A. He certainly was both.

Q. Did you look upon Aſoph ul Dowlah in the ſame Light?

A. By no Means.

Q. Did you conſider him as more addicted to Pleaſures, than attentive to the Affairs of Government?

A. I certainly did.

Q. When

Q. When the Nabob made thoſe Excurſions, did he make them, generally, to viſit and inſpect the Adminiſtration of his Provinces, or on Hunting Parties?

A. I really cannot expreſsly mention his Motive, but it was generally imagined, and called, a Hunting Party, whenever he made thoſe Excurſions.

Q. Did he go attended as if he was going a hunting?

A. They always do that: Whether they go a hunting, or upon any other Occaſion, they take Dogs, Horſes, and every Thing elſe.

Q. *(from a Lord)*. If there had been any Diſturbance at Fyzabad, or Rebellion there, what Troops were ſtationed there, ſo as to be ready to ſuppreſs it?

A. The main Body was ſtationed at a Place called Cawnpore, about Forty Miles off; but there were ſeveral Detachments nigher: One commanded by Major Gilpin, not many Miles from Fyzabad, to the beſt of my Recollection; another Detachment, I believe, commanded by Major Naylor, in that Neighbourhood; and another commanded, I think, by Captain Jacques; but I am not very certain, I only ſpeak to the beſt of my Recollection.

Q. Were there any Troops of the Nabob nearer at Hand than thoſe, to ſuppreſs a Rebellion, if it had ariſen at Fyzabad?

A. None nearer than thoſe.

Q. His own were not near at Hand to ſuppreſs it?

A. No.

Q. *(from a Lord)*. While you were employed between Chunar and Major Popham's Detachment, had you any Opportunity of hearing what the Strength of Cheit Sing's Force was?

A. Only from the Reports that prevailed in our Encampment.

Q. In the Statement of thoſe Reports, did you hear what Number were ſuppoſed to belong to Cheit Sing; what were the different Corps, and different Species of Strength?

A. There were different Opinions on that Head; ſome thought he had a great many Thouſands, others thought he had but few; no particular Number was ſpecified.

Q. Was Cheit Sing near Major Popham at that Time?

A. He was not.

Q. Did you at that Time hear of any Corps that had actually joined, or were expected to join, Cheit Sing from Fyzabad?

A. No, I never did, but the main Body were generally ſuppoſed to be along with Cheit Sing; there was another Body which Colonel Popham was immediately againſt at this Time, which lay about Ten Miles from Chunargur, at a Place called Pateeta; thoſe Troops, it was apprehended would eſcalade the Place; and in fact they had prepared ſcaling Ladders for that Purpoſe, and thoſe were the Troops I apprehended might moleſt me, when I was ſtationed at the Out Poſts to that Garriſon.

Then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then COLONEL ACHMUTY was called in, and being ſworn, was examined as follows:

Q. Where did you ſerve in the Years 1781 and 1782?

A. I went down with the Brigade I belonged to, into the Southern Part of Oriſſa, where I ſerved till June 1781, and the Brigade returned in June to our Cantonments, and then I went up to Dinapore.

Q. Was you ſtationed at Dinapore in Auguſt and September 1781?

A. I was.

Q. Was Dinapore the great high Road or Gang Way between Benares and Calcutta?

A. There are Two Roads—one is through Dinapore, and there is another Road a few Miles from it.

Q. Was the Road through Dinapore much travelled, in going from Benares to Calcutta?

A. Conſtantly by the Troops.

Q. Did you at that Time receive a Letter from Mr. Haſtings, deſiring you to detach Troops to his Aſſiſtance at Chunar?

A. Immediately upon the Troubles at Benares, having heard ſomething about them, I got a Battalion of Sepoys in Readineſs againſt I received an Order, which I did, from Mr. Haſtings, to diſpatch a Battalion of Sepoys up to him as faſt as poſſible. They marched the next Morning after I received the Order.

Q. Did

Q. Did you receive a Letter from Major Palmer, as well as from Mr. Haſtings, at that Time?
A. The publick Letter I received was from Major Palmer, in Mr. Haſtings' Name, as his Aid de Camp. I did not receive any Letter from Mr. Haſtings.

Then a Letter was ſhewn to the Witneſs, and the following Queſtion was put to him.

Q. Whether you remember to have received this Letter from Mr. Haſtings from Chunar (*a*)?
A. I did.

Q. What is the Date of it?
A. The 22d of September 1781. I received it about a Month poſterior to the Time when it was written.

Q. Whether you had any Reaſon to believe that the Begums were in Rebellion at that Period, againſt the Britiſh Government?
A. If you will give me Leave to premiſe, I never was in Mr. Haſtings's Confidence, and every Thing that I know of, is merely by Report; I was always with the Troops I belonged to; and every Thing that I know of publick Matters, is merely by Report.

Q. Was it reported or believed in your Camp at that Time, that the Begums were either in Rebellion, were preparing for Rebellion, or were furniſhing any Aſſiſtance to Cheit Sing?
A. I never heard that they were; but the Place at which I commanded was at a very great Diſtance from Fyzabad.

Q. Whether, in any of the Communications or Applications made to you from Benares for Aſſiſtance, there was any Mention made of ſuch a Tranſaction by the Begums?
A. No.

Q. Could the Fact of the Begums being in actual Rebellion be a Matter of general Notoriety, and not come to your Knowledge, in your Camp, at Dinapore? Might that Fact have been notorious, without your knowing it?
A. I really do not underſtand how to anſwer that Queſtion.

Q. Was your Situation ſuch, that if it had commonly been talked of, you would have heard it?
A. If I am aſked, Whether I heard that the Begum had raiſed Troops, I can anſwer it. But as to her Diſpoſition, or what ſhe really did, I cannot really ſay.

Q. Do you know any Thing of her raiſing Troops?
A. No, never.

Q. Do you believe it likely, that the Begums could have effected the Extirpation of the Engliſh, if they had attempted it?
A. I believe it was impoſſible.

Q. When did you firſt hear the Begums charged with any Rebellion, or treaſonable Practice?
A. I really cannot charge my Memory with it, I recollect hearing it in Converſation, in Company ſome Months afterwards, but nothing in particular.

Q. Do you know when their Treaſures were ſeized?
A. Yes, I believe I know within a Fortnight or Three Weeks of the Time.

Q. Was it at that Time that you heard thoſe Reports?
A. I cannot charge my Memory: What I heard was merely in Converſation from ſome Gentlemen, that there was ſuch a Report, but from no Authority; as I ſaid before, I do not know any Thing, but merely by Report. I never was employed by Mr. Haſtings upon any Publick Matter, nor was I ever in his Confidence; therefore I cannot poſſibly know any Thing for Truth.

Q. I think you ſaid it was Three or Four Months after the Application to you from Benares for Troops, that you firſt heard any Thing of the Begums being in Rebellion; was it ſooner or later?
A. I think the Troubles began at Benares about the 20th of Auguſt; I ſpeak merely from Memory; and I underſtood that the Force which I ſent to Mr. Haſtings, was in conſequence of the Rajah of Benares Diſaffection: As to the Begums Affair, I think it was in January or February following that I heard of it; but it was merely a curſory Matter in Converſation.

Q. Did you ſee Sir Elijah Impey, either upon his going to join Mr. Haſtings, or upon his Return?
A. He did me the Favour to call in the Cantonments as he was going. He ſupped one Night in the Cantonments, and ſet off next Morning.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 216.

Q. Was that upon his Return?
A. No, going; not on his Return.

Q. Did you ſee Mr. Haſtings, when he returned from theſe Provinces to go to Calcutta?
A. Yes, he did me the Favour to call in the Cantonments, and to dine with me.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings at the Dinner, or at any Time while he remained in thoſe Cantonments, inform you of the Rebellion of the Begums?
A. No.

Q. Did any Officer with Mr. Haſtings hold any Converſation upon that Subject with you?
A. None, nor had we any Converſation *pro* or *con* about publick Matters.

Q. What was the general Fame of the Country, with reſpect to Colonel Hannay's Government, in the Nabob's Dominions?
A. I know nothing of it but by Report.

Q. What have you heard about it?
A. The Report was various, the Place where he commanded was very diſtant from where I was, and we had no Sort of Communication.

Q. What was that Variety of Report?
A. If you will aſk me any Thing particular I will anſwer, but I cannot charge my Memory to anſwer in general Terms.

Q. Do you, or not, recollect any general Report, which you heard relative to Colonel Hannay?
A. I heard that the Inhabitants of Goruckpore were very much diſaffected towards Colonel Hannay.

Q. Did you not hear he had committed great Oppreſſions in the Country: In ſhort, can you recollect any Thing you heard about him?
A. What I heard about him was inimical, in reſpect to the Diſpoſition of the People; but all the Goruckpore Diſtrict are a rebellious People, and I believe were People that never paid any Revenue to the Nabob, without its being very ſeverely enforced.

Q. Did you ever hear that the Begums cauſed any Inſurrections, or inflamed this Diſpoſition?
A. Never.

Q. What was the general Opinion in the Army, with reſpect to the Cauſe of Colonel Hannay's diſaſtrous Situation in 1781?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to the Queſtion, as going to general Report of a particular Fact.

Q. What Circumſtances do you know with reſpect to the Conveyance of any Treaſures of Colonel Hannay's, down the Ganges to Calcutta?
A. I have repeatedly mentioned before, that every Thing I know of theſe Matters is intirely by Report.

Q. From the Means you had of obtaining a Knowledge of the Diſpoſition of the People in Fyzabad, to whom do you conceive the Begums would have applied for Aſſiſtance, if they had had any Occaſion to raiſe Troops, or had apprehended any Danger: Have you any Knowledge of the Situation of Fyzabad at all?
A. I have.

Q. Then, from the Knowledge you have of Fyzabad, where could the Begums have had Recourſe for Force, if they had wanted it?
A. Immediately to Lucknow.

Q. To whom do you think they would have applied, at Lucknow?
A. They would either have applied to Lucknow, or to the Governor General and Council.

Q. But the Queſtion is, if they had applied to Lucknow, to whom would they have applied there?
A. To the Reſident.

Q. *(Croſs examined)*. How far is Dinapore from Fyzabad?
A. I cannot charge my Memory with the Diſtance poſitively. The India Company have a Book of the Roads, publiſhed by Authority, by Major Reynolds; if the Book was here it would aſcertain it exactly.

Q. Can you tell the Diſtance nearly?
A. I do not know.

Q. Specify within Thirty, Forty, or Fifty Miles; do you know the Diſtance?
A. Not exactly; but the Book of Roads can be eaſily reſorted to.

Q. Should you go through Benares, in order to go to Fyzabad from Dinapore?
A. There is a Road that Way, but you may go another; that is the moſt general high Road.

Q. How near is it, according to your Memory?
A. I really believe it is Three hundred Miles, if not more.

Q. Whether the Communication between Dinapore and Fyzabad was open about the Month of September?
A. I do not know.

Q. (*by the Managers.*) Was it open to Benares?
A. It was not open for a long Time during the Troubles; but I cannot poſitively aſcertain the Time. As ſoon as our Troops made a Junction there, and quelled them, it then began to be open; I cannot poſitively aſcertain the Time.

Q. Do you recollect, whether you gave any Reward to Meſſengers to go from Dinapore to Benares?
A. I offered a Thouſand Rupees to People that offered themſelves to go, and they undertook to go in Five Days. I advanced Fifty Rupees to the Man who promiſed to go.

Q. This was at the Time, before the Troubles at Benares were quelled?
A. Yes.

Q. Do you know of what Deſcription of Force the Troops under Cheit Sing conſiſted?
A. I do not.

Q. Did the Nudjeebs compoſe Part of the Force of Cheit Sing?
A. I never heard.

Q. Did your Situation afford you an Opportunity of knowing, of what Cheit Sing's Force conſiſted?
A. Not poſitively: Nothing but by Report. I had nothing at all to do with him, nor did I know any Thing further of him, than hearing he had a large Force always; the ſame as his Father had.

Q. Whether it was Mr. Haſtings's Cuſtom at any Time, to talk of publick Subjects at Dinner: Was it uſual for him in Company to talk about publick Affairs?
A. I believe I mentioned before, that I never was in Mr. Haſtings's Confidence; and I believe it was very unuſual for him to ſay any Thing about publick Matters.

Q. Have you had frequent Opportunities of dining, and being in Company, with Mr. Haſtings?
A. Very often.

Q. Did he uſe to talk of publick Subjects in that Sort of Society?
A. I do not recollect that he did.

Q. You have ſaid, you did not believe the Force of the Begums could be ſufficient to extirpate the Engliſh; are you acquainted ſufficiently with the Eſtabliſhments, in their ſeveral Jaghires, to know what their Force was, and whether it would not have been very conſiderable, joined to Cheit Sing's?
A. I do not know what their Force was.

Q. Whether that was not a Criſis, in which the Addition of any conſiderable Force, would have had great Effect upon the Succeſs of the Britiſh Arms?
A. I do not know how to anſwer that Queſtion; if you mean, to oppoſe the Britiſh Troops, I ſhould think they would not.

Q. Whether, from your Knowledge of Mr. Haſtings, and of the Reputation that he had in the Country, you think he would have countenanced Oppreſſion in any Body whatſoever?
A. No; I do not imagine he would.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) You ſaid, that on or about the 20th of Auguſt, and a Month before the ſigning the Treaty of Chunar, you heard Something about a Rebellion, which induced you to make Preparations to aſſiſt Mr. Haſtings; I wiſh to know what that Something was, and from whom you heard it?
A. I know nothing at all about the Treaty of Chunar.

Q. You ſaid, you had your Corps in Readineſs, expecting it would be called for; the Queſtion put to you is, what was the Nature of the Information you had received, and from whom you received the Information, which cauſed you to hold your Corps in Readineſs?

A. I

A. I heard the Report firſt in the Buſar or publick Market; then I received a Letter from Mr. Law at Patna, informing me there had been ſome Diſturbances at Benares, and he was afraid of the Conſequences. Upon this I took Alarm, and ordered a Battalion of Sepoys (Major Crawford's) to be got in Readineſs and ſupplied with 24 Rounds a Man.—About one o'Clock next Morning I received a publick Letter from Major Palmer, in the Governor General's Name, to detach a Battalion immediately, and they marched the next Morning.

Q. Was that, on or about the 20th of Auguſt 1781?

A. I cannot charge my Memory. The Troubles began about the 18th or 20th, and I believe it was the 21ſt. I preſume particular Days, within Two or Three Days, makes no Manner of Difference; it is all from my Memory, for I did not bring home thoſe publick Papers with me.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* Do you remember what Length of Time there was from your hearing that Report which made you prepare, to your actually receiving the Letter from Major Palmer?

A. Not above Thirty-ſix Hours.

Then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated they ſhould next read ſome Letters from Mr. Haſtings to the Vizier, to ſhew the Earneſtneſs with which Mr. Haſtings preſſed the Re-appointment of Colonel Hannay, even after he had Knowledge of his Miſconduct.

Read, the following Extracts from Book III, already delivered in.

" To the Nabob Vizier. Written 26th April 1780.

13. " I have learnt, with very great Satisfaction, that your Excellency has been pleaſed to reſtore to Major Hannay the Charge of ſuperintending the Diſtricts of Gorickpore, &c. with which you formerly inveſted him. I eſteem this a Mark of your Attention to my original Recommendation of Major Hannay; and from the Abilities, Integrity, and Zeal for your Service, which I know he poſſeſſes, I am perſuaded your Excellency will have no Cauſe to repent the Appointment you have given him. In order, however, that the Intention of this Appointment may not be defeated, and that the Major may not be deprived of the Means of accompliſhing the Services expected from him, it is indiſpenſably neceſſary that your Excellency ſhould not only give him due Authority and Support, but that you ſhould convince him, as well as the immediate Rulers of the Country he has to ſuperintend, and above all the People about your own Perſon and Court, that you place an implicit Faith and Confidence in his Zeal for your Service, and will not ſuffer any Perſon whatever to obſtruct or thwart him in the Exertion of it. This is ſo obviouſly neceſſary that I truſt it is your Excellency's firm Intention to do ſo, and it will be the certain Means of obviating theſe Difficulties and vexatious Obſtacles, which I underſtand, and have every Reaſon to believe, were oppoſed to the Major's Endeavours when he was before employed by your Excellency in that Country, to the great Detriment of your Service and Government.

" So long as your Excellency obſerves that Line of Conduct towards Major Hannay, I ſhall be very happy to hear of his Continuance in the Office wherein you have placed him, becauſe I am convinced his Labours will be attended with the moſt ſalutary Effects to your Government, and that Degree of Credit and Reputation to himſelf, which I always flattered * would reſult from my Compliance with your Excellency's firſt Requiſition of his Services. * Sic in Orig.

" It is not my Intention to force, or even to influence your Excellency's Inclinations with reſpect to employing Major Hannay; whatever may be my Wiſhes on this Head, I do not deſire they ſhould controul yours. The Term of Major Hannay's Services depend † on your Excellency's Pleaſure: All I ſhall contend for is, that while he is employed by your Excellency, he be employed in ſuch a Manner as not to bring Diſgrace on his own Character, or Diſcredit on my Recommendation. This is certainly what I have a Right to expect; and I think it neceſſary to declare to your Excellency, that unleſs it is complied with, it will become my Duty to recall Major Hannay altogether from your Service. The perſonal Regard I have for him, will not ſuffer me to continue him in any Situation where he is ſubject to unbecoming Treatments; and I think much too highly of his Abilities, to conſent to their being thrown away in an uſeleſs Purſuit. † Sic in Orig.

" Your Excellency will not conſider this Letter as written in conſequence of any Repreſentations from Major Hannay—he is not acquainted with writing it; and the Tenor of all the Letters I have received from him ſince his Re-appointment to his former Charges, would encourage me to believe your Excellency had determined to purſue that Line of Conduct towards him, which I have now taken the Liberty to recommend; but Major Hannay muſt expect to meet with powerful Oppoſition among the Dependants of your Court, who will naturally view his Appointment, and the Confidence which you may be inclined to reſort ‡ in him, with Jealouſy and Diſguſt, and their moſt artful Inſinuations will ever be employed to bias your Judgment, and betray you into their intereſted Views. This, I am perſuaded, was the principal Source of all the Vexa- ‡ Sic in Orig.

tion

tion and Disappointment which the Major experienced in his former Endeavours to promote your Excellency's Service; and it is the Desire I have to guard you against such incendiary Designs in future, that has induced me to give you this early Declaration of my Sentiments and Expectations on Major Hannay's Appointment."

" To Hyder Beg Khan. Written the 26th April 1780.

14. " Having been informed, that the Vizier has been pleased to restore Major Hannay to the Office of superintending the Districts to the Eastward of the River Gogra; I have thought it necessary to write to his Excellency, signifying my Sentiments and Expectations in regard to the Major's Appointment.

" As you have a principal Share in conducting the Affairs of the Nabob, and consequently an Influence with him, I enclose you a Copy of a Letter to his Excellency on the above Subject, that you may also be clearly informed of my Sentiments and Wishes; and as it must appear to every Man of Understanding or Discernment, that I have recommended nothing, but what tends to promote the Interests of the Nabob's Government, I do expect from you a willing and hearty Exertion of all your Endeavours to render my Recommendation effectual. You must be well acquainted with the Regard I bear Major Hannay; and you may be assured, that I shall consider every Act of Kindness to him, as a Testimony of your Attention to me."

To prove, that the Nabob's Complaints to Mr. Hastings, of the Misconduct of the English Officers in his Country, were ineffectual;

Read, from Book 119, already delivered in, the following Letter from the Nabob Vizier to the Governor General, received the 1st February 1781, beginning at Page 21 of the same.

" From the Nabob Asoph ul Dowla. Received 1st February 1781.

4. " All the Officers stationed with the Brigade at Cawnpore, Futtyghur, Darunghur, and Furrackabad, and other Places, write Purwannas, and give positive Orders to the Aumils of all these Places respecting the Grain, &c. from which Conduct the Country will become depopulate. I am hopeful from your Friendship, that you will write to all these Gentlemen not to issue Orders, &c. to the Aumils, and not to send Troops into the Mahals of the Sircar; and for whatever Quantity of Grain, &c. they may want, they will inform me and the Resident, and we will write it to the Aumils, who shall cause it to be sent them every Month, and I will deduct the Price of them from the Tuncahs. This will be agreeable both to me and to the Ryots."

" Copy of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Rajah Gobind Ram.

" I some Time ago wrote you the Particulars of the Conduct of the Officers, and now write them again. The Officers and Gentlemen who are at Cawnpore and Futtyghur, and Darunghur, and other Places, by different Means, act very tyrannically and oppressively towards the Aumils, and Ryots, and Inhabitants; and to whomsoever that requires a Dustuck, they give it with their own Seal affixed, and send for the Aumils and punish them. If they say any Thing, the Gentlemen make use of but Two Words; One, that is, for the Brigade, and the Second, that is, to
* Sic in Orig. administer Justice. The Particulars of it is this *, that the Bipparies will bring their Grain from all Quarters, and sell for their Livelihood. There is at present no War to occasion a Necessity for sending for it. If none comes, whatever Quantity will be necessary every Month, I will mention to the Aumils, that they may bring it for Sale; but there is no Deficiency of Grain. The Gentlemen have established Gunges for their own Advantage, called Colonel Gunge, at Darunghur, Futtyghur, &c. The Collections of the Customs from all Quarters they have stopped, and collected them at their own Gunges. Each Gunge is rented out at 30,000,—40,000, Rupees, and their Collections paid to the Gentlemen. They have established Gunges where there never were any; and where they were, those they have abolished. 30,000 or 40,000 Rupees is the Sum they are rented at. The Collections, to the Amount of a Lack of Rupees, are stopped. Major Briscoe, who is at Darunghur, has established a Gunge, which rented out for 45,000 Rupees, and has stopped the Ghauts round about the Bipparies; and Merchants coming from Cashmere, from Shaw Iehanabeid, and bringing Shauls, and other Goods and Spices, &c. from all Quarters, he orders to his Gunge, and collects the Duties from the Aumils, gives them a Chit and a Guard, who conducts them about 500 Cose. The former Duties are not collected. From the Conduct at Cawnpore, Futtyghur, Farruckabad, &c. the Duties from the Lilla of Gora, and Thlawa, are destroyed, and occasions a Loss of 3 Lacks of Rupees to the Duties; and the Losses that are sustained in Farruckabad may be ascertained by the Nabob Mozuffir Jung, to whom every Day Complaints are made; exclusive of the Aumils and Collectors, others lodge Complaints. Whatever I do, I desire no Benefit from it; I am remediless and silent. From what happens to me, I know that worse will happen in other Places. The Second Word I know is from their Mouths only: This is the Case. In this Country formerly, and even now, whatever is to be received

received or paid amongſt the Zemindars, Ryotts, and Inhabitants of the Cities, and poor People, neither thoſe who can pay, or thoſe who cannot pay, ever make any Excuſe to the Shroffs, but when they could pay they did. In old Debts of 50 Years, whoever complain to the Gentlemen, they agree that they ſhall pay One-fourth, and ſend Duſtucks and Sepoys to all the Aumils, the Chowdries, and Canoongoes, and Inhabitants of all the Towns; they ſend for every Body to do them Juſtice, confine them, and ſay they will ſettle the Buſineſs. So many and numerous are theſe Calamities, that I know not how much Room it will take up to mention them. Mr. Briſcoe is at Darunghur, and the Complaints of the Aumils arrive daily. I am ſilent. Now Mr. Middleton is coming here, let the Nabob appoint him for the ſettling all theſe Affairs, that whatever he ſhall order thoſe Gentlemen they will do. From this every Thing will be ſettled, and the Particulars of this Quarter will be made known to the Nabob. I have written this, which you will deliver to the Governor, that every Thing may be ſettled, and when he has underſtood it, whatever is his Inclination, he will favour me with it. The Nabob is Maſter in this Country, and is my Friend. There is no Diſtinction. Written the 12th Zekaida."

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Mercurii, 21° *Maij* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

It was moved that Major Scott might be called in.

The ſame was agreed to.

Then, MAJOR SCOTT being called in, acquainted the Houſe that he wiſhed to explain an Anſwer to a Queſtion put to him in a former Examination, which he did not underſtand at the Time, reſpecting a Communication to Mr. Larkins.

Then the following Queſtions and Anſwers were read by the Clerk.

" Q. Was you not made the Channel of Communication between Mr. Larkins in India and the Court of Directors, reſpecting Money taken by Mr. Haſtings?

" A. I was; and I will beg Leave to explain that Circumſtance alſo, by taking it up from the Time it originated. I think in the Month of March 1784, nearly about the Time of the Diſſolution of Parliament, a Letter was ſent from the Court of Directors to Mr. Haſtings, deſiring from him an Explanation of the ſeveral Sums that he had received: I think he was deſired to ſtate the Periods when each Sum was received, and his Reaſons for concealing that Receipt from his Council. This Letter arrived in Bengal, as I underſtood, in the Month of September 1784, when Mr. Haſtings was at Lucknow. Mr. Haſtings came down to Calcutta in November 1784, and reſigned the Government of Bengal the 1ſt February 1785. It happened, that he had not adverted to that particular Paragraph from the Court of Directors, before he left Bengal; and, upon his Arrival in England, I mentioned this Omiſſion to him: In Conſequence of that, he wrote a Letter from Cheltenham, to the Court of Directors, mentioning the Circumſtances, anſwering their Queſtions, and telling them, that, if they wanted a full and complete Account of all the Tranſactions, he referred them to Mr. Larkins, who was acquainted with the Whole of them. I thought that the Court of Directors might be ſatisfied with the Explanation Mr. Haſtings had then given, and that neither they, nor the Board of Commiſſioners, might think it worth their While to enquire any more about it, as they had received all the Money, and it had been expended upon the Company's Account. The Event has proved, that I thought right: But I took the Liberty to mention to Mr. Haſtings, (from believing in my Conſcience, that he never was concerned in any pecuniary Tranſactions that he would wiſh to conceal); I took the Liberty to mention to him, that he had better, himſelf, write to Mr. Larkins, and deſire he would ſend the Account to this Country, to the Chairman of the Court of Directors. In conſequence of that Letter, which Mr. Haſtings did write, Mr. Larkins ſent Mr. Haſtings a Letter, directed to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, containing the Account, a Part of which was juſt now read. Mr. Larkins aſſigned to Mr. Haſtings, as a Reaſon for ſending the Account under Cover to him, that, as neither he, nor the Governor General and Council, had received any Orders or Directions, from the Court of Directors, upon this Subject, he thought he could not, with Propriety, addreſs them directly; and therefore had ſent the Letter to Mr. Haſtings, to deliver himſelf. Mr. Haſtings deſired me, as I was going into the City that Day, to give it to Mr. Michie, the Chairman, though it was directed to Mr. Devaynes, who had been the Chairman the preceding Year: That is the Reaſon of my delivering the Letter to Mr. Michie as I did.

" Q. The Queſtion is, Whether there was any Communication that paſſed through you?

" A. That was the only Communication." (*a*)

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 566.

Then

Then the Witneſs ſaid;

I beg Leave, in Explanation of that Anſwer, to ſay, that I ſuppoſed the Second Queſtion to relate only to any Communication that might have been made to the Court of Directors through me from Mr. Larkins, or ſome Perſon in India; but, as it appears in the Minutes of Evidence, the Queſtion is general; and another Communication certainly did paſs through me upon the Subject of Preſents.——In the latter End of the Month of June, 1785, or early in July, I wrote a Letter to Mr. Devaynes, then the Chairman of the Court of Directors, in which I detailed to him the fulleſt Account of thoſe Preſents that it was in the Power of Mr. Haſtings to give. That was prior to the Date of Mr. Haſtings's Letter from Cheltenham.——There is another Part of my Evidence which, if your Lordſhips will give me Leave, I can now ſpeak to with more Certainty than I did before.——In conſequence of a Queſtion put to me when I was laſt examined, relative to the Departure of the Nymph, I anſwered as I thought the Fact was; and, upon Inquiry, I find it to be preciſely as I ſtated it.—The Nymph went with Sir Edward Hughes to Negapatnam, and then to Trincomale; and after the Capture of Trincomale on the 15th of January 1782, Sir Edward Hughes ſent that Ship with Diſpatches to Government; and the Letter from Fort William, dated in October 1781, came in the ſame Veſſel.

Q. (*from a Lord*). In the Affidavit of Ahlaud Sing, there is an Expreſſion which, perhaps, you can explain; and that is, "that, after a few Days, an Order came from the Colonel to Munnowur Khan, directing, that if the Rajah, Muſtapha Khan, had been put to Death, well—if not, ſtrike off his Head" (*a*): And, it was afterwards ſaid, that he was beheaded in conſequence. Do you know who the Colonel was, that is alluded to in that Affidavit?

A. I really do not know; but I ſhould ſuppoſe it was Colonel Hannay.

Q. (*from the Managers.*) When and where did you diſcover this Error in your former Evidence?

A. I diſcovered it at the Office of Mr. Cowper, the firſt Moment I read the Paſſage: I mentioned it to him then, as ſoon as I read it; I believe it was the Day before Yeſterday; and I ſaid, I earneſtly wiſhed to have an Opportunity of explaining it. I beg to obſerve, that it does not go to correct any one Part of the Evidence I have given; but it was an Error in ſuppoſing a Queſtion to be confined, which Queſtion, upon reading it in the Minutes of Evidence, I find to be general. A Queſtion was aſked me, Whether I was the Channel of Communication from Mr. Larkins, in India? I anſwered, pointedly and directly, how far I was the Channel of Communication. Another Queſtion was then aſked, which I ſuppoſed to have Reference to the former Queſtion; but, upon reading it in the Minutes, I find it to be general: And I certainly did write a Letter to Mr. Devaynes, upon the ſame Subject of Preſents: It is not to correct any Part of my former Evidence; but to give a direct Anſwer to a Queſtion which I did not underſtand before.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, that you did not diſcover this Miſtake before it was printed?

A. Not till it was printed.—I diſcovered another Thing that I ſuppoſed to be an Error, which I found afterwards was no Error in my Evidence;—but this particular Part I did not diſcover till I read it; and the Moment I read it, I mentioned it to Mr. Cowper.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings appriſe the Court of Directors that he had received a Sum of Money as a Preſent, when he made the Offer to apply that Money to the Service of Colonel Camac's Detachment?

A. I do not recollect what is the preciſe Expreſſion of the Letter: It is in a publick Letter, and that will ſpeak better to the Point than my Recollection can.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings mention to you his having received that Sum of Money as a Preſent, at the Time he made that Order to the Board?

A. The Tranſaction happened when I was in India, in my Way from Calcutta to Chunar: It happened when I had left Mr. Haſtings's Family, therefore he never mentioned any Thing of it to me in India at all.

Q. Whether you do not know, that in Point of Fact, Mr. Haſtings never informed the Court of Directors that he had received that Preſent in any Shape, till the Court of Directors had demanded an Explanation from him upon that Head?

A. Now I underſtand the Queſtion, and will anſwer it according to my Conſtruction of the Paſſage in Mr. Haſtings's Letter, as far as I recollect it. He certainly did make a Communication, becauſe, if I am not miſtaken, the Expreſſion is this, "The Money, by whatever Means it came into my Poſſeſſion, was not my own; and I neither could, nor would, have received it but for your Uſe." Which, I think, implies clearly that it was Money received as a Preſent.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 240, Line 7.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That that was directly contrary to the Fact.

The Counſel for the Defendant requeſted that the Letter might be read to the Witneſs, that he might have an Opportunity of knowing whether it were, or were not, conſiſtent with the Evidence he had juſt given.

The Managers for the Commons were aſked, if there was any Thing in the Letter, more than what the Witneſs had repeated upon that Subject.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they meant to ſpeak of the Firſt Letter, where Mr. Haſtings mentions having applied Money to the Uſe of Colonel Camac's Detachment.

The Witneſs ſaid,

That is a Letter of the 29th of November 1780, I believe. If your Lordſhips will have the Goodneſs to permit me to obſerve, that the Honourable Managers and I are ſpeaking of Two Things perfectly different.—The Honourable Managers, as I underſtand, talk of a Minute of Council:—I ſpeak of a Letter written by Mr. Haſtings to the Court of Directors, dated in November 1780, which was the Firſt Account he gave of the Preſent, and that I underſtood to be the Queſtion put to me.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Witneſs muſt have miſunderſtood the Queſtion.——They underſtood the Witneſs to have depoſed, that in Mr. Haſtings's Communication to the Court of Directors, he underſtood the Subſtance of what Mr. Haſtings ſaid, to imply that he had received a Preſent.—That might poſſibly be ſo in the Letter; but what they meant to ſhew was, that the Witneſs in ſtating that, muſt have been incorrect; becauſe, in Point of Fact he mentioned it in another View, and not in a Way to juſtify the Witneſs, or any Perſon, in ſaying that it was ſtated as a Preſent; that they referred to the Minute of Council for that Purpoſe.—As to any Letters of Dates long ſubſequent, they were not material to the Queſtion.

The Witneſs ſaid,

It is a Letter from Mr. Haſtings to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, the 29th November 1780: In that Letter he ſays; "The Money, by whatever Means it came into my Poſſeſſion, was not my own, that I had myſelf no Right to it, nor could, or would have received it, but for the Occaſion which prompted me to avail myſelf of the accidental Means, which were at that Inſtant afforded me of accepting and converting it to the Property and Uſe of the Company." This is the Letter of which I ſpoke.

Q. That is what you applied your Explanation to?
A. Exactly.

The Managers for the Commons were aſked, if there was any other Queſtion which they wiſhed to put by way of Explanation.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Letter which they alluded to, ſent afterwards from the Court of Directors to Mr. Haſtings, was dated the 25th of January 1782; in which (alluding to this Tranſaction, of his offering to ſupply the Expence of Colonel Camac's Detachment, as appears by the Minutes of Council) they ſay,

"In regard to the Firſt of theſe Tranſactions, we readily conceive that in the then State of the Council the Governor General might be induced to temporary Secrecy reſpecting the Members of the Board, not only becauſe he might be apprehenſive of Oppoſition to the propoſed Application of the Money, but perhaps becauſe Doubts might have ariſen concerning the Propriety of appropriating it to the Company's Uſe on any account: But it does not appear to us that there could be any real Neceſſity for delaying to communicate to us immediate Information of the Channel by which the Money came into his Poſſeſſion, with a complete Illuſtration of the Cauſe or Cauſes of ſo extraordinary an Event.

"Circumſtanced as Affairs were at the Moment, it appears that the Governor General had the Meaſure much at Heart, and judged it abſolutely neceſſary. The Means propoſed of defraying the extra Expence were very extraordinary, and the Money, as we conceive, muſt have come into his Hands by an unuſual Channel; and when more complete Information comes before us, we ſhall give our Sentiments fully upon the whole Tranſaction:"——

That, in anſwer to this Letter of the 25th of January 1782, Mr. Haſtings makes a Communication that the Money was a Preſent, but conceals from whom that Preſent was taken. The Witneſs, in his former Evidence, ſtates that Mr. Haſtings did com-

 municate

municate that he had received a Preſent when he firſt received the Money, and when he firſt made the Offer to the Board, and that he afterwards communicated to him that that Preſent was received from Cheit Sing; whereas it appears here that he did not make any Communication of the Means by which the Money came into his Hands; but, upon the Court of Directors rebuking him, and requiring an Explanation, then he made that partial and half Confeſſion that it was a Preſent, but conceals from whom. They deſired the Witneſs therefore to be aſked,

Q. Whether that Fact did not contradict his former Evidence?

A. I am perfectly clear without having the Evidence before me, or looking at it, that it is preciſely agreeable to my former Evidence, and that there is not the ſmalleſt Contradiction of any Kind; but the Word "Board" has been introduced in the Obſervations juſt made, which I never made uſe of in my former Evidence. I referred to this Letter to the Court of Directors, and never ſaid a Syllable of any Thing that paſſed at the Board about the Money. I am perfectly convinced that it will be found correct.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next proceed to a Head of Evidence, which they ſhould call Subornation of Letters, in order to ſhew, that, beſides the general Practice of ſuppreſſing Correſpondence, Mr. Haſtings and Mr. Middleton were themſelves the Fabricators of almoſt all the Letters of the Nabob, which were favourable to their Views.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 21ſt May 1781, from Book 35, already delivered in, beginning at Page 1306 of the ſame.

"Fort William, 12th May 1781.

Secret Dept. Monday.

"At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
And Edward Wheler Eſq.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. abſent on Command at the Preſidency of Fort Saint George.

"From the Nabob Vizier to the Governor General. Received the 20th May.

"I have frequently written to you, that I cannot ſubmit to the Authority of Two Gentlemen, and deſiring that you would recall Mr. John Briſtow, and engage by Writing to continue Mr. Middleton for ever with me; becauſe, from the Beginning to this Time, I have never deviated from the Friendſhip of the Company and you. I have been for a long Time hopeful, that, from the encreaſed Friendſhip, I ſhall be in Peace, and relieved from all Difficulties, and particularly at this Time, when, agreeable to my Wiſhes, you have, by the Bleſſing of God, the Power. You have frequently promiſed, in Anſwer to my Requeſt, that you would ſend for me, but as yet you have never done it. The Particulars of Mr. Briſtow are as follow: He openly and publickly declares, that he is in Expectation of Orders from Europe, giving him entire Authority over the Affairs of this Quarter; and that he has ſuch Connection and Intereſt with the Gentlemen in Europe, that Orders for his Authority will moſt certainly be ſent; and that he will not give up the Point for Ten, Fifteen, or Twenty Years; that he now remains ſilent, but will at laſt receive full Powers, and will then call me to an Account for my Behaviour to him. Theſe Expreſſions there can be no Doubt of, as they are publickly ſpoken. As ſuch Declarations and Threats made uſe of by him, are an Inſult to you, and an Injury to the Adminiſtration of Affairs here; I am therefore certain you will not conſent to my ſuffering ſuch Diſtreſſes. For God's Sake do not be unfavourable in this Matter, but recall Mr. John Briſtow from hence, and grant me a written Agreement, ſpecifying that Mr. Middleton ſhall be continued for ever with me; and, to prevent his applying to Europe, ſend me, if you think proper, the Draſts of Letters which I may write to the King, the Vizier, and the Chiefs of the Company; and do you alſo write. From your Favour and Kindneſs, let this be done without Delay.

A true Tranſlation.

(Signed) Edward Colebrook, Perſian Tranſlator." (a)

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 1312 of the ſame.

"Copy of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Rajah Gobind Ram.

"I have frequently written to the Nabob Amaud ud Dowlah, about the Recall of Mr. John Briſtow, and the Nabob promiſed he would ſoon do it; but to this Time he has not had an Opportunity of doing it. In the mean while, Mr. Briſtow reſides here, and has come twice to

(a) Vide Appendix, N° XXXV.

pay

pay a Viſit; but I have not yet returned it, nor will I return it. He is now expecting Orders from Europe, which, he ſays, will give him ſole and entire Authority. Repreſent this to the Nabob in private. By the Bleſſing of God, you are wiſe, and acquainted with all Matters. This long Delay, after Mr. Briſtow has been told that he will be recalled to Calcutta, is a Diſgrace to both Sides. I imagine the Nabob is acting prudently, ſo as to prevent Mr. Briſtow's Attempt from reaching Europe; otherwiſe how could the Orders from Calcutta have been ſo delayed? By the Bleſſing of God, at this Time the Nabob, conformable to the Wiſhes of his Friends, has got the Power; it is therefore neceſſary for him to attend to the Concerns of his Friends, and to recall Mr. Briſtow from hence, and grant a Sunnud, in the Nature of an Engagement, for Mr. Middleton to remain here for ever. If it is proper, I will write to the King, the Vizier, and the Chief of the Company, in ſuch Manner as he ſhall direct, and in the Words which he ſhall order, that Mr. Briſtow's Views may be thwarted there. A long Time has paſſed in anxious Expectation; let him now be favourable to me, and recall Mr. Briſtow without Delay. Should any further Delay happen in this Matter, or no Anſwer be returned to my Letters, being remedileſs, I will, without the Permiſſion or Knowledge of the Nabob, leave this Place and go to the Nabob's Preſence. Why is Bahar Ally Khan ſtill in that Quarter? Do you mention it to the Nabob, and procure his Diſmiſſion from thence, that he may come to Fizeabad; and let the Nabob write to my Mother, that when he comes in Perſon to this Quarter, he will do whatever the Nature of Affairs ſhall require.

"A true Tranſlation.

(Signed) "Edward Colebrooke,

"Perſian Tranſlator." (*a*)

Read, from Book 120, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Letter from Rajah Gobind Raum to the Vizier, dated the 27th Auguſt, 1782.

"27. Extract of an Arzie; written from Rajah Gobind Raum to the Vizier, by the Governor General's Directions. Written the 27th Auguſt, 1782.

"This Day the Governor General ſent for me in private. After recapitulating the various Informations he had received reſpecting the Anarchy and Confuſion ſaid to reign throughout your Highneſs's Country, and Complaints that neither your Highneſs, or Hyder Beg Khan, or Mr. Middleton, or Mr. Johnſon ever wrote to him on the State of your Affairs, or if he ever received a Letter from your Preſence it always contained Aſſertions contrary to the above Informations, the Governor General proceeded as follows: That it was his Intention to have appointed Mr. David Anderſon to attend upon your Highneſs, but that he was ſtill with Scindia, and there was no Proſpect of his ſpeedy Return from his Camp; therefore, it was now his Wiſh to appoint Mr. John Briſtow, who was well experienced in Buſineſs, to Lucknow. That when Mr. Briſtow formerly held the Office of Reſident there, he was not appointed by him; and that notwithſtanding he had not ſhewn any Inſtances of Diſobedience, yet he had deemed it neceſſary to recal him, becauſe he had been patronized and appointed by Gentlemen who were in Oppoſition to him and had counteracted and thwarted all his Meaſures; that this had been his Reaſon for recalling Mr. Briſtow, that ſince Mr. Francis's Return to Europe, and the Arrival of Information there of the Death of the other Gentlemen, the King and the Company had declared their Approbation of his (the Governor General's) Conduct, and had conferred upon him the moſt ample Powers; that they had ſent out Mr. Macpherſon, who was his old and particular Friend, and that Mr. Stables, who was on his way here as a Member of the Supreme Council, was alſo his particular Friend: That Mr. Wheler had received Letters from Europe, informing him that the Members of Council were enjoined all of them to co-operate and act in Conjunction with him, in every Meaſure which ſhould be agreeable to him, and that there was no one in Council now, who was not united with him, and conſequently that his Authority was perfect and complete: That Mr. Briſtow, as it was known to me, had returned to Europe; but that during his Stay there he had never ſaid any Thing diſreſpectful of him, or endeavoured to injure him; on the contrary, he had received Accounts from Europe that Mr. Briſtow had ſpoken much in his Praiſe, ſo that Mr. Briſtow's Friends there had become his Friends: That Mr. Briſtow had lately been introduced to him by Mr. Macpherſon, had explained his paſt Conduct perfectly to his Satisfaction, and had requeſted from him the Appointment to Lucknow, and had declared, in the Event of his obtaining the Appointment, that he ſhould ſhew every Mark of Attention and Obedience to the Pleaſure of your Highneſs, and his, the Governor's, ſaying that your Highneſs was well pleaſed with him, and that he knew what you had written formerly was at the Inſtigation of Mr. Middleton. That in conſequence of the foregoing, he the Governor had determined to have appointed Mr. Briſtow to Lucknow, but had poſtponed his Diſmiſſion to his Office for the following Reaſons, (viz.) People at Lucknow might think that Mr. Briſtow had obtained his Appointment in conſequence of Orders from Europe, and contrary to the Governor's Inclination, but as the contrary was the Caſe, and as he now conſidered Mr. Briſtow as the Object of his own particular Patronage, therefore he

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXV.

directed

directed me to forward Mr. Briſtow's Arzie to the Preſence, and that it was the Governor's Wiſh, that your Highneſs, on the Receipt thereof, would write a Letter to him, and, as from yourſelf, requeſt of him that Mr. Briſtow may be appointed to Lucknow, and that you would write an Anſwer to this Arzie expreſſive of your perſonal Satisfaction on the Subject. The Governor concluded with Injunctions, that until the Arrival of your Highneſs's Letter, requeſting the Appointment of Mr. Briſtow, and your Anſwer to this Arzie, that I ſhould keep the Particulars of this Converſation a profound Secret, for that the Communication of it to any Perſon whatever would not only cauſe his Diſpleaſure, but would throw Affairs at Lucknow into great Confuſion. The preceding is the Subſtance of the Governor's Directions to me. He afterwards went to Mr. Macpherſon's, and I attended him; Mr. Briſtow was there. The Governor took Mr. Briſtow's Arzie from his Hand and delivered it into mine, and thence proceeded to Council: Mr. Briſtow's Arzie and the following Particulars I tranſmit and communicate by the Governor's Directions. And I requeſt that I may be favoured with the Anſwer to this Arzie, and the Letter to the Governor, as ſoon as poſſible, as his Injunctions to me were very particular on the Subject.

Read, the following Letters from the Nabob Vizier to Rajah Gobindram, from Book 121, already delivered in.

" Copies of Letters from the Nuwab Vizier to Raja Govindram.

Received the 1ſt January 1783.

2.

" N° 1. Dated the 10th Shawal 1196 Hegeree.

" The Arzie which you have ſent is arrived. As to the Commands of Mr. Haſtings, which you write on the Subject of the Diſtraction of the Country, and the Want of Information from me, and his Wiſhes, that as Mr. John Briſtow has ſhewn ſincere Wiſhes and Attachment to Mr. Haſtings, I ſhould write for him to ſend Mr. John Briſtow; it would have been proper and neceſſary for you privately to have underſtood what were Mr. Haſtings's real Intentions. Whether the Choice of ſending Mr. John Briſtow was his own Deſire, or whether it was in Compliance with Mr. Macpherſon's, that I might then have written conformably thereto. Writings are now ſent to you for both Caſes: Having privately underſtood the Wiſhes of Mr. Haſtings, deliver which ever of the Writings he ſhall order you; for I ſtudy Mr. Haſtings's Satisfaction; whoever is his Friend is mine, and whoever is his Enemy is mine; but in both theſe Caſes my Wiſhes are the ſame, that having conſented to the Paper of Queſtions, which Major Davy carried with him, and having given me the Authority of the Country, whomever he may afterwards appoint, I am ſatisfied. I now am brought to great Diſtreſs by theſe Gentlemen who ruin me. In caſe of Conſent, I am contented with Majors Davy and Palmer. Hereafter whatever may be Mr. Haſtings's Deſire, it is beſt."

" N° 2. Dated the 13th Shawal 1196 Hegeree.

" I have ſeen your Arzie.—As to what you have written according to Mr. Haſtings's Orders, of the Repreſentation of the Gentlemen about the Diſtreſs of the Country, the Robberies by Day and Murders by Night, and the Quarrels between Families far and near, and that neither myſelf, nor Mr. Middleton, nor Hyder Beg Khan write; the Repreſentation of ſuch Matters, is as if any one ſhould ſay, " Why are you raiſing Duſt from the Water of the River?" What Anſwer ſhall I write to this? The Gentlemen having from afar ſhewn Favour to me for the Government of this Place, repreſent this Situation of the Country, and this Want of Information from all; but there is no ſuch Diſtreſs here, and I am not ignorant in ſuch a Degree as not to comprehend my own Intereſt or Prejudice. On this Pretence, it having been ſettled to ſend Mr. Briſtow, it is requeſted that I write to Mr. Haſtings for him to be ſent. Repreſent to Mr. Haſtings, that whatever Agreement was made at Chunarghar, I fully abide by it; and that it is my Hope, that he will likewiſe, from his Friendſhip, adhere to the ſame Plan of Agreement, and that there be no Deviation from it."

" N° 3. Dated the 13th Shawal 1196 Hegeree.

" Your Arzie has been ſeen.—You have written according to the Orders of Mr. Haſtings, upon the Expoſition of the Gentleman; the Diſtreſs of the Country; the Thefts and Robberies by Day, and Murders by Night; and family Quarrels; that neither myſelf, nor Mr. Middleton, nor Mr. Johnſon, nor Hyder Beg Cawn write; that it had been reſolved to ſend Mr. John Briſtow from his Attachment and Zeal for the Service of Mr. Haſtings, and that you requeſt that I ſhould write to Mr. Haſtings to ſend that Gentleman. Having circumſtantially conſidered, what ſhall I anſwer to the Expoſition of the Gentleman, of the Diſtreſs of the Country, and the Non-information from me and the others; it is like the Proverb of raiſing Duſt from the Waters of the River. The Gentlemen make all theſe Accuſations for their own Continuance and Confirmation in Authority. Having kindly intereſted themſelves in my Affairs, they thus repreſent and write to Mr Haſtings the Situation of my Country far and near. All this is the Diligence and Zeal of the Gentlemen towards me. I am not in ſuch a Degree ignorant as not to know what is, or what is not, for my Advantage. Bound Hand and Foot, I am wheeled round by the Rage of the River, and then you tell me, be wiſe, do not wet your Garment. I am aſſured that the Friendſhip which the

Gentlemen

Gentlemen here ſhew to me, is not known to Mr. Haſtings and the Gentlemen of the Council. If it were fully known, it is certain that they could not have countenanced ſuch Conduct. I am in a ſtrange Situation, that my Life is even diſagreeable to me. Mr. Johnſon has appointed Aumils, and Peſhkars, and Foujedars on his Part, and he has made me his Toſhuckjee to give the Kelets; and when Mr. Johnſon's Orders arrive, if there be any Inſtant's Delay, he is angry. I am like a Chuppagur to affix the Seal, and I am obliged to write whatever the Aumildars appointed by him wiſh, whether conformable or contrary to Cuſtom; and the Delay of a Moment is the Cauſe of Anger. As my Condition is come to this Paſs, what Pleaſure is there left in Life? Repreſent to Mr. Haſtings, that whatever be my Reaſons of Complaint or Thanks, they ariſe only from my Deſtiny, and not from any Perſon: That after the Troubles of many Years, he has favoured me, and fixed a Mode of Eaſe and Quiet: That I have paid from my Country and Houſe the Company's Money; and that he has told me, this Major Palmer, that after paying the Arrears to the End of the Year 1189, he would give me the Authority of the Country in the Year 1190: That I myſelf, making the Bundebuſt of the Country, ſhould cauſe the Brigade to be paid Month by Month; and that the Authority and Offices of the Gentlemen eſtabliſhed here ſhould ceaſe, and one Gentleman ſhould remain here. Accordingly, Mr. Davy has carried with him my Paper of Propoſitions; and it is now ordered, that Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon having neglected to give Information, Mr. Briſtow for that Cauſe has been choſen, that he may ſettle the Affairs here: That I am ſtreightened by the Authority of the Gentlemen who are here: That however what be the Intentions of Mr. Haſtings towards me? will he give the Authority of the Country to me with Honour and Credit? Or, being more than the former Degree diſhonoured, ſhall the Authority of the Gentlemen be encreaſed, that they may ruin me? That ſhould he, from his Favour, fix my Authority according to my Wiſhes, and the Paper of Propoſitions which Major Davy carried with him, my Requeſt is, that he appoint Majors W. Palmer and Davy, that remaining with me, they may receive the Money. Beſides, whomever he pleaſes let him appoint: I am a Dependant on his Satisfaction. If the Authority of the Country be not with me, what Satisfaction can I have in remaining in this Place, where I experience ſuch Diſtreſs and ill Uſage? The Country is at his Service, let him appoint whom he likes, that they may themſelves govern the Country. My Requeſt is, that going to Calcutta, I may remain with my Friend, Mr. Haſtings. I have no Remedy but his Satisfaction and my Reſpect to him."

Read, from Book 120, already delivered in, the following Letter from the Governor General to Hyder Beg Khan, dated the 20th October 1782.

"38. To Hyder Beg Khan: Written 20th October 1782.

"When Mr. Briſtow lately addreſſed the Nawab, upon the Subject of my Intentions to appoint him to the Office of Reſident at the Court of the Nawab Vizier, on the Part of this Government, provided that the Nawab himſelf had no perſonal Objection to him, I directed Raja Gobind Raum to receive and forward the Letter, and to inform the Nawab, that the Appointment of Mr. Briſtow ſhould depend upon his Pleaſure, which in all Things I have made it my Study to conſult and promote; but leſt the Nawab, from the Recollection of paſt Tranſactions, might miſconſtrue my Recommendation into an oſtenſible Profeſſion, and on that Account expreſs Reluctance to aſſent to the Appointment, I deſired Raja Gobind Raum to explain very particularly to the Nawab, both that I had a very high Eſteem for Mr. Briſtow, and an entire Confidence in his Attachment and Integrity, and the Reaſons which had produced this Alteration in my Sentiments reſpecting that Gentleman; at the ſame Time I mentioned the Defection and Treachery of Almas Ali Khan, and the diſordered State to which he had abandoned the Province of Do-aub, and the other Provinces of which he had the Charge. The like Symptoms appear in the Conduct of the Aumil of Rohilkand, and the general Diſobedience and Confuſion which prevailed in every Part of the Nawab's Dominions, of which, though known to all Mankind, I never received any Information, either from the Nawab, yourſelf, or from Mr. Middleton. In Anſwer to this Letter, Raja Gobind Raum received a Perwanna from the Nawab, containing Complaints and Reproaches at my Interference in his Affairs, and his Unwillingneſs to receive any Agent from me, but without any perſonal Diſlike to Mr. Briſtow, in whoſe Appointment he ſhould acquieſce, if I choſe to make it. Theſe Sentiments, and theſe Expreſſions, are neither conſonant to the Benevolence of the Nawab's Temper, nor to the Friendſhip which I know he poſſeſſes for me, but were dictated for other Purpoſes, known to yourſelf only; they are your Sentiments, and your Expreſſions, and not the Nawab's: But my Aſtoniſhment at the other Parts of the Perwanna is not to be expreſſed, for it declares all which I had ſaid reſpecting Almas Ally Khan, and the diſordered State of the Nawab's Government, to be entirely falſe, and without Foundation, and the Inventions of incendiary People; and that the Nawab's Government enjoyed the moſt perfect Tranquillity and Peace: Either theſe Affirmations were dictated by the Nawab, or written without his Knowledge; if they were dictated by the Nawab, they were ſuch as would not admit of a Reply from me in an immediate Addreſs to himſelf, becauſe I muſt have told him that he was deceived, and kept in utter Ignorance of his own Affairs, at the ſame Time that the whole World, except himſelf, ſaw the Condition they were in, and the Deſtruction that was hanging over him; if the Letter was written in the Nawab's Name, but without his Knowledge, what muſt have been your Opinion of

me, that could induce you to attempt ſo groſs a Deception upon my Underſtanding? in either Caſe your Conduct is without Excuſe;—its Object I plainly ſee: By the Authority of the Nawab Vizier, you mean your own: When you make the Nawab to complain of the Uſurpation upon that Authority, and to aſſert his Right to the uncontrouled Increaſe of it, the plain Interpretation of this is, that you yourſelf lay Claim to the Uſurpation of his Authority, and to the uncontrouled Exerciſe of it. And how has it been exerciſed? I ſhall not repeat Particulars, having already written to you fully upon them, and the Subject is unpleaſant; but I muſt tell you, that ſuch is their Notoriety, that the Report of them is echoed to me from all Parts of Hindoſtan and Decan, and the moſt alarming Apprehenſions are expreſſed by my Agents employed in the remote Affairs of this Government, leſt they ſhould attract the Hoſtilities of other Powers, and impede the Pacifications which are now, and have been for ſome Time paſt, impending.

"I write thus plainly to you from two Motives; the Firſt is, to ſhew how thin the Veil is by which you attempt to cover this Policy, and of courſe to convince you that I ſhall receive and conſtrue every ſimilar Declaration, however made to me from the Nawab, and every Letter written in his Name, tending to deſtroy or leſſen the Friendſhip ſubſiſting between us, as your Declaration, and as your Letter: The Second is, that as I do not ſo much aſcribe theſe Artifices to you, as to the evil Counſels and Encouragements which you have lately received from other Perſons, whoſe Names I need not mention, you may ſee and know on what Terms you may expect hereafter to retain my Friendſhip and Support, which I have hitherto given you. For the reſt, I refer you to Mr. Briſtow; to whom, both verbally and in Writing, I have communicated every Tittle of my Sentiments, Intentions, and Expectations upon this Subject."

Read, from Book 122, already delivered in, the following Letter from Fize Ullah Khan to his Vakeel Buktawa Sing, beginning at Page 51 of the ſame.

"Copy of a Letter from Fize Ullah Khan to his Vakeel Buktawa Sing.

"Every One of the Engliſh Gentlemen, and Officers of the Army, reſiding in this Quarter, write to me reſpecting the Buſineſs in Hand, and other Matters, as it ſeems beſt to them.—If I comply with every Thing which each of them writes or ſays to me, they are pleaſed: If I act otherwiſe they are angry; and ſhew their Reſentment by Accuſations and falſe Charges againſt me.—In this Dilemma I know not how to act: Do you repreſent theſe Matters to the Governor, and ſtate to him, that I can act under the Orders of One Perſon, but not under a Number—And write me word what Anſwer he gives.—Further, prevail on the Governor to write me a Letter, with the Name of the Gentleman I am to attend to, and ſend it to me, that I may act accordingly; and diſregarding the Orders of every one who chuſes to direct me, may not trouble myſelf whether they are angry or pleaſed.

"Mr. Middleton wrote me, that a War had broke out between the Engliſh and French, and deſired that I would ſend him a Letter agreeable to a Draft he encloſed me; and I accordingly wrote to him and the Governor, agreeable to that Draft; the Contents of which you may learn from the Copy of it.—The Caſe is, that my Horſe are ready to go any where, and upon any Service they may be deſired, and will act with Vigour and Spirit on all Occaſions; but they will not learn the Engliſh Exerciſe, or be ſubject to the Subaltern Officers of the Army, ſuch as Adjutants, &c. Make a Repreſentation of this Matter, which is highly neceſſary; for ſhould they be expected at the Time of Action to perform the Engliſh Exerciſe, it would occaſion a Diſappointment, which would be very improper."

Read, from Book 115, already delivered in, the following Letter from the Vizier to the Governor General, Mr. Macpherſon, received on the 21ſt April 1785.

"Extract of a Letter from the Vizier. Received 21ſt April 1785.

"69. I deſire nothing but your Satisfaction, and hope that ſuch Orders as relate to the Friendſhip between the Company and me, and as may be your Pleaſure, may be written in your own private Letters to me, through Major Palmer, in your Letters to the Major, that he may, in Obedience to your Orders, properly explain them to me; and whatever may be ſettled, he may firſt in Secret inform you of it, and afterwards I may write to you, having learnt your Pleaſure. In this Way, the Secrets will be known to your Mind alone, and the Advice upon all the Concerns will be given in a proper Manner." (a)

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that the laſt Letter, and the Letter they were now about to read, were written to the Government after Mr. Haſtings had left Calcutta; but that the Purpoſe for which they produced them, was to ſhew, that, after Mr. Haſtings quitted the Government, the Nabob was deſirous to know if he ſhould continue the above mentioned Practice with his Succeſſor.

Read, from the ſame Book, the following Extract of a Letter from Hyder Beg Khan to the Governor General, Mr. Macpherſon, received the 21ſt April 1785.

(a) Vide Appendix, N° LXXIX.

" No. 71. Extract of a Letter fom Hyder Beg Khan, received 21ſt April 1785.

" I hope that ſuch Orders and Commands as relate to the Friendſhip between his Highneſs's and the Company's Governments, and to your Will, may be ſent through Major Palmer in your own private Letters, or in your Letters to the Major, who is appointed from you at the Preſence of his Highneſs, that, in Obedience to your Orders, he may properly explain your Commands, and whatever Affair may be ſettled, he may firſt ſecretly inform you of it, and afterwards his Highneſs may, conformably thereto, write an Anſwer, and I alſo may repreſent it. By this Syſtem, your Pleaſure will always be fully made known to his Highneſs, and his Highneſs and we will execute whatever may be your Orders, without deviating a Hair's Breadth; and let not the Repreſentations of intereſted Perſons be approved of, becauſe his Highneſs makes no Oppoſition to your Will; and I your Servant am ready in Obedience and Service; and I make no Excuſes (*a*)."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next proceed to ſhew, that beſides the general Practice of Subornation of Letters, and dictating and directing what the Nabob and his Miniſters ſhould write, Mr. Haſtings had ſuppreſſed, from the Knowledge of his Council and the Directors, the Whole of the Perſian Correſpondence, from the Year 1781 to the Year 1785; when, on his leaving the Country, ſuch Parts of it as he thought proper were left behind him, in a Box, at Calcutta.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 19th February 1785, from Book 150, already delivered in, beginning at Page 449 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 19th February 1785.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable John Macpherſon Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident; and John Stables Eſquire.

" The Perſian Tranſlator, attending in Obedience to the Board's Orders, reports, that, ſince the End of the Year 1781, there have been no Books of Correſpondence kept in his Office, becauſe, from that Time until the late Governor General's Departure, he was employed but once by the Governor General to manage the Correſpondence, during a ſhort Viſit which Major Davy, the Military Perſian Interpreter, paid, by the Governor's Orders, to Lucknow: That, during that whole Period of Three Years, he remained entirely ignorant of the Correſpondence, as he was applied to on no Occaſion except for a few Papers, ſometimes ſent to him by the Secretaries, which he always returned to them as ſoon as tranſlated.

" The Perſian Tranſlator has received from Mr. Scott, ſince the late Governor General's Departure, a Trunk, containing Engliſh Drafts and Tranſlations, and the Perſian Originals of Letters and Papers, with Three Books in the Perſian Language, containing Copies of Letters written between Auguſt 1782 and January 1785; and if the Board ſhould pleaſe to order the Secretaries of the General Department to furniſh him with Copies of all Tranſlations and Drafts recorded in their Conſultations, between the 1ſt January 1782 and 31ſt January 1785, he thinks that he ſhould be able, with what he has found in Captain Scott's Trunk, to make up the Correſpondence for that Period.

(Signed) Edward Colebrook,
Perſian Tranſlator."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they had cloſed this Head of Evidence.—They wiſhed next to aſcertain a Fact reſpecting the Date of a Letter, in the Benares Narrative, purporting to be written on the 29th November 1781, to prove, that no ſuch Letter was written at that Time, nor received, or entered upon the Conſultations at Calcutta; for which Purpoſe they deſired Mr. Robert Hudſon might be called in.

Accordingly Mr. HUDSON was called in, and the Benares Narrative being ſhewn him, the following Queſtion was put;

Q. Have you looked at a Letter in that Book, dated Chunar, 29th November 1781, ſigned Warren Haſtings, and directed to Ed. Wheler, and John M'Pherſon, Eſquires, Members of the Council at Fort William? (*b*)

A. I have.

Q. Whether you have ſearched the Conſultations and Records tranſmitted from Calcutta about that Period, and whether any ſuch Letter appears upon them?

A. I examined the Correſpondence ſome Time ago for the Purpoſe, and, at that Time, I could not find it.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXX. (*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 138.

Q. Have

Q. Have you ever found it?
A. I have not. I never ſaw it, except in the Copy of the Narrative ſent from Calcutta, and in this printed Copy.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next proceed to a Correſpondence, containing an exact Narrative and Hiſtory of the Seizure of the Treaſures, previous to their calling Mr. Middleton to that Point.

Read, a Letter from Mr. Haſtings to Mr. Middleton, dated the 15th of November 1781, already delivered in (*a*) at the Bar, as follows.

" To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Lucknow.

" Sir, Chunar, 15th Nov. 1781.

" In your Letter, dated the 17th October, I find it generally aſſerted, by Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, in the Extracts quoted from his Letters, and confirmed by yourſelf, that, during the late Revolt of this Province, Levies, both of Horſe and Foot, were openly made at Fyzabad, both by the Begums and by Cheyt Sing's Agents, in his Name and for his Uſe; that theſe Levies were diſpatched to Benaris, publickly as his, One Party of 1000 Horſe and Foot, under the Command of Shake Cawn: That Jewar Ally Cawn, in the Chowk of Fyzabad, aſked every Man who bore the Appearance of a Soldier, Why he went not to Cheyt Sing for Service: That Futteh Sah, Ghunooroy, and Ajeet Mul, had croſſed to Majowley, urged to that Step by Cheyt Sing, who had ſupplied them with Money, and promiſed them great Sums, if they would but put the whole Country into Confuſion: That the principal Zemindars had all Certificates under the Seal of Cheyt Sing, that he would ſupply them with whatever Money they might require for ſubſiſting all the Troops they could raiſe; that it was the general Belief of every Man in that Part of the Country, that it was a concerted Plan for the Extirpation of the Engliſh; that the whole Country, from Goonda to Maujee, and from Fyzabad to the Benaris Diſtrict, and acroſs from the Gogra to the Ganges, was in the utmoſt Ferment; that if we met with a Check at Benaris, every Man in the Country was ready to fall on our ſcattered Parties: That the Inſurrection was not partial, but generally ſpread throughout the Whole; and if he (Colonel H.) might truſt to his Information, it was already begun, and would ſoon rage as violently in Shahjehanpoor, Rohilcund, Cora, and the Doaub.

" Theſe are Facts of ſuch Moment to the publick Service, and ſo neceſſary both to the Means which may be required for our future Preſervation, and to the Juſtification of what has paſſed, and to what may be done to the ſame End, that I think it proper that they ſhould be verified in the moſt authentick and ſacred Manner; I muſt therefore requeſt and require of you, in my Name, to call upon Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, Major Macdonald, Captain Williams, and Lieutenant Gordon, and every other Perſon who may have a perſonal Knowledge or Underſtanding of theſe Facts, or of any others relating to the Rebellion of Cheyt Sing, and its Connections in the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier, ſeverally to depoſe all that they know and believe concerning the ſame, either on Oath before Sir Elijah Impey, who will inſtantly viſit Lucknow chiefly with this Intention, or that they repair to me at this Place for the ſame Purpoſe.

" Reſpecting the Levies made at Fyzabad, the March of Shake Cawn, with a Force declared for the Service of Cheyt Sing, the publick Invitations of Jewar Ally Cawn, the Certificates under the Seal of Cheyt Sing in the Poſſeſſion of the Zemindars of Goroocpoor and Barraich; his Letters to the Begums or their Miniſters; the Plan concerted for the Extirpation of the Engliſh, I muſt earneſtly recommend it to you to obtain ſuch Evidence as can be * required reſpecting each of theſe Points, whether ſuch Evidence ſhall aſcertain or refute, or qualify their Reality; and, if it be poſſible, to gain Poſſeſſion of the original Letters and Certificates, ſaid to have been written by Cheyt Sing as aboveſaid.

* Sic in Orig.

" You will be careful to aſcertain the Dates and Places of Facts, and the Names and Places and Perſons in the Depoſitions taken, that their Evidence may not be defective or ambiguous from the Want of Preciſion.

" Reſpecting the Murders ſaid ſaid † to have been committed at Goopeegunge, I have already written to you, and now ſend you a Duplicate of my Letter on that Subject.

† Sic in Orig.

" I alſo ſend you the Form of a Caption or Introduction to each Depoſition, of which you will be pleaſed to furniſh Copies to each of the Engliſh Gentlemen, who ſhall have Occaſion for the Uſe of them. The Depoſitions of the Native Witneſſes muſt be written in the Language which they underſtood, and muſt be verified on Oath, and ſigned; or if they ſhall object to the Oath as contrary to their religious Tenets, they muſt be required to ſubſcribe ſuch a ſolemn Atteſtation as ſhall be equivalent to the Sanction of an Oath, and add your Signatures to it.

" I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
Warren Haſtings."

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 630.

Read,

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 12th June 1783, from Book 82, already delivered in, beginning at Page 103 of the ſame.

" My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 1ſt December 1781.

" The Account of the Jagheers, in the Manner you deſire it in your Letter of the 21ſt Ultimo, is by no Means eaſy to make, with any Degree of Certainty, while they remain ſeparated and diſtinct from the Mahls of the Sircar, as every Jagheerdar finds it too much his Intereſt to conceal any Exceſs of Collections above the Amount for which the Lands are granted to him, to ſuffer an exact Valution to be taken, ſo long as he has the Means of preventing it; but as the Jagheers will now either be re-annexed to the Khalſa Lands, or made a ſeparate Aumildarry, under the Direction of a Perſon of my own Recommendation, it will not be difficult for me to obtain the Informations you require, as their Produce, whatever it may be, will be brought into the Treaſury, from whence thoſe who are entitled to the Mediation of the Company will receive their Proportions in Ready Money. I have this Day ſignified to the Miniſter my Expectation that the Whole of the Jagheers be reſumed, and their Revenue, after paying to ſuch of the Proprietors as have a Right to claim the Mediation of our Government, the Amount of their Jagheers, be applied to the Liquidation of the Nabob's Debt to the Honourable Company. I ſhall be very glad if his Excellency conſents to make this Meaſure an Act of his own, as I conceive it would be more agreeable to you, and more conſiſtent with thoſe Appearances which it may be thought expedient to preſerve with his Excellency; but if he declines it, as is by no Means improbable, I ſhall think myſelf juſtified by your Inſtructions in inſiſting on its being done even without his Concurrence.

" I expect to be informed of his Excellency's Determination on this Subject To-morrow, and ſhall loſe no Time in taking my Meaſures accordingly, and informing you thereof.

" The Miniſter informs me that Meyhipnarain has not yet ſent an Aumil to Khyragur, which cauſes great Confuſion in that Pergunnah; may I therefore, my dear Sir, beg to be informed whether it is your Intention to continue the Farm under Meyhipnarain, or reſtore it to the Authority of the Vizier?

" I am, &c.

" (Signed) Nat. Middleton."(*a*)

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that, in this Stage of the Buſineſs, they meant to read the Correſpondence between Mr. Middleton and Sir Elijah Impey, where Mr. Haſtings is ſilent: That Mr. Middleton having ſtated, that he did not receive an official Anſwer from Mr. Haſtings till the 26th of December 1781, they would ſhew, that, in the mean Time, private Communications were going on between them, through Mr. Haſtings's Agent, Sir Elijah Impey.

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, that though theſe Letters were put in at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, they had not yet been authenticated, by being ſo put in as Evidence at the Bar of the Houſe; and therefore they deſired, that before they were read, they might be authenticated in due Form.

The Managers for the Commons deſired Sir Elijah Impey might be called to the Bar, in order to authenticate the Letters.

Then SIR ELIJAH IMPEY was called in, and a Letter being ſhewn to him, the following Queſtion was put:

Q. Whether that is an authentic Copy of a Letter from you, of that Date, to Mr. Middleton?

A. This is my Hand-writing; it was made from a Sketch of a Letter ſent to Mr. Middleton; but I am not exactly ſure that it is in every Reſpect authentic, becauſe ſeveral Parts are ſcratched in it; but it is as authentic as I could make it from the Document.

Q. Whether there are any material Variations between that Copy and the Document itſelf?

A. I made it as exact as I could, and I believe there is no material Variance.

Then ſeveral Papers were ſhewn to the Witneſs, who having inſpected them, proceeded as follows:

A. The Papers that are before me are Letters written by myſelf to Mr. Middleton, which are in my own Hand-writing, and which I believe to be authentic. There are likewiſe Letters from Mr. Haſtings, which are in his Hand-writing, and therefore muſt be authentic. There are likewiſe Letters from Mr. Middleton to me, which are likewiſe in his Hand-writing. Theſe are the Papers which, I believe, I delivered in to the Houſe of Commons.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

Read, the following Letter from Sir Elijah Impey to Mr. Middleton, dated Chunargur, 1ſt December 1781, already delivered in. (*a*)

" Dear Middleton, Chunargur, 1ſt December 1781.

" Not knowing whether I am Time enough for the Dawke, you muſt excuſe my not acknowledging, as I ought, the Obligations I am under to you and Mrs. Middleton, for the kind Attention I received at Lucknow, and permit [me] to proceed immediately to Buſineſs, which I ſhall do by running over the Memorandum which you delivered to me.

" With regard to Fayzullah Cawn, the Events which have happened ſince your laſt Inſtructions from the Governor, have not altered the Governor's Intentions. He muſt not be attacked. Mr. Haſtings approves the Subſidy for a regular military Eſtabliſhment, ſo that the Forces raiſed be not kept in Fayzullah's Country, but ſtationed at Cawnpore, Illihabad, or any other Place not higher, [which] the Governor ſhall appoint; to be nevertheleſs ready on Demand for the Protection of Fayzullah's Country.

" What we talked of concerning the Begums he highly approves, and would have himſelf adviſed; he wiſhes it to be done immediately: I need not mention the Neceſſity of taking care that the Money be applied to the Company's Uſe.

" I did all I could in the Buſineſs of the Nabob of Furruckabad, and of Iſmael Beg: I ſtated the Debt due to the Vizier from Muzzafur Jung, and the certain Loſs of it, if the Power of recovering it was taken out of the Vizier's Hands. I found he was extremely diſpleaſed that Almaus was ſent there, and is immoveable in his Reſolution that he ſhall be recalled inſtantly. The Vaukeel had taken his Leave of Mr. Haſtings. All that I could effect, was the Governor's Promiſe to ſend for the Vaukeel, and tell him, that all that is due to the Vizier muſt be punctually paid. Mr. Haſtings ſays, he will ſend a Perſon to Furruckabad, who ſhall ſee the Balance paid. I ſolicited this the more ſtrenuouſly, becauſe I had formerly, at the Deſire of Bathurſt, introduced the Vaukeel of the Nabob to the Governor.

" I am convinced, that delaying the giving the Governor Satisfaction in this Point, will only irritate him. He conſiders the appointing a Suſſauwull a Breach of his Orders.

" Iſmael Beg, he has been told, and is inclined to believe, was arreſted to prevent him getting Acceſs to the Governor; he conſiders his own perſonal Dignity and Influence intereſted, and peremptorily requires, either that he be releaſed immediately, or a fair Account be taken; he will, if it cannot otherwiſe be done, ſend a Perſon to take the Account: This operates in his Mind to the Prejudice of the Miniſters, as much as if the Fact was actually true. I know how diſagreeable an Interference of this Nature muſt be to you and the Miniſters, and therefore much wiſh you will contrive to make that your own Act, which will otherwiſe moſt certainly become the
* Sic in Orig. Act of the Governor. In this his Pride and Jealouſy, and Senſe, perſonal Importan* is alarmed. In both theſe Points he is and will remain peremptory. He has wrote to the Board, and ſays, he will not undo what he has done.

" I find the Governor in the ſame Temper with regard to you and Johnſon, which he was in when I left him; he really wiſhes you to remain in Office at preſent, and for another Year.

" If the Governor finds Acquieſcence in the Two Points I have mentioned, and he hears within the Five Days which you promiſed, that the Vizier's Agreement is beginning to be vigorouſly put in Execution, and has your Aſſurance for the Completion, I think the Governor will not go to Lucknow; otherwiſe he moſt certainly will. He ſays he will ſee the Five Days expired before he takes his Reſolution. You will remember that I, as well as yourſelf, am pledged for the Performance of the Agreement; perform it for my Sake, for your Sake, and the Governor's; he will then ſoon return to Calcutta, where he is [much wanted.]"

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next produce a Letter dated December 2d 1781, from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Haſtings, mentioning an Incloſure of a Letter from the Nabob, propoſing the Seizure of the Treaſure, which Incloſure, they ſtated, was ſuppreſſed.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 12th June 1783, from Book 82, already delivered in, beginning at Page 108 of the ſame.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings.

" My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 2d Decr 1781,

" I had Yeſterday the Honour of informing you of the Meſſage I ſent to the Nabob through the Miniſter, reſpecting the Jagheers, to which his Excellency this Morning returned me a Reply, purporting, that if the Meaſure propoſed was intended to procure the Payment of his Balance due to the Company, he could better and more expeditiouſly effect that Object, by taking from his Mother what ſhe is very able to ſpare, and what he has an undoubted Right, as he conceives, to exact from her. The preſent Debt to the Company, as he with Truth obſerves, is a great

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 719.

Part

Part handed down from his Father; and the Funds from which he might have been enabled to liquidate it, it is notorious, were withheld from him by the Begum, on the late Nabob's Death. That according to the Laws of the Koran, and the invariable Cuſtom of the Country, he is juſtly entitled to the whole Eſtate and Treaſures of his Father, and could legally demand their being put in his Poſſeſſion; but that the Sum he deſires to take from his Mother (about Sixty Lacks) bears no Sort of Proportion to the immenſe Wealth which fell into her Hands on the Death of his Father, nor would it bear at all hard upon her, as he knows how much her Treaſures exceed that Sum. All therefore that he aſks, is not to be interrupted in recovering a Part of his hereditary Right, by which he will be enabled to diſcharge immediately the Whole of his Debt to the Company.

"This, my dear Sir, is a flattering Propoſition; and as to the Point of Right, admitting it to be leſs clear and defined than the Nabob chuſes to conſider it, you may poſſibly be of Opinion that the Conduct of the Begums, on the late Diſturbances at Benares, as ſet forth in the ſeveral Teſtimonies laid before you, has forfeited any Claim they might originally have had to the Protection and Mediation of the Company; and further, that it may not be political, or yet perfectly ſafe, to truſt them any longer with ſuch powerful Means of promoting an Oppoſition to our Intereſts.

"For my own Part, I am ſo well perſuaded of the Diſaffection of the Begums, particularly the preſent Nabob's Mother, to our Cauſe, and of their Promptitude to unite in any Meaſure to diſtreſs us, that I could very eaſily reconcile it to my Conſcience to aſſiſt the Nabob, inſtead of obſtructing him, in wreſting from them every Benefit they enjoy beyond a decent Maintenance; however, this is only my own Opinion, and by no Means meant to influence yours. The Nabob writes you himſelf on this Subject, and you have his Letter incloſed. Neither he nor I expect that you ſhould give a formal Sanction to the Meaſure propoſed: It will be ſufficient that you but hint your Opinion upon it, and enable me to inform his Excellency whether you would or would not oppoſe his Deſign. Let me therefore entreat you, my dear Sir, to favour me with a Line by the Return of the Dauk; and if your Sentiments ſhould happen to accord with my own, I doubt not but I ſhould be able to congratulate you, in a very ſhort Space of Time, upon the Remittance of a handſome Sum to the Preſidency.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

"P. S. Whatever may be your Reſolution upon the Subject of this Letter, it will be expedient to keep it ſecret. The Reſumption of the Jagheers it is neceſſary to ſuſpend, until I have your Sentiments on this Letter." (*a*)

Read, alſo, the following Extract, from the ſame Book and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 119 of the ſame:

"The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

"Lucknow, the 6th December 1781.

"Finding the Nabob wavering in his Determination about the Reſumption of the Jagheers, I this Day, in Preſence of, and with the Miniſter's Concurrence, ordered the neceſſary Perwannahs to be written to the ſeveral Aumils for that Purpoſe, and it was my firm Reſolution to have diſpatched them this Evening, with proper People to ſee them punctually and implicitly carried into Execution; but before they were all tranſcribed, I received a Meſſage from the Nabob, who had been informed by the Miniſter of the Reſolution I had taken, intreating that I would withhold the Perwannahs until To-morrow Morning, when he would attend me, and afford me Satisfaction on this Point. As the Loſs of a few Hours in the Diſpatch of the Perwannahs appeared of little Moment, and as it is poſſible the Nabob, ſeeing that the Buſineſs will at all Events be done, may make it an Act of his own, I have conſented to indulge him in his Requeſt; but, be the Reſult of our Interview whatever it may, nothing ſhall prevent the Orders being iſſued To-morrow, either by him or myſelf, with the Concurrence of the Miniſters. Your Pleaſure reſpecting the Begums I have learnt from Sir Elijah; and the Meaſure heretofore propoſed, will ſoon follow the Reſumption of the Jagheers. From both, or indeed from the former alone, I have no Doubt of the complete Liquidation of the Company's Balance.

I am, &c.

"Nath. Middleton." (*b*)

Read, alſo, a further Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 121 of the ſame.

"To the Honourable Warren Haſtings.

"My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 7th December 1781.

"I had the Honour to addreſs you Yeſterday, informing you of the Steps I had taken in regard to the Reſumption of the Jagheers. This Morning the Vizier came to me according to his

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 720, and Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

(*b*) Vide Appendix, ibid.

Agreement,

Agreement, but ſeemingly without any Intention or Deſire to yield me Satisfaction on the Subject under Diſcuſſion; for after a great deal of Converſation, conſiſting on his Part of trifling Evaſion and puerile Excuſes for withholding his Aſſent to the Meaſure, though at the ſame Time profeſſing the moſt implicit Submiſſion to your Wiſhes, I found myſelf without any other Reſource than the one of employing that excluſive Authority with which I conſider your Inſtructions to veſt me: I therefore declared to the Nabob, in Preſence of the Miniſter and Mr. Johnſon, who I deſired might bear Witneſs of the Converſation, that I conſtrued his Rejection of the Meaſure propoſed as a Breach of his ſolemn Promiſe to you, and an Unwillingneſs to yield that Aſſiſtance which was evidently in his Power, towards liquidating his heavy accumulated Debt to the Company, and that I muſt in conſequence determine, in my own Juſtification, to iſſue immediately the Perwannahs, which had only been withheld in the ſanguine Hope that he would be prevailed upon to make that his own Act, which nothing but the moſt urgent Neceſſity could force me to make mine. He left me without any Reply, but afterwards ſent for his Miniſter, and authorized him to give me Hopes that my Requiſition would be complied with; on which I expreſſed my Satisfaction, but declared that I could admit of no further Delays, and unleſs I received his Excellency's formal Acquieſcence before the Evening, I ſhould then moſt aſſuredly iſſue my Perwannahs, which I have accordingly done, not having had any Aſſurances from his Excellency that could juſtify a further Suſpenſion. I ſhall, as ſoon as poſſible, inform you of the Effect of the Perwannahs, which, in many Parts, I am apprehenſive it will be found neceſſary to enforce with Military Aid; I am not, however, entirely without Hopes that the Nabob, when he ſees the Inefficacy of further Oppoſition, may alter his Conduct, and prevent the Confuſion and diſagreeable Conſequences which would be too likely to reſult from the Proſecution of a Meaſure of ſuch Importance, without his Concurrence. His Excellency talks of going to Fyzabad, for the Purpoſe heretofore mentioned, in Three or Four Days; I wiſh he may be ſerious in this Intention, and you may reſt aſſured I ſhall ſpare no Pains to keep him to it.

" I am, &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton." (*a*)

Read, alſo, further Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 125 of the ſame.

" The Honourable W. Haſtings.

" My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 9th December 1781.

" I had the Honour to addreſs you on the 7th inſtant, informing you of the Converſation which had paſſed between the Nabob and me on the Subject of reſuming the Jagheers, and the Step I had taken in conſequence.—His Excellency appeared to be very much hurt and incenſed at the Meaſure, and loudly complains of the Treachery of his Miniſters; Firſt, in giving you any Hopes that ſuch a Meaſure would be adopted; and, Secondly, in their promiſing me their whole Support in carrying it through: But, as I apprehend, rather than ſuffer it to appear that the Point had been carried in Oppoſition to his Will, he at length yielded a nominal Acquieſcence, and has this Day iſſued his own Perwannahs to that Effect; declaring however, at the ſame Time, both to me and his Miniſters, that it is an Act of Compulſion.—I hope to be able, in a few Days, in conſequence of this Meaſure, to tranſmit you an Account of the actual Value and Produce of the Jagheers, oppoſed to the nominal Amount at which they ſtand rated on the Books of the Sircar.

" I have the Pleaſure to inform you, the Nabob ſtill adheres to his Reſolution of proceeding immediately to Fayzabad, for the Purpoſes already mentioned to you, and will, I believe, depart in Three Days from this Date. I entertain the moſt flattering and ſanguine Expectations from his Journey; and we ſhall not be kept long in Suſpenſe concerning the Reſult, as he is convinced of the Danger and Impropriety of Delay.

" Sir Elijah Impey has ſignified to me your final Commands reſpecting the Nabob of Furruckabad, and Iſhmael Beg; in both which Inſtances reſt aſſured they ſhall be implicitly obeyed. I wait only the Arrival of Suftulla Cawn, whom Sir Elijah informed me you had diſpatched to me, to withdraw every Shadow of Interference in the Government of Furruckabad. Iſmael Beg's Accounts with the Nabob ſhall be inveſtigated in the Manner you direct, and full Information tranſmitted you, the Moment I can ſpare Time from the Two important Objects to which you have directed my firſt Attention.

" Under this Date I have diſpatched to you, at the Nabob's Deſire, Two Elephants, with an Ambarry and Howdah, Four Horſes, a Palenquin, a Maulah Seerpeach, and Caulgah, appertaining to the Dreſs, &c. you did him the Honour to accept at Chunar.

" I am, &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton." (*b*)

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII. (*b*) Vide Appendix, ibid.

Then

Then the following Letter from Mr. Middleton to Sir Elijah Impey, dated the 5th December 1781, was delivered in, and an Extract from the ſame was read as follows:

"My dear Sir Elijah, Lucknow, the 5th December 1781.

"I was only this Morning favoured with your very friendly and intereſting Letter of the 1ſt inſtant; and I am only able at preſent, in Reply, to touch ſlightly on the moſt important Points of it. In the firſt Place, my dear Sir, I muſt beg your Acceptance of my moſt unfeigned Acknowledgments for the obliging and attentive Regard you have ſhewn to all my Requiſitions and Wiſhes, which are not the leſs due to you, becauſe your Endeavours have not been productive of all the Succeſs I hoped for from them. It would be impertinent, and, perhaps, not altogether decent, for me to urge any Thing further on the Subject of Muzuffer Jung and Iſmael Beg. The Governor's Expectations in regard to both muſt and ſhall be anſwered; and my only Deſire now is, that he will permit the Nabob and his Miniſters to make it appear a Meaſure of their own, and not forced upon them by his immediate Authority."

Read, alſo, a further Extract from the ſame Letter, as follows:

☞ ["The Meaſure reſpecting the Begums, and the Reſumption of the Jagheers, will be inſtantly adopted. The latter has only been ſuſpended for the Governor's Sentiments on the former, as the Jagheers of the Begums and their Dependents are the moſt conſiderable; and to have attacked them, without being prepared, at the ſame Time, to enter immediately on the Execution of the grand Deſign, would have been doing Things by Halves, and poſſibly have defeated our Expectations. Do not, my dear Sir Elijah, ſuffer this Delay to be urged or conſidered as an Imputation of Blame upon me. I entered on the Buſineſs the very Day after you left me, and went ſo far as to look upon the Matter as finally agreed upon, the actual Execution only ſuſpended until I could receive either yours or the Governor's Sentiments upon the further Propoſal, which is certainly of far greater Conſequence than the Reſumption of the Jagheers, as it will do at one Stroke, if we are not all groſsly miſtaken, what the Jagheers will be at leaſt Two Years in doing. To-morrow Morning, I am to be informed of his Excellency's intended Mode of Attack, and ſhall not fail to acquaint the Governor. In the mean Time you may be aſſured, that whatever may be acquired by the Meaſure ſhall be faithfully and wholly applied to the Liquidation of the Company's Debt."] ☜

§ ("With reſpect to Cator, I will write when I have ſpoken to him: At preſent I have not Time "even to read what I have written. I ſhall be happy if you find it intelligible; and I am ſure "you will have the Goodneſs to excuſe its Imperfections.") §

☞ ["Mrs. Middleton joins me in kindeſt Remembrances to Lady Impey; and I am, with ſincere Regard,

"My dear Sir Elijah,

"Sir Elijah Impey. Your ever faithful, obliged,

And moſt affectionate Friend,

Nath. Middleton."] ☜

Then a Letter from Sir Elijah Impey to Mr. Middleton, dated Buxar, 9th December 1781, was delivered in, and an Extract from the ſame was read as follows:

"With regard to the Jagheers and Begums, I have no Doubt what you ſay will be ſatisfactory. Indeed I think the whole ſo. I left the Governor, who came as far as Benares with me, on Thurſday laſt; he had, on what I aſſured him, reſolved not to go to Lucknow, but proceed, as I much wiſhed him to do, to the Preſidency. He ſaid, he would write to you to that Effect; if he has not, you will take no Notice of this Information."(*a*)

"Buxar, 9th December 1781.

Read, from Book 83, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 14th January 1782, beginning at Page 180 of the ſame Book.

"Fort William, 14th January 1782.

"At a Council; Preſent,

Edward Wheler, and John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.

The Governor General abſent on a Viſit to the Northern Provinces.

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Service at Fort Saint George.

"Sir,

"The Nabob Vizier having appointed an Amil to take Charge of the Begum's Jagheers, ſhe had, it appears, prepared a large Body of Troops, with a ſuppoſed Deſign to reſiſt him. A violent and threatening Letter, which I have juſt received from the Begum, would ſeem to leave no Doubt of her Intentions to ſupport the already declared Licentiouſneſs of her Servants, in oppoſing

Enclosed in the Governor General's Letter of the 25th December.

(*a*) No Signature.

the

the Nabob's Orders: I have therefore been obliged to join my Solicitations to the Vizier's, for obtaining a Regiment from Colonel Morgan, to ſupport the Amil in the Execution of his Excellency's Commands; and I may add, that, unleſs my Judgement far miſleads me, we ſhall be in want of ſtill further Aid, before the Meaſure of reſuming the Jagheers ſhall be fully eſtabliſhed, and the Country reſtored to that State of Tranquillity and Subordination which it enjoyed before the Contagion ſpread by Chite Sing's Machinations.

"I encloſe Copy of my Letter to Colonel Morgan; and have the Honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

"Nathaniel Middleton,
Reſident at the Court of the Vizier."

"Lucknow, 19 December 1781.

"A true Copy.

(Signed)

"E. Hay, Sub Secretary to the Honourable Board."

Encloſed in the Governor General's Letter, 25th December.

"Sir,

"In Conſequence of the Repreſentation which you have made me, of the Preparation made by the Begum to reſiſt the Order of the Vizier, for the Reſumption of the Jagheer; and of the Probability that further Oppoſition from the other Jagheerdarrs, and Diſturbances from diſaffected Perſons, may be expected; I have directed Colonel Morgan to detach Sir John Cumming to Lucknow, with Four Regiments of Sepoys, and a proper Field Train, in order to ſupport the Authority of the Vizier, and maintain the Tranquillity of his Country, by ſuch Means as his Excellency ſhall be pleaſed to direct.

"As the Force to be thus employed, for the domeſtick Tranquillity of the Vizier's Dominions, is an Addition to the Brigade or Subſidy, and which is ordered to be in Readineſs for marching at the ſhorteſt Notice, to defend any Part of his Excellency's Territories, which a foreign Enemy might be tempted to invade during civil Commotions, the Vizier will, I make no Doubt, cheerfully conſent to pay the Expences of the Detachment, by a fixed monthly Subſidy, during the Service; and which ſhall be determined and tranſmitted to you, as ſoon as I can aſcertain the probable Diſburſements of it.

"I am, &c.

"Benares, 24th December, 1781.

(Signed)

"Warren Haſtings.

A true Copy.

(Signed)

"E. Hay, Sub Secretary to the Honourable Board."(*a*)

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 179 of the ſame.

"Received the following Letters from the Governor General, dated 25th December 1781.

From the Governor General.

"Gentlemen,

"I have the Honour to tranſmit to you, Copies of a Letter from Mr. Middleton, of my Anſwer thereto, and of my Inſtructions to Colonel Morgan, in conſequence.

"An early and proper Exertion of our military Force will effectually ſupport the Authority of the Vizier, and in all Probability prevent any dangerous Combination amongſt the Jageerdars; which their Wealth and numerous Dependants might otherwiſe enable them to form for reſiſting the Reſumption of their Jagheers.

"In exceeding the Number of Troops expreſsly demanded on this Occaſion by the Vizier, I have conſulted only his Security and Advantage; and I am convinced, from my own Information of the State of his Country, as well as from Mr. Middleton's Repreſentations, that it is but anticipating a further Requiſition, which, if deferred until the refractory and diſaffected Perſons ſhall become formidable, will be attended with great Hazard and proportionate Expence to the Vizier.

"The Nabob having experienced from me ſo ready an Attention to relieve him from the conſtant Expence of the temporary Brigade, cannot think it unreaſonable that the Subſidy for the occaſional Force, now to be employed for his internal Security, ſhould be liberal and adapted to the Circumſtances under which we furniſh it, as well as including its actual Diſburſements.—It is on this Principle that I ſhall eſtimate it, after having aſcertained as preciſely as poſſible the fixed and contingent Expences.

"Upon theſe Grounds I hope that I ſhall meet with the Approbation of the Board, in the Steps which I have taken.

"The Detachment under Major Popham being ſickly, and the Services for which it is formed completely executed, I have ordered it to be diſſolved, and the Troops compoſing it to be put under the Command of Colonel Blair, for the Protection of this Country, until the final Arrangement for this Duty ſhall be ſettled by the Board.

"Benares, 25th December 1781.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings." (*b*)

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LIII.

(*b*) Vide Appendix, ibid.

The

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next read a Letter from Mr. Haſtings to Mr. Middleton, dated the 26th of December 1781, which was the firſt official Authority, ſuppoſed to have been received, for the Seizure of the Jagheers.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 12th June 1783, from Book 82, already delivered in, beginning at Page 131 of the ſame.

" To Mr. Middleton.

" Sir, Benares, 26th December 1781.

" My Mind has been for ſome Days ſuſpended between Two oppoſite Impulſes; one ariſing from the Neceſſity of my Return to Calcutta; the other from the Apprehenſion of my Preſence being more neceſſary and more urgently wanted at Lucknow. Your Anſwer to this ſhall decide my Choice.

" I have waited thus long in the Hopes of hearing that ſome Progreſs had been made in the Execution of the Plan which I concluded with the Nabob in September laſt. I do not find that any Step towards it has been yet taken, though Three Months are elapſed, and little more than that Period did appear to me requiſite to have accompliſhed the moſt eſſential Parts of it, and to have brought the whole into Train. This Tardineſs, and the Oppoſition prepared to the only decided Act yet undertaken, have a bad Appearance. I approve the Nabob's Reſolutions to deprive the Begums of their ill-employed Treaſures. In both Services it muſt be your Care to prevent an Abuſe of the Powers given to thoſe that are employed in them. You yourſelf ought to be perſonally preſent. You muſt not allow any Negociations or Forbearance, but muſt proſecute both Services until the Begums are at the entire Mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers in the quiet Poſſeſſion of his Aumils, and their Wealth in ſuch Charge as may ſecure it againſt private Embezzlement. You will have a Force more than ſufficient to effect both theſe Purpoſes.

The Reformation of his Army, and the new Settlement of his Revenues, are alſo Points of immediate Concern, and ought to be immediately concluded. Has any Thing been done in either?

I now demand and require you moſt ſolemnly to anſwer me. Are you confident in your own Ability to accompliſh all theſe Purpoſes, and the other Points of my Inſtructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet and aſſured Mind to the Preſidency, but leave you a dreadful Reſponſibility if you diſappoint me. If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your * Power, and the other Means which you poſſeſs, for performing theſe Services, I will free you from the Charge; I will proceed myſelf to Lucknow, and I will myſelf undertake them; and in that Caſe I deſire that you will immediately order Bearers to be ſtationed, for myſelf and Two other Gentlemen, between Lucknow and Illahabad, and I will ſet out from hence in Three Days after the Receipt of your Letter.

" *A Blank is left here in the Original."

" I am ſorry that I am under the Neceſſity of writing in this preſſing Manner; I truſt implicitly to your Integrity; I am certain of your Attachment to myſelf, and I know that your Capacity is equal to any Service; but I muſt expreſs my Doubts of your Firmneſs and Activity, and above all, of your Recollection of my Inſtructions, and of their Importance. My Conduct in the late Arrangements will be arraigned with all the Rancor of diſappointed Rapacity, and my Reputation and Influence will ſuffer a mortal Wound from the Failure of them. They have already failed in a Degree, ſince no Part of them has yet taken place, but the Removal of our Forces from the Douab and Rohilcund, and of the Britiſh Officers and Penſioners from the Service of the Nabob; and the Expences of the former thrown, without any Compenſation, on the Company.

" I expect a Supply of Money equal to the Diſcharge of all the Nabob's Arrears, and am much diſappointed and mortified that I am not now able to return with it.

" Give me an immediate Anſwer to the Queſtion which I have herein propoſed, that I may loſe no more Time in fruitleſs Inaction.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings." (*a*)

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Two next Letters, dated the 27th and 28th of December 1781, were Mr. Middleton's public and private Anſwer to Mr. Haſtings Letter of the 24th of the ſame Month.

Read, the following Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 149 of the ſame:

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

" Sir,

" The very great Inconvenience, Loſs, and Indignities to which the Vizier has long been ſubject, from the Authority and Dominion aſſumed and exerciſed by the Jagheerdars with the Sup-

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

port

port of armed Force, and the Impoſſibility of ſtriking out any Medium by which theſe Evils could effectually be remedied, have induced his Excellency to reſume all the Jagheer and Marofee Lands throughout his Country, promiſing to ſuch Perſons as have juſt or equitable Claims to his Bounty, or thoſe guaranteed by the Company, for the Amount of their Jagheers, Allowances in Ready Money, equal to the Net Sum they ſhall appear to have annually realized from their Jagheers.

" This Meaſure, the Utility, and I may ſay the abſolute Neceſſity, whereof will not be diſputed by any one who has had an Opportunity of obſerving the Conduct of the Jagheerdars in general, and particularly ſome whoſe Incomes enabled them to maintain Armies, not only ſuperior to thoſe of the Aumils of the Country, who ſhould properly be a Check upon them, but even ſufficient to reſiſt the Force of the State itſelf, has met with violent Oppoſition from the Bhow Begum, who falls particularly under the laſt Deſcription, and whoſe Power is rendered the more pernicious and dangerous: Firſt, From its being wholly delegated to her Servants, who have their own Views of Ambition and Intereſts to anſwer; and in the next Place from the Reluctance with which the Miniſters, and even the Nabob himſelf, interfere with any Concerns of the Begum.

" From theſe Two Circumſtances, ſtrengthened by the immenſe Wealth in her Poſſeſſion, alſo intruſted to her Two Chief Eunuchs, Bahar and Jowar Ally Cawn, and her unreaſonable Expectations of Support from the Engliſh Government, of all which ſhe and her Servants avail themſelves to the utmoſt, ſhe is become One of the moſt ſerious internal Evils, that, among others, ſeems to bid fair to give great Diſturbance to this Country.

" The great Awe in which the Nabob, and of courſe every one under him, ſtands of her Diſpleaſure, leaves without Bounds or Reſtraint the Effects of her uncommonly violent Temper. Death and Deſtruction is the leaſt * me Menace ſhe denounces, upon the moſt trifling Oppoſition to her Caprice.

* Sic in Orig.

" By her own Conduct, and that of all her Agents and Dependants during the Benares Troubles, it may with Truth and Juſtice be affirmed, ſhe forfeited every Claim ſhe had to the Protection of the Engliſh Government, as ſhe evidently, and it is confidently ſaid avowedly, eſpouſed the Cauſe of Rajah Cheyt Sing, and united in the Idea and Plan of a general Extirpation of their Race and Power in Hindoſtan.

" Her Agent at Taunda, who is the Cheyla and adopted Son of Bahr Ally Cawn, her principal Miniſter, treacherouſly turned his Guns upon Lieut. Gordon's Detachment, and was by that Gentleman's Account the ſole Cauſe of the Loſs of it. She gave every Encouragement in her Power to the Adherents of Cheyt Sing by her Agents; aſſiſted them in raiſing Troops in the Town of Fyzabad; promiſed, and as is generally believed, actually advanced Money to the rebellious Rajahs of the Vizier's Country; raiſed Troops to ſupport them, and iſſued Perwannahs for their Operations againſt the Forts garriſoned by the Nabob's Troops under the Command of Britiſh Officers; all which is fully ſtated in the Depoſitions made by Colonel Hannay and the Gentlemen of his Corps. Notwithſtanding all theſe Facts, upon the general Reſumption of the Jagheers I made the Rents of her Lands payable to me; under an Engagement of making the Amount good to her by ſuch Inſtallments as ſhe might direct, in Return for which I have received Letters from her, containing the moſt groſs Abuſe and the wildeſt Threats that can be tranſcribed, Copies of which I have the Honour to encloſe.

" Her chief Agent, Bahar Ally Cawn, has marched a conſiderable Force into Nabob Gunge, One of her Jagheers, declaring that if any Attempt is made to reſume it, he will lay the whole Country of Goonda waſte. Theſe declared and repeated Acts of Rebellion are ſurely more than ſufficient to forfeit all Claim whatever to the Interference in her Behalf from our Government; and if ſome Stop is not immediately put to it, it appears but too certain that ſhe will light a Flame throughout theſe Provinces, which, if not difficult to extinguiſh, will at leaſt put a heavy Bar to the Company's Collections here. I cannot therefore avoid making theſe Repreſentations to you, or doubt but you will approve of the Vizier's immediately taking thoſe Steps which may be neceſſary for effectually eſtabliſhing his Government and Authority, and depriving the Begum of thoſe great Reſources which, ſhe has ſhewn, it would be extremely impolitic and unſafe to truſt longer in her Hands. On this Subject the Nabob has communicated to me his Sentiments in a long Letter, Copy whereof I have the Honour to encloſe you, in which you will obſerve he ſignifies his Intention of proſecuting his legal Claims upon her, for the Public Treaſure and Effects belonging to his Inheritance from his Father, which ſhe detains from him, and ſquanders in ſuch deſtructive Purpoſes, while he is overwhelmed by Public Debts, principally incurred by his Predeceſſor, and on account of his Inability to diſcharge which, the Company have indiſpenſably been driven to take upon themſelves the Burthen of a large Military Eſtabliſhment, hitherto entertained for their Service at the Charge of the Nabob.

" On this Head I think it unneceſſary to offer any Remark, ſince a Reference to the eſtabliſhed Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country will ſufficiently prove his Excellency's inherent Right to claim the Property of his Predeceſſor.

" I muſt alſo take the Liberty to add my Opinion, that unleſs Fyzullah Cawn, remotely ſituated as he is out of reach of Interruption, in the Centre of his own Tribe and Country, connected uninterruptedly with the other Two remaining Patan Powers, becomes included in this general Reform of the Jagheer, or ſome effectual Check impoſed upon him, the Whole may prove abortive,

while, if fully enforced, may ſave this Country, and with it poſſibly much of our own Blood and Treaſure.

" I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

" Lucknow, the 27th Dec' 1781. (Signed) " Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at the Vizier's Court." (*a*)

Read, the following Extract from ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 173 of the ſame.

" My dear Sir, " Lucknow, the 28th December 1781.

" I am this Day honoured with your publick Letter of the 24th inſtant; and I do not loſe a Moment in informing you, that without a total Seizure of the Country, it is not poſſible to collect this Year a larger Sum than the Nabob has already granted, which altogether exceeds that of any other Year, at a Time when his Collections have been greatly diminiſhed by the Miſconduct of Raja Bowanny Sing, late Aumil of Bycewarrah, the Inſurrections acroſs the Gogra, and in other Parts of his Country, and laſtly the heavy Remiſſions he has been obliged to allow on the preſent Year's Rents, for the Loſſes by Drought and Hail, which fell upon the Cloſe of the laſt Harveſt. Hence, my dear Sir, you will be able to judge how far it would be in his Power to grant further Jaidads.

" If your new Demand is to be inſiſted upon, which your Letter ſeems to portend, I muſt beg your preciſe Orders upon it; as, from the Difficulties I have within theſe few Days experienced, in carrying the Points you had enjoined with the Nabob, I have the beſt Grounds for believing that he would conſider it a direct Breach of the late Agreement, and totally reject the Propoſal as ſuch; and I muſt own to you, that, in his preſent fermented State of Mind, I could expect nothing leſs than Deſpair, and a declared Rupture.

" He has by no Means been yet able to furniſh me with Means of paying off the Arrears due to the temporary Brigade, to the ſtipulated Term of its Continuance in his Service. The Funds neceſſary for paying off and diſcharging his own Military Eſtabliſhment under Britiſh Officers, and his Penſion Liſt, have been raiſed on the private Credit of Mr. Johnſon and myſelf, from the Shroffs of this Place, to whom we are at this Moment pledged for many Lacks of Rupees; and without ſuch Aid, which I freely and at all Hazards yielded, becauſe I conceived it was your anxious Deſire to relieve the Nabob, as ſoon as poſſible, of this heavy Burden, the Eſtabliſhment muſt have been at his Charge to this Time, and probably for Months to come, while his Reſources were ſtrained to the utmoſt to furniſh Jaidâds for its Maintenance to this Period. I therefore heſitate not to declare it utterly impoſſible for him, under any Circumſtances whatever, to provide Funds for the Payment of the Troops you now propoſe to ſend him.

" The wreſting Furruckabad, Kyrague, and Fyzula Cawn's Country from his Government (for in that Light, my dear Sir, I can faithfully aſſure you he views the Meaſures adopted in reſpect to thoſe Countries), together with the Reſumption of all the Jagheers, ſo much againſt his Inclination, have already brought the Nabob to a Perſuaſion that nothing leſs than his Deſtruction, or the Annihilation of every Shadow of his Power, is meant; and all my Labours to convince him to the contrary have proved abortive. A ſettled Melancholy has ſeized him, and his Health reduced beyond Conception; and I do moſt ſolemnly believe, that the March of Four Regiments of Sepoys towards Lucknow, under whatever Circumſtances it might be repreſented, would be conſidered by him as a Force ultimately to be uſed in ſecuring his Perſon. In ſhort, my dear Sir, it is a Matter of ſuch immediate Moment, and involving apparently ſuch very ſerious and important Conſequences, that I have not only taken upon me to ſuſpend the Communication of it to the Nabob, until I ſhould be honoured with your further Commands, but have alſo ventured to write the incloſed Letter to Colonel Morgan—Liberties which I confidently truſt you will excuſe, when you conſider that I can be actuated by no other Motive than a Zeal for the publick Service; and that if, after all, you determine that the Meaſure ſhall be inſiſted on, it will be only the Loſs of Six, or at moſt Eight Days, in propoſing it. But, in the laſt Event, I earneſtly entreat your Orders may be explicit and poſitive, that I may clearly know what Lengths you would wiſh me to proceed, in carrying them into Execution. I again declare it as my firm Belief, and aſſure yourſelf, my dear Mr. Haſtings, I am not influenced in this Declaration by any Conſiderations but my publick Duty, and my perſonal Attachment to you, that the enforcing the Meaſure you have propoſed would be productive of an open Rupture between us and the Nabob; nay, that the firſt neceſſary Step towards carrying it into Effect, muſt be on our Part a Declaration of Hoſtility.

" There can, I apprehend, be no Doubt but ſuch an Extremity would end in the Ruin of the Nabob, and I think he would have Senſe enough to ſee it; but, under the Circumſtances I have mentioned, and encouraged as he would be by all the Malecontents of his Court, I am perſuaded, as far as my own Reaſon and Judgment enable me to predict, that he would diſregard all future Conſequences.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

" I entreat you will excuſe the Freedom with which I have addreſſed you on this Subject. I have been obliged to write in great Haſte, to ſave the Dauk, and conſequently not ſo connectedly or fully as I could wiſh; but be aſſured I have given you the genuine Sentiments of my Heart; and as ſuch I am perſuaded you will receive them with Indulgence.

" I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton."

" To Colonel James Morgan, commanding in the Field.

" Sir, (Copy.)

" I was laſt Night honoured with your Letter, informing me that you had Orders from the Governor General to furniſh me with more Troops, ſhould I want them.

" I have this Day received Information from the Governor, that he has ordered a large Force to repair to Lucknow. If you have received ſuch an Order, I muſt beg you will ſuſpend the Order until I have received the Governor's Reply to the Repreſentation I have made to him upon this Subject, as ſuch a Movement at this Juncture might be productive of the moſt ſerious Conſequences. While I make this Application to you, I do not know how far it is in your Power to comply; yet I deem it my Duty to make the Repreſentation, whatever the Reſult may be.

" Lucknow, I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.
28th December 1781. (Signed) Nath. Middleton." (*a*)

Read, alſo, a further Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 182 of the ſame.

" December 28, 1781, Lucknow.

" Your Letter of the 24th is juſt arrived, ordering the temporary Brigade to be again put on the Vizier's Liſt, which the late Treaty had juſt eaſed him of. Nothing leſs than Blows can effect this; for he is not even able to pay off the Arrears ſtill due to it for the laſt Year, which, with the 2½ Months ſtipulated by the Treaty, amount to Nine Lacks, by Mr. Day's Statement. Upwards of Twelve Lacks have been paid to Mr. Wombwell, beſides Remittances made to the Second Brigade and Colonel Muir, and ſcarce Six Lacks have yet been collected: A hard Strain of private Credit alone has made theſe large extra Payments,—and total Ruin muſt inevitably be the Conſequence of any Interruption in the Recovery of the Money advanced. However, this is merely a private Conſideration, and therefore cannot weigh in public Meaſures; but in a public Light, the Troops being all in Arrears, and no Poſſibility of preſent Payment, ſo large a Body aſſembled here, without any Means in Hand to check or controul them, nothing but Diſorder could follow. As one Proof that the Nabob is as badly off for Funds as we are, I may inform you that his Cavalry roſe this Day upon him, and went all armed to the Palace, to demand from 13 to 18 Months Arrears due to them, and * with great Difficulty perſuaded to retire, which was probably more effected by a Body of Troops getting under Arms to go againſt them, than any other Conſideration. Without troubling you with Detail of Arguments, I may venture to pledge myſelf to you, that the additional Demand you propoſe making, cannot this Year be obtained without a total Reform of his Government, which, if brought about by a Campaign againſt him (by which alone it can be done), would, at the ſame Time, ſtop at once all Reſources of Collections; ſo that, admitting Succeſs, our Situation, in point of Finance, would be worſe than before. As I feel confident of your full Credit to this Aſſertion, I ſhall add nothing further upon the Subject, excepting, that the Troops hitherto called for by the Vizier have been ſolicited, under that Article of the late Treaty which authorizes him to remove the Subſidiary Brigade where he pleaſes, with the Concurrence of the Reſident; which Power is ſtill more fully explained in the Letter of Inſtructions:—Both Papers can only allude to the Troops which they ſtipulate to remain within the Vizier's Dominions. Whenever you no longer may chuſe to permit his detaching the Brigade, he muſt then of courſe conduct his Meaſures by his own Sebundy, or be driven to make new Propoſals from himſelf for the Aid and Pay of our Regiments.

" As I have made uſe of the Name of the temporary Brigade in the Firſt Part of my Letter, it may be neceſſary to remind you that One additional Regiment is already paid by the Nabob, to which add 4 Regiments, and a Train of Artillery, now propoſed, makes Ten Battalions of 500 Men each, which is equal to Seven Battalions of 780 Men, which formed the temporary Brigade, as ſtipulated to be paid by the Nabob.

" I ſincerely hope, though I ſcarcely expect, to avoid diſpleaſing you by the Freedom of this Repreſentation. But, as it is impoſſible that you ſhould poſſeſs Facts without their being plainly ſtated; and as you cannot act upon any other Grounds, while aiming, as I know you do, to do that which is beſt, I muſt run the Riſque, or ſerve you unfaithfully, which would contradict what I ſhall ever endeavour to prove, that I am, upon all Occaſions, your truly devoted, &c. &c.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, R. Johnſon." (*b*)
Governor General, &c. &c.
" Benaras.

* Sic in Orig.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII. (*b*) Vide Appendix, ibid.

Read,

Read, alſo, further Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 188 of the ſame.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

" Sir,

" The ſolemn Call you made upon me, in your Commands of the 26th inſtant, with which I was honoured Yeſterday, demands from me the moſt unreſerved and decided Reply; and that I might not advance any Thing haſtily, I took all Yeſterday to deliberate upon my Reply: For the Sake of Perſpicuity, I have thought it beſt to recapitulate the ſeveral Paragraphs of your Letter, and arrange my Anſwers to them reſpectively in the ſame Order.

" 1ſt. My Mind has been for ſome Days ſuſpended between Two oppoſite Impulſes; One ariſing from the Neceſſity of my Return to Calcutta, the other from the Apprehenſion of my Preſence being more immediately and more urgently wanted at Lucknow; your Anſwer to this ſhall decide my Choice.

" To this Paragraph I freely anſwer, That your Preſence is in no Shape neceſſary here, but, on the contrary, could not fail of being of conſiderable Retardment to the Collections; becauſe in theſe Countries the Motions of Governors are looked upon to imply great intended Exertions, and with them great Changes; conſequently all Agents in publick Stations, from the higheſt to the meaneſt, put an immediate Stop to all their Avocations, and gaze motionleſs for the Reſult. This is the Height of the Khereiff Collection, and any Impediments now thrown in the Way loſes * the Produce of the Crop. The encloſed Statement ſhews what I have received, and what I have diſburſed; it will at Firſt Sight evince the Importance of realizing every immediate Reſource. The current Diſburſements of the 2d Brigade have not been made good, and the Arrears due from the Nabob to the late temporary Brigade and Cavalry, agreeable to Stipulation, have not yet been liquidated.

* Sic in Orig.

" 2d. I have waited thus long, in Hopes of hearing that ſome Progreſs has been made in the Execution of the Plan which I concluded with the Nabob in September laſt; I do not find that any Step towards it has yet been taken, though Three Months are elapſed, and little more than that Period did appear to me requiſite to have accompliſhed the moſt eſſential Parts of it, and to have brought the Whole into Train. This Tardineſs, and the Oppoſition prepared to the only decided Act yet undertaken, have a bad Appearance.

" In Reply to the Second Paragraph, I beg leave to refer you to my former Letters, ſtating the turbulent State of the Country. Three Months is a Period in which the Changes you allude to probably might have been effected in Times of perfect Tranquillity; but when all the Diſtricts acroſs the Gogra were in Arms, and all the Jagheerdars (a very numerous and powerful Body) were very little ſhort of the ſame State in every Diſtrict, and for the regulating and Reduction of whom the Aumils were principally to be applied to—could a general Change or Attack upon thoſe Aumils with Eaſe have been undertaken? I think not; but I put this Argument of the Practicability or Impracticability out of the Queſtion, as it was not that Conſideration which prevented me from enforcing the Meaſures recommended by you to the Nabob in the Treaty;—the Fact is this: I did not underſtand, at the Period of executing the Agreement between you and the Vizier, that your Intention was, that the Whole of the Reform propoſed was in its fulleſt Extent to take place this Year, nor indeed at all, if the Company's Debt became liquidated; I conceived your Interference in the Nabob's Government tended ſolely to eſtabliſh the Means of the moſt ſpeedy Payment poſſible of the Company's Debt; and that whenever this ſhould be accompliſhed, every Shadow of Interference was to be deſiſted from, which I ſtated to the Nabob and the Miniſters, and I believe upon the Faith of that Aſſurance principally was his Excellency's Acquieſcence obtained. For the Proſecution of theſe Meaſures, I looked to the occaſional Aſſiſtance of the Regiments of the ſubſidiary Brigade, as permitted in the Treaty, and your ſubſequent Inſtructions, and intended employing the Aumils and their Sebundy in the Firſt Inſtance for the Reduction of the Jagheerdars, that I might not have the whole Country to attack at once. This

" 3d. I approve the Nabob's Reſolution to deprive the Begums of their ill-employed Treaſures. In both Services it muſt be your Care to prevent an Abuſe of the Powers given to thoſe that are employed in them. You yourſelf ought to be perſonally preſent.—You muſt not allow any Negociation or Forbearance, but muſt proſecute both Services until the Begums are at the entire Mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers in the quiet Poſſeſſion of his Aumils, and their Wealth in ſuch Charge as may ſecure it againſt private Embezzlement.—You will have a Force more than ſufficient to effect both theſe Purpoſes.

" 4th. The Reformation of his Army, and the new Settlement of his Revenues, are alſo Points of immediate Concern, and ought to be immediately concluded. Has any thing been done in either?

" 5th. I now demand, and require you moſt ſolemnly to anſwer me: Are you confident in your own Ability to accompliſh all theſe Purpoſes, and the other Points of my Inſtructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet and aſſured Mind to the Preſidency, but leave you a dreadful Reſponſibility

Mode of proceeding threatened no Interruption to the Collections, but an immediate Increaſe of Means in hand to defray the Charges of the Troops, without which previous Point even our own Army muſt be uſeleſs. The Meaſure of reſuming the Jagheers involved many and ſome very powerful Intereſts; ſubject to ſuch Odium, from the Diſappointment of the Parties, deprived of their Means of Subſiſtence, and in ſuch extenſive Dominions, under a Government ſo irregular in its Conſtitution, and ſo ſhaken as this is, it could not be effectually accompliſhed in a Day. —However, it is now effected nearly throughout with the Nabob's Sanction (which at the Point of Execution there was the moſt alarming Difficulty to obtain), and in a very few Days, I truſt, it will be completely enforced; and, bad as the Appearance of Oppoſition may be, I truſt to be able to execute the whole Reform, without Delay, upon the Grounds I ſhall ſtate in my Anſwer to your Paragraphs ſucceſſively.

" To the 3d Paragraph I ſhall only ſay, That I march To-morrow with the Nabob to enforce both the Services you exact in it; and if I ſucceed, as I have the ſtrongeſt Reaſons to hope, in obtaining large Ready Money Reſources towards liquidating the Arrears to the Troops, which form a large Proportion of the Debt to the Company, I have not a Doubt of accompliſhing every End you have now declared you look to the inſtant Performance of; but as Troops alone can do it, their Aſſiſtance cannot be depended upon without previous Pay, or the Poſſeſſion of certain Means in hand for that Purpoſe; as it follows, that an immediate Stop to all Collections muſt enſue from any general Military Exertion.

" To the 4th I anſwer, That nothing has been done, for the Reaſons aſſigned in my Anſwer to the Second Paragraph. If I erred in the Judgment I had formed of your Intentions, I can ſay no more, as it is paſſed, than that the Inſtant the Fyzabad Buſineſs is finiſhed ſucceſsfully, which cannot take more than One Fortnight from the Day of marching there, I ſhall take ſuch Steps as the Means in my Power will admit of towards procuring from the Nabob the Orders to each Aumil to pay his Groſs Revenues to the Miniſters, and to receive the Pay of their Troops, being reduced into regular muſtered Eſtabliſhments, from the general Treaſury; and ſhould he refuſe, I will iſſue my own, together with thoſe of the Miniſters, to that Purpoſe, as I did in a former Inſtance when the Nabob refuſed his Perwannahs for the Reſumption of the Jagheers; and ſhall further enforce the Execution againſt each diſobeying Aumil by marching againſt him, and diſplacing him. Theſe Three Points complete the Heads of your Recommendations to the Nabob, the Fourth Article, which was the Separation and Limitation of his own Diſburſements to the Medium of his Receipts for the laſt Three Years, having already taken place; and then no Aſſignments will remain upon the Country, but thoſe of the Company, as expreſſed in the Treaty.

" To the 5th, I confidently reply, That I am fully competent to undertake and effect the Completion of the Reform, upon the Grounds ſtated in my Anſwer to the 4th Paragraph; and therefore again repeat, that your coming here is unneceſſary; and that, as far as regards the Duties of my Station towards the Execution of your Orders, you may depart, in Conviction

Reſponſibility if you diſappoint me.—If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your Power, and the other Means which you poſſeſs, for performing theſe Services, I will free you from the Charge, I will proceed myſelf to Lucknow, and I will myſelf undertake them; and in that Caſe I deſire that you will immediately order Bearers to be ſtationed for myſelf, and Two other Gentlemen, between Lucknow and Illahabad, and I will ſet out from hence in Three Days after the Receipt of your Letters.

" 6th. I am ſorry that I am under the Neceſſity of writing in this preſſing Manner. I truſt implicitly to your Integrity, I am certain of your Attachment to myſelf, and I know that your Capacity is equal to any Service; but I muſt expreſs my Doubts of your Firmneſs and Activity, and above all of your Recollection of my Inſtructions, and of their Importance.

" 7th. My Conduct in the late Arrangements will be arraigned with all the Rancor of diſappointed Rapacity, and my Reputation and Influence will ſuffer a mortal Wound from the Failure of them. They have already failed in a Degree, ſince no Part of them has yet taken place, but the Removal of our Forces from the Doaub and Rohilchund, and of Britiſh Officers and Penſioners from the Service of the Nabob; and the Expence of the former thrown without any Compenſation on the Company.

" 8th. I expect a Supply of Money equal to the Diſcharge of all the Nabob's Arrears; and am much diſappointed and mortified, that I am not now able to return with it.

viction that neither Activity or Firmneſs ſhall be wanting in the Exertion of every Means within my Power: And thoſe Means I can foreſee no Deficiency in, upon the Permiſſion I have of calling upon Colonel Morgan for Aid, and the Receipt of Aſſets at Fyzabad.—For theſe Reaſons, therefore, I have not thought it neceſſary to lay the Bearers that you conditionally ordered.

" In Reply to the 6th Paragraph, nothing need be offered by me but my Acknowledgments for the Juſtice you do to my Sentiments towards your Perſon and Government.

" To the 7th. If your Conduct ſhould be arraigned, as you ſuſpect, I can at all Times teſtify, that upon the Plan of the foregoing Years, the Receipts from the Nabob were only a Deception, and not an Advantage, but even an Injury to the Company; for by the accumulating Encreaſe of the Demands upon him, and the proportionate Decreaſe of his Means, only his Debt to the Company encreaſed, with a Diminution of Proſpect of its Liquidation; while the Company's actual Money or Aſſets went to the Payment of the Troops ſuppoſed to be maintained ſolely at the Vizier's Expence. In Proof of this, it will ſuffice to remark, that the annual Net Remittances to the Preſidency ſhould have been the Difference of the Subſidy, and the real Expences of the Brigade; ſay, — — 12,00,000

The Money paid from the Treaſury at Calcutta, to Abdulrahman Khan	3,30,000
And the Payment made in like Manner to Mirza Sadit Ally — —	3,00,000
Beſides the full Payment of ſuch Stores as the Company occaſionally iſſued to the Nabob	
Sun[t] Rup[s]	18,30,000

or about 20,00,000 of Current, which never yet has been the Caſe from the Annual Jaidads, or Current Collections—conſequently the Plan was a Fallacy; for the Difference between this Amount and the Remittances to the Preſidency, was an actual Loſs that the Company annually ſuſtained, inſtead of a ſuppoſed Advantage of a Brigade of Infantry and Cavalry being totally defrayed by the Nabob; from this, therefore, I may ſafely conclude, that the Remiſſion to the Nabob of this inſufferable Burthen, was a Profit to the Company, whenever the extra Troops, paid by the Nabob, ſhall be diſbanded or quartered upon other Neighbours, who are protected by our Power, and the Debt put into a probable State of ſpeedy Liquidation.

To the 8th Paragraph. If the Supply expected at Fyzabad ſhall prove adequate to the Diſcharge of all Arrears due to the Troops, and afford an adequate Fund for a Liquidation of the Company's Debt, it will remain at your Option to employ it as a Remit-

tance to the Presidency, or the future Payment of the Troops you may still think necessary to keep up, to regulate the Nabob's internal Government, in regard to which I shall hope for your Determination, when I can inform you of what Means I possess.

" 9th. Give me an immediate Answer to the Question which I have herein proposed, that I may lose no more Time in fruitless Inaction.

" To the last Paragraph. I trust you will find all my Answers as explicit and decisive as you could wish them, and that they will enable you to determine upon yielding, with Confidence, to the Impulse arising from the Necessity of your Presence at the Presidency.

" I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

" Lucknow, the 30th December 1781.

(Signed) " Nath. Middleton, Resᵗ at the Vizier's Court." (*a*)

Read, also, the following Extract from the same Book, and same Consultation, beginning at Page 203 of the same.

" My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 30th December 1781.

" I have this Day answered your publick Letter, in the Form you seemed to expect. I hope there is nothing in it that may to you appear too pointed. If you wish the Matter to be otherwise understood than I have taken up and stated it, I need not say I shall be ready to conform to whatever you may prescribe, and to take upon myself any Share of the Blame of the (hitherto) Non-performance of the Stipulations made on behalf of the Nabob; though I do assure you, I myself represented to his Excellency and the Ministers, conceiving it to be your Desire, that the apparent Assumption of the Reins of his Government (for in that Light he undoubtedly considered it at the first View), as specified in the Agreement executed by him, was not meant to be fully and literally enforced, but that it was necessary you should have something to shew on your Side, as the Company were deprived of a Benefit without a Requital; and upon the Faith of this Assurance alone, I believe I may safely affirm, his Excellency's Objections to signing the Treaty were given up. If I have understood the Matter wrong, or misconceived your Design, I am truly sorry for it; however, it is not too late to correct the Error; and I am ready to undertake, and, God willing, to carry through, whatever you may, on Receipt of my public Letter, tell me is your final Resolve.

" If you determine at all Events, that the Measure of reducing the Nabob's Army, &c. shall be immediately undertaken, I shall take it as a particular Favour if you will indulge me with a Line at Fyzabad, that I may make the necessary previous Arrangements with respect to the Disposal of my Family, which I would not wish to retain here in the Event either of a Rupture with the Nabob, or the Necessity of employing our Forces in the Reduction of his Aumils and Troops; this done, I can begin the Work in Three Days after my Return from Fyzabad.

" I am, &c. &c.

" The Honourable Warren Hastings. Nath. Middleton." (*b*)

Read, also, the following Extracts from the same Book, and same Consultation, beginning at Page 157 of the same.

" From the Bhowe Begum to the Resident.

" The underwritten Particulars have just come to my Knowledge.—That the Nabob's Orders to Meer Mahboob Ally are arrived, directing the Resumption of Nabob Gunge on the other Side of the River, and Bene Gunge my Jagheer, and for him to take charge thereof; also that the Charge of Purgunnah Salone, my Jagheer, is given to Meer Nazir Ally; every Thing respecting myself is specified in your Caulnama. Hitherto no Interference has taken place by any one; I am at a Loss to account for the present Measure. On what Plea has the Nabob resumed my Jagheer, or what are his Intentions? While you are Resident, can such Proceedings be admitted? Express your Disapprobation, that it may not be carried into Effect. Before, Application was made through Molvie Fuzzle Azeem Khan to me, for Lowanah Talook, my Jagheer, when I wrote to Hussein Reza Khan, and Hyder Beg Khan, on the Subject, who silenced Molvie Fuzzle Azeem Khan—but now the Resumption of my Jagheer is resolved on.

" The Jagheer is not the Grant of the Nabob, that he should resume it—let those who granted resume it. The Nabob has nothing to do with me. Let me have a speedy Answer. Countermand the Order to Meer Nazir Ally for the Resumption of my Jagheer. The present State of Matters is trifling, but the Consequences shall be great."

(*a*) Vide supra, p. 529, and Appendix, Nº XXXVIII.

(*b*) Vide Appendix, ibid.

" From

" From the Reſident to the Bhowe Begum.

" I have received your Letter—recapitulated the Contents—The Nabob has thought proper, on account of the Inconveniencies, Loſs, and Indignities he ſuſtains from the Authority exerciſed by the Jagheerdars throughout the Country, to reſume all the Jagheers in his Dominions, in which yours is neceſſarily included; but as the Amount of your Jagheer is confirmed to you by a written Agreement between you and the Nabob, and guaranteed by Mr. Briſtow in Behalf of the Governor General and Council, it will be made good to you in ready Money. If you will therefore be pleaſed to tranſmit me an accurate Account of the Amount you realized from your ſeveral Jagheers, Gunges, Bazars, &c. as ſpecified in the Caulnâma, after deducting the Expences of Collection, Sebundee, and all other Charges, I will pledge myſelf that the ſaid Sum ſhall be regularly remitted to you at ſuch ſtated Times, and in ſuch Proportions, as you ſhall preſcribe:—As to any Thing farther, his Excellency is Maſter."

" From the Bhowe Begum to Huſſein Reza Khan.

" I find that Meer Nazir Ally has been veſted with Charge of Purgunnah Salone, my Jagheer; which to me is unaccountable. From whence proceeds his Excellency's Interference with my Jagheer? The Jagheer is not from his Grant, that he ſhould reſume it; what his Intentions may be, I am at a Loſs to form an Idea of—Note this, that if my Jagheer falls, the Country ſhall not ſtand: Remember this, and make the Nabob acquainted with it. It is not well that for a trifling Matter much Trouble ſhould be occaſioned.—Recall the Aumil, to whom the Charge of the Jagheer of Salone has been given; if not, it will not be well done. Hitherto I have been ſilent and patient, but I cannot continue ſo longer. Whence this Reſolution for the Reſumption of my Jagheer? Let me have your Anſwer ſpeedily."

" From the Bhowe Begum to the Reſident.

" The Particulars I have written you, reſpecting my Jagheers, having arrived, will be read by you. The Nabob has ſent Aumils to take Charge of them. The Caulnâma, under your Seal, is in my Poſſeſſion, in which all Interference with my Jagheers is diſclaimed, as well as all Demands on me for Money. Now the Engagements of the Nabob are diſregarded, although the Engliſh are at Hand. I ſhall, in Ten Days, the Mohrum being over, proceed to Lucknow, where, having fully explained and adjuſted Affairs, I ſhall repair to wherever my Will may direct. Your being at Lucknow will expedite the clearing and cloſing the Affair. Let there be no Interference with my Jagheer previous to my Arrival at Lucknow, neither vexatiouſly interfere with my People. I am repairing to Lucknow: Wherefore this Precipitation? You are Guarantee for the Caulnâma. Should the Country be loſt to me, it ſhall be loſt to all. I give you this Intimation.——Note it."

" From the Bhowe Begum to the Reſident.

" Having written to you particularly reſpecting my Jagheers, you are now acquainted therewith. Now the Nabob's Order to Meer Baboob Ally is arrived, directing the Reſumption of my Jagheers, Nabob Gunge, on the other Side of the River, and Bene Gunge, and their Amount Collections to be paid into the Treaſury.—Whence this Meaſure? You are acquainted with the Purport of the Caulnâma, diſclaiming all Interference with my Jagheers, and by the Bleſſing of God, are at Hand for my Benefit. Yet am I aſtoniſhed with this Proceeding. The Jagheers are not granted by the Nabob, that he ſhould reſume them. What has he reſolved againſt me? The Conſequences ſhall be Extremities. There has been a Friendſhip of long Date ſubſiſting between the Engliſh Government and me. I underſtand Aumis for other of my Jagheers are in Agitation. Interpoſe, and put a Stop to ſuch Proceedings. Application was made before by Molvie Fuzzle Azeem Khan, for Lowanah Talook, my Jagheer; on which I wrote to Huſſein Reza Khan, and Hyder Beg Cawn, who explained the Matter to the Molvie, and cauſed the Matter to be dropped. Huſſein Reza Khan and Hyder Beg Khan are my profeſſed Friends. The Buſineſs I write to them on is effected. With them I am perfectly ſatisfied. I am now convinced this Trouble is cauſed by Molvie Fuzzle Azeem Khan. Make known to him your Diſpleaſure at it, that this Affair may be relinquiſhed, forbidding him ever to enter on the Subject of my Jagheers, to prevent any further Interference of this Kind therewith."

" From the Reſident to the Bhowe Begum.

" I had the Honour to reply to your former Letter Yeſterday; to the Contents of which I muſt beg leave to refer you, as far as relates to ſecuring to you the actual Income of your Jagheers, Gungees, Bazars, &c. as ſet forth in the Caulnâma ſubſiſting between you and his Excellency the Nabob. I certainly am bound in Duty to interfere, becauſe the Faith of the Governor General and Council, my Maſters, has been pledged to you for it; and I am ready, as I before informed you, to ſettle that Point to your Satisfaction; but as to continuing the Lands, &c. in the Form you have hitherto held them, his Excellency the Nabob is the Maſter, and I cannot oppoſe his

Pleaſure. It behoves you to reflect well on this Matter. I am equally the Friend of you and your Son the Nabob, and can have no Prejudices in favour of one or the other. His Excellency declares, and I have myſelf ſeen too many Proofs to doubt it, that the Authority and Dominion exerciſed by the Jagheerdars is extremely prejudicial to his Revenue and Government. A Medium, therefore, being propoſed, by which you loſe nothing, and his Excellency gains ſo much, I ſhould * you would not continue to reject it, ſince it is unqueſtionably the ſame to you, whether you receive the Income of your Jagheer through the Channel of an Aumil appointed under the Nabob's Authority, or from the Hands of your own immediate Agent. For the regular Remittance of whatever Net Income you may heretofore have received from your Jagheers, I willingly make myſelf reſponſible; but I again repeat, that in all other Reſpects the Nabob is Maſter.—What more ſhall I ſay?"

* Sic in Orig.

"From the Bhowe Begum to the Reſident.

"I underſtand, from Huſſein Reza Khan, that he has ſpoke to you concerning my Jagheers, and that you in Reply ſhould ſay that the Nabob's ſending Aumils into my Jagheers was not of any Conſequence or Prejudice. If theſe are your Sentiments, I cannot but be much aſtoniſhed. Had any other Perſon expreſſed ſuch, I ſhould not have felt it, but imputed them to his Ignorance. Since I heard that you ſhould have declared ſuch as the above, I have been in Deſpair, as I cannot think the Country any longer proper for my remaining in it, as thoſe who bound themſelves by Engagements, now diſregard them. After the Mohrum is paſt, I ſhall repair to Lucknow, and take my Leave of it to ſojourn elſewhere, as neceſſitated by the Gentlemen at Lucknow, and as my Inclinations once led me, and is now God's Decree; though, ſhould I be neceſſitated to quit the Country, God grant that no Soul may be able to remain in it in Peace. The Power of Exiſtence reſts not with you, but God. You are a Ruler of the Country, and can take to yourſelf the Jagheers of others. Many are involved in Diſtreſs. Pride is not commendable; it is not countenanced by God. How long is to be the Period of your Reign? Infamy is your Due. The Countries of Puttaghur, Owde, &c. yield Four Crore of Rupees; if they are not ſufficient to ſatisfy you, what can my Jagheers contribute towards it? And why, without my Knowledge, ſhould Aumils be ſent into them? If you mean to proceed in this Mode, ſend Aumils into Nezif Khan's Country, &c. and try the Conſequences. While I do remain in the Country, recall the Aumils from my Jagheers. Why ſo precipitate? Be aſſured I ſhall with Expedition take my Departure."

"From the Reſident to the Bhowe Begum.

"A Perſon aſſuming your Name has juſt arrived here, with a Letter under your Seal, addreſſed to me; but as I cannot believe, either from the Subject Matter or the Stile, that it can have been dictated by you, or written with your Knowledge, I enclose a Copy of it, that you may detect the Forgery, and inflict a proper exemplary Puniſhment on the Perſon who ſhall have dared thus to abuſe your Confidence, and inſult me."

"From the Nabob Vizier to the Reſident.

"I have received your Letter, covering Copies of Letters from my Mother to yourſelf—recapitulated † the Contents.—She ſays her Jagheers were not granted by me. At the Time of the late Nabob's Death, theſe Mahls were under the Charge of Jowaur Ally Khan, on the Footing of other Aumils, inſomuch that the Accounts, &c. were lodged in the Dewan's Office; theſe Accounts, as they were delivered into the Dewan's Office to the Date of the Nabob's Death, are forthcoming. After his Death, I, as a dutiful Son, made over theſe Mahls to her in Jagheer, that it could not be ſaid I left my Mother unprovided. The Buſineſs and Mahls of the Khalſa ſuffer conſiderably, and are much prejudiced by the Authority and Conduct of the Aumils of theſe Jagheers, Mahls, as alſo from the Inſolence of the Houſehold Khajah; witneſs the Conduct of Bhar Ally Khan's Naibat Tondah. My Life, Eſtate, and Dominions originate from the Friendſhip of the Engliſh Government. Yet what Knavery have not theſe Houſehold Khajahs been guilty of. As therefore it is not prudent that theſe Mahls ſhould be continued in the Charge of my Mother, or Houſehold Khajahs, I have appointed my own Aumils—receive the Amount ariſing from theſe Mahls, and pay it to my Mother, after deducting the Charges of Collections, &c. abſolute Charges. I am ready to acquieſce in any Thing for my Mother. As for the other Parts of her Letters, I truſt in God they are dictated by the Houſehold Khajahs; and that I have not cauſed Shame to myſelf from my Conduct to God or my Mother. After the Death of my Father, whatever was due from him to the Company, alſo to the Troops, I took upon myſelf; but whatever Effects there were remained with my Mother. Some Time ſince ſhe gave ſome Part to me, but it went no Way in the Diſcharge of the Claims of the Company or Troops. For theſe many Years I have endured much Inconvenience and Trouble for the Diſcharge of theſe; yet Half is not made good, and I am in daily Anxiety on this Account, from a Deſire to diſcharge all juſt Dues to the Company. It is my Intention to proceed to Fyzabad in Ten Days, the Mohrum being over, when I mean to requeſt of my Mother the Whole of my Father's Eſtate, to enable me to pay off all Debts to the Company. Agreeable to the Laws of God, all my Father's Effects are my

† Sic in Orig.

my Right, that I may make good all Claims on him. If my Mother, from Affection, conſents, I ſhall be happy; if not, in whatever Manner ſhe may render it, I ſhall pay it towards the Adjuſtment of the Balance due to the Company. With reſpect to the Houſehold Khajahs, I ſhall confine and puniſh them, for the Knavery and Means they have uſed towards effecting a Breach between my Mother and myſelf. You will in Friendſhip cauſe this Letter to be tranſlated into Engliſh, and ſend it immediately to the Governor, deſiring him not to liſten to any one, or what my Mother may write, neither adopt her Opinion, but direct me to receive Money from her, towards the Payment of the Company's Demands. I am ready to defray and allow her for her Expences—with reſpect to the Amount Collections of her Jagheers, after deducting all neceſſary Charges of Collection; you may receive and tranſmit it to her." (*a*)

Read, from Book 105, already delivered in, the following Letter from the Bhow Bhegum to the Governor General, received the 6th January 1782.

"From the Mother of the Vizier. Received 6th January 1782.

"5. Our Situation is pretty well, and your good Health is conſtantly prayed for. I had ſent Behar Ally Khan to you; accordingly People invented a Falſehood, that Behar Ally Khan was gone to get the Deputyſhip of the Soubah, and ſome Perſons here were ſaying, "Wherefore has ſhe ſent Behar Ally Khan to Calcutta to the Naivab Amaud ud Dowla? we will never permit the Affair to ſucceed." And accordingly it has ſo happened, for they ſay that you alſo have not put your Seal to the Treaty; and the People here ſay, Why does the Nabob Lady correſpond with the Engliſh Gentlemen? On this Account I did not ſend a Letter at the Time when you came this Way. Now the State of Affairs here is thus: On the 27th Zehedje, Aſuph ud Dowla Behader, without my Knowledge, ſent his own Aumils into my Jagheer. I accordingly wrote ſeveral Times to Mr. Middleton on this Buſineſs, that his Seal was to the Treaty and Writing of Diſcharge, why did he not negociate in my Favour? Mr. Middleton replied, "The Nawab is the Maſter." I wrote frequently, but without Effect. Being helpleſs, I repreſent to you the State of my Affairs, that notwithſtanding the Exiſtence of this Treaty, I have been treated in this Manner: It is uſeleſs for me to ſtay here. Whatever is, is a Compact; whenever any one deviates from his Compact, he meets with no Credit for the future; and the Light of mine Eyes, Aſuph ud Dowla, wrote to me, that he had ſent his own Aumils into my Jagheers, and would pay me ready Money from his Treaſury. Reflect on my Security for his adhering to his future Engagements, from the Conſideration of his Conduct under his paſt Promiſes. I do not agree to his ready Money, let me have my Jagheer, as formerly; otherwiſe, leaving this Place, I will wait on you at Benaris, and thence will go towards Shah Jehan Abad, becauſe he has not adhered to his Engagements. Send Letters to Aſuph ud Dowla, and to Mr. Middleton, and Huſſen Reza Khan, and Hyder Beg Khan, not to moleſt the Beegum's Jagheer, and to let them remain as formerly with the Beegum's Aumils; and it is here ſuſpected of me, that my Aumil plundered the Property of Mr. John Gordon. The Caſe is this: Mr. John Gordon arrived at Tandah, a Jagheer of mine, fighting with the Zemindars of Akberpoor, which belongs to the Khalſeh. Accordingly, Mr. John Gordon having come to Tandah, my Aumil performed whatever appertained to his Duty. Afterwards Mr. John Gordon wrote to me to ſend my People, that he might come with them to Fyzabad. I ſent People accordingly to bring Mr. John Gordon; and the ſaid Gentlemen arrived here in complete Safety. And Mr. John Gordon is now preſent, aſk him yourſelf of theſe Matters. Mr. John Gordon will repreſent Matters in Detail;—the Truth will then become known, how ill founded the Calumny is. Should you come here for a few Days, it will be very well; and if not, I will wait on you. And your coming here is very neceſſary, that all my Affairs may become arranged; and ſend a ſpeedy Anſwer to my Letters, and Letter to Aſuph ud Dowla, and Mr. Middleton, and Huſſen Reza Khan, and Hyder Beg Khan, on the Subject of ceaſing to moleſt my Jagheers; and ſend me conſtantly News of your Health, for my Peace of Mind depends thereon." (*b*)

Read, the following Letter from the Governor General to the Nabob Vizier, dated the 2d January 1782, from Book 120, already delivered in.

"To the Vizier.

"Written the 2d January 1782.

"No. 1. From the Letters of Mr. Middleton I learn, that he had ſhewn you, as I deſired him, the Agreements entered into between us at Chunar, and that your Highneſs did not agree to, or approve of, ſeveral of the Articles. My only Deſire in giving that Gentleman that Order was, that he might aſſiſt in the Adjuſtment of thoſe Matters agreed on, becauſe theſe Regulations tend to the ſtrengthening your Highneſs's Authority, and the Advancement of the Cultivation of the Country. Your Highneſs does not approve of the Aſſiſtance propoſed; I am in doubt how to

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII. (*b*) Vide ſupra, P. 699.

proceed; my ſole View in this Journey to Benaris was to regenerate the Friendſhip already ſubſiſting between your Highneſs and the Company, and to aſſiſt your Highneſs in forming the Bundobuſt of the Country; and I believe that that * theſe Arrangements, from the Time of our mutual Adjuſtment of them, would ere this have been accompliſhed; but it has not happened; your Highneſs has done nothing towards it; nor do I perceive, that, in the Bundobuſt which your Highneſs has conſented to, you act ſo as to bring it to a Concluſion, or that you approve of the Bundobuſt that I have pointed out. Still I am ready, with my Abilities, to aſſiſt your Highneſs, that, if your Highneſs requires it, I will repair to Lucknow, and uſe my Endeavours either either † with my Advice or my Friendſhip in your Concerns, until every Article that has been agreed between us ſhall be fulfilled. Should not your Highneſs approve of my Aſſiſtance in the Affairs of your Sircar, I do not deſire to perſiſt in it; but if in future any Loſs ſhould be ſuſtained by your Highneſs, it cannot be laid to my Charge, and whatever remains due to the Company, it is neceſſary they ſhould receive it without a Balance. Unleſs this is done, I cannot return to Calcutta. Should this Matter be adjuſted, and your Highneſs's Deſire be ſuch, that the ſettling your Bundobuſt ſhould reſt in your own Hands, I agree to it. Whatever I may wiſh, I ſhall write to Mr. Middleton, who will explain it to your Highneſs."

* Sic in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 12th June 1783, from Book 82, before delivered in, beginning at Page 214 of the ſame.

" To Mr. Middleton.

" Sir, Benares, 2d January 1782.

" I have received your Letters of the 30th December, and ſhall reply to them fully. It has afforded ſome Relief to the Anxiety which I have felt. If you have not already declared to the Nabob the Explanation which I deſired you to give him, of the Sentiments expreſſed in my Letter, I deſire you to defer it till you hear further from me. In the mean Time you may aſſure him that whatever is written in the Agreement concluded between us at Chunar ſhall be literally and firmly obſerved on my Part. I ſhall immediately compare it, for that Purpoſe, with the Meaſures now under Conſideration.

" I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings." (*a*)

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 224 of the ſame.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

" Sir,

" I have the Honour to inform you, that the Nabob marched to Fayzabad on the 1ſt inſtant, and that I follow him, conformably to your Orders, To-morrow Morning, having Yeſterday ordered away the 8th Regiment to be ready to arrive with me on the 6th inſtant at Fayzabad. The 20th Regiment, under the Command of Major Martin Gilpin, which was detached ſome Days ago from Cawnpore to enforce the Vizier's Order for the Reſumption of the Begum's Jagheer, I have thought it neceſſary to ſtation at Lucknow, in lieu of the 8th Regiment, until my Return from Fayzabad, when I ſhall be better able to judge how far, and what Force it may be neceſſary to employ againſt the Agents of the Begum, who I underſtand have all received the moſt poſitive Injunctions to oppoſe, by every Means in their Power, the Execution of the Vizier's Orders reſpecting the Jagheers.

" I have the Honour, &c. &c.

" Lucknow,
the 3d Jan^{ry} 1782.

(Signed) " Nath. Middleton,
Reſident at the Court of the Vizier." (*b*)

Read, alſo, a further Extract from the ſame Book and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 226 of the ſame.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

" Sir,

" I arrived with the Nabob at Fayzabad Two Days ago, and his Excellency has made his Demand upon the Bhow Begum; but nothing final or deciſive having yet taken place, I defer writing fully, or entering on the Subject until To-morrow, when I hope to be able to do it with ſome Certainty as to the Reſult.

(At the End)

" Fayzabad, the 10th January 1782. Nath. Middleton." (*c*)

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N^{o} XXXVIII.
(*b*) Vide Appendix, ibid.
(*c*) Vide Appendix, ibid.

Read,

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 229 of the ſame.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

" Sir,

" I was this Day honoured with your Commands of the 10th inſtant, informing me of the Military Station you have eſtabliſhed at Juanpore, with the Liberty you grant the Nabob Vizier of claiming their Aid to quell any Diſturbances in the adjacent Parts of his Provinces. I have accordingly communicated it to his Excellency, who with great Juſtice was highly pleaſed with the Diſpoſition, as in Truth the Diſtricts bordering upon the Zemindary of Benares have for a long Period of Time been of all others the moſt turbulent and diſaffected, and nothing leſs than the Arrangement you have now formed, could effectually ſecure the Peace and Tranquillity in that Neighbourhood, ſo eſſential to the Proſperity of the Nabob's Government and Revenues.

" With reſpect to the Buſineſs here, I have the Honour to inform you, that Yeſterday finding that the temporizing and indeciſive Conduct of the Nabob ſeemed to promiſe an Iſſue very different * very different from that expected in your Commands of the 26th December laſt; and that the only Uſe the Two leading Eunuchs under the Bhow Begum made of the Delay was, to aſſemble and call in armed Men from all Quarters, which when united with the large Force already in the Town under their Direction, would in all Probability have brought the Matter to a much more ſevere and arduous Teſt than it at preſent could admit of; I found myſelf neceſſitated to take the moſt immediate and deciſive Interference which the Force with me was capable of, and accordingly, having the Nabob's written Requiſition, marched the 23d Regiment, under the Command of Major Naylor, with a Detachment of his Excellency's own Troops, againſt the Kella, and had the Happineſs to ſucceed in putting the Nabob's Party in Poſſeſſion of it without any Effuſion of Blood; the armed Men retiring from it on the Approach of our Troops, and drawing up with their Guns in a large broad Street before the Houſe of the old Begum, to which the Bhow Begum and her Two principal Eunuchs had retired the preceding Evening. This effected, the Nabob iſſued his peremptory Orders for the immediate Departure of all armed Men, excepting his own Troops, beyond the Precincts of the Town, threatening them with an inſtant Attack if they diſobeyed. This Order, after many Evaſions, was promiſed to be complied with; and the Two Eunuchs, Bahr and Jowar Ally Cawn, at the ſame Time coming in, and delivering themſelves into the Nabob's Cuſtody, the armed Men, amounting to between Three and Four thouſand, evacuated the Town and diſperſed. I have ſince learnt, that had the Nabob's Troops alone attempted the Seizure of the Kella, a very deſperate Reſiſtance was reſolved upon, which appeared very probable, from the State in which the armed Men were found, being the preceding Evening furniſhed with a large Store of Ammunition, and now drawn up in regular Order, with loaded Pieces, and their Matches lighted; but they were prudent enough to think themſelves unequal to the united Efforts of his Excellency's Troops, ſupported by an Engliſh Regiment, and by this Conviction much Miſchief has happily been prevented.

* Sic in Orig.

" To-morrow I hope to be able to inform you of the Effect of the preſent advantageous Situation, and in the mean Time have the Honour to remain, &c. &c.

" Fayzabad,
the 13th Jan^{y} 1782.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſid^{t} at the Court of the Vizier.

" P. S. I have the Honour to encloſe you a Letter from the Vizier, in reply to your laſt to his Excellency." (*a*)

Read, alſo, a further Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 234 of the ſame.

" Honourable Sir, Camp, Kella, Fyzabad, Jan^{y} 14th 1782.

" Some Buſineſs of Importance, which the Reſident had to ſettle at Fyzabad, occaſioned my ſuddenly joining him there. After my Arrival, a Couple of Days paſſed in Negociation, but without Effect; and the Party in the Town collecting, and hourly gaining Strength, at length, after mature Deliberation, it was reſolved that I ſhould, with my Regiment, and Four Guns, ſtorm the Town, which I effected the 12th in the Morning. I very ſoon got Poſſeſſion of the Kellah, in which is the Palace and Zenanah; and as there were not only ſeveral Gates, but Openings in the Walls, as I entered on one Side they eſcaped at the other; but ſhortly after the Party returned again, headed by the Two principal Eunuchs, Bahr Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, and drew up oppoſite and within Sixty Yards of One of my Poſts, with Three Guns, and added the moſt aggravated † Behaviour; however, as they did not fire, or offer any other Acts of Hoſtility, and when I reflected on the Conſequence that would attend a conteſted Diſpute in the Streets of the Town; of the Zenanah, &c. being ſubject to be plundered even by themſelves,

† Sic in Orig.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

which

which would have been attributed to me; and being ſo ſituated, for the Safety of the Female Part of the Family on one Hand, who were under the moſt dreadful Apprehenſion, and for the Support of his Excellency's Authority on the other, who was waiting the Reſult on the Outſide of the Town, I was for a ſhort Time doubtful how to decide; however, as I had Mahomed Affrein Cawn along with me, a Perſon in high Favour with the Nabob, and well-acquainted with both Parties, I deſired to circulate lenient Advice, pointing out how fatal an Attack would be to them, and inevitable Ruin to thoſe they appeared ſo zealous to ſupport. It had the Effect; the Two Eunuchs immediately ſurrendered, their People inſtantly left the Town, and I ordered their Guns to be dragged away.

"As ſoon as the tumultuous Noiſe was over, and I had poſted Guards for the Safety of the Palace, &c. I directly ſent a Chubdar to the Begum, and offered every Aſſiſtance ſhe might want, and at the ſame Time conſiſtent with my Inſtructions, which ſhe accepted; and now I have the Satisfaction to inform you the Shops are all open, and Peace and Tranquillity prevails through the Town.

"I have the Honour to be, &c.

"(Signed) T. Naylor." (*a*)

"To the Honourable W. Haſtings, &c.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they ſhould next produce a Letter to ſhew the ſtorming and Plunder of the Kella; in which it appears there was a Letter written by the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Haſtings, and alſo another, which was to have been conveyed thro' Mr. Middleton to the Bow Begum, neither of which the Managers had been able to find.

Read, the following Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 242 of the ſame.

"To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

"Sir,

"I have been honoured with your Commands of the 8th and 14th inſtant; and in Reply to the Firſt, have to inform you, that having repreſented to the Nabob the improper Treatment which Dewanjee Punt met with from the Officers of Government at Allahabad, on his Way to you, ſtrict Orders have been iſſued to the Phougedar of that Province to prevent any Impediment or Moleſtation to him on his Return to the Deekan; and I alſo, in obedience to your Commands, ſignified to the Nabob's Miniſters your Sentiments and Diſapprobation of a Conduct which reflected ſo much Diſgrace on his Excellency's Government. Their Reply was, That the Waſhing Duties, or Tax levied upon all Perſons coming to bathe at the Conflux of the Rivers Ganges and Jumma, has long been an eſtabliſhed Thing, and at preſent forms a conſiderable Article of Revenue in the Tohud of the Farmer of Allahabad; that it ſhall be their Care to prevent, as much as poſſible, any Abuſe of this Privilege during the Remainder of the current Year, and at the Period of the new annual Settlement to aboliſh it altogether, if it is your Wiſh that it ſhould not exiſt.

"I had the Honour to addreſs you under Date the 13th inſtant, incloſing you the Letter from his Excellency the Vizier, for which you inform me you are waiting, and acquainting you with the Meaſures which had been taken here towards accompliſhing the Object of your Commands. I have hitherto withheld any farther Communication, in the Expectation of ſhortly being able to inform you, with Certainty, what would be the Iſſue of our Proceedings; a Subject on which I have been extremely unwilling to touch, until I could do it on ſuch Grounds as could not miſlead your Hopes or Expectations: Until Yeſterday the Buſineſs was in no Form that could enable me to pronounce, or even conjecture, what would be the Reſult.

"It very early appeared, that the Begum, with the Aſſiſtance of her Cojahs, had diſpoſed of and ſecreted her Wealth in ſuch a Manner as to elude almoſt the Poſſibility of obtaining Poſſeſſion of it by mere Force of Arms; and whatever rigorous Meaſures it might be proper for the Nabob ultimately to adopt, it ſeemed, at all Events, in the firſt Inſtance highly expedient that we ſhould purſue the Courſe which promiſed, with the greateſt Certainty, the Accompliſhment of his Firſt Object, in which the Intereſts of the Company, and your Deſires, were too much concerned for me to heſitate a Moment in giving my Concurrence to a temporary Forbearance, which I had Reaſon to believe was the moſt adviſeable, and, if it did not ſucceed, could be attended in the Iſſue with no worſe Effect than a few Days Delay in cloſing the Buſineſs.

"Your Letter to the Begum, which I had the Honour to receive and forward to her Yeſterday, having deſtroyed a Reliance, which, notwithſtanding the Part I have avowed and acted with reſpect to her, ſhe probably placed in the Support and Mediation of our Government, has given a very favourable Turn to the Buſineſs, and afforded me a well-grounded Hope that in One or Two Days more I ſhall be able to inform you of a ſatisfactory Concluſion of it.

"I have the Honour, &c. &c.

Nath. Middleton,

Reſt at the Court of the Vizier." (*b*)

Fyzabad, the 18th January 1782.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII. (*b*) Vide Appendix, ibid.

Read,

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 244 of the ſame.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

" Sir,

" The Begum having finally agreed to ſurrender to the Nabob the Treaſures of his late Father the Nabob Shujah ul Dowlah, which ſhe had hitherto retained in her Poſſeſſion, his Excellency deſired me to withdraw the Troops from the Kella, that the Begum might return into it in order to deliver the Treaſure—to this I conſented, as alſo to the Re-delivery to the Nabob of the Two Eunuchs Bhar and Jowar Ally Cawn, without whoſe Preſence and Aſſiſtance nothing could be effected, as they were the only Agents employed by the Begum in the ſecreting and depoſiting it; they previouſly pledging themſelves to be preſent, when called upon, to anſwer to the Accuſation which I have informed them was laid againſt them. In the mean while, the Begum has delivered over her Chelah, Shumſheer Khan, who was Phouſdar of Tanda when Captain Gordon arrived there.—So that I now hope the whole Buſineſs upon which I came here is in the moſt favourable Train.

" I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

" Fayzabad, the 20th January 1782. Nath. Middleton, " Reſ[t] at the Vizier's Court."

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

" Sir,

" I had the Honour to addreſs you, under Date the 25th inſtant, acquainting you of the Vizier's having, from the Treaſure delivered up to him by the Bhowe Begum, commenced on the Payment of his Debt to the Honourable Company. I have now the Pleaſure to inform you, that I am this Day in Poſſeſſion of a Sum equal to the Liquidation of his Bond for the Balance of 1187; and he further gives me Hopes, that he ſhall be able ſhortly to begin Payment of the 12 Lacks due for the Balance of 1188, of which I ſhall in due Courſe give you Information.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

" Fayzabad, the 27th January 1782. Nath. Middleton, " Reſ[t] at the Court of the Vizier." (*a*)

To prove Mr. Haſtings's Diſapprobation of the Two Days of Negociation entered into by Mr. Middleton,

Read, the following Letter from the Governor General to Mr. Middleton, dated 25th January 1782, from Book C, already delivered in.

" To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" I have received your Letters of the 31ſt ultimo, the 3d, 10th, and 18th inſtant.

" The Satisfaction which I received on the firſt Advice of your Succeſs at Fyzabad, has been greatly allayed by my Diſappointment of its Effects. I am compelled to remind you of my Inſtructions contained in my Letter of the 26th December. They were the moſt poſitive, that you were not to allow any Negotiation or Forbearance, but proſecute both Services until the Begums were at the entire Mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers in the quiet Poſſeſſion of his Aumils, and their Wealth in ſuch Charge as might ſecure it againſt private Embezzlement.

" You began by Negociation, which had the natural Effect of exciting Reſiſtance; and you now tell me, that without heſitating a Moment, you have given your Concurrence to a temporary Forbearance. It is poſſible that in this repeated Oppoſition to my Orders, you have actuated * by ſome Neceſſity; but this I can hardly ſuppoſe, as you have not even alluded to them, or aſſigned Reaſons for having deviated from them. * Sic in Orig.

" I ſhall wait anxiouſly for the Reſult of your Proceedings; after having, at the earneſt Solicitation of the Nabob in the Firſt Inſtance, and his Application to me for my Concurrence in the Second, agreed to his Reſumption of the Jagheers held by the Begums, and to the Confiſcation of their Treaſures, and thereby involved my own Name and the Credit of the Company in a Participation of both Meaſures: I have a Right to require and inſiſt on the complete Execution of them, and I look to you for their Execution, declaring that I ſhall hold you accountable for it, if they ſhall fail of the Ends propoſed, after the Attainment of the Means which the Diſmiſſion and Diſperſion of their Forces, and the Poſſeſſion of the Kellah, have afforded you for accompliſhing them beyond the apparent Poſſibility of a Diſappointment.

" I deſire that you will expreſs theſe Sentiments to the Nabob, ſo far as they relate to him, and further, repeat the Advice contained in my Letter, which, with a Copy of it, I encloſe.

" I am,

" On the Ganges, near Jangheera, January 25th 1782. Sir, Your moſt obedient humble Servant, (Signed) " Warren Haſtings."

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

To ſhew the Reluctance with which the Miniſter acted in this Buſineſs,

Read, the following Extract from Book 105, already delivered in.

" 8. Encloſures from Ally Ibrahim Khan.

" Received 18th January 1783.

" N° 1. Copy of a Letter from Hyder Beg Khan to Ally Ibrahim Khan.

" Your affectionate Letter arrived at Fyzabad Palace on the 24th Mohurrem; you wrote that at the Time of taking leave of his Highneſs, after what had paſſed concerning the Settlement of Affairs, and the Permanency of the Proſperity of his Highneſs, and of the Company's Well-wiſhers, it occurred to your Mind, that good Order would ſpeedily aſſume Form from his Highneſs, and from the Nawab Huſſen Reza Khan, and from me, but that as yet ſeveral Affairs were not come to Light; that it was incumbent I ſhould perform them with Expedition, otherwiſe that there would be Cauſe for my being ſpoken againſt, and my Engagements obtain no Credit. My Friend, I became greatly aſtoniſhed and affected on underſtanding theſe Things, becauſe the Nawab Huſſen Raza Khan and myſelf knew the bettering of ourſelves to be dependant on the good Order of the Affairs of his Highneſs's Sircar, and of the Company's, and from the Time of my coming here, I knew not that any Affair has been delayed, and I have executed whatever came to my Underſtanding as appertaining to Loyalty to his Highneſs's Sircar, and to the Company's Sircar, which in Truth are one and the ſame, and alſo whatever Mr. Middleton commanded. However in ſome Matters, which have not been yet treated of, perceiving the Proſperity of his Highneſs's Affairs, and good Will to the Company's Sircar therein, I came to Fyzabad with a Determination concerning them, and to the utmoſt of my Power have laboured in forwarding them; no Manner of Neglect has or ſhall take Place. But, in the Performance of ſeveral beneficial Operations, the whole Court has become adverſe to me; yet not giving any Conſideration thereto, I reſign myſelf to the Service of his Highneſs and of the Company; whatever Mr. Middleton commands becomes performed. Notwithſtanding theſe Occurrences, of which Intelligence has undoubtedly reached you, yet have you written in a friendly Manner to ſuch a Purpoſe; it has produced the Thought, that ſome Matter muſt have been neglected, which I or Mr. Middleton have not recollected; therefore, acknowledging the Errors to which Human Nature is ſubject, I requeſt Information what Buſineſs it is, of which you ſay, ſeveral Matters have not been performed: If you will write particularly I will exert myſelf therein to the Utmoſt of my Power, in as much as I am not wanting to Submiſſion and Obedience. Write to me ſpeedily a detailed Anſwer, for I labour under much Diſquiet and Anxiety; I cannot become convinced without Information. As I am perfectly certain that nothing of Mr. Middleton's Commands, have with my Knowledge been neglected, therefore ſuſpecting myſelf of ſome Error, I have requeſted Information as to what you wrote, that I ſhould make haſte in the Affairs and give Information, and ſo on Occaſion it would be remembered. " You may underſtand my Conduct from others, that Night and Day I am employed on the Affairs of his Highneſs's and the Company's Sircars, and with perfect Content of Mind. You may, on Occaſion, recal it to Remembrance, that as far as I am able, I neither have nor ſhall fail in the Buſineſs of both Sircars, which are as one and the ſame, and that conſidering the Favour of God, and the Kindneſs of Mr. Haſtings, Governor General, and turning not aſide, I will exert myſelf from my Soul, in whatever may promote the Intereſts of both Sircars."

" N° 2. Copy of a Letter from Hyder Beg Khan to Ally Ibrahim Khan.

" From the Time that your friendly Letter arrived, containing this, that ſome of the Matters which were treated of for the Benefit of the Sircars of his Highneſs and of the Company, were not yet performed, my Heart has ſuffered great Diſquietude. From the Time of my coming here I have exerted myſelf in thoſe Matters, and I know my Proſperity to be in the good Order of the Affairs of his Highneſs and of the Company; and Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon are appointed here, and whatever has occurred to me for the Benefit of both Sircars, I have repreſented to both Gentlemen, and, imploring their Aſſiſtance, I employ myſelf in the Performance thereof. In getting Poſſeſſion of the Jagheers of his Highneſs's Relations, there have been great Difficulties; but, viewing the Service of his Highneſs, I have not attended to the Diſcontent of any one; and Mr. Middleton, in Conformity to Mr. Haſtings's Directions, gives me his Aſſiſtance; I act as he commands. From that Period the Nobles of his Highneſs's Sircar are hoſtile to my Life. This Matter is not concealed; it is publick. Conſidering God's Grace, and the Favours of the Governor, I am not wanting in Service. Having determined on an Undertaking not yet communicated, which I know to be for the Service of his Highneſs and of the Company, I am come as far as Fyzabad. If it be executed conformably to my Repreſentation, you will know it when completed. Here my Loyalty has made ſuch Enemies; and if I be in your Parts ſuſpected of Negligence and Lazineſs, do me the Juſtice to conceive how great would be my Diſquietude. However, I truſt that my Efforts and good Wiſhes are not in vain; the Nawab-Governor-General is juſt and penetrating. He will afford ſome Comfort, and take me by the Hand. I am ſurpriſed that, notwithſtanding theſe Circumſtances, of which you muſt have had daily Intelligence,

you

you ſhould have written that ſeveral Matters are not yet performed, and that for the future my Promiſes would not meet Credit. Alas!

" Verſe. My Eyes are as a Mill, and Tears as the Grain.

" I do not conſider ſuch Words from my Protector in a ſmall Light. Having underſtood the Cauſe thereof, write me in Detail, that my Alarms may be removed.

" Yeſterday I diſpatched an affectionate Letters * in Anſwer to your friendly Epiſtle. I trouble you again, from the Diſtreſs of my Mind, at underſtanding thoſe Circumſtances. Write a ſpeedy Anſwer, and write in Detail to me, whatever may be commanded and obſerved concerning me. It is of no Importance to write in Detail the Commands on other Buſineſs."

* Sic in Orig.

To prove, that Hyder Beg Cawn had rendered himſelf odious and deteſtable, by becoming Mr. Haſtings's Agent and Inſtrument in the Execution of the Meaſures reſpecting the Begums,

Read, the following Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Governor General, dated 11th February 1782, from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book B. already delivered in.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

" Sir,

" Incloſed I have the Honour to forward you Addreſſes from his Excellency the Vizier and his Miniſters. In Juſtice to the latter, it is incumbent upon me to inform you, that during the Progreſs of the Buſineſs at Fayzabad, I received from them the moſt willing and zealous Support; and that to their Exertions I conſider myſelf greatly indebted for the complete Succeſs which attended that Buſineſs, as well as for the Fruits of it being ſolely applied to the Liquidation of the Nabob's Debt to the Honourable Company.

" Under theſe Circumſtances it would afford me great Satisfaction, and, I conceive, tend to promote the publick Service, were they honoured with ſome Teſtimony of your Approbation and Favour, which would be particularly acceptable to them at this Period, as their Conduct in the Tranſactions at Fayzabad, and in the Reſumption of the Jagheers, has excited the inveterate Reſentment of the Begums, and many Perſons of the firſt Conſequence about the Court, whoſe Intereſts have been affected by the latter Meaſure, and created a more painful Combination againſt them than they have ever before had to oppoſe.

" In ſhort, Sir, they are conſidered not only by this Party, but by the Nabob himſelf, as the Dependants of the Engliſh Government; which they certainly are, and it is by its declared and moſt obvious Support alone that they can maintain the Authority and Influence which is indiſpenſibly neceſſary, to enable them to diſcharge the Truſt repoſed in them, either with Credit to themſelves, or Advantage to the Publick.

" I have the Honour to be, with great Reſpect,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath. Middleton."

" Lucknow, the 11th February 1782.

To prove that Mr. Haſtings rewarded the Miniſters, by ſending them the Khelaats, or Robes of Honour,

Read, from the ſame Book, the following Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Governor General, dated 12th May 1782.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

" Sir,

" Having in Obedience to your Commands prepared, and in your Behalf inveſted the Miniſters with the Khelats you conſented to beſtow upon them as a Token of your Protection, I have now the Honour to forward you their Acknowledgments on that Occaſion. And am, with the moſt profound Reſpect,

" Sir,
Your moſt obedient, and
moſt humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath. Middleton."

" Lucknow, the 12th May 1782.

Read, the following Letter from Mr. Middleton to Sir Elijah Impey, dated the 25th January 1782, already delivered in at the Bar (*a*).

" Dear Sir Elijah, Fayzabad, the 25th January 1782.

" I have the Satisfaction to inform you, that we have at Length ſo far attained the great Object of our Expedition to this Place, as to commence on the Receipt of Money, of which, in the

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 656.

Courſe

Courſe of this Day, we have got about Six Lacks. I know not yet what Amount we ſhall actually realize, but I think I may ſafely venture to pronounce it will be equal to the Liquidation of the Company's Balance. It has been at once the moſt important and the moſt difficult Point of Duty which has ever occurred in my Office, and the Anxiety, the Hopes and Fears, which have alternately agitated my Mind, cannot be deſcribed or conceived but by thoſe who have been Witneſs to what has paſſed in the Courſe of this long Conteſt. The Miniſters have ſupported me nobly throughout the Buſineſs, and deſerve much Commendation; without the ſhrewd Diſcernment, and Knowledge of the Fineſſe and Tricks of the Country, which Hyder Beg Cawn poſſeſſes, I believe we ſhould have ſucceeded but indifferently; for I ſoon found that no real Advantage was to be obtained by proceeding at once to violent Extremities with the Begum, and that ſhe was only to be attacked through the Medium of her confidential Servants, who it required conſiderable Addreſs to get hold of; however, we at laſt effected it, and by uſing ſome few Severities with them, we at Length came at the ſecret Hoards of this old Lady. I will write you more Particulars hereafter.

" I am ſorry to inform you my little Boy ſtill continues in a very precarious Way, though ſomewhat better than when I had laſt the Honour to addreſs you.

" My Reſpects to Lady Impey; and believe me with great Regard,
My dear Sir Elijah,
Your faithful, obliged, and
moſt affectionate humble Servant,
Nathaniel Middleton."

" Sir E. Impey.

Then the following Letter from Mr. Middleton to Sir Elijah Impey, dated 27th January 1782, was delivered in, and read as follows:

" My dear Sir Elijah, Fayzabad, 27th January 1782.

" I had the Pleaſure to inform you Yeſterday of my having commenced on the Receipt of Money; this is only to tell you, that we have gone on receiving ever ſince without any material Impediment; and if we continue with the ſame Succeſs To-morrow, I flatter myſelf the great Object of our Friend will be fully accompliſhed, and I ſhall return to Lucknow very well ſatisfied with the Expedition. In the worſt Event that can now happen, it cannot be a bad Buſineſs for the Company.

" My Reſpects to Lady Impey; and believe me, with true Attachment,
My dear Sir,
Your faithful and affectionate humble Servant,
Nath. Middleton."

" My little Boy ſtill continues in a precarious Way."

Then a Letter, from Mr. Middleton to Sir Elijah Impey, dated Fayzabad, the 27th January 1782, was delivered in, and an Extract from the ſame was read, as follows:

" We have made a conſiderable Progreſs in our Receipts here; having already realized enough for the Liquidation of the Nabob's firſt Bond to the Company, and in Hopes of getting ſufficient to pay off alſo the ſecond, which is only Twelve Lacks. In ſhort, my dear Sir, the Buſineſs has anſwered the Expectations I told you, at Lucknow, I entertained of it, and cannot fail to give a conſiderable Help to the Company's Finances, at a Time they ſo much want it.

" My Accounts from my Family at Lucknow are ſomewhat more favourable then they were, but not ſuch as to remove my Apprehenſions about the Child. I beg my Reſpects to Lady Impey; and remain, with unfeigned Regard,

" My dear Sir Elijah,
your faithful, obliged, and
moſt affectionate Friend,
Nath. Middleton."

" Fayzabad, the 27th January 1782.

" Sir Elijah Impey.

Then a Letter, from Mr. Middleton to Sir Elijah Impey, dated the 5th February 1782, was delivered in, and read, as follows:

☞ [" My dear Sir Elijah, Lucknow, the 5th February 1782.

" I have the Pleaſure to inform you of my Return to Lucknow, with a Sum of Money equal to the Liquidation of the Nabob's Debt to the Company. After paying up the Arrears of the Troops in theſe Provinces, for which they have long been very preſſing, I ſhall immediately forward the Reſidue to the Preſidency; and ſhall think myſelf happy in being the Inſtrument of affording ſo ſeaſonable a Relief to the Exigencies of Government. This is all I have, at preſent, Time to trouble you with, on Buſineſs; but ſhall write you again in a Day or Two.]

§ ("I have the Satisfaction to acquaint you, that my little Boy is much better, than when I laſt " wrote you; but ſtill ſo weak, and recovering ſo ſlowly, that an immediate Change of Air is " ſtrongly recommended, and, perhaps, is the only Expedient that can promiſe to ſave his Life.

Mrs.

" Mrs. Middleton will, therefore, ſet out with him in a few Days, accompanied by Cator's Fa-
" mily, for Dacca, and from thence, if the Seaſon will permit, ſhe will proceed to Chittagong.
" This Meaſure, I am ſorry to ſay, is almoſt as neceſſary for her as the Child; for what with
" Grief and Anxiety for him during his long Indiſpoſition, and the Effects of a violent Cold,
" which ſhe caught ſoon after you left us, her Health is very much impaired, and would, I
" apprehend, not eaſily be reſtored at Lucknow.

" I am very anxious to accompany her, or at leaſt to follow her ſoon; and, for that Purpoſe,
" requeſted, through Mrs. Haſtings, ſome Time ago, the Governor's Leave of Abſence; but he
" had left her, and proceeded, by Dank, to the Preſidency, before my Letter reached her, ſo that
" I am diſappointed, and muſt now, my dear Sir, entreat of you this friendly Office.

" I ſhall not avail myſelf of the Indulgence I ſolicit, until all the Governor's Orders are exe-
" cuted, and the Buſineſs of my Office put in ſuch a Train, as to run not the ſmalleſt Riſk of
" being impeded by my Abſence. The ſooner you can favour me with the Governor's Leave,
" the greater I ſhall conſider the Obligation. Mrs. Middleton joins me in beſt Reſpects to you
" and Lady Impey, and I remain, with great Regard,

" My dear Sir Elijah,
your faithful, obliged, and
moſt affectionate Servant,
" Nath. Middleton.") §

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 12th June 1783, beginning at Page 246 of the ſame.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

" Sir,

" I have had this Day the Honour to receive your Commands of the 25th ultimo, and am extremely concerned that the Mode of conducting the Fayzabad Buſineſs, as ſet forth in my Addreſs of the 18th January, did not meet your entire Approbation. Permit me to aſſure you, Sir, it is with the greateſt Reluctance I ever venture to deviate from the expreſs Letter of your Inſtructions; and I cannot accuſe myſelf of having done it on any Occaſion, where it did not appear to my Judgment that the Object and Spirit of them rendered it adviſeable, and that the apparent Neceſſity would juſtify ſuch Latitude.

" In the preſent Inſtance, it was more in Appearance and Expreſſion than in Fact, that any Deviation was made from your Orders of the 26th December; for although I was conſtrained, from my ſtrict Regard to the Accompliſhment of what I conſidered the Firſt Object of this Undertaking, to admit of a temporary Forbearance, for the Reaſons aſſigned in my Addreſs of the 18th ultimo, the Begums were at that Time to be conſidered as entirely at the Mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers were in the Poſſeſſion of his Aumils, their Troops diſperſed, and the Kella of Fayzabad, which included alſo the Bhow Begum's own Habitation, under the Guard of his Excellency's and our Troops.

" It remained only to get Poſſeſſion of her Wealth; and, to effect this, it was then, and is ſtill, my firm and unalterable Opinion, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to employ temporizing Expedients, and to work upon the Hopes and Fears of the Begum herſelf, and more eſpecially upon thoſe of her principal Agents, through whoſe Means alone there appeared any probable Chance of our getting Acceſs to the hidden Treaſures of the late Vizier; and when I acquaint you that by far the greateſt Part of the Treaſure which has been delivered to the Nabob was taken from the moſt ſecret Receſſes in the Houſes of the Two Eunuchs, whence of courſe it could not have been extracted without the Adoption of thoſe Means which could induce the Diſcovery, I ſhall hope for your Approbation of what I did. I muſt alſo obſerve, that no further Rigour than that which I exerted could have been uſed againſt Females in this Country, to whom there can be no Acceſs. The Nabob and Salar Jung were the only Two who could enter the Zenanah: The Firſt was a Son, who was to addreſs a Parent, and of courſe could uſe no Language or Action but that of earneſt and reiterated Solicitation; and the other was in all Appearance a Traitor to our Cauſe: Where Force could be employed, it was not ſpared. The Troops of the Begum were driven away and diſperſed, their Guns taken, her Fort, and the outward Walls of her Houſe, ſeized, and occupied by our Troops, at the Nabob's Requiſition, and her chief Agents impriſoned and put in Irons. No further Step was left. And in this Situation they ſtill remain, and are to continue (excepting only a Remiſſion of the Irons) until the final Liquidation of the Payment; and if then you deem it proper, no poſſible Means of Offence being left in her Hands, or thoſe of her Agents, all her Lands and Property having been taken, I mean, with your Sanction, to reſtore her Houſe and Servants to her; and hope to be favoured with your early Reply, as I expect that a few Days will complete the final Surrender of all that is further expected from the Begum.

" Lucknow, the 5th February 1782.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.
Nath. Middleton,
Reſident at the Court of the Vizier."

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

" Sir,

" I had the Honour to addreſs you Yeſterday; and this Morning I was favoured with your Commands of the 27th ultimo.

" You are already apprized, by my Addreſs of Yeſterday, and my preceding Letters, of the promiſed Iſſue of the Buſineſs at Fayzabad, as well as of the State in which I left it; both which I hope will be ſatisfactory, as they ſeem to leave the Matter in that State of Suſpenſe which you wiſh it to remain, until the Board or yourſelf ſhould have been adviſed of the Amount of the Treaſure recovered from the Begums, and ſignified your further Pleaſure.

" The Nabob has concluded no Settlement whatever with the Begums, but left Fayzabad ſome Hours before me, without taking Leave of them, upon their Agents having agreed to complete the 55 Lacks, which appeared due to the Company upon the cloſing of my Accounts for the laſt Year, and the Begums declaring that this was the Extent of all their Poſſeſſions, including down to their Table Utenſils, which they have, and are ſtill delivering, and no Proof has yet been obtained of their having more. I ſhall, as you direct, uſe my Influence to diſſuade his Excellency from concluding any Settlement until I have your further Commands.

" I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

" Lucknow, the 6th February 1782. Nath. Middleton, Reſident at the Court of the Vizier." (a)

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

(a) Vide Appendix, N. XXXVIII.

Die Jovis, 22° Maij 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

Then it was moved that CHARLES PURLING Eſquire might be called in, and being called in, he was examined as follows:

Q. (*by a Lord.*) Did not the Nabob of Oude write a Letter to you in 1780, in which he mentions that he had retrenched his Expences to a very conſiderable Amount?

A. I do not recollect any particular Letter.

Q. Do you know whether the Nabob, in point of Fact, retrenched his perſonal Expences to any, and what Amount, in the Year 1780?

A. At the Time the Nabob repreſented his Diſtreſſes, I heard at leaſt he had made many Retrenchments in his Expences, but I do not know to what Amount.

Q. From what you know of the Manners and Ideas of the Sovereign Princes in that Country, would they not, with great Reluctance, ſubmit to retrench their Expences?

A. I think that the Nabob of Oude would be reduced to much Diſtreſs before he would retrench his Expences.

Q. Do you ſuppoſe, that if the Nabob had had any other Means of paying the Debt to the Company, that he would have taxed the Jaghires of his Family?

A. I do not imagine he would; but he did not in my Time; though he gave the Tuncaws, no Collections were made upon the Jaghires of his Family.

Q. Whether the Tuncaws that you ſpeak of, were given upon all the Jaghires?

A. Upon all the Jaghires, including the Family of the Nabob.

Q. Whether thoſe Tuncaws, if they had been paid, muſt have been paid out of the Tuncaws aſſigned upon thoſe Jaghires?

A. There were Tuncaws aſſigned upon the Jaghires of the Begums, as well as the other Principalities of Oude, but no Collections were made upon the Jaghires of the Nabob's Family.

Q. You ſay no Part of the Payment was made out of thoſe Tuncaws aſſigned upon the Jaghires of the Nabob's Family.

A. No.

Q. None of the Tuncaws made upon thoſe Jaghires were in point of Fact paid?

A. No Collection had been made upon the Jaghires of the Nabob's Family.

Q. Why were no Collections made upon thoſe Tuncaws?

A. Becauſe the Begums would not pay them.

Q. Are there any Laws that you know of in Indoſtan reſpecting filial Obedience; do they make it a Part of the Law of the Country, in any Manner you know of?

A. I believe it is no more the Law of the Country than it is in this Nation; it is the Uſage.

Q. But according to the Uſage of the Country, is it Part of the Morality of the Country?

A. Moſt undoubtedly.

Q. Is it practiſed religiouſly?

A. As much as in any other Country.

Q. At what Time did you reſide there?

A. One Year, from November 1779 to November 1780.

Q. During

Q. During that Time, was there any Thing you obſerved in the Conduct of the Begums indicative of Diſaffection to the Engliſh Government?
A. Never.

Q. Did not the Begums always expreſs to you, that their greateſt Reliance was upon the Engliſh Government, againſt the Nabob and his Miniſters?
A. I do not know that they ever told me ſo, or ſaid any Words to that Effect; but they would certainly apply, if they thought themſelves oppreſſed by the Nabob, either to the Reſident, or to the Engliſh Government for their Interference.

Q. From the general Conduct of the Begums, are you not of Opinion they did place this Confidence in the Britiſh Government?
A. They did make Applications at different Times.

Q. Suppoſing they would be redreſſed in conſequence of thoſe Applications?
A. Yes.

Q. You have ſaid there are Books of Records in India which you call Letter Books; whether you did not enter the Treaties delivered to you by the Nabob's Miniſter in them?—The Firſt Treaty is that ſigned by Mr. Briſtow to the Elder Begum.—The Second, that ſigned by Mr. Middleton to the Bow Begum. According to the Courſe of keeping the Letter Books you alluded to, and which you called a Record, ought not thoſe Treaties to have made a Part of thoſe Books?
A. If thoſe Treaties had been completed, they would undoubtedly have been ſent to the Engliſh Government at Calcutta, of Courſe they would have been entered upon the Letter Book.

Q. The Queſtion is, Whether the Treaties in the State in which they were, ought, according to the Courſe of keeping that Letter Book as a Record, to have made a Part of it?
A. If thoſe Agreements between the Begums and the Nabob had been completed, they would have been ſent to the Britiſh Government, and of Courſe they would have been entered upon the Letter Book.

Q. But as they were?
A. I have underſtood from Mr. Middleton's Evidence they were not completed; but I took them as complete Engagements.

Q. According to your Acceptation of them, they ought to have made a Part of the Letter Book; but ſuppoſing them to be what Mr. Middleton's Evidence repreſents, they would not have been upon the Letter Book?
A. They would not have been upon the Letter Book: That is the Diſtinction.

Q. You were ordered to reſign all your Papers to Mr. Middleton; are all of them upon Record, or are any of them, to your Knowledge, ſuppreſſed?
A. You ſpeak of my Time?

Q. Yes?
A. I do not know that any One Paper, during my Time, is ſuppreſſed: I believe that the Whole of my Correſpondence is now at Lucknow: At leaſt I do not know any Thing to the contrary.

Q. Whether you ever ſaw, upon Record, the Treaty concluded by Mr. Middleton in February 1779.
A. I do not know what Treaty is alluded to. I have not ſeen any Treaty upon Record.

Q. I mean the Treaty with the Bow Begum, under the Signature of Mr. Middleton?
A. I never have ſeen it.

Q. Recollect, whether you know any Thing of the Treaty alluded to, of October 1778, between Mr. Middleton and the Bow Begum?
A. I do not recollect any Thing of the Kind; if the Purport was told me, I might recollect Something of it.

Then a Paper was ſhewn to the Witneſs, and the following Queſtion put to him:

Q. Have you looked at that Inſtrument?
A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember any Thing of the Tranſaction?
A. I do not recollect any Thing of that Treaty.

Q. What was the Cuſtom of your Office, while you was Reſident, upon the Receipt of any Perſian Correſpondence in any Matter of Conſequence?
A. It is a Cuſtom throughout the Country, and throughout the Service, that any Letters or Perſian Correſpondence which is received, that it ſhall be neceſſary to tranſmit to Government, is

put under Cover in a Letter from yourſelf, and you put the Contents of it, after the Letter is tranſlated, in your own Letter Book.

Q. You have ſaid, after incloſing it, it is the Practice to put the Contents generally in your own Letter Book; whether the invariable Cuſtom was to place a Tranſlation, or the Perſian Original, in it?

A. An Engliſh Tranſlation.

Q. Whether in any Inſtance you ever cauſed an original Paper to be copied and left in Perſian in the Office?

A. Not a Perſian Paper ever in the Letter Book; the Moonſhy, who is a native Tranſlator, kept Copies of the Perſian Papers.

Q. The Moonſhy is one of the Servants of the Office?
A. Yes, one of the Servants of the Office.

Q. It was his Buſineſs to keep a Copy of the Perſian?
A. Yes, of the Perſian.

Q. And the Engliſh Reſident's Buſineſs was to keep the Engliſh Tranſlation?
A. Yes.

Q. (*Croſs examined.*) Whether you yourſelf ever kept any private Copies, or Letter Book for your own private Uſe?

A. Copies of publick Letters.

Q. Did you keep Copies of the Correſpondence while you was Reſident?
A. I kept certainly Copies of publick Letters ſent.

Q. But of Letters received?
A. Never.—I did not.

Q. What is it that you ſay you never kept a Copy of?
A. Of publick Letters received I never kept a Copy.—I kept the original Letters in my own Poſſeſſion.

Q. Did you keep a Letter Book for your own private Uſe, of any Part of the Correſpondence in the Office?

A. Never; I never kept a private Letter Book of publick Papers.

Q. The Queſtion was whether you kept any Copies of publick Letters for your own private Uſe; do you ſay you never did keep any Letter Book for your own private Uſe, which contained any Tranſlation of publick Correſpondence?

A. Never; I have not.

Q. Whether the Copies of the Letters received, and the Incloſures ſo received, were kept in different Books?

A. I have ſaid I kept no Copies of Letters received; I kept the Letters themſelves, the original Letters I received either from the Board, or any Individual with whom I had publick Tranſactions, and of Courſe the Incloſures were depoſited with the Letters.

Q. I underſtood you that the Practice of your Office was to keep the Original of all Letters received, the Letters themſelves and the Incloſures; and that of thoſe Letters you kept no Copy either in the Office or in private?

A. No.

Q. Then if it was neceſſary to tranſmit the Subſtance or Contents of publick Letters to Calcutta, whether the Originals were ſent, or Copies of them?

A. I beg leave to correct myſelf with reſpect to the Perſian Correſpondence; if I had Occaſion to mention any Tranſaction to the Board of Perſian Correſpondence, or Letters received from Individuals, of Courſe I entered them in my Letter Book.

Q. As Part of what you wrote?
A. As Incloſures.

Q. When you received Letters in the Courſe of your official Duty as Reſident, and had Occaſion to tranſmit them to Calcutta; did you tranſmit the Originals, or only Copies?

A. The Originals were depoſited in the Office, and Copies ſent to the Board with ſome Atteſtations.

Q. I would wiſh to know of the Witneſs whether you yourſelf ever was at Fyzabad, after you was appointed Reſident?

A. I was at Fyzabad once in my Way to Lucknow, to take Charge of my Office.

Q. Had you any Conference at that Time, or any ſubſequent Time, with the Begums themſelves?

A. My Viſit was merely complimentary, I had none but a complimentary Conference.

Q. Was

Q. Was any other Application made to you, while you were Reſident, upon any other Occaſion than that you have mentioned reſpecting the Jaghires?
A. I do not recollect any other Application.

Q. Then are we to underſtand that was the only official Tranſaction, which gave you an Opportunity of diſcovering the Sentiments entertained by the Begums, while you was Reſident, towards the Engliſh?
A. I do not know how to anſwer that Queſtion diſtinctly, but I underſtood from their having applied to Mr. Middleton, and having got Treaties and other Circumſtances, that they had courted the Protection of the Engliſh.

Q. Thoſe were Tranſactions antecedent, and not during your Time?
A. Yes.

Q. Whether it was not the Practice of the Office, when any Treaty was made with the Country Powers, in the firſt Place, that an Office Copy ſhould be kept, then, that it ſhould be numbered, and left in the Office, and the Original tranſmitted to Calcutta?
A. If the Treaty was of that Conſequence, as to require a Ratification of Government, of courſe I ſhould ſend the Original to Calcutta; if to be ratified by the Reſident, he certainly would keep the Original in his own Office, and ſend off a Copy of it to the Government of Calcutta.

Q. Do you remember the Inſtruments delivered to you by the Nabob?
A. I have already ſaid, when they were delivered to me, I took them for good Engagements; I grounded my own Conduct upon them; that is, I ſent a Copy of them to the Governor General and Council at Calcutta.

Q. Do you know the Number of the Nabob's Cavalry, during the Time you was there?
A. No, indeed I do not.

Q. Do you know nearly?
A. No, I cannot poſſibly tell.

Q. Do you recollect any Drought happening in the Country, while you reſided there?
A. There were conſtant Complaints of it the whole Year I was at Lucknow; I do not believe we had Three Days Rain.

Q. Was that a remarkable Seaſon?
A. A very remarkable Seaſon.

Q. So that there was a great natural Drought that Year?
A. Yes, very much ſo.

Q. Did the Governor General and Council at Calcutta, ever blame you for having acted upon thoſe as exiſting Treaties?
A. I have already ſaid, they did not.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would now proceed to ſome written Evidence relative to the Seizing of the Treaſures of the Begums, and the conſequent Cruelties.

Read, from Book 82, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 12th of June 1783, beginning at Page 252 of the ſame Book.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

" Sir,

" I had the Honour to addreſs you under Date the 6th inſtant, informing you of the State in which I had left the Buſineſs at Fayzabad, and the Hopes I entertained of a ſpeedy Completion of it; permit me now to acquaint you, that, of the remaining Balance engaged to be made good by the Two Eunuchs Bahr and Jowar Ally Cawn, I have this Day had Advice of the Receipt of between Five and Six Lacks, which is now on the Way to Lucknow; and the Reſidue I have every Reaſon to believe will be realized before this Letter reaches your Hands: So that I have now to repeat my Requeſt, that I may as ſoon as poſſible be honoured with your final Commands reſpecting the Conduct it is your Wiſh ſhould be purſued with the Begum and her Eunuchs.

" The Services of Major Naylor's Regiment being required to the Eaſtward of the River Gogra, as well to ſupport the Authority of the Nabob's Government in that Quarter, as to be ready to join in the Plan of Operations which may be determined on, in Obedience to your Commands, againſt Futty Saw, I have ſent One Battalion of Major Gilpin's Regiment to relieve Major Naylor at Fayzabad; which I hope you will approve.

"I have the Pleaſure to inform you, that the 8th Regiment, which I left to eſcort the Treaſure from Fayzabad, arrived this Day, and ſafely delivered its Charge. Upon its Arrival, I immediately diſpatched to Colonel Muir the Sum requiſite for the Payment of the Arrears due to his Detachment; I am now forwarding to Colonels Morgan and Sir John Cummins, the Amount for which they have called upon me, after which I ſhall loſe not a Moment in remitting the Reſidue to the Preſidency.

"I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

"Lucknow, the 8th February 1783 *. (Signed) Nath. Middleton, Reſt at the Court of the Vizier." (a)

* Sic in Orig.

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 256 of the ſame Book.

"To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

"Sir,

"Incloſed I have the Honour to forward your Addreſſes from his Excellency the Vizier and his Miniſters.

"In Juſtice to the latter, it is incumbent upon me to inform you, that during the Progreſs of the Buſineſs at Fyzabad, I received from them the moſt willing and zealous Support; and that to their Exertions I conſider myſelf greatly indebted for the complete Succeſs which attended that Buſineſs, as well as for the Fruits of it being ſolely applied to the Liquidation of the Nabob's Debts to the Honourable Company.

"Under theſe Circumſtances, it would afford me great Satisfaction, and, I conceive, tend to promote the publick Service, were they honoured with ſome Teſtimony of your Approbation and Favour, which would be particularly acceptable to them at this Period, as their Conduct in the Tranſactions at Fyzabad, and in the Reſumption of the Jagheers, has excited the inveterate Reſentment of the Begum, and many Perſons of the firſt Conſequence about the Court, whoſe Intereſts have been affected by the latter Meaſure, and created a far more powerful Combination againſt them, than they have ever before had to oppoſe. In ſhort, Sir, they are conſidered, not only by this Party, but by the Nabob himſelf, as the actual Dependants of the Engliſh Government; which they certainly are, and it is by its declared and moſt obvious Support alone, that they can maintain the Authority and Influence, which is indiſpenſably neceſſary to enable them to diſcharge the Truſt repoſed in them, either with Credit to themſelves or Advantage to the Publick.

"I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

"Lucknow, the 11th February 1782. (Signed) "Nath. Middleton, Reſt at the Vizier's Court." (b)

Read, from Book 120, already delivered in, the following Letter, from the Governor General to the Vizier, dated 15th February 1782.

"To the Vizier. Written 15th February 1782.

6. "I have received a Letter from Mr. Middleton, repreſenting to me the Oppoſition which is threatened by the Begum to your Authority, in the Reſumption of her Jagheer, and the Probability of the other Jagheerdars taking the Alarm, and, ſeparately or collectively, attempting Reſiſtance.—Beſides theſe Apprehenſions, a dangerous Spirit of Diſcontent and Rebellion, firſt excited by the Machinations of Cheyt Sing, exiſts, as Mr. Middleton informs me, amongſt your Subjects. Under theſe Appearances of the Want of Obedience and due Reſpect to your Government, I cannot but feel great Anxiety for the Safety and Tranquillity of your Country, as well as for the Maintenance of your Authority and Dignity.—Should any Acts of Violence and Reſiſtance follow theſe Appearances, it is to be feared that a foreign Enemy might be tempted by them to invade your Dominions: To obviate the Calamities of ſuch a Situation, it appears to me indiſpenſable, that the Malcontents ſhould be prevented from becoming formidable, by an immediate Application of ſuch a Force as may quell, at once, any Attempts that can be made by the diſaffected, however numerous or united.—For this Purpoſe, I have directed Colonel Morgan to ſend a ſtrong Detachment of Infantry and Artillery to Lucknow, with Orders to act as your Excellency ſhall direct, for the internal Security of your Country, and Support of your Authority.

"This Detachment you will underſtand to be no Part of the Brigade on conſtant Subſidy for the Defence of your Frontiers; it is formed from the Troops lately in your Pay, ſtationed at Futty Ghurr, and in Rohilcund, which I withdrew, to relieve your Excellency from a Burthen which you complained was too heavy for your Finances to bear; theſe Troops are at preſent

(a) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII, Page 100.
(b) Vide Appendix, N° ibid. Page 100.

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an unneceſſary Expence to the Company, and would be diſbanded, but for the Dangers which at preſent threaten your Country. On theſe Conſiderations, your Excellency will allow it to be juſt and reaſonable that the Charges of the Detachment ſhould be entirely defrayed by you, and that the Company ſhould be fully indemnified for all the Contingencies of keeping up a Force, on the Probability of its being wanted for your Service; on this I ſhall form an Eſtimate, with the ſtricteſt Attention to Juſtice, for a Subſidy to be paid Monthly during the Services of the Detachment, and tranſmit it, for your Approbation, to Mr. Middleton.

" I have directed Colonel Morgan to hold the Brigades, ſtipulated by Treaty for the Defence of your Frontiers, in Readineſs to march at a Moment's Warning, and oppoſe any Attempts which may be made by a foreign Enemy.

" When I reflect on the uncommon and generous Inſtance of your Zeal for the Company, and Attachment to myſelf, manifeſted by the voluntary perſonal Aſſiſtance and Support which you afforded me at a Time of the greateſt Danger to their Intereſts, and my own Safety; I cannot, without feeling the ſtrongeſt Self Reproach of Ingratitude, diſpenſe with giving to you, in a ſimilar Situation, equal Marks of my Zeal and Attachment to your Perſon and Intereſts; and I ſhould, on this Principle alone, fly to ſhare your Danger, although it were not in my Power to remove it, eſpecially as that Danger has been incurred by my Approbation of your Deſign to reſume the Jaghires; but I have the ſtrongeſt Hopes that I ſhould be the Cauſe of facilitating a happy Termination of all the Difficulties which now oppoſe the Execution of your Meaſures, and of eſtabliſhing your Authority and the Proſperity of your Country on the moſt ſolid Baſis, by a perſonal Interview.—It was your particular Requeſt at Chunar that we might meet Once a Year; and I, with the greateſt Satisfaction, accepted your Invitation.—The preſent Conjuncture appears to make it neceſſary to commence the Performance of this Promiſe; and although my Preſence is required in Calcutta on the moſt urgent Buſineſs, I have determined to ſet out immediately by Dawk for Lucknow.

I flatter myſelf that this Interview will be productive of the moſt ſolid Benefits to the Affairs of both your Excellency and the Company; and as your Excellency is well informed of their Situation on this important Criſis, you will not ſuffer me to return to the Seat of my Government without finally obtaining the great Object of my Journey."

Read, the following Letter from the Nabob Vizier to the Governor General, received the 25th February 1782, from Book 105, already delivered in.

28. " From the Nawab Vizier. Received 25th February 1782.

28. " You performed on every Occaſion towards me whatever was becoming of Friendſhip; I too have done whatever Affection required, and you commanded; and in future alſo, whatever be your Pleaſure, there ſhall be no Deviation therefrom, becauſe whatever you direct is altogether for my Benefit. The Buſineſs for which I came to Fyzabad is become ſettled by your Favour; Particulars will become known to your Wiſdom from the Writings of Mr. Middleton. I am grateful for your Favours. If in theſe Matters you ſincerely approve me, communicate it, for it will be a Comfort to me. Having appointed my own Aumils to the Jagheers of the Lady Mother, I have engaged to pay her Caſh; ſhe has complied with my Views; her Pleaſure is, that after receiving an Engagement, he ſhould deliver up the Jagheers. What is your Pleaſure on this Matter? If you command, it will comfort the Lady Mother giving her back the Jagheer, after I have obtained my Views, or I will have it under my own Aumils; I am obedient to your Pleaſure."

Read, from the ſame Book, the following Letter from the Nabob Vizier to the Governor General, received the 26th February 1782.

N° 31. " From the Vizier. Received 26th February 1782.

31. " You have treated me with noble Tenderneſs, and I have not in any Manner failed in the Care of Friendſhip, and whatever you command I know to be altogether for the bettering of my Affairs; and in the Treaty and Councils, and Arrangement of all Affairs, which became concluded for the Payment of the Company's Money, I alſo have the ſame Wiſh, that the Company's Money may be forthcoming; accordingly I have ſatisfied Mr. Middleton concerning Six Lacks of Rupees from the Lady Mother; and ſhe having ſatisfied him with Caſh, Jaidads, and the Revenues of her Jagheer, has produced Fifty Lacks of Rupees, the reſt will be forthcoming in Caſh, and the Revenues of the Jagheers; and I have made no Objection to yielding my own Diſtricts for Jaidads; and I have written Shokehs to Aumils on the Subject of the appointed Horſe and Foot, and of the Holders of Tuncaws. I have not in any Reſpect failed with Life and Property to the Bleſſing of your Pleaſure; and I am determined, in like Manner, for the future alſo, that for my own Benefit, I will perform whatever you command. You wrote kindly, and in the Treaty, that my neceſſary Expences ſhould be firſt taken, and I attended firſt to the Company's Buſineſs, to prepare the Money in any Manner. I delivered a written Liſt of my neceſſary Expences to Mr. Middleton, at Chunar, before the Treaty: As I know the Payment of the Debt to the Company to be of prior Importance, I will put myſelf to Inconvenience; but I am helpleſs,

from

from the Neceſſities of Human Nature. I hope that you will write to Mr. Middleton to delay Twenty-five Lacks of Rupees for the next Year; he may receive all the reſt. I will provide the Twenty-five Lacks in the Year 1190 Fuſſullee, and do you give me the Sum of neceſſary Expence from the Jaidad of my Dominions."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 12th June 1783, from Book 82, already delivered in, beginning at Page 280 of the ſame.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

" Sir,

" I have received the Honour of your Commands under Date the 27th February.

" I had carried the Original Treaty down with me, in Obedience to your Orders of the 19th December; but, having determined, upon Receipt of your firſt above-mentioned Letter, to return immediately to my Station, I have brought it back with me, and ſhall now forward it by the firſt ſafe Conveyance.

" Theſe complete your Inſtructions; ſince which you have directed, as an additional Article, that the Nabob ſhould be ſupported in his Claim upon the Bhow Begum, for the Inheritance of the late Vizier's Public Treaſure. This has alſo been done; 45 Lacks have been recovered, and the Begum's Chief Agents are now under ſevere Reſtraint for the Remainder of what they engaged to produce.

" Truſting that from this Explanation you will be ſatisfied that I have done all that the Time I have had, and the Circumſtances I have been under, would admit,

" I remain, with profound Reſpect, &c. &c.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier." (*a*)

" Lucknow,
the 25th March 1782.

Read, from Book 29, already delivered in, the following Letter from the Board at Calcutta, to the Court of Directors, dated the 11th of February 1782.

" To the Honourable the Court of Directors for * Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies.

* Sic in Orig.

" Honourable Sirs,

" 1ſt. In our laſt Letters from this Department, by the Swallow Packet, dated 29th December 1781, we informed you of the Detention of that Veſſel for the Purpoſe of carrying home a complete Narrative of the Governor General's Proceedings while at Benares and Chunar, which we daily expected to receive from him; however, as the Length of this Paper, and the great Number of References annexed to it, made it impoſſible to ſend them down ſooner than he did; and we found it would require a long while to copy them after their Arrival—we determined to diſpatch the Swallow without them, judging that you would be impatient to hear from us on the Reſtoration of Peace in the Diſtricts of Benares, and to receive the lateſt Accounts from Madras of the Situation of Affairs in the Carnatic.

" 2d. We determined at the ſame Time to diſpatch the Nancy, Captain Hiffernan, with theſe Reports, as ſoon as they could be prepared; and we have now the Pleaſure to tranſmit them to you, a ſeparate Number in this Packet.

" 3d. The above Papers contain ſuch a full Account of all the Tranſactions of the Governor General upon this Service, together with his Motives and Reaſonings upon them, that we think it would be ſuperfluous to add any Thing of our own in this Place, but to recommend them to your attentive Peruſal, with our Minutes which are annexed. Conſ. 14 Jan. and 5 Feb.

" 4th. By theſe it will appear, that the Treachery and Intrigues of Cheyt Sing, ſupported by the Diſaffection and reſtleſs Diſpoſition of the Bhowe Begum, Mother of the Nabob of Owde, at Fyzabad, produced Inſurrections in that Country, which till lately we were unapprized of, on account of the Communication between that Place and Benares being wholly cut off.

" 5. At the ſame Time that the Firſt Information of theſe Diſturbances reached us, we were happy to hear that they had been quelled by the Accounts received there of the ſucceſsful Efforts of our Troops in Benares, and the March of Two Regiments from Cawnpore to the Relief of Colonel Hannay, whoſe Sepoys gave evident Proofs, by their Deſertion, that they had been tampered with, and he, with moſt of his Officers, were in great Danger of their Lives; a Detachment under Lieutenant Gordon having been actually attacked and cut off, and the reſt of the Corps being ſurrounded by the Rabble, levied under Sanction of the Begum, avowedly for the Service of Raja Cheyt Sing.

" 6. The Circumſtance of the Levies is further corroborated by various Reports from Fyzabad, and by the Liſt of Cheyt Sing's Forces, delivered to the Governor General at Chunar, in which the Troops ſaid to be come from Lucknow, which formed a Part of his Strength, muſt evidently be the ſame (ſince they agree in Number) with thoſe which Colonel Hannay declares to have been raiſed and ſent to him from Fyzabad.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII. Page 105.

" 7. The

" 7. The juſt Grounds of Suſpicion which had been given to the Nabob by the Begums and other principal Jaghyrdars in his Country, by the Symptoms of Diſaffection, and even Treachery, diſplayed in their Conduct, made it an Object of ſerious Conſideration with him to take the Firſt Opportunity which ſhould offer, conſiſtent with Juſtice, to diſpoſeſs them of the Means of becoming injurious to his Authority; and the Neceſſities of his Government requiring extraordinary Aid, he reſolved to take this Occaſion of depriving them of thoſe extenſive Jaghires which enabled them to become troubleſome, by the Revenues which they yielded, and the Number of Dependants neceſſarily retained for their Collection and Defence, and to reſume the Lands, allowing Penſions to the Jaghyrdars in lieu of the Revenues.

" 8. As the Reſident at Lucknow had been made Guarantee to an Agreement formerly executed between the Nabob and the Begum, in which he had engaged, for a ſpecific Sum of Money, to deſiſt from all further Claims upon her, it was neceſſary for him to acquire the Sanction of this Government to his Intention, before he could carry them into Execution, which the Infidelity of the Begum gave but too much Reaſon to grant.—You will find this Meaſure provided for in the new Treaty, concluded with the Nabob by the Governor General at Chunar, on the 19th of September laſt.

Vide No. 1 and 2 of the 1ſt Part of the Appendix to the Governor General's Narrative.

" 9. On the Firſt Attempt made by the Nabob to carry this Plan into Execution againſt the Begum, ſhe determined to reſiſt his Authority, and raiſed a Revolt by the Means of her Eunuchs, Jewar Ally Cawn, and Bahar Ally Cawn, who had collected a Force of about 5,000 Men, in order to ſet the Nabob at Defiance.—Notice of this Second Inſurrection having been tranſmitted by the Reſident, without Loſs of Time, to the Governor General at Benares, he immediately ordered a large Detachment to march from Cawnpore, and the Nabob reſolved to go in Perſon to Fyzabad; on his Arrival there, by the Aſſiſtance of our Troops, he took Poſſeſſion of the Kella; and the Eunuchs, ſeeing it would be in vain to make a Stand when ſuperior Forces were expected, ſurrendered themſelves Priſoners to the Nabob, and their Followers diſperſed.

" 10. In order to puniſh the Begum for this daring Ill Conduct, and to put it out of her Power to apply the Treaſures which ſhe had amaſſed to the Purpoſe of raiſing further Commotions in his Country, the Nabob reſolved to ſeize her Wealth, which by the Mahomedan Laws he was entitled to, as an Inheritance from his Father, who in the latter Years of his Life had committed his Treaſury wholly to her Charge, and it had remained with her after his Death.—This Wealth, whatever it might be, he determined to apply to the Payment of his Debt to the Company; and we have received Information from the Reſident who attended him to Fyzabab, that he had actually paid him the Sum of 55 Lacks of Rupees in ready Money, and by Draft on Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn, which would ſoon be realized." (a)

Read, from Book 83, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 5th February 1782, beginning at Page 263 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 5th February 1782.

Secret Dept. Tueſday.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, who being returned to the Preſidency takes his Seat at the Board.

Edward Wheler, John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.

Sir Eyre Coote on Service in the Carnatic.

Extract Secret Dept. Conſ. 5 Feb. 1782. * Fac ſim. Orig.

" The Governor General delivers in the following Minute, in conſequence of that of the Board, entered on the Proceedings of the $\frac{14}{24}$th * ultimo.

" The Governor General acknowledges his Obligations to the Board, for this repeated Inſtance of the liberal Manner in which they have been pleaſed to record their Judgment on his Conduct. Had it been expreſſed in the ſimple Terms of official Approbation, he ſhould have been pleaſed, and ſatisfied that it had received ſo reſpectable a Sanction; but by tracing the Sources of it, in the Motives which he has avowed; by their Examination of thoſe Motives with their relative Facts and Circumſtances; and by the Doubts which they have anticipated and ſolved, on the Propriety of ſuch Parts of his Conduct as might moſt obviouſly ſuggeſt them; they have juſtified their own Approval, and entitled him to expect the ſame favourable Sentiments in their common Superiors.

" Nor is he leſs pleaſed with the Reſerve with which the Board have declared their Satisfaction in the Arrangement concluded by him with the Nabob Vizier; becauſe he thinks it will be received as an Evidence of the Deliberation and Sincerity of their former Approval. He is willing to ſubmit the Propriety of the Meaſure to the Teſt of its Succeſs. The Reſident has already informed the Board, that he had received of the Treaſures of the late Vizier, left in the Charge of his Widow, and lately reclaimed by his Son, the Amount of the Bond granted by the latter for the Balance of the Year 1178, which ends in September 1780 of our Æra; and was in the actual Receipt of as much as would diſcharge the Balance of the laſt Year, that is, of the Year 1179.

(a) Vide Appendix, N° LIV. Page 226.

The firſt of theſe Balances is 32,68,613. 11, the laſt 12,09,876. 9. 8. The Sum of both is R^{s} 44,78,490. 4. 8. Owd Siccas. The Reſident ſeems have underſtood this to be the Whole of the Nabob's Debt. There is a further Balance of 26 Lacks, which appears to have been by ſome means overlooked, or withheld from Mr. Middleton on the Transfer of his Office from Mr. Purling. A rectified Account, drawn to the lateſt Period, has been tranſmitted to Mr. Middleton, by the Accomptant General, which it is hoped will arrive in Time to prevent his ſtopping at the Receipt of the ſuppoſed Balance; and at all Events, the Profits of the reſumed Jagheers ought to yield a Fund, more than ſufficient both for the complete Liquidation of what may remain of the Nabob's preſent Debt, and to make up the Deficiency of the Aſſignments granted on his Revenue for the current Year, within the Courſe of it.

"The Governor General expects this Service from the Reſident, and relies upon his Fidelity for the Performance of it. But in the Suppoſition of the Poſſibility of a Diſappointment, he again offers his perſonal Services to proceed to Lucknow, on the firſt Symptom of ſuch a Failure; and, with the Confidence which he feels in his own Influence, aided by the powerful Support of the Board, he will venture to promiſe, that he will not return with their Object unaccompliſhed. (*a*)

Signed at the End of the Conſultation,
" Warren Haſtings,
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 14th January 1782, from Book 83, already delivered in, beginning at Page 189 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 14th January 1782.

" At a Council; Preſent, Secret Dept.

Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.

The Governor General abſent on a Viſit to the Northern Provinces.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. abſent on Service at Fort Saint George.

" The Board having already paſſed their Opinion, in Terms of the fulleſt Approbation, upon the Governor General's Conduct and Management in the Suppreſſion of the Rebellion of Cheit Sing, and the Regulation of the Province and City of Banaris; they think it unneceſſary to repeat their Opinion of thoſe Meaſures. Extract Secret Conſultations, 14th Jan. 1782.

" They cannot, at the ſame Time, but remark, that the Explanations which the Governor General has given in ſome Parts of his Proceedings, during his Firſt Diſcuſſions with Cheit Sing, and ſubſequent to the Convulſion, are rather an open Avowal of the Motives that actuated his Mind, than the guarded Repreſentations of a publick Officer, ſtating to his Employers the Meaſures which an extraordinary Situation influenced, dictated, and juſtified.

" To a liberal and candid Tribunal, ſuch was the natural, and certainly the wiſeſt Appeal. The Generoſity and Juſtice of a Britiſh Tribunal looks more to the real Motives and Zeal of their Agent, than to the preconcerted Artifice of his Conduct, or the legal Diſcriminations of his Defence. Even where a publick Meaſure is unſucceſsful, the Reſponſibility riſqued by the Agent, (if riſqued upon publick Principles), is frequently his Juſtification, and in many Caſes entitles him to Applauſe.

" In theſe diſtant Dominions the ruling Servants of the State, attend more to thoſe Rules and Forms which protect from Reſponſibility, than to an ardent Purſuit of the publick Intereſt; under every private Riſque, the Hands of Adminiſtration may ſecure themſelves againſt Condemnation, even though the Country ſhould be loſt through their Miſmanagement.

" It was not by avoiding perſonal Reſponſibility that the Servants of the Publick eſtabliſhed the Britiſh Influence in Aſia; nor is it by ſuch cold Precautions that our Power is to be maintained, eſpecially at an Hour of general Hoſtility againſt us. The Board are led into theſe Obſervations, from an ingenuous Conſideration of the Difficulties in which the Governor General found himſelf involved at Benaris, and a Conviction of the Motives under which he acted. The firſt were ſurmounted with Ability and Fortitude; the latter they moſt ſincerely believe do him real Honour.

" Eaſy would be the Taſk to approve the Suppreſſion of the Rebellion, and to ſtand diſconnected with any Reſponſibility, by juſtifying thoſe Acts which certainly precipitated the Storm from the Cloud in which he had gathered; Acts which Judges at a Diſtance, Judges unoppreſſed with the actual Embarraſſments of this Government, may, with great Speciouſneſs of Argument, condemn. But the Board wiſh not, they cannot permit themſelves to proceed ſo diſingenuouſly or guardedly. They are at the ſame Time aware, that in a rigid Inveſtigation of the Whole of this Buſineſs, the following Queſtions will be aſked.

" 1ſt. Where were the Governor General's particular Inſtructions for ſuch extraordinary Demands upon Cheit Sing?

(*b*) Vide Appendix, N^{o} LXXXI.

" 2dly.

" 2dly. Why was that Chief put in Arreſt, when he offered to make every Conceſſion?

" 3dly. Whether there was not a Compact between him and the Company, which ſpecified, that he was only to pay them a certain annual Tribute?

" Subſequent to the Maſſacre of our Troops, and the Events that followed, no Queſtions will be aſked.

" In anſwer to the Firſt Queſtion, the Board think the Governor General was fully authorized by the general Tenor of his Inſtructions. The Governor General, having a deciding Vote, could have written out and approved more particular Inſtructions. There was a Delicacy in the Mode he preferred; and it impoſed a greater Reſponſibility.

" In regard to the Second Queſtion, it is evident, from Cheit Sing's Anſwers and Preparations, and the whole Tenor of his Conduct, before and at the Time, that nothing but Arreſt could have convinced him of the Governor General's Determination.

" That the Arreſt was not intended to proceed farther than the Payment of a proper Fine to the Company, who ſtood in the Place of his Sovereign and Benefactors, is evinced by the Governor General's Anſwer to Cheit Sing after his Confinement.

" Had a total Revolution in the Adminiſtration of the Zemeedary been intended, the Arreſt muſt have been affected with more Force, and greater Marks of Severity.

" That the Officers who went to execute this Service were convinced, that no Meaſure of determined Severity was intended againſt Cheit Sing, appears from that unfortunate Want of Precaution which coſt them and their Followers their Lives.

" The Third Queſtion involves much Argument, yet is fully anſwered by that Part of the Governor General's Narrative, which diſcuſſes the Sunnud under which Cheit Sing ruled the Provinces, and which was ſo liberally granted by the Company.

" The Correſpondence with the India States, ſhews clearly their Ideas of the Rights of Zemeedars and Rajahs protected in their Zemeedaries by a ſuperior Power. Had Cheit Sing been an Ally Sovereign Prince, who paid only a fixed Subſidy, his Military Preparations, and his inſidious Conduct, under Pretences of Poverty, in diſappointing the Expectations of the Government from the Army under Major Camac, juſtified, together with his Correſpondence with our Enemies, the ſevereſt Exaction of Aid to aſſiſt the Company in their Diſtreſſes, and atone for his Ingratitude and Treachery to a Power who protected him, and to whom he owed his Situation.

" On the Subject of the Treaty concluded on the 18th of September laſt, between the Governor General and the Nabob Vizeer, and which the Difficulties of the Communication prevented the Governor General from explaining ſo fully before, the Board have to obſerve, that the Treaty is evidently a political Expedient, which forfeits no Advantage, which promiſes the Acquiſition of many, and which, properly managed by this Government (as Events favourable, or even unfavourable, ariſe), may lead to the final and complete Arrangement of an Alliance with the Vizeer. Such an Alliance, being leſs oppreſſive to him, may be more advantageous and honourable to the Company, and may remove that too general but dangerous Impreſſion, which the different States of this Country have received from the double Character in which we have hitherto appeared in India—that of Allies and Conquerors.

If the Nabob Vizeer ſhould not be able, under the Support of the Troops of this Government ſtationed at Cawnpoor, to maintain the Tranquillity of his Dominions, and collect thoſe Reſources which are neceſſary to defray even his reduced Expences, and diſcharge his heavy Debt to the Company, a new Arrangement muſt follow; and that Arrangement neceſſarily, at the expreſs Requeſt of the Vizeer, will ſecure every Advantage that can be wiſhed or expected from his Provinces by this Government.

The Reduction of that heavy Burthen of Expence, which was once oppreſſive to the Vizeer, and of no Return to the Company (though a Source of Patronage to this Adminiſtration), the Board approve of moſt heartily; and, with a full Senſe of the Credit which a Meaſure of ſuch Difficulty and Unpleaſantneſs reflects upon the Governor General, they take this Occaſion of pledging to him and to their Employers their utmoſt Support, not only in this, but in every other Branch of publick œconomical Reformation, which he may propoſe.

" Upon the Return of the Governor General, the Board reſolve to diſcuſs with him thoſe Parts of the Treaty, which carry the Appearance of a haſty Agreement. The Diſaffection of many of the Vizeer's principal Jagheerdars, and the Steps which, from the Repreſentations of Colonel Hannay and other Officers, appear to have been rapidly taken by the Begums, to ſupport the Rebellion of Cheit Sing, were probably very early known to the Governor General, and through the Medium of all the Suſpicions that his Situation, at the Time he met the Vizeer, had naturally created.

" At ſuch a Moment, and under ſuch Suſpicions, and even while the Iſſue of the Conteſt of Cheit Sing was depending, it is not ſurprizing that ſome Parts of the Agreement between the Governor General and the Vizeer were ſpeedily adjuſted, and, as the Governor acknowledges, in Converſation at the Firſt Interview.

" A ſhort Time will ſatisfy the Board, whether the Vizeer is willing or able to fulfil his Part of the Treaty: If he is that, and the Company can recover their Debt from him in the preſent Emergency and Diſtreſs of their Affairs, the Board cannot then but agree, that the Governor General has acted in the Arrangement not only with Zeal, and the beſt publick Intentions, but with a maſterly

maſterly Deciſion, that muſt entitle him to the grateful and complete Approbation of his Employers.

"It remains with the Board to concert with the Governor General, upon his Return, thoſe Meaſures that may ſecure this Government from any future Inconveniencies or Diſtreſs that can be ſuppoſed connected with the Confidence repoſed in the Vizeer, for the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of his Revenue and Military Eſtabliſhment." (*a*)

[This Conſultation not ſigned.]

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 12th of June 1783, from Book 82, already delivered in, beginning at Page 307 of the ſame Book.

"To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at Lucknow.

"I have received your repeated Aſſurances, addreſſed to myſelf and to the Board, that the Nabob's Debt to the Company ſhould be completely diſcharged by the Cloſe of the Year. In my Fears for a Diſappointment in this Expectation, and in the contrary Belief, that in its actual Train the Debt is more likely to exceed the Amount at which it ſtood the laſt Year, than to be paid, I hereby apprize you, that if at the End of the Fuſſellee Year any Part of it ſhall remain in Arrears, I ſhall move the Board to call upon you publickly to account for it; and, that you may know that this Declaration is not made on light Grounds, I ſhall enter a Copy of this Letter upon the Company's Records. It will do you no Injury, if you diſprove the Juſtice of my Suſpicions by the Effects of your Exertions.

"I have written to Hyder Beg upon the ſame Subject, and intended to refer you to his Letter for my fuller Sentiments, but I ſhall not have it ready for Diſpatch for this Poſt." (*b*)

I am, Sir, &c."

[N. B. No Signature.]

Read, the following Letter from the Governor General to Hyder Beg Khan, dated the 15th of Auguſt 1782, from Book 120, already delivered in.

"To Hyder Beg Khan. Written the 15th Auguſt 1782.

"When I prevailed upon the Nawab Vizier to commit the entire Charge of the Revenues and the Adminiſtration of his Finances to his Miniſters, of whom you are the acting and reſponſible Perſon, with the Concurrence of the Reſident, Mr. Middleton, I had ſo firm a Reliance on your Integrity, Diligence, and Abilities, which are univerſally known, and no leſs on the ſame Qualities of Mr. Middleton, that I departed with a Mind perfectly at Eaſe, expecting that Order would be reſtored to the Nawab's Affairs, capable and truſt-worthy Aumils appointed to the Superintendance of the Diſtricts, the Forces duly ſtationed for the Security of Peace, and the Confirmation of the Authority of the Sircar, and that the paſt and growing Debt of the Company would be completely diſcharged in the Courſe of the Year, and that I ſhould receive the Thanks of the Nawab your Maſter for the Effects of my Solicitude for the Support of his Dignity and Eaſe. The Event has proved the Reverſe of theſe Hopes, an Accumulation of Diſtreſs, Debaſement, and Diſſatisfaction to the Nawab, and of Diſappointment and Diſgrace to me. Every Meaſure which he had himſelf propoſed, and to which he had ſolicited my Aſſiſtance, has been ſo conducted as to give him Cauſe of Diſpleaſure; there are no Offices eſtabliſhed by which his Affairs could be regularly conducted; mean, incapable, and indigent Men have been appointed Aumils of the Diſtricts, without Authority, and without the Means of Perſonal Protection; ſome of them have been murdered by the Zemindars, and thoſe Zemindars, inſtead of Puniſhment, have have* been permitted to retain their Zemindaries with independent Authority; all the other Zemindars ſuffered to riſe in Rebellion, and to inſult the Authority of the Sircar, without any Attempt made to ſuppreſs them; and the Company's Debt, inſtead of being diſcharged by the Aſſignments and extraordinary Sources of Money reſerved for that Purpoſe, is likely to exceed even the Amount at which it ſtood at the Time in which the Arrangements with his Excellency were concluded. The Growth of theſe Evils was early made known to me, and their Effects foreboded in the ſame Order and Manner as they have come to paſs" (*c*).

* Sic in Orig.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that, before they proceeded to the Subject of the Cruelties exerciſed to compel the Begums to deliver up the Treaſures, they wiſhed to aſk a few Queſtions of Sir Elijah Impey.

Accordingly SIR ELIJAH IMPEY was called in:

Then the Managers for the Commons requeſted, that ſeveral Paſſages in the Minutes of Evidence might be read.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LIII.
(*b*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII. Page 109.
(*c*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXXII.

The ſame were read by the Clerk, and are as follow:

"The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That as the Witneſs ſpoke from imperfect Recollection, and which Recollection ſeemed not to tally with his former Evidence, where he likewiſe ſpoke from Recollection of thoſe Letters in Queſtion, they could not but expreſs a Doubt of the Accuracy of ſuch Recollection, and a Wiſh therefore to ſee the Letter.

"Then the Witneſs requeſted, that his former Examination, before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, might be read from the Minutes of the Committee, as far as related to the Subject at preſent under Conſideration, that it might appear whether there was any Difference between his Evidence there and that now given by him at the Bar; and that he might explain the ſame, if any ſhould be found." (*a*)

"Then the Managers for the Commons being aſked, Whether they had any Objection? made anſwer, That they had none." (*b*)

"Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, That the Minutes were come, if the Witneſs wiſhed to have them read.

"Then a Book, intituled, "Minutes of the Eaſt India Judicature Committee 1782-3, N° 3," was delivered in.

"Read, the following Extract, beginning at Page 19 of the ſaid Book." (*c*)

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, That they had troubled the Houſe with the above Extracts, to ſhew, that what they were about to do, was not without Precedent; and deſired the following Queſtion might be put to the Witneſs:

Q. Whether you would wiſh to clear up any Contradiction there may happen to be, between the Evidence you gave before the Houſe of Commons, and the Evidence you have given at this Bar?

A. Yes, certainly.

Read, the following Extracts of the Evidence of Sir Elijah Impey, in the Houſe of Commons, taken before a Committee of the whole Houſe, on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors preſented to the Houſe againſt Warren Haſtings Eſquire, from the Minutes of the ſaid Committee.

"*Veneris*, 2° *Die Februarii*, 1788.

"What was the Nature of the Communication you verbally made to Mr. Middleton at Lucknow?

"Mr. Haſtings gave me very ſhort Notes in Writing, relative to the Subjects he wiſhed me to mention to Mr. Middleton.—I thought I had preſerved the Paper, but after having looked for it with great Diligence, I am not able to find it: I have two Papers of ſhort Notes in Mr. Middleton's Hand, which he delivered to me when I left Lucknow. Theſe I verily believe to be on the Subjects he wiſhed me to talk on with Mr. Middleton; upon looking at them, I ſee Mr. Middleton muſt have added ſomething of his own, but the moſt material I can ſupply by Memory.

"You will underſtand that the Queſtion relates to the Subject of the Begums, and before you ſpeak from theſe Memorandums, you will anſwer the Queſtion—What was the Communication you made to Mr. Middleton at Lucknow, reſpecting the Begums, as the Pleaſure of Mr. Haſtings?

"That I conſidered as the moſt material Part of what I communicated to Mr. Middleton; but in order to make that intelligible, it will be neceſſary for me to ſtate to the Committee, what had previouſly paſſed between me and Mr. Haſtings, I think at Chunar, either at Benares or Chunar, but I think at Chunar, as it will explain to the Committee the Whole Riſe and Cauſe of the Demands made upon the Begums. Mr. Haſtings ſtated to me the Embarraſſment of his Situation, he had failed of his Object at Benares, a Revolution had ſucceeded, he was defeated, from the Inſurrections in the Country, from proceeding to Lucknow; he ſtated (the Facts I do not take upon me to verify) that the Begums were in actual Rebellion againſt the Nabob Vizier; he told me that his whole Credit depended on the Execution of the Treaty of Chunar; that he feared, from the Calmneſs of the Temper of Mr. Middleton, that he would not ſufficiently urge the Execution of that Treaty. It had been propoſed that I ſhould have proceeded as far as Illahabad, as a central Place,

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 566. (*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 567. (*c*) Vide ſupra, Page 571.

for

for the Purpoſe of taking the Depoſitions alluded to. He afterwards requeſted me, for the Purpoſe of inducing Mr. Middleton to procure the Execution of that Treaty, to proceed to Lucknow—In that Converſation this paſſed; and I will not take upon me to ſay (for I mean to give the Committee the moſt candid Information in my Power) whether the Idea of the Confiſcation of the Effects of the Begums originated from him or from me—It certainly originated in that Converſation. This I perfectly remember to have ſaid to Mr. Haſtings,—When you communicated to me in Calcutta your Intentions with regard to Cheyt Sing, I declined giving you any Opinion at all, becauſe I could not take upon me a ſufficient Knowledge of the Laws of the Country to adviſe whether that Act was legal or not.—But with regard to the Begums, I told him (and if I was wrong, I truſt to the Candour of the Houſe, that they will impute it to an Error in Judgment) that if the Facts he ſtated were true, namely, that the Begums were in actual Rebellion, I conſidered it to be neceſſary to the Exiſtence of the Government of the Nabob Vizier, that he ſhould have the Power of taking from his Subjects in Rebellion, thoſe Treaſures which enabled them to ſupport their Rebellion.—I wiſh to be underſtood, though I believe the Facts to be true, that I by no Means aſſert them to be ſo, being not a Matter within my own Knowledge.—I am now going to anſwer the Queſtion—I underſtood Mr. Haſtings to adopt the Reaſoning, and this he deſired me to communicate to Mr. Middleton, which I did—relating to him the Whole which had paſſed between Mr. Haſtings and me on that Subject, and Mr. Haſtings's Inclination to carry Meaſures into Execution for the Confiſcation of their Effects.

" Did this Converſation with Mr. Haſtings happen immediately preceding your going to Lucknow?

" Almoſt immediately before I went to Lucknow."

The Counſel for the Defendant deſired to enter their Proteſt againſt this Proceeding being admitted as a Precedent; it being an indirect Mode of doing what the Houſe had already declared, upon the Examination of a former Witneſs, ſhould not be done; though they had no particular Objection to it in this Inſtance.

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Minutes.

" You having ſtated to the Committee that Mr. Haſtings had informed you, previous to your ſetting out to Lucknow, that the Begums were in a State of actual Rebellion, did you find that to be the Fact upon your Arrival at Lucknow?

" The Begums did not reſide at Lucknow. At Lucknow I could no more have a perſonal Knowledge of it than at Chunar; but I was adviſed at Chunar to avoid Fyzabad in my going to Lucknow, becauſe the Begums were in Rebellion; and I was adviſed by every Body at Lucknow to avoid Fyzabad at my Return to Chunar, for the ſame Reaſon: Of my own Knowledge, I know nothing of that Fact. From thence I collect it was the Senſe of every Body at Lucknow, that the Begums were then in Rebellion; and Colonel Hannay, eſpecially, mentioned to me ſeveral Facts concerning their Rebellion."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Minutes.

" Then the Nabob never mentioned to you, that his Parents were in actual Rebellion againſt him?

" He certainly never did; but it is not to be inferred from thence that they were not, as we had no Converſation upon the State of the Country, of the Treaty of Benares, or of any of the preceding Tranſactions."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Minutes.

" Whether you did not adviſe Mr. Haſtings to prevail on the Nabob to reſume the Jaghire and ſeize on the Treaſures of the Begums, on a Suppoſition that the Begums were in Rebellion?

" I adviſed Mr. Haſtings to that Meaſure, if the Fact was true that the Begums were in Rebellion—how that Fact was to be aſcertained I did not pretend to adviſe. Whether public Notoriety was ſufficient according to the Laws, I was not converſant—it might. The Fact being aſcertained, I thought the Right to confiſcate followed.

" Did you not think that in giving Advice, which muſt be attended with Conſequences ſo fatal to the Fortune and Character of Perſons of that Diſtinction, you ought to have adviſed alſo remarkable Care in the Aſcertainment of the Facts?

" I gave my Opinion on an abſtract Propoſition. There is no Man of common Senſe or Juſtice but muſt think that Facts muſt be ſufficiently aſcertained before they are acted upon.

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Minutes.

" Was you bound byny Duty whatſoever to intermeddle in that Affair?

" I was

" I was not by any other Duty but the Duty of a Man; and Mr. Haſtings was then in ſuch a Situation, that I ſhould not have acted with common Humanity, if I could have given him Aſſiſtance and had refuſed it.

" What was Mr. Haſtings's Condition at that Time?

" I have before ſtated to the Committee what Mr. Haſtings had himſelf ſaid of his Situation. The Company's Affairs were at that Time to all Appearance in a very ruinous Condition: To retrieve the Condition of the Company, was the profeſſed Object of Mr. Haſtings in going up the Country; his principal Objects were Reſources from Benares and Oude. At Benares he had been defeated of his Purpoſe: a horrid Maſſacre had taken Place there—a Revolution had taken Place at Benares—Hr. Haſtings was lately releaſed from a Confinement in the Garriſon at Chunar—the whole Country of Oude had been in Arms, and Part of it was ſtill ſo—he was likewiſe defeated in his Purpoſe of going up to Oude, having obtained nothing for the Company—he had incurred great Reſponſibility from the Events that had happened.—That was the State Mr. Haſtings was in, which I conceive to be that of real Diſtreſs."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs.

Q. (*from the Managers.*) Whether the Anſwers which have been read to you, contain an accurate Account of the Converſations you had relative to the Begums with Mr. Haſtings, and to the Part which you took in the Tranſaction, or whether you wiſh to clear up any Differences between that Acccount and the Account you have given at this Bar?

A. I believe the Converſation is accurate, with this Diſtinction only, that at the Time I delivered that Evidence, I perceive I did not make the Diſtinctions of the Time when I underſtood the Begums to be in actual Rebellion; the Propoſition that I advanced to Mr. Haſtings was exactly the ſame, whether the Begums were then in actual Rebellion, or whether they had been before in actual Rebellion; I had looked over, before I gave my Evidence in the Houſe, ſome Letters that I had received from Mr. Haſtings, and which Letters I delivered in to the Houſe of Commons; upon looking over thoſe Letters I perceived, that the Begums were not at that Time in actual Rebellion, becauſe one of Mr. Haſtings's Letters referred to Troubles at Oude, which he ſaid he hoped would be totally pacified by the Nabob's going to Fyzabad; the Nabob had then been at Fyzabad. I do not, upon Recollection, know of any other Variance in my Evidence. I have not ſeen the printed Evidence, and therefore if any is pointed out to me, I will, if I can, reconcile it; if not, I will ſay it is not to be reconciled.

Q. Whether you do not perceive, that in this Evidence you Five ſeveral Times ſtate the Begums to have been then in actual Rebellion?

A. I certainly have obſerved in hearing the Evidence now, that it does go upon the Idea of the Begums then being in actual Rebellion, but I am as certain likewiſe that that muſt have proceeded from Miſtake.

Q. How comes it to paſs, that your Memory is freſher and better on the Subject now, than it was a Twelvemonth ago?

A. I do not think my Memory much freſher upon the Subject, than it was a Twelvemonth ago; but ſome Matters have occurred to me, that make me recollect it better: One was, a Letter I received from Mr. Haſtings; the other was, my Propoſition and Intention to have gone round to Lucknow by Fyzabad, and when I was at Lucknow, enquiring whether I could return by Fyzabad: If my Idea had been, that there was an actual Rebellion at Fyzabad, it would have been impoſſible for me to have gone there, either in my Way to Lucknow, or in my Way back.

Q. Whether you did not know of the Circumſtance, of your having offered to go round by Fyzabad, when you made this Anſwer in the Houſe of Commons?—" I was adviſed at Chunar, to avoid Fyzabad, in my going to Lucknow, becauſe the Begums were in Rebellion;"—and you ſtate it as one of the Reaſons why your Memory is better upon the Subject, now that you recollect having offered to go through Fyzabad?

A. Yes; and I certainly did not, then; becauſe I did not ſee the Conſequence of making the Diſtinction between the Begums being then actually in Rebellion, and the Troubles not having totally ceaſed.

Q. Whether it is your Rule, in making an Anſwer, to conſider the Conſequences firſt, before you reply to the Fact?

A. Undoubtedly it is; but the attending to the Conſequences never has that Operation upon my Mind, that will make me depart from the Truth.

Q. Whether you have not been in an Error, with reſpect to the Fact, in theſe Five ſeveral Anſwers upon the Fact?

A. I have certainly been in verbal Error, with reſpect to them.

Q. You have ſtated Two Reaſons why your Recollection is more accurate now; the one your Recollection of having offered to go round by Fyzabad; the other Reaſon is, your having adverted to a Letter which you had received from Mr. Haſtings; whether you had not adverted to that Letter, and, in Fact, given in, that Letter to the Houſe of Commons before you made this Anſwer?

A. I

A. I certainly had delivered it, but I had not adverted to it; I had delivered it in. At the Time I received the Notice to deliver in the Letters to the Houſe of Commons, I received the Notice about Ten o'Clock the Night before I was examined; my Papers were bound up in Fourteen Volumes, and I had that Night to examine all my Papers, to ſee how they related to the Matter before the Houſe of Commons. I did look over my Papers, and I preſented them the next Day to the Houſe of Commons.

Q. How did it come to paſs, that you did not advert to the Letter while you had it, and did advert to it after it was out of your Poſſeſſion?

A. Before I was examined here, I looked into the printed Evidence of the Houſe of Commons, where theſe Letters were. I thought it right to look into it, to refreſh my Memory, before I gave my Evidence here."

Q. Whether you know that the Affidavits contained in Mr. Haſtings's Narrative, are actually the ſame Affidavits you took at Lucknow?

A. Before I anſwer that Queſtion, I would beg leave to give another Reaſon why I could not underſtand, though it was ſo expreſſed, that the Begums were actually in Rebellion; becauſe I underſtand I refer to Accounts that I received from Major Hannay, as a Reaſon why I did not go round by Fyzabad; the Accounts from Major Hannay muſt have been of a Rebellion which had paſſed, and not of One then actually exiſting; that being Major Hannay's Account with regard to the Affidavits: I can by no means take upon me to ſay, that they are the ſame Affidavits: I believe they are the ſame.

Q. Where was Colonel Hannay at the Time you received thoſe Accounts from him?

A. Colonel Hannay was then at Lucknow; they were Accounts in Converſation.

Q. Was it not competent to you to recollect thoſe Accounts in Converſation when you was examined before the Houſe of Commons, as well as afterwards?

A. It certainly was; and I ought to have altered that verbal Miſtake, undoubtedly; and, if I had adverted to it, upon that very Ground I ſhould have deſired to have had it altered.

Q. Then, in Fact, you had no written Accounts from Colonel Hannay to refer to, to refreſh your Memory?

A. I certainly had the Affidavit of Colonel Hannay, which I might have referred to at the Time I was at Lucknow; but what I refer to is a Converſation, becauſe I did not read the Affidavit of Colonel Hannay.

Q. You did not then recur to the Affidavits?

A. I certainly did not recur to the Affidavits, but I have read every Affidavit ſince I was here laſt; and the Reaſon was, that ſo many Obſervations were made upon my not having read them the laſt Time I was here: and I beg to take notice of a Circumſtance which I ſhould not have given in Evidence if I had read them, and that is, that I believe the Witneſſes had been introduced to me either by Mr. Middleton, or Mr. Johnſon; I thought that had been the Fact till I heard Mr. Middleton contradict it in his Evidence: upon looking over the Affidavits, I find that all the Affidavits of the Natives taken before me were either Affidavits of People in the Army, or of Moonſhys, or of People attached to the Officers in the Army; for which Reaſon, I now believe thoſe Perſons were either introduced to me by Colonel Hannay, or ſome of his Officers.

Q. Then, from this Anſwer, I collect, it was the Senſe of every Body at Lucknow, that the Begums were then in Rebellion; whether you, in this Anſwer, allude to the Converſation with Colonel Hannay, at Lucknow?

A. The ſame Miſtake certainly runs through the Evidence, in the Word "then;" undoubtedly it does; it was certainly a Miſtake; but I will take upon me to ſay now upon my Oath, that what I then underſtood was not an actual Rebellion at the Time, but a Rebellion which had paſſed, and I could not poſſibly have underſtood it as an actual Rebellion at the Time, if I had adverted to the Facts I have mentioned.

Q. Whether the Firſt Circumſtance that led you to advert to this Miſtake was not the being aſked why, when the Begums were in actual Rebellion, you ſhould have offered to go through Fyzabad?

A. It certainly was not.

Q. Did you ever ſhew, in the Houſe of Commons, or any where elſe, or expreſs any Conſciouſneſs of having made a Miſtake, till that Queſtion was aſked?

A. I do not recollect when that Queſtion was aſked; but now, when I came to be examined here, my Recollection certainly was ſuch as I have delivered in Evidence before the Court.

Q. How did it come to paſs that, previous to your Examination here, you recurred to the Evidence before the Houſe of Commons, to refreſh your Memory, from which you could not receive Information, and not to the Affidavit of Colonel Hannay, from which you might receive Information?

A. What I ſaid was this, that being to be examined before this Court upon the ſame ſubject Matter as I was examined upon before the Houſe of Commons, I looked to ſee what I had ſaid before the

Houſe of Commons; I had not in the Houſe of Commons given any Evidence of what was in any Affidavit.

Q. What Part of your Evidence before the Houſe of Commons reminded you of this Miſtake?
A. I do not remember there was any Part of the Evidence before the Houſe of Commons that did remind me of this Miſtake.

Q. Why have you ſtated, that it was in conſequence of your recurring to the Evidence before the Houſe of Commons, that you diſcovered your Error?
A. I have not ſo ſtated; I believe I have ſtated no ſuch Thing.

Q. That is a Matter of Fact; it is unneceſſary to refer to the Queſtion. The Witneſs is poſitive he has not ſaid it?
A. I think I have not; I ſhould be glad, if I have ſaid it, to hear it read.

Then the following Queſtions and Anſwers were read by the Clerk. (*a*)

"Q. Whether you had not adverted to that Letter, and given in that Letter to the Houſe of Commons, before you made this Anſwer?
"A. I certainly had delivered it, but I had not adverted to it, I had delivered it in. At the Time I received the Notice to deliver in the Letters to the Houſe of Commons, I received the Notice about Ten o'Clock the Night before I was examined; my Papers were bound up in Fourteen Volumes, and I had that Night to examine all my Papers, to ſee how they related to the Matter before the Houſe of Commons. I did look over my Papers, and I preſented them the next Day to the Houſe of Commons.

"Q. How did it come to paſs that you did not advert to the Letter while you had it, and did advert to it after it was out of your Poſſeſſion?
"A. Before I was examined here, I looked into the printed Evidence of the Houſe of Commons, where theſe Letters were. I thought it right to look into it, to refreſh my Memory before I gave my Evidence here."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Then you refreſhed your Memory with it before you gave your Evidence here?
A. I have not ſaid I refreſhed my Memory from that Letter with reſpect to the Circumſtance of the Rebellion, and I do not remember that I did. I do not remember that the Circumſtance had ſtruck me. There certainly is a Variance, but it certainly did not ſtrike me when I read that Letter.

Q. You have now ſtated, you do not know that thoſe Affidavits are the ſame?
A. I cannot take upon me to ſay thoſe Affidavits are the ſame: I delivered all of them as taken, to Mr. Haſtings, but I do not recollect whether they are the ſame.

Q. Do you recollect the Number of Affidavits you took at Lucknow?
A. I do not at all recollect the Number I took at Lucknow; all I took at Lucknow, I delivered to Mr. Haſtings, and, I think, upon looking over them in the Appendix to Mr. Haſtings's Narrative, there appears to be about Eight or Nine.

Q. Then your Anſwer is, That you know nothing of the Number but from now looking over them?
A. Since I was laſt examined: At that Time I had never looked at them.

Q. You looked at the Tops and the Bottoms?
A. I certainly did; and this Gentleman was the Occaſion of my looking at the Tops and the Bottoms.

Q. I think it is worth recurring to his former Evidence; he has given the Reaſon for not looking at the Affidavits, and ſince then he ſays he has?
A. I have given the Reaſons why I did that then. I did not intend to do it, but ſo many Obſervations were made then, that I was determined, if I was called again, to do it. I know of no Reaſon why I ſhould have avoided it, and I ſhould be glad if any Thing were pointed out to the Houſe that would be a Reflection upon my Reputation for not doing it; and why I ſhould ſay I had read them, if I had not read them, I cannot conceive.

Q. But, now that you have looked them over, and do know what they contain, Do you recollect whether thoſe Affidavits which were in Perſian, or Hindoo, or the Mooriſh Language, were explained to any One of the Deponents who ſwore them?
A. If confined to Lucknow, I am prety certain they were not—there certainly were others taken at other Places, that were. The Reaſons why they were not at Lucknow, were theſe: Firſt, that the Witneſſes all brought them themſelves ready drawn; the other was, that I had no Interpreter with me: many of the Affidavits were taken at Chunar, and other Places, where the Affidavits were not firſt drawn, and I had an Interpreter.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 840-1.

Q. What

Q. What Witneſſes brought thoſe Affidavits ready drawn?

A. I cannot poſſibly recollect what particular Witneſſes brought the Affidavits; but, according to the beſt of my Recollection, all the Affidavits ſworn at Lucknow, were brought by the Perſons who ſwore them; there are, I believe, ſome of the Officers here, with whom I have had no Converſation. I have ſeen a Mr. Gordon, and a Mr. Williams; and it is very poſſible they may give an Account, whether they or Colonel Hannay introduced them. I ſee them preſent in Court; I have not aſked the Queſtion, and I do not know how it will turn out.

Q. Had you any Means of knowing, whether the Deponents, in the Perſian or the Hindoo Language, underſtood any Thing of the Depoſitions which they gave?

A. I certainly had no more than this, that they themſelves delivered their Affidavits.

Q. Do you mean, that they brought you the Papers, and put into your Hands; and that that was the Whole of the Ceremony that paſſed?

A. The Affidavits were ſworn, therefore there certainly muſt be more Ceremony than ſimply delivering the Papers into my Hands.

Q. Is there the Signature of any Witneſs, that they were ſworn?

A. If I look into the Book, I can tell; but I certainly either ſaw the Perſons write or make their Marks.

Q. How were the Hindoos ſworn; and by whom?

A. The common Method of ſwearing a Hindoo is, that a Bramin brings a Braſs Baſon, with the Waters of the Ganges, into which the Hindoo dips his Hand, and takes the Oath: That being the Manner in which the Hindoos are ſworn, I verily believe, every Hindoo that was ſworn before me, was ſworn in that Manner. They were ſworn before me, and I do not know of their being ſworn by any Body elſe: I have ſworn a great Number of Hindoos in my Time, and I have always ſworn them in the ſame Manner. I think I may take upon me to ſay, there was no Variation in the Solemnity; I cannot ſpeak particularly to the Solemnity; but I certainly took their Affidavits in the ſame Manner as I took them upon other Occaſions.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, that, according to your Recollection, you are ſure thoſe Hindoos, who were ſworn to thoſe Affidavits, were ſworn in the Manner you deſcribe?

A. I do, and upon this Ground; that I am very certain I would not have ſworn a Hindoo in any other Manner. I do not do it from a preciſe Memory that any Hindoo was ſworn; poſſibly no Hindoo was ſworn; poſſibly that is what is meant by the Queſtion—that no Hindoo was ſworn. I will not take upon myſelf to ſay that any Hindoo was ſworn; only, that if a Hindoo was ſworn, I ſhould have ſworn them ſo.

Q. Then, with reſpect to the Fact, your Recollection is not poſitive.

A. This I mean to ſwear, and this only, that I verily believe upon the Ground that I would not have ſworn a Hindoo or a Muſſulman in any other Manner than that in which Hindoos or Muſſulmen are generally ſworn, that all the Papers which purport to be Affidavits, and which I delivered to Mr. Haſtings, were ſworn in the uſual Manner, by Perſons repreſenting themſelves to be the Perſons that ſigned the Papers.

Q. When any Deponent came before you, and made his Mark to an Affidavit, did you cauſe the Affidavit to be explained to him, or interpreted in your Preſence?

A. I am willing to give further Satisfaction upon that Subject. I have ſeveral Times anſwered that they certainly were not explained; that the Parties brought them, and bringing them themſelves, they were not explained, becauſe I ſuppoſed them to know what they brought.

Q. When you perceived a Deponent could not write, what did you do to know that he was acquainted with the Contents of his Affidavit?

A. I collected it, from the Man himſelf delivering me the Affidavit.

Q. Did you know, whether the Perſons who ſwore, were the Perſons the Affidavits ſtated them to be?

A. No; I certainly did not; I never ſaw them before; and I do not know whether I ever ſaw them ſince. As I ſaid before, they were either black Officers in the Regiment belonging to Colonel Hannay, or his Officers, or they were black Moonſhies attached to the Officers: I ſay it, from having read the Affidavits ſince I was here laſt; and that is all the Knowledge I have acquired.

Q. Do you recollect having ſworn any Witneſs more than once in One Day?

A. The Fact might happen, but I have no Recollection of it; I rather believe, upon looking over the Dates of the Affidavits, that there are ſeveral: Major Davy, for inſtance, was ſworn ſeveral Times upon ſeveral Subjects the ſame Day.

Q. I am ſpeaking of Lucknow always?

A. I do not recollect the Fact at all: It might be ſo, but I do not recollect.

Q. Do

Q. Do you recollect the remarkable Circumſtance of one Doond Sing ſwearing Three Times before you, and putting his Mark Three Times in One Day?

A. My Recollection, if any upon that Subject, is that he was; but it ariſes from having ſeen the Affidavits within theſe few Days. Twice I recollect to have ſeen his Name, it may be Three Times.

Q. How came you not to make ſome Obſervation, upon the Circumſtance of a Black Subahdar being brought before you Three Times, to make Affidavits the ſame Day?

A. It is very difficult for me to give an Anſwer to that Queſtion, becauſe, as I have ſtated, till I ſaw it in the Book, I did not remember the Circumſtance; and not remembering the Circumſtance till then, I cannot give an Anſwer why I did not make any Obſervation.

Q. Whether, in looking over the Book ſince, you have obſerved that Doond Sing ſays nothing againſt the Begums the Two Firſt Times he ſwears, but he does the Third Time?

A. I do not know: I have made no Obſervation upon it. If it is ſo, it will appear upon the Book; and if it was ſo, I ſhould not have known it at the Time; ſo no Obſervation could have ariſen to me at that Time.

Q. But ſince?

A. No.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, You were not ſtruck at the Time with the Circumſtance of a Perſon's being ſworn Three Times in One Day?

A. If it will be any Satisfaction, I took the Affidavits and read them, and made Columns for the Dates when they were ſworn, and I entered the Perſons Names who ſwore under the Date, for the Purpoſe of ſeeing what Affidavits were ſworn while I was at Lucknow, and I really do not recollect any Thing that ſtruck me upon the Subject. I do remember, now it is mentioned, there was a Man who ſwore more than once; but the chief Object of looking at the Affidavits, was to ſee which were taken at Lucknow. I was afraid I had made a Miſtake; but I am not ſure whether I have or no. I was examined as to the Time I took the Affidavit of the Rannee at Ramnagur. According to my Recollection, as I ſtood at the Bar, I ſhould have ſaid I took it in my Way to Calcutta, in my Way from Ramnagur; but I ſee now, I muſt have taken it in my Way from Benares to Ramnagur.

Q. You muſt have made a Miſtake when you ſaid you read them, and claſſed them according to Date?

A. I certainly did read them; but I did not read them with Accuracy. I think it was laſt Saturday or laſt Sunday.

Q. But you ſaid, by Miſtake, you read them at the Time?

A. I certainly meant to ſay no ſuch Thing; if I have, I am very ſorry for it, it was a very groſs Miſtake.

The following Queſtion, and Part of the Anſwer thereto, were read by the Clerk.

" Q. Do you mean to ſay, That you were not ſtruck at the Time by the Circumſtances of a Perſon being ſworn Three Times in One Day?

" A. If it will be any Satisfaction, I took the Affidavits and read them, and made Columns for the Dates when they were ſworn."

The Witneſs ſaid,

What I meant by that was, That I took the Affidavits for the Purpoſe of reading them laſt Saturday, and dividing the Columns on that Paper.

Q. Do you mean laſt Saturday you made the Columns?

A. I mean laſt Saturday.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they had aſked the Witneſs, Whether, at the Time he was at Lucknow, he was ſtruck with the Circumſtance of a Perſon ſwearing Three Times in One Day? His Anſwer to which was, That if it would be any Satisfaction, he would tell how he took them, and deſcribed the Manner; which they underſtood he ſtated with reſpect to thoſe he took at Lucknow, and that he read them at that Time.

The Witneſs ſaid,

It is impoſſible I could mean that.

The Houſe obſerved, that the Miſtake might eaſily be explained. That in the Queſtion put by the Managers, the Words " at the Time" were not inſerted, but in the Queſtion as put by the Houſe, theſe Words " at the Time" were inſerted, underſtanding

derſtanding the Managers ſo to have put them. They were therefore inſerted in the Queſtion as read by the Clerk. But the Anſwer of the Witneſs, was to the Queſtion put by the Managers, and not as put by the Houſe.

Q. Whether you was not at Lucknow ſtruck with the Circumſtance of One Man being ſworn Three Times a Day?

A. To that Queſtion I think I before anſwered; I did not recollect, nor do I now recollect that I obſerved any thing upon that Circumſtance at the Time. When I was aſked whether a Perſon was ſeveral Times examined before me, I ſaid, that by putting the ſeveral Affidavits in Columns, I ſaw one Man had been examined more than Once upon One Day; that was the Whole that I meant by the Anſwer I gave.

Q. Whether, for any thing within your Knowledge, Mr. Haſtings might not have withheld and ſuppreſſed any of the Affidavits he thought proper, which you brought from Lucknow?

A. Moſt undoubtedly he might have done it.

Q. Whether, the Purpoſe of taking thoſe Affidavits by you, was not to furniſh a Ground for Mr. Haſtings's Defence, for Acts done and to be done?

A. It certainly was; I did not conceive he would ſubtract any of them. It certainly was as a Juſtification; I did not ſuppoſe him to be a Man ſo ſuſpected, that I could not truſt the Affidavits I took, to be put into his Hands; I did not ſuſpect he would ſuppreſs them, or any of them, or put any others in their Room. They certainly were for his Juſtification, and if I had ſuppoſed ſuch Suſpicions would have been entertained of Mr. Haſtings, or if I had had ſuch Suſpicions of him, I moſt undoubtedly would not have delivered them to him in that Manner.

Q. The Object of theſe Affidavits being the Juſtification of Mr. Haſtings, and undertaken by your Advice, whether you would have adviſed Mr. Haſtings to inſert in his Juſtification, Affidavits that made againſt his own Cauſe?

A. As an honeſt Man, I ſhould have adviſed Mr. Haſtings to tell the Story truly and faithfully as it was, and to inſert thoſe Affidavits that contained the Facts, whether they made for him, or againſt him.

Q. Then do you know, why Hoolas Roy's Affidavit does not appear, or his Examination?

A. I was before aſked about Hoolas Roy. I ſaw upon a Memorandum I had from Mr. Middleton, this Entry, "Hoolas Roy ordered to Chunar;" that is all I know of Hoolas Roy. Whether Hoolas Roy ever came to Chunar, whether Hoolas Roy's Affidavit was ever taken, or if Hoolas Roy's Affidavit was taken, why it was not publiſhed by Mr. Haſtings with the reſt, I do not know.

Q. Do you not admit, that the Fact of the Begum's having ſaved Captain Gordon was upon the Face of it, a Circumſtance very much in her Favour?

A. If it is any Satisfaction that I ſhould give my Opinion, that naked Circumſtance certainly was.

Q. Had you any Converſation with Captain Gordon, or Colonel Hannay, why that Fact was ſuppreſſed in their Depoſitions?

A. I do not know that Fact was ſuppreſſed, I therefore could have no Converſation with them upon the Subject, why it was ſuppreſſed: I verily believe I had Converſations with Major Hannay and Mr. Middleton, upon the Subject of their Affidavits, but not upon that particular Circumſtance. I do not know, whether at that Time I had heard that Circumſtance alluded to or no: I have not any certain Knowledge that I had Converſation with them upon the Subject, but I really believe I had, becauſe, it was natural, that I ſhould. I do not recollect any particular Converſations, but I verily believe I had Converſations; if I was obliged to ſwear one Way or other, it would be that I had Converſations; but I cannot recollect what thoſe Converſations were: In the Tent, dining with the Officers, upon the Occaſion of going to take their Affidavits, that being one Object of my coming to Lucknow, it is moſt exceedingly improbable that that ſhould not have been the Subject of Converſation.

Q. *(Croſs examined.)* You have been aſked your Opinion upon that Tranſaction relating to Captain Gordon: Whether you would have formed the ſame Opinion of it if you had known the Tranſaction had taken place, after the Begums were informed of the Succeſs of the Britiſh Arms againſt Cheit Sing?

A. I really am embarraſſed in giving Opinions upon Subjects, which the Houſe can give a better Opinion upon.

The Houſe obſerved it was no Evidence.

Q. (*by a Manager.*) In the Converſation you had with Mr. Haſtings before you left Calcutta, reſpecting his Intention againſt Cheit Sing, whether Mr. Haſtings made you any Communication of his Suſpicion of the Diſaffection or Miſconduct of the Begums?

A. The Converſation I alluded to in a Part of the Evidence before the Houſe of Commons, was a Converſation with Mr. Haſtings before he left Calcutta. I do not recollect hearing from Mr. Haſtings, or any other Perſon at that Time, that the Begums were in Rebellion.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether you know, or ever knew, of any Cauſe of perſonal private Enmity between Mr. Haſtings and the Begums?

A. I never heard it ſuggeſted. I had underſtood, and all I believe that I had heard upon the Subject was, that Mr. Haſtings had protected the Begums when the Nabob had made an Attempt to ſeize their Treaſure, ſoon after I came to Calcutta.

Q. (*by Counſel.*) Whether you had not heard, from Report, of the Diſaffection of the Begums, prior to your going to Lucknow?

A. I cannot poſitively ſay whether I had or not; whether the Begums Names are mentioned in the Letter I received from Mr. Haſtings in going up, I cannot tell; he certainly mentions Troubles at Fyzabad; but he mentions nothing, that I know of, of the Begums. All I collected on the Subject is from that Letter I received from Mr. Haſtings.

Q. I think I heard it ſaid, the Begums were not mentioned in the Letter from Mr. Haſtings to Mr. Middleton, dated the 15th of November 1781?

A. I am alluding to a Letter I myſelf received from Mr. Haſtings before I ſaw him.

Q. I underſtood, in a former Examination, you ſaid you had been acquainted with the Contents of a Letter of the 15th of November 1781; in that Letter mention was made of Levies of Horſe and Foot openly made at Fyzabad, both by the Begums and Cheyt Sing's Agents; was that prior to your going up to Lucknow?

A. Prior to my going up to Lucknow, but not prior to my having Converſation with Mr. Haſtings.

Q. My Queſtion is, whether you had heard of it prior to your going to Lucknow?

A. There can be no doubt about it; I ſtated the Converſation.

Q. (*by a Lord.*) I underſtand you to have depoſed, that you founded the Opinion you gave Mr. Haſtings, of the Propriety and Legality of the Nabob's ſeizing the Treaſure of the Begums, upon the Fact of a ſuppoſed Rebellion, that either did then exiſt, or had exiſted, a Rebellion of the Begums againſt him the Nabob; have I rightly underſtood you?

A. Undoubtedly, with regard to the Nabob's Right of ſeizing the Treaſure, as there was a Rebellion againſt him, I looked upon that as attaching the Nabob's Right to ſeize them.

Q. Am I to underſtand that you conſidered the ſuppoſed Intention, or overt Acts, if there were any overt Acts, in the Begum, to aſſiſt Cheyt Sing, as an Act of Rebellion againſt him the Nabob?

A. No; but what I had likewiſe heard was, that the Begums had an Intention of taking Advantage of thoſe Troubles, for the Purpoſe of raiſing Saadit Ali to the Muſnud, inſtead of the Vizier.

Q. (*by a Lord.*) Did you mean that ſuch Rebellion of the Begums againſt the Vizier diſſolved the Guarantee of the Engliſh?

A. I do not recollect having ever ſaid any Thing about a Guarantee.

Q. I underſtood you to have ſaid, if the Begum was in Rebellion againſt the Nabob Vizier, the Nabob Vizier would be juſtified in ſeizing the Treaſures; whether that would abſolve the Company from their Guarantee?

A. I could mean no ſuch a Thing; for, to the beſt of my Recollection, at that Time I never had heard of a Guarantee at all.

Q. Do you know any Thing of a Guarantee now?

A. Nothing more than I have learned in the Courſe of the Proceedings againſt Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Then the Opinion you gave to Mr. Haſtings, was upon the Suppoſition that there was no Guarantee?

A. It was upon no Suppoſition of a Guarantee at all; I know nothing of a Guarantee; and therefore I had not a Guarantee in Contemplation.

Q. Do you underſtand that the Guarantee was purchaſed by the Payment of Thirty Lacks, and relinquiſhing a Debt of Twenty-five Lacks?

A. What I have heard of a Guarantee, has been from the Evidence that has been delivered before the Houſe.

Q. Then you gave that Opinion, not knowing of a Guarantee?

A. Certainly.

Q. (*by the Managers.*) Did Mr. Haſtings not, in ſome Stage of this Buſineſs, conſult you, with reſpect to the Legality and Propriety of the Proceedings againſt the Begums?

A. I have ſtated, in my Evidence, here, and before the Houſe of Commons, all the Converſation upon that Subject that I remember: If that is underſtood to be a Conſultation with me upon the Subject, I had that Conſultation; but I have not the leaſt Recollection of Mr. Haſtings having conſulted me upon the Subject before or after.

Q. Then,

Q. Then, at the Time Mr. Haſtings had theſe Converſations, or Conſultations, did he ever inform you of the Exiſtence of this Guarantee, or of any Guarantee?

A. I am pretty ſure Mr. Haſtings did not: The Subject Matter, poſſibly, might be a Reaſon why Mr. Haſtings did not; for I underſtood, that what is called a Rebellion, had Two Motives; the One was, to advance her Son, Saadit Ali, to the Prejudice of the Vizier; the other was, the Extirpation of the Engliſh; both thoſe Objects I underſtood.

Q. Then your Anſwer is, that Mr. Haſtings did not inform you of the Guarantee?

A. No, not as I remember.

Q. Whether you have not aſſigned one Motive of the Rebellion, to be a Deſire to raiſe her Son, Saadit Ali, to the Muſnud, in the room of the Nabob?

A. I certainly heard that Report.

Q. Did you believe it?

A. I had no Grounds not to believe it; I certainly did believe it at the Time; I heard nothing to contradict it: With regard to Saadit Ali, I have heard that Saadit Ali himſelf was diſinclined to the Engliſh: I remember this Circumſtance; Mr. Haſtings mentioned that to me; and afterwards told me, he thought Saadit Ali had purged that, by having taken Care of the wounded Priſoners that Mr. Haſtings had committed to him.

Q. Whether you ever heard, that Saadit Ali was the Son of the Begum?

A. I have heard him called the Brother of the Nabob; whether he was the Son of the Begum or not, I do not know.

Q. Do you not know that he was not the Son of the Begum?

A. I do not know that he was the Son of the Begum.

Q. Have you not heard that he was not the Son of the Begum?

A. I may have heard it.—I do not recollect I ever did.

Q. Whether you choſe to adviſe upon the State of a Family of which you knew ſo little?

A. I have not adviſed upon the State of the Family at all, nor do I know that I gave any Advice with reſpect to the State of the Family.

Q. Did you not think it of Importance with reſpect to the Credit of the Report of the Begum's Intention of ſetting up Saadit Ali, inſtead of the Vizier; whether Saadit Ali was her own Son, or whether he was only the Son of her Huſband?

A. I take it for granted Saadit Ali was not the Son of the Begum; but I really thought, till this Examination had paſſed, he was the Son of the Begum. With regard to the Credit to be given to the Report, I did not at all doubt the Report, and therefore I did not go to Circumſtances to weigh the Credibility of it.

Q. Whether Mr. Haſtings aſſigned to you in any Converſation, as a Reaſon for his having a better Opinion of Saadit Ali, the Care he took of the wounded Priſoners; whether he conſidered that as doing away the ſuppoſed Diſaffection he had to the Engliſh?

A. To the beſt of my Opinion, I believe ſomething of that Kind did paſs.

Q. I ſpeak of Mr. Haſtings's Opinion?

A. I ſpeak of Mr. Haſtings's Opinion.

Q. Do you know at what Period it was, Saadit Ali was ſuppoſed to take Care of the Priſoners?

A. I underſtood they were ſome Priſoners Mr. Haſtings could not take care of, being obliged to retire to the Fort at Chunar, and I believe it was at that Time.

Q. Was it immediately after the Affair of Benares?

A. I believe it was; becauſe within theſe Four or Five Days I have read the Benares Narative, and ſomething of that Kind is mentioned in the Benares Narrative.

Q. Whether you was informed, that Saadit Ali had purged himſelf of the Deſign of this Rebellion, which was ſuppoſed to be raiſed in his Favour, how came you not to think that the Begum was likewiſe purged from her Share of it?

A. I do not know how to give an Account, why I did not think ſo; I cannot give a Reaſon why I did not.

Q. Did you underſtand Saadit Ali had as much Treaſure as the Begums?

A. So far from having Treaſure, as I underſtood, he was provided with an annual Income from the Nabob, at the Inſtance of Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Did Mr. Middleton mention the Guarantee to you at Lucknow?

A. I have ſaid I knew nothing of it, till I heard it in the Courſe of this Buſineſs; Mr. Middleton certainly did not ſtate it.

Q. You ſtate, that One Object of your Journey to Lucknow, was to aſſiſt Mr. Middleton, or prevail upon him to be more alert in executing the Treaty of Chunar; was it ſoſtated by you?

A. Not

A. Not to aſſiſt him, but to preſs him to urge the Nabob to a complete Performance of the Treaty of Chunar, chiefly with Reference to the Reſumption of the Jaghiers.

Q. By what Means had you any Knowledge of the Articles of the Treaty of Chunar?

A. I had a Copy of the Treaty in my Poſſeſſion; and if I had not, what I did with Mr. Middleton I could have done as well without; it was ſimply to preſs him to get theſe Articles carried into Execution by the Nabob, and my Knowledge of the Treaty had nothing to do with that.

Q. Had you any Motive to abſtain from looking at the Copy of the Treaty of Chunar, which Mr. Haſtings furniſhed you with?

A. I certainly had not; I read the Treaty of Chunar before I went up to Lucknow, I believe; I believe Mr. Haſtings ſhewed it me almoſt as ſoon as I ſaw him at Benares.

Q. As you read the Treaty of Chunar, how came you not to ſee from that itſelf that there was a Guarantee to the Begums?

A. I poſſibly might know it, I do not recollect I did; I have ſome Doubts, becauſe I have no Recollection whether it is in the Treaty of Chunar. I hope you will excuſe my Defect of Memory, if, at the Diſtance of 10 Years, I do not recollect ſuch a Circumſtance in the Treaty of Chunar.

Q. It is not 10 Years ago; you ſaid you did not know of the Guarantee till the Proceedings here?

A. I do not know whether it is or is not in the Treaty of Chunar: It may make an Impreſſion upon the Houſe, that it is in the Treaty of Chunar, which Impreſſion, with reſpect to my Evidence, will go beyond the Houſe; I deſire therefore, that it may be ſeen, whether, in point of Fact, it is in the Treaty of Chunar.

Q. *(from a Lord.)* You have ſaid, a Bramin with Water from the Ganges, in a braſs Baſon, ſwears the Hindoos; could ſuch a Circumſtance happen without your Knowledge, when you took the Affidavits?

A. I aſk Pardón; I do not underſtand the Queſtion.

Q. The Queſtion put to you is, whether the Bramin could have attended with the Braſs Baſon, and the Ceremony have been performed at the Time, in the Manner the Hindoos are ſworn, in your Preſence, without your Knowledge?

A. I cannot take upon myſelf to ſay, it could not; I do not apprehend it could, I do not believe it.

Q. *(by a Lord.)* Can you recollect, whether in that Converſation with Mr. Haſtings, upon the Subject of the Right of reſuming the Jaghires or ſeizing the Treaſures, Mr. Haſtings informed you, the Begums were in actual Rebellion, or that the Rebellion had ſubſided?

A. I have not ſo accurate a Memory of the Converſation; I do not ſpeak from the Remembrance of the Words that paſſed; but I apprehend Mr. Haſtings muſt have referred to the Rebellion that had paſſed, from the Circumſtances.

Q. Suppoſing it to have ſubſided, do you mean that the Meaſure ſhould not have been put into Execution, after the Rebellion had ſo ſubſided?

A. I gave the Opinion of a Right attaching upon the Nabob, upon the Rebellion having actually exiſted, though not exiſting at that Time; and that, from the Begums having been in Rebellion, the Right attached on him.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next proceed to that Part of the Correſpondence which relates to the Cruelty, Impriſonment, and other ſevere Methods, uſed to extort Confeſſion, from the Miniſters of the Begums, of the Place where the Treaſures were concealed.

Read, the following Letter from Captain Leonard Jacques, dated, Palace, Fyzabad, 23d February 1782, to Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court, from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book, marked A, already delivered in.

" To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" The Two Priſoners under my Charge, Bahr Ally Cawn, and Jewar Ally Cawn, have repeatedly repreſented to me the Hardſhips they ſuffer by their long Confinement.

" They have this Day informed me of their being adviſed, in your Letter, of a Deficiency in the Sale of the Articles ſent to Lucknow, as Part of the ſtipulated Sum to be ſent by them.

" As the Sum deficient has not been pointed out to them, they have requeſted I would write you for that Purpoſe.

" Anxious

" Anxious to obtain their Enlargement, they have likewiſe deſired me to inform you, they will immediately, with the Aſſiſtance of their Friends, make up any Deficiency that may have ariſen.

" I have the Honour to be,

" Sir,

" Your moſt obed^{t} humble Servant,

" Palace, Fyzabad,
Feb^{y} 23d 1782.

(Signed) Leon^{d} Jaques,
Capt^{n} 2nd Batt^{n} 20th Reg^{t} of Sepoys."

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they next propoſed to read a Letter from the printed Papers in the Houſe of Commons, viz. a Letter ſigned Richard Johnſon, dated Lucknow, 27th February 1782, and produced upon the Examination of Mr. Jaques, before the Houſe of Commons.

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to any Letters, written by a Perſon who was attending and forthcoming, being read, without they were firſt authenticated in a proper Manner.

Then CAPTAIN LEONARD JAQUES was called in, and being ſworn, was examined as follows:

Q. Whether you recollect being examined by the Houſe of Commons?
A. Yes.

Then ſeveral Papers were ſhown to the Witneſs, and the following Queſtion put to him:

Q. Look at thoſe Papers, and ſay, whether they are authentic Copies?

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, that the Originals ought to be produced.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Originals were ſuppreſſed, and contended, that therefore the Copies were good Evidence; that they had been ſhewn to the Witneſs, upon his Examination before the Houſe of Commons, and there authenticated, by his ſaying, they were the Letters he wrote.

The Counſel for the Defendant inſiſted, that before the Copies could be read, it was incumbent upon the Managers for the Commons to ſhew, that they had uſed due Diligence to ſearch for the Originals.

The following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. What do you know about the Originals?
A. Some Letters were read to me in the Houſe of Commons; I anſwered as well as I could, to the beſt of my Judgement, that they appeared to me to be right.

Q. Right? in what Reſpect?
A. I judged that they were the ſame Letters, as far as my Memory would ſupport me, that paſſed between Mr. Middleton, Mr. Johnſon, and me.

Q. What Knowledge had you of the original Letters?
A. During my Command at Fyzabad, while Bahar Ali Khan and Jewar Ali Khan were Priſoners, a Number of Letters were written by Mr. Middleton, and after Mr. Middleton went to Lucknow, by Mr. Johnſon, to me, reſpecting the Priſoners, directing me how to act.

Q. What became of thoſe Letters?
A. I had not an Idea of ever being called upon to ſay any thing about them, after I left India: I do not know where they are; I believe they are deſtroyed. I have none of them: the Letters that came to me I did not keep; what they did with the Letters that came to them, I cannot tell.
Q. Firſt of all, as to the Letters written to you, thoſe Letters, you ſay, were deſtroyed?
A. I did not deſtroy them, till I was about to come from India.

Q. But in regard to the Letters you wrote Mr. Middleton, or to Mr. Johnſon, what do you ſay?
A. I believe I can recollect the Tenor of all the Publick Letters I wrote reſpecting the Priſoners.

Q. But you do not know what is become of thoſe Letters.—Where is Mr. Johnſon?

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that Mr. Johnſon was at Bengal; and obſerved the Objection taken was rather extraordinary, as the Defendant had admitted the Letters, in his Defence to the Articles preſented to the Houſe of Commons, and that the Counſel had already, in the Courſe of the Trial, withdrawn a ſimilar Objection.

The Counſel for the Defendant requeſted, that the Managers would point out in what Part of the Defence the Letters in queſtion were admitted verbatim; if not, they objected to the Production of a Copy of Originals deſtroyed, unleſs proved to be an authentick Copy of ſuch Originals.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. In what Situation were you in January, February, and March, 1782?

A. I commanded the 2d Battalion of the 20th Regiment of Sepoys, Major Gilpin commanded the Regiment conſiſting of Two Battalions, which were ordered to march from Cawnpore, I think, on the 22d or 23d of December 1781. We marched to Dalmohw, about 40 Coſs, or 80 Miles. Our Route was intended to a Place called Sahlone, where, we were given to underſtand, there were Diſturbances, and we were ordered to march there to ſuppreſs them. About a Day's March after our Departure from Cawnpore, Major Gilpin received Orders to ſtrike off from the Route to Sahlone, and march to Lucknow with all poſſible Expedition. We marched to Lucknow in Two Days, and ſcarce arrived with any Men. I ſet off with about 500 Men, and marched ſo quick, the Orders being ſo preſſing, that I do not ſuppoſe I had 200 Men come up with me. Our Guns were like to have been left behind. This was in conſequence of——

Q. When was you at Fyzabad in 1782?

A. I arrived at Fyzabad the 8th of February 1782, with the 2d Battalion of Sepoys of the 20th Regiment. They relieved Major Naylor, who delivered the Priſoners Bahar Ali Cawn, and Jewar Ali Cawn, into my Charge, and another Perſon, whoſe Name I do not recollect, but, I think, it was Shumſhire Cawn; and gave me certain Inſtructions for my Conduct, directing me to receive further Inſtructions from the Reſident at Lucknow.

Q. What Inſtructions did the Reſident ſend you; were they in Writing?

A. Major Naylor gave me Inſtructions, and told me, for further Information, and any other Inſtructions I might want, I was to receive them from the Reſident at Lucknow.

Q. Did you receive Inſtructions from the Reſident at Lucknow?

A. Thoſe Letters which have been mentioned, compoſed my Inſtructions.

Q. You received them by Letter?

A. I did.

Q. Were thoſe Letters among the Papers, you ſay were deſtroyed before you left India?

A. Thoſe Letters, as I conceived they would not be wanted, I did not think it worth while to keep.

Q. They were deſtroyed?

A. They were deſtroyed.

Q. What were thoſe Inſtructions, according to your Memory?

A. One was, that Hoolas Roy was to have free Acceſs to the Priſoners, to uſe every Means that appeared to him requiſite for inducing them to pay the Balance of 12 Lacks of Rupees out of the Sum of 55 Lacks, which, I was given to underſtand, were to be paid: 43 Lacks I met upon the Road, as I was marching.

Q. That was the Inſtructions you received in thoſe Letters from the Reſident?

A. Part of the Inſtructions.

Q. Do you recollect any other Inſtructions you received, on or about the 27th of February 1782, from Mr. Johnſon?

A. I cannot charge my Memory with the Time, when Mr. Middleton left Lucknow, and Mr. Johnſon acted in his Room; but I was Four Months there, and received Inſtructions both from Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon.

Q. Did you receive particular Inſtructions from Mr. Johnſon, concerning thoſe 12 Lacks of Rupees you ſpoke of before?

A. I did.

Q. What were the Inſtructions you received from Mr. Johnſon reſpecting thoſe 12 Lacks?

A. I am not certain they were from Mr. Johnſon; I am inclined to believe it was Mr. Middleton, that wrote me Directions to put them in Irons, in conſequence of their not making good the Payment; I am not ſure whether Mr. Johnſon or Mr. Middleton, but I believe it was Mr. Middleton.

Q. Were they put in Irons in conſequence?

A. They were.

Q. Did you receive Directions from Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon, to keep them from Food: Had you any other Directions from Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon, beſides thoſe you mentioned?

A. I had many different Letters, which gave me many Parts of my Information, of which my Memory fails me now; but with regard to Food, I never had any Directions to keep it from them.

Q. Can

Q. Can you recollect what particular Inſtructions you had, with regard to the Treatment of thoſe Priſoners in all other Reſpects, beſides that of putting them in Irons?

A. I recollect after they had been in Irons ſome Time, they complained to me of being very unwell, and they deſired I would apply to the Reſident for their Irons to be taken off for a little Time, for their having taken ſome Medicine; the Reſident did not think proper they ſhould, becauſe they could have paid the Balance, and then they would have been releaſed altogether.

Q. Then the Irons were not taken off upon that Account?

A. They were not.

Q. Can you recollect any other Orders for the particular Treatment of thoſe Priſoners?

A. I believe that was the moſt particular Part; there are a Number of Things that have eſcaped my Memory.

Q. How were they fed, how lodged, how were they with Regard to Company coming to them?

A. I was not prevented from letting their Company come to them, but Hoolas Roy, who was to tranſact the Buſineſs moſtly with them, was to give me Information of any Perſon that appeared to be improper to be allowed to go to them.

Q. What Number of Servants had they to attend upon them?

A. I ſhould ſuppoſe not leſs than Forty or Fifty; a great Number.

Q. Were any Perſons prevented Acceſs to them at any Time?

A. I cannot charge my Memory that any one was prevented going to them, as none, that I recollect, appeared to me ſuſpicious: What I mean by Suſpicion was, any People that appeared in Arms, or gave me Reaſon to ſuſpect their attempting to overſet my Endeavours.

Q. You have ſtated an Application made to relieve them from the Irons: Do not you ſtate, they would be equally ſafe without their Irons as with them?

A. I have no Doubt of it.

Q. Whether there were any Directions, beſides thoſe you have ſpoken of, which were Directions for not taking off the Irons; had you any Directions for any other Severities being uſed upon them, beyond thoſe?

A. I do not recollect that I had; I have ſome ſlight Idea, very ſlight indeed, regarding more Irons, but I beg leave to decline anſwering, whether ſuch a Thing was wrote to me or not; how that Matter was, I cannot tell.

Q. Do you know whether, in point of Fact, they were charged with more Irons?

A. They were not ever to my Knowledge: Bahar Ali Cawn, and Jowar Ali Cawn, had only a Pair each; I do not know whether Shumſhire Cawn had.

Q. Had you more Irons than you uſed?

A. I ordered the Smith of the Battalion to make the Irons.

Q. You received none, then, from Mr. Johnſon; but you ordered them to be made yourſelf, in Conſequence of his Directions?

A. None.

Q. How long were they kept in this Durance?

A. Really I cannot tell; I believe, during my Time, about a Month: I was there Four Months, from February to June; near Four Months.

Q. Do you recollect any Circumſtance relating to the Priſoners being threatened with the Accuſation of their being concerned with Bulbudder Sing?

A. I was informed that the Reſident ſaid, they had been concerned with Bulbudder Sing.

Q. Were they threatened with that Imputation?

A. I told them of the Reſident's Letter, that there were ſuch Surmiſes againſt them, which they denied.

Q. What was the Situation of the Women of the Khourd Mahl, while you was at Fyzabad?

A. I have great Reaſon to believe they were greatly diſtreſſed for want of Proviſion.

Then the following Extract was read from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book A. already delivered in, beginning at Page 109 of the ſame.

" Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" The Women belonging to the Khourd Mhal, complain of their being in Want of every Neceſſary of Life, and are at laſt drove to that Deſperation, that they at Night get on the Top of the Zenanah, make a great Diſturbance, and laſt Night not only abuſed the Centinels poſted in the Gardens, but threw Dirt at them; they threaten to throw themſelves from the Walls of the Zenanah, and alſo to break out of it.

" Humanity

" Humanity obliges me to acquaint you of this Matter, and to requeſt to know, if you have any Direction to give me concerning it.

" I alſo beg Leave to acquaint you, I ſent for Letaffit Ally Cawn, the Cojah, who has the Charge of them; who informs me their Complaint is well grounded; that they have ſold every Thing they had, even to the Cloaths from their Backs, and now have no Means of exiſting.

" Encloſed I tranſmit you a Letter from Monatoll on the Subject.

" I have the Honour to be,

" Sir,

" Palace, Fyzabad,
March 6th, 1782.

Your moſt obed. hble Serv^t,
(Signed) Leo^d Jaques, Captain
2^d Batt^n 20 Reg^t of Sepoys."

" Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" I beg Leave to addreſs you again, concerning the Women in the Khourd Mhal; their Behaviour laſt Night was ſo furious, that there ſeemed the greateſt Probability of their proceeding to the utmoſt Extremities, and that they would either throw themſelves from the Walls, or force the Doors of the Zenanah.—I have made every Enquiry concerning the Cauſe of their Complaints, and find from Letaffit Ally Cawn, that they are in a ſtarving Condition, having ſold all their Cloaths and Neceſſaries, and now have not wherewithal to ſupport Nature; and, as my Inſtructions are quite ſilent on this Head, ſhould be glad to know how to proceed in caſe they were to force the Doors of the Zenanah, as I ſuſpect it will happen, ſhould no Subſiſtence be very quickly ſent to them.

" I have the Honour to be,

" Palace, Fyzabad,
March 7th 1782.

Sir,
Your moſt obd^t humble Servant,
(Signed) Leo^d Jaques, Capt^n,
" 2^d Batt^n 20^th Reg^t of Sepoys."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book, beginning at Page 117 of the ſame.

" Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" I am deſired by the Two Priſoners, Bar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, to inform you they have this Day received a Statement of Accounts from Mr. Johnſon, in which they ſay, that, excluſive of the Jewels ſent as Part Payment of the ſtipulated Sum of Fifty-five Lacks of Rupees, they are credited for the Sum of Forty-five Lacks Forty-five thouſand ſix hundred and one Rupees.

" They earneſtly requeſt that the Jewels may be valued by Four or Five eminent Merchants, Muſſulmen and Hindoos, upon Oath; and that after this may be done, whatever Balance may appear againſt them, they will immediately get their Friends to advance for them.

" They have likewiſe requeſtedme to repreſent to you their diſtreſſed Situation, in being ſo long and cloſe confined, with the Hopes of your taking their Caſe into Conſideration, expediting the Matter as much as in your Power. They alſo requeſt me to inform you, the Suſpicions Mr. Johnſon ſeems to entertain of them reſpecting Bulbudder, is without Foundation; that they have no Kind of Intercourſe, either directly or indirectly, with him; and that they ſtake their Lives upon the moſt diſtant Proof of it being brought; alſo, that it would give them great Satisfaction to find he was either taken or deſtroyed.

" I have the Honour to be,

" Palace, Fyzabad,
March 13th 1782.

Sir,
Your moſt obed^t humb^e Servant,
(Signed) Leo^d Jaques, Captain
2^d Batt^n 20 Reg^t of Seapoys."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Book, beginning at Page 127 of the ſame.

" Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" I was laſt Night honoured with your Letter of the 19th inſtant; and have, agreeable to your Orders, put the Priſoners Bahar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn in Irons.

" I have the Honour to be,

" Palace,
March 21ſt 1782.

" Sir,
Your moſt obed^t humble Serv^t,
(Signed) Leo^d Jaques, Capt^n
2^d Batt^n 20 Reg^t of Sepoys."

" Nath^l Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" I am favoured with your's of the 27th inſtant; and cannot help informing you, that I think myſelf hardly uſed, in not being allowed ſo trifling a Contingence as my Bill with you is for; however, I am nevertheleſs obliged to you for letting me know what I have to expect, as I ſhall of

Courſe

Courſe now diſcharge all the extraordinary People, which my Delicacy and Zeal for doing the Duty I am upon, to the Satisfaction of them who ordered me upon it, induced me to enter into. You will therefore conſider, Sir, that I cannot any longer pay Women to examine the Doolies from the Raſs and Khourd Mahls; of Courſe none will be allowed to go out till I have your further Directions how to proceed. Doolies unexamined will take out Valuables, which my Orders are poſitively againſt. Intelligence I can have none, as no Allowance will be made me for it; and ſhould any Accident happen, the Blame will not be mine, but thoſe who are ſo ſparing of a Trifle.

" I have been at ſome other trifling Expences, ſuch as a Moonſey to read, write, and explain any Letter to and from the Priſoners, to and from Jerrour Sing, the Aumil of Nabob Gunge, and the Aumil of Oude, &c. Extra Stationary, and not neceſſary, were I not on a ſeparate Command; Candles, Oil, &c. for Guards, which ſhould have no Occaſion to ſupply; were it not for my Command.

" The practiſing my People with Ball Cartridges, I am ſure, was abſolutely neceſſary; as Fifty of my Men were the utmoſt in Number who had ever fired one until I came here: And I had every Reaſon to believe, from the Caution uſed by Major Naylor, when I relieved him, that I ſhould meet with Trouble; and, being only Half his Number, and no Guns, it was ſurely my Duty to have my People in the beſt Condition to defend themſelves if Occaſion required; and I am ſure the Sum charged by me for this, is not Half what it would have coſt the Company to have ſupplied my Battalion from any of the Magazines.

" You have alſo ordered me to put the Priſoners in Irons—that I have done; yet, as I have no Buſineſs to purchaſe Fetters, or ſupply them any other Way, it is but reaſonable that you ſhould order me to be reimburſed. But why ſhould I add any Thing more? A late Commander at this Place, I am told, draws near as many Thouſands, Monthly Contingencies, as my trifling Bill is for Hundreds. However, if you cannot get my Bill paid, be ſo obliging as return it, and give me an Opportunity of declaring to the World, that I believe I am the firſt Officer in the Honourable Company's Service who has ſuffered in his Property by an independant Command.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) Leo^d. Jaques, Captain,
Commanding at Fyzabad."

" Palace, Fyzabad,
March 30th, 1782.

Q. Whether this Letter, ſtating you had put the Priſoners in Irons, does not mean, you had put them a Second Time in Irons. Do you recollect that Letter?

A. I do recollect it.

Q. When it ſpeaks of putting in Irons, does it mean putting a Second Time in Irons?

A. I cannot charge my Memory with their having been put in Irons before; they might be, by Major Naylor.

Q. Were they in Irons when they were delivered over to you?

A. No, not to the beſt of my Memory.

Q. What does the Examination of Doolies, in the Khourd Mahls, mentioned in this Paſſage, refer to, " You will therefore conſider, Sir, that I can no longer pay Women to examine the Doolies from the Rhaſs and Khourd Mahls:" Do you know what is meant by that Examination?

A. My Orders were to guard againſt the Treaſures being taken out of the Zenana, and carried out of the Kella; they have a Sort of Carriage that the Women are carried in, covered; I was ordered to have thoſe examined, to prevent the Money being carried out of the Zenana to the Begum, who was at her Houſe without the Gates.

Q. " Doolies unexamined will take out Valuables," you ſay—Did you, or your Soldiers, when you found the Women taking out Valuables from the Khourd Mahl, ſeize thoſe Valuables?

A. No.

Q. Were any of thoſe Carriages ſeized?

A. None, during my Command.

Q. Did you not ſurround the Khourd Mahl with Soldiers and other Perſons, to prevent their carrying the Valuables from thence?

A. Every neceſſary Care was taken to prevent any Thing extraordinary going out; Cloaths and other Things, not Valuables, were allowed to go; Jewels and Money of conſiderable Value, were not allowed to be carried out.

Q. You paid Women to examine thoſe Doolies?

A. I did.

Q. To your Knowledge, what Proceſs or Mode of Enquiry was carried on, reſpecting the ſuppoſed Treaſon of the Miniſters, while they were under your Guard?

A. Really I cannot ſay.

Q. What

Q. What did you conſider them as confined for; what were they put into your Charge for?
A. I always conſidered them to be put into my Charge, principally to make them pay the Twelve Lacks that were due; that was the principal Reaſon. Fifty-five Lacks was the Sum agreed to be paid; only Forty-three were paid; and I was given to underſtand Twelve Lacks remained due.

Q. Might not Hoolas Roy, or any of the Black Perſons you have mentioned, as having Acceſs to the Priſoners, have uſed Tortures to them without your preventing them?
A. I do not believe it poſſible: They were immediately under my Guard; there were not leſs than 20 Centinels.—The Place where they lie in hot Countries is open on one Side; the Centinels were cloſe to them, and there could be none but what was by my Directions.

Q. For what Purpoſe was Hoolas Roy permitted to have Acceſs to them?
A. To obtain Payment of the 12 Lacks and odd Rupees: There might be other Things, but that was what I underſtood was his principal Buſineſs.

Q. Was Shumſhire Cawn under your Charge?
A. He was.

Q. How long did Shumſhire Cawn remain under your Charge?
A. I delivered Bahar, and Jewar Ally Cawn, and Shumſhire Cawn, up to Major Gilpin, upon his marching with the other Battalion from Fayzabad.

Q. You received the other Two from Major Naylor; were not all the Three in your Cuſtody the whole Time?
A. I received them all together.

Q. Did you know of any Enquiry being made into the paſt Conduct of Shumſhire Cawn, while under your Charge?
A. I do not; there might be; Hoolas Roy might queſtion him about many Things; but not known to me, that I recollect.

Q. Are you quite ſure that Shumſhire Cawn was in your Charge, as well as the other Priſoners?
A. Sure of it; I have no Doubt of it.

Q. In what Manner were you directed to afford Relief to the Diſtreſs of the Women who were in a ſtarving Condition?
A. None, unleſs I had choſen to give it myſelf.—I applied to the Reſident, repreſenting the Caſe; and he wrote me Word back, it was a Buſineſs the Engliſh could have nothing to do with, directly, or indirectly.

Q. Do you underſtand it was by Authority of the Reſident, you placed a Guard round the Zenana?
A. I relieved Major Naylor the 8th of February 1782, and of courſe my People relieved the Guards where Major Naylor had placed them:—As to the Women going out ſingly, or Half a Dozen together, they might have gone out without being ſtopped.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the following Extracts were read from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book A: already delivered in, beginning at Page 100 of the ſame Book.

" To Captain Jaques,—commanding the 2d Battalion, 20th Regiment.

" Sir,

" Hoolaſs Roy, the Perſon appointed by the Nabob for tranſacting the Buſineſs for which the Troops are required here, will hold conſtant Communication and Intercourſe with you; and as he is inſtructed and acquainted with the beſt Method to accompliſh this Buſineſs, Mr. Middleton requeſts implicit Attention be paid to what he may, from Time to Time, repreſent reſpecting the Priſoners, or the Buſineſs in which he is employed. In ſhort, as he is the Perſon nominated by the Nabob, he wiſhes Hoolaſs Roy to be conſidered in the ſame Light as if he himſelf was preſent.

" One ſubaltern Officer and a complete Body of Sepoys to mount as a Guard over the Priſoners Bahar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, and direct, that all Intercourſe be ſtopped between them and their Adherents, as alſo betwixt the Begum and the Zenanah, except ſuch as is recommended by Hoolaſs Roy.

" That you publiſh to your Corps and Followers, that they are not on any Account to go upon the Tops of the Buildings within the Kellah, as they overlook the Zennanah; and you likewiſe direct, that the Sepoys or followers do not go into the Gardens of the Palace.

" The above is the Subſtance of the Inſtructions which I received from the Reſident, and which he deſired I would communicate to you.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) T. Naylor, Major,
Commanding at Fyzabad."

" Camp, Fyzabad,
February 8th 1782.

" To

Read, alſo, the following Extract, from the ſame Book, beginning at Page 105 of the ſame.

" To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" I am to inform you the Begum has this Day ſent to acquaint me, that the Servants ſhe brought out of the Zenana are many of them indiſpoſed, and that, as ſhe finds herſelf diſtreſſed for the Want of their Services, ſhe has requeſted permiſſion to have others from the Zenanah.— I requeſt you will inform me how I am to act, and whether this can be granted; if it can, if there may be any particular Perſons the Nabob wiſhes to be taken from the Zenanah for this Purpoſe. I have deſired Moonalol to write to Hoolaſs Roy particularly on the Subject, which Letter I now beg leave to encloſe you.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

" Fyzabad,
February 18th, 1782.

(Signed) Leo^d Jaques, Capt^n
2^d Batt^n 20th Reg^t of Sepoys."

" To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" Encloſed, I beg leave to tranſmit you a Chit ſent me by Lattafit Ally Khawn, Head Durogah of the Kourd Mhal, who has repreſented to me, that a Number of Women who went into the Zenanah to ſee their Relations, are ready to lie-in, and wiſh to come out of the Zenanah for that Purpoſe. He has applied to me to order their Releaſe; but as I do not think I am authorized ſo to do, from the Nature of the Inſtructions received by me from Major Naylor, I requeſt your Inſtructions, how I am to act.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

" Palace, Fyzabad,
February 21ſt, 1782.

(Signed) Leo^d Jaques, Captain
2d Batt. 20th Reg. Sepoys."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from Page 133 of the ſame Book.

" To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" Encloſed I beg leave to tranſmit you a Letter from the Two Priſoners, Bar Ally Khawn, and Jewar Ally Khawn, in Anſwer to One they received from you this Morning, which they would have not received had I not known it was from you, conceiving it was contrary to my Inſtructions, which are to prevent their having any Intercourſe with their Adherents.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble Servant,

" Palace, Fyzabad,
February 22d 1782.

(Signed) Leo^d Jaques, Capt^n
2^d Batt^n 20^th Reg^t of Sepoys."

Read, the following Extract from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book D, beginning at Page 6 of the ſame.

" Captain Jaques, commanding at Fyzabad.

" Sir,

" I have been honoured with your Letter of the 23d inſtant; and encloſe an Anſwer to a Letter from your Priſoners.

" I alſo ſend you an Account of the Money hitherto brought to their Credit, which be ſo good as to explain to them: That by this Statement, Twelve Lacks are yet due upon the Fifty-five ſtipulated, againſt which the Jewels and remaining Bullion are yet to be ſet off, only eſtimated by themſelves at Seven; but as the Sale of theſe will in all Appearance far exceed the Term of their Agreement, it would be better that they ſhould ſend Money inſtead of them; in the mean Time, you may aſſure them, that on the Day their Agreement expires, I ſhall be indiſpenſably obliged to recommence Severities upon them, until the laſt Farthing is fully paid of the Agreement they have entered into. You may alſo mention to them, that I have reaſon to ſuſpect that the Commotions raiſed by Bulbudder has not been without their Suggeſtions and Abetment; which if proved upon them, in Addition to the probable Breach of their Agreement, will make their Situation very deſperate.

" The Ignorance they have pleaded to you of the Deficiencies in Produce of the Payments, is a vain Pretext, as not one Sicca Weight has been diſburſed, without the previous Knowledge of their Agents here.

" Lucknow,
27th Feby 1782.

(Signed) Richard Johnſon."

Read,

Read, the following Extract from Letter Book A. already delivered in, beginning at Page 141 of the ſame.

" Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" I have this Day been honoured with your Letter, under Date the 27th Ultimo, encloſing an Account of the net Produce of Receipts from this Place, at Lucknow; as likewiſe your Letter, dated the 28th Ultimo. In conſequence of your Letter dated the 28th Ultimo, I have allowed the People to paſs out from the Khourd Mhal, being firſt properly examined, by a Woman I found it neceſſary to procure for this Purpoſe.

" I have, agreeable to your Deſire, explained the Contents of your Letter to the Priſoners Bar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, as likewiſe the Account; in anſwer to which they have requeſted me to inform you, that it will be entirely out of their Power to tranſmit Caſh in the room of the Jewels already ſent, but that, when the Jewels may be ſold, and a Balance ſtruck of any Deficiency ariſing from the Sale, they will, in the Courſe of a few Days, if permitted to go about among their Frends, make up this Deficiency.

" They poſitively deny having any Hand in the Commotions raiſed by Bulbudder, or that they carrry on any Kind of Correſpondence, or have any Intercourſe with him or his Adherents; ſo far from it, they have deſired me to acquaint you, it is their ſincere Wiſh he was either taken or deſtroyed."

Read, the following Extract, from Letter Book D. already delivered in, beginning at Page 16 of the ſame.

" Captain Leonard Jaques, commanding at Fyzabad.

" Sir,

" I have received your Letter of the 13th inſtant. The Two Priſoners, Bahr and Jewar Ally Cawn, having violated their written ſolemn Engagement with me, for the Payment of the Balance due to the Honourable Company, on the Nabob's Aſſignments accepted by them; and declining giving me any ſatisfactory Aſſurances on that Head, I am under the diſagreeable Neceſſity of recurring to Severities to enforce the ſaid Payment. This is therefore to deſire, that you immediately cauſe them to be put in Irons, and keep ſo until I ſhall arrive at Fyzabad, to take further Meaſures as may be neceſſary.

" Lucknow, (Signed) Nath[l] Middleton."
18th March 1782.

Read, the following Extract from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book A. already delivered in, beginning at Page 165 of the ſame.

" Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" Allow me the Honour of informing you, that the Place, the Priſoners Bar Ally Cawn, and Jewar Ally Cawn are confined in, is become ſo very unhealthy from the Number obliged to be on Duty in ſo confined a Place, at this hot Seaſon of the Year, and ſo ſituated that no Reduction can with Propriety be made from their Guard, it being at ſuch a Diſtance from the Battalion.

" I ſhall be glad of your Permiſſion to remove them to a Houſe more contiguous to the Battalion Lines, and where they will be in more Security, with One-third of the Number, than they are at preſent.

" I am alſo to inform you, that ſome Nights ago, I found it neceſſary to march the Half of my People off Duty to prevent a Set of Thieves plundering the Out-ſkirts of the Town, of which they ſoon had Notice, and ran off without having done any other Harm than wounding of the Mulvah's People. In conſequence of this, and your Orders to render the Nabob's Officers what Aſſiſtance I could, I have ordered Rounds to go during the Night over the different Parts of the Town, where it appears to me there is any Likelihood of their being troubleſome. This, I flatter myſelf, will have the intended Effect, as I have not heard any Thing of them ſince my Rounds have gone. I am alſo to requeſt you will inform me, if what I have done in this Particular is to your Wiſh.

" I have the Honour to be, Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

" Palace, Fayzabad, (Signed) Leo[d] Jaques Captain,
April 23d 1782. Commanding at Fyzabad."

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Martis, 27° Maij 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would proceed with the Correſpondence between Mr. Middleton and Captain Jaques, previous to the Croſs Examination of Captain Jaques by the Counſel for the Defendant.

Read, the following Letter, from Captain Jaques to Mr. Middleton, dated the 18th of May 1782, from Book A, already delivered in, beginning at Page 8 of the ſame.

" To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" The Priſoners Bar and Jewar Ally Khawn, who ſeem to be very ſickly, have requeſted their Irons might be taken off for a few Days, that they might take Medicine, and walk about the Garden of the Place where they are confined, to aſſiſt the Medicine in its Operation. Now, as I am ſure they would be equally as ſecure without their Irons as with them, I think it my Duty to inform you of this Requeſt, and deſire to know your Pleaſure concerning it.

" I have the Honour to be, Sir,
your moſt obedient humble Servant,

" Palace, Fyzabad, May 18, 1782. (Signed) " Leo[d] Jaques,
Captain commanding at Fyzabad."

Read, from Book D, already delivered in, Extract of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to Captain Jaques, dated Lucknow, 22d May 1782, beginning at Page 47 of the ſame Book.

" To Captain Leonard Jaques, commanding at Fyzabad.

" I am ſorry it is not in my Power to comply with your Propoſal of eaſing the Priſoners, for a few Days, of their Fetters.—Much as my Humanity may be touched by their Sufferings, I ſhould think it inexpedient to afford them any Alleviation, while they perſiſt in a Breach of their Contract with me; and, indeed, no Indulgence could be ſhewn them without the Authority of the Nabob, who, inſtead of conſenting to moderate the Rigours of their Situation, would be moſt willing to multiply them.

" Lucknow, (Signed at the End) Nath Middleton, Reſid[t], &c." (*a*)
the 22d May 1782.

Read, Extract of a Letter from Captain Jaques to Mr. Middleton, dated the 25th May 1782, from Book A, already delivered in, beginning at Page 14 of the ſame.

" Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Hoolaſs Roy went to the Priſoners laſt Night, immediately after he ſhewed me your Letter: The Occaſion for which I conceive there was no Reaſon, as he or any other Perſon ſent by you, or the Nabob, would have been allowed to go to the Priſoners whenever they pleaſed; and as to

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(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXXIII.

 eaſing

easing the Prisoners of their Fetters, it is a Matter of the greatest Indifference. I only, in consequence of their repeated Applications, acquainted you thereof, as I did not think I ought to do any Thing in the Matter, of Course thought it my Duty to inform you of their Request.

" On the Arrival of Major Gilpin, I shall attend minutely to your Instructions in delivering up the Charge of the Killah and Prisoners, and every Instruction I have received." (a)

[At the End]

" Fyzabad,
May 25th 1782.

Leonard Jaques,
Captain commanding at Fyzabad."

Read, the following Letter from Nath. Middleton to Captain Jaques, dated the 22d May 1782, from Book D. already delivered in, beginning at Page 48 of the same.

" To Captain Leonard Jacques, commanding at Fayzabad.

" Sir,

" I have sent a Message through Hoolas Roy to the Prisoners Bahr and Jowar Ally Cawn.—Be pleased to give Orders that he be permitted to have Access to them to deliver it.

" Lucknow,
22d May 1782.

" I am, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant."
(N. B. No Signature.)

Then CAPTAIN LEONARD JAQUES was called in, and cross examined by the Counsel for the Defendant, as follows:

Q. *(Cross examined.)* You have stated that the Begum's Ministers, during the Time of their Confinement, were attended by 40 or 50 Servants. In what Place were they confined?

A. They were confined in Bahar Ally Khan's House.

Q. Whether that was not a spacious and elegant Palace, surrounded with a Garden of Seven or Eight Acres: Or what sort of a House was it?

A. It was not very elegant, but very commodious, as the Houses are made in Indostan. The Garden, I presume, might be about Forty Yards Square; then there were Out-gardens from that again, and Out-offices.

Q. What was the Amount of all the Gardens that belong to that House?

A. I must confess I never attended to any Thing, but sheerly to the Place where the Prisoners were confined, and there was a Place where their Victuals were dressed; and for other Purposes, they had several Houses.

Q. Was that House, in which they were confined, the ordinary Place of Bahar Ali Khan's Residence?

A. I was told it was; that it was a House he inhabited before he was confined.

Q. Whether any Restraint was put upon their Diet, or whether they had not a Table suitable to their Rank and Station?

A. During my Abode at Fyzabad there was nothing of the Kind; they were entirely at Liberty for their Servants to bring their Victuals, and they might have it as they pleased.

Q. Were they allowed to see Visitors?

A. Hoolas Roy was left by Major Naylor, to make me acquainted with any Persons that were improper to speak to them; but I do not recollect any one presenting themselves, to have Conversation with them, that ever was refused.

Q. Whether you recollect any Instance of their having their usual Amusements, Dancing, or any Thing of that Kind, while they were in Confinement?

A. They never had any Thing of the Kind while I was there.

Q. They were in Irons?

A. Some Time they were.

Q. Were they in Irons, or not, at the Time you were there?

A. I deposed, the last Time I was here, that I was ordered by the Resident to put them in Irons.

Q. Were they in Irons, or not?

A. They were in Irons.

Q. During the whole Time they were under your Charge, I have understood, hitherto, they were in Irons?

(a) Vide Appendix, Nº LXXXIV.

A. I was ordered to put them in Irons; I did ſo; and they continued in Irons the whole Time, till I delivered them over to Major Gilpin.

Q. Were they allowed to ſee any Body, and entertain them with Balls; were Dances exhibited before them?

A. I do not recollect whether they ever deſired to ſee any Thing of the Kind; there never was any Thing of the Kind; no Dancing.

Q. Were they, or were they not, in Irons, during the whole Time you had them in Charge?

A. They were not: I believe I might be a Month or Six Weeks, I cannot aſcertain exactly, before I received the Orders for putting them in Irons.

Q. How long had you Charge of them in all?

A. I arrived there upon the 8th of February 1782, and took Charge of them and the Kella: And afterwards Major Gilpin took the Command, in conſequence of being the ſenior Officer; I believe it was on the Firſt of June following, or within a few Days of Four Months.

Q. So that for the Firſt Six Weeks they were not in Irons?

A. I cannot exactly ſay, but it was after I marched there. I believe the Reaſon of their being ordered to be put in Irons was, in conſequence of their not having made good a written Agreement for paying a Balance of 12 Lacks out of the 55 Lacks; I believe it was in conſequence of that, I was ordered to put them in Irons.

Q. Whether, excluſive of the Circumſtance of their being confined to the Limits of the Houſe of Bahar Ali Khan, and Irons being put upon them, during Part of the Time you had them in Charge, they endured any other Hardſhip?

A. The Garden, which I obſerved was 30 or 40 Yards ſquare, they had the Liberty of walking round; and there were no other Hardſhips, as I have already declared, uſed towards them, whilſt I had the Charge of them, that I can charge my Memory with.

Q. Who had the Charge, or Superintendance of the Khourd Mahl, during the Time you was employed in this Service?

A. Lutaffit Ali Khan.

Q. Who was he employed by, do you know?

A. I underſtood he was employed immediately under the Nabob; and the laſt Day I was here, I depoſed that Mr. Middleton or Mr. Johnſon told me, we had nothing and could have nothing to do with them, it being a particular Buſineſs of the Nabob that the Engliſh could not interfere with.

Q. What was the Condition or the Situation of the People who reſided within the Khourd Mahl?

A. A little Time before Major Gilpin took the Command, the People got upon the Tops of the Houſes, and complained, and made a terrible Noiſe, ſignifying they were in great Diſtreſs for Want of Proviſions; that they had diſpoſed of the beſt Part of their Neceſſaries, and were then in a ſtarving Condition.

Q. The Queſtion is, what was the Deſcription of the People who were in the Khourd Mahl, of what Rank were they?

A. I always underſtood thoſe were the Nabob's Concubines; and that there were ſome of them who had had Children, and that they were alſo with them.—As to any Thing further it is entirely by Report; I can know nothing of that, for I never ſaw any of them.

Q. Did you underſtand they were Perſons of Rank, or Perſons of low Condition?

A. I have heard it ſaid, but it is ſheerly Hearſay, that Sujah Dowlah, when he was going any where, if he ſaw any Perſon that he thought was One he would wiſh for, his Servants were employed, and ſhe was brought to this Place where they were put. As to Rank, whether high or low, I can ſay nothing about it.

Q. Was there a Difference between the Rank and Eſtimation in which the Perſons who inhabited the Zenana were held, and thoſe who inhabited the Khourd Mahl?

A. They are both called Zenanas; One is where the married Princeſſes reſide, and the other is where the Concubines reſide.

Q. Conſequently they were in a different Eſtimation?

A. Clearly.

Q. One you conſidered in a ſuperior Light, as a Part of the Family, and the other in an inferior Light?

A. Yes, ſurely; quite ſo.

Q. By whom, or from what Fund, was the Expence of this Khourd Mahl defrayed?

A. I underſtood, both from the Reſident and from Lutaffit Ally Khan, there was a Diſtrict aſſigned for the Maintenance of the Khourd Mahl; and the Perſon who had the Management of that was backward in his Payments; and I was always given to underſtand, the Fault was entirely his, or elſe the Nabob's, for not compelling him to fulfil his Duty.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether the Begums had any Thing to do with ſupplying the Maintenance of the Khourd Mahl?

A. Really I cannot pretend to ſay; but I never heard that they did.

Q. Whether the Britiſh Reſident, or the Commander of the Troops at Fyzabad, or any other Britiſh Subjects, ever exerciſed any Interference in, or Controul over, the Khourd Mahl?

A. I have already depoſed, that the Reſident had wrote to me that the Engliſh could not interfere, directly or indirectly, with any Concern of theirs: and I never heard of their doing ſo, further than that Major Gilpin had prevailed upon the Reſident to let him advance Lutaffit Ali Khan ſome Money for their Support.

Q. Whether the Women of the Khourd Mahl were not permitted to paſs and repaſs freely from the Khourd Mahl at the Time the Guards were ſtationed near it?

A. I have already depoſed, that I hired a Woman for the Purpoſe of examining the Doolies, to ſee whether Valuables were carried out; I had no Kind of Right to ſtop them one Way or the other, any further than if they carried out Valuables.

Q. Was that Examination exerciſed over thoſe who paſſed backwards and forwards from the Khourd Mahl, as well as from the Zenana?

A. It was over all; all the Doolies were examined, to ſee if they were carrying Gold or Silver, or Valuables, out: If they were not, they were ſuffered to go.

Q. In what Building were the People kept that belonged to the Khourd Mahl?

A. It was called the Khourd Mahl.

Q. Where was it ſituated; in the ſame Place as the Zenana?

A. It was upon the left Side of the Gardens, of the Gate —— I have forgot the Name of the Gate now.

Q. Was it within the ſame Gardens?

A. On One Side of the Gardens, going from the principal Gate that went to the Kella; they were on the Left Side, and the Coſs Mahl, where the Begums reſided, was upon the Right Hand Side.

Q. So they were both in the ſame Gardens?

A. Yes, on different Sides.

Q. And the very ſame Care was taken of the Doolies, whether they went from one Place or from the other?

A. Yes, they were examined before they went out; there was a large Garden between the Two Mahls, or Two Zenanas; it was a large Place; that which was called The Palace, is a Place, I ſuppoſe, not leſs than 700 or 800 Yards one Way, and, I ſuppoſe, 400 or 500 Yards the other Way; with a large Mud Rampart round it.

Q. You ſay, the ſame Care was obſerved with reſpect to the Doolies, whether they came from the one Place or the other?

A. Yes.

Q. If a Dooly is not a cloſe covered Carriage of ſome Sort?

A. It is a Conveyance, made ſomething like a very ſmall Bedſtead, not long enough to lay extended upon, but to ſit upon; I mean the common Dooly; and it is carried with a great Stick, by Two Men before and Two Men behind, ſomething in the Manner of our Chairs, only it is carried on Mens Shoulders, with a Cloth covered over, to prevent the People within from being ſeen.

Q. A ſmall covered Chair?

A. Yes, ſomething in the Nature of a ſmall oblong Bedſtead, rather longer one Way than the other.

Q. But covered, and cloſed up?

A. Yes.

Q. Whether the ſole Purpoſe of placing the Guards round the Zenana, was not to prevent the Treaſures of the Begums from being carried away: What were your Inſtructions upon that Subject?

A. The Tenor of my Inſtructions was, to keep the Three Priſoners, Bahar, and Jewar Alli, and Sumſhire Cawn, and alſo to guard againſt the Treaſures being taken out of the Zenana, out of the Palace.

Q. Whether the placing thoſe Guards round the Zenana in any Manner cauſed or contributed to the Diſtreſſes of the Khourd Mahal?

A. I cannot conceive they could in the leaſt.

Q. Whether the Begums ever ſent the Women of the Khourd Mahl any Relief during their Diſtreſſes, or any Meſſages to you reſpecting them, while you were in the Command at Fyzabad?

A. What they might ſend it is impoſſible for me to know; they might ſend unknown to me; I never prevented People going in or out.

Q. Did

Q. Did they ever ſend you any Meſſage about it?
A. I do not recollect they did.

Q. Whether the Begums were, by the Seizure of their Treaſure, from the beſt Information you have upon the Subject, reduced to a State of great Poverty and Diſtreſs; or whether they afterwards continued to live in great Splendour and Affluence?

A. The Begums were in the ſame Situation before I went, as they were at the Time that I reſigned the Charge to Major Gilpin. As to how they were ſituated, it was impoſſible for me to know, as no Europeans ever had an Opportunity of ſeeing them; nor any other Man, except their Fathers, Brothers, and Huſbands. As to their Situation, I cannot aſcertain further than this;—I have no Reaſon to think they were in Want, except from their refuſing to make good the Payment; and I really was inclined to think, they could have paid it if they choſe.

Q. But what Eſtabliſhment, or Servants, had the Begums before you took Charge of the Palace?

A. What Servants the Begums had, I cannot pretend to ſay, that were in the Palace; without the Walls, there was a very great Number about them; but the Number it is impoſſible to aſcertain.

Q. Whether, as to all external Marks of State and Splendor, they were different from what they were before: Can you deſcribe what their Marks of Splendor were, from the Manner of living of the Begums, when you had the Charge of them?

A. They had Numbers of armed Men at their Gates, I ſaw, as I rode by the Begums Houſe.

Q. What the Nature of the Eſtabliſhment was within, you never had an Opportunity of knowing?

A. I had not.

Q. You do not know whether there were Forty Servants or more; or whether there were great Rooms or not?

A. There muſt have been a great many more than Forty; I cannot ſay how many: I had no Opportunity of knowing further than what I ſaw at the Gate.

Q. What Number of armed Men were thoſe you obſerved upon the Outſide of the Palace?

A. I really cannot aſcertain the Number; I have ſeen a very great Number at one particular Time.

Q. Were they placed in the Manner of Guards?

A. They were placed at the Gates; and would oppoſe any Perſon offering to go in, that was not agreeable to them?

Q. What Names did they go by?

A. By the Names of Peons, Spear-men, and Matchlock Men.

Q. Were there any Nudjeebs amongſt them?

A. I underſtood always, thoſe Matchlock Men were of that Quality; they bore Matchlocks, which are Guns fired with Matches.

Q. Whether a Report did not prevail among the principal Black People of Fyzabad, that the Begums and their Eunuchs had given Signs of Diſaffection during the Diſturbances at Benares?

A. I have heard thoſe Things reported by ſome of the Black People.

Q. Do you know Hoolas Roy?

A. Hoolas Roy was a Man left by Major Naylor to conduct the Buſineſs with the Priſoners.

Q. What has Hoolas Roy, himſelf, ſaid to you upon the Subject?

The Managers for the Commons objected to the Queſtion.

Q. Whether Hoolas Roy was not one of the Perſons who circulated that Report which was ſaid to be general?

A. I cannot ſay who circulated the Report. I have heard Hoolas Roy mention a Circumſtance, which was corroborated by a Letter ſent to me by the Reſident, that there had been Letters intercepted between the Begums Miniſters and Cheit Sing; but how far this was the Caſe, I cannot pretend to ſay.

Q. Whether you ever underſtood from Hoolas Roy that he had in Fact ever made an Affidavit?

A. I never heard a Thing of the Kind drop from his Mouth, that I recollect.

Q. Whether, while you was at Fyzabad, you ever wrote to Mr. Haſtings, or tranſmitted any Letter to Mr. Haſtings from the Begums or their Miniſters?

A. I never did that I recollect; and I certainly ſhould have recollected it, if I had done any Thing of the Kind.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether, in all the Tranſactions at Fyzabad, you did not act entirely under the Orders of Mr. Middleton or Mr. Johnſon, or of the Military Commander, and not in conſequence of Orders received from the Governor General and Council at Calcutta, or the Governor General himſelf?

A. My Orders were immediately from the Reſident at Lucknow; whoever was Reſident, I underſtood I was to receive my Orders from him, and from no other Perſon: The commanding Officer, to whom I was to report, was alſo to receive Orders from the Reſident.

Q. I underſtood you before, that you had made your Reports, with reſpect to the Priſoners, to Mr. Johnſon and Mr. Middleton.

A. I did: They were the Two Perſons from whom I received my Orders.

Q. Becauſe you are now underſtood to ſay, you made all your Reports to your own Military Officer?

A. No: Only of the Detail of my Corps; the others I made to the Reſident.

Q. It having been ſuggeſted that Shumſhire Cawn was taken into Cuſtody for a ſhort Time, and then enlarged, and that he was not in your Cuſtody; did not Shumſhire Cawn continue in your Charge during the whole Time the Two other Priſoners were continued under your Charge, till they were turned over to Major Gilpin?

A. To the beſt of my Recollection, I received him from Major Naylor, and I delivered him over to Major Gilpin.

Q. Did you not keep him in Cuſtody the whole Time?

A. The Whole of the Time, I believe.

Q. Do you remember any Drought in the Country of Oude, or any other Part of India, in 1779, or 1780, 1781, or 1782? Was you, during thoſe Four Years, in the Country?

A. I was.

Q. Do you remember, in any of the Seaſons of thoſe Four Years, a remarkable Drought there?

A. Really I cannot anſwer exactly as to that; I recollect going to Fyzabad in 1782; it was by no Means in ſo flouriſhing a Condition as it was when I was there in 1773.

Q. Was that Decay which you obſerved in 1782, attributed to any remarkable Drought, a Defect of the Seaſon, or to what other Cauſe?

A. I cannot charge myſelf to anſwer that Queſtion.

Q. You underſtand the Word Drought?

A. I underſtand the Word very well; but I cannot charge my Memory with it.

Q. What Sort of a Decay was it? Were there fewer Houſes?

A. I obſerved it was not ſo well tilled, ſo rich, or flouriſhing; but from what Cauſe it was, I cannot pretend to ſay: The Tillage moſtly there, is Water drawn from the Wells, except cloſe to the Banks of the River.

Q. Did you obſerve whether the Want of Tillage was occaſioned by the Want of Hands and Labourers, or by the Want of Wells and Canals, where it was not carried from the Banks of the River?

A. I really cannot pretend to ſay, whether it was Want of Hands, or not; the Country ſeemed to be well filled with People, as I marched.

Q. Do you know any Thing of any regular Eſtabliſhment of the Nabob's Cavalry?

A. I do not.

Q. (*by a Lord.*) When you relieved Major Naylor, whether you received any other Inſtructions than thoſe, to take the Charge of the different Buildings or Encloſures of the Zenana and Khourd Mahl; becauſe it is mentioned, in a Letter from you to the Reſident, that you deſired an Allowance of Money for providing Ammunition; and, I think, it is ſaid upon Account of Inſtructions you received: What other Inſtructions did you receive from Major Naylor, when you ſucceeded to that Command?

A. Major Naylor delivered up the Charge of the Priſoners; I was ordered to take Charge of the Palace, and to ſupply the Guards that I relieved, which had been placed there by Major Naylor; and I was to receive further Inſtructions from Mr. Briſtow, as I obſerved before, regarding thoſe other Charges; my Battalion was then newly divided, it was one Battalion formerly, and at the Time I took the Command it was divided into Two; there were then about 700, but in conſequence of the Diviſion they were raiſed to a Thouſand Rank and File; the beſt Part of my People were Recruits. I had not above 50 or 60 Men that I conceived had ever fired; it was in conſequence of this I required the Ammunition.

Q. Whether you know there was any other Order than thoſe for the Care of the Zenana; can you explain why you put your Battalion into any particular Order, in conſequence of the Inſtructions you received from Major Naylor?

A. In the Letters I wrote to the Reſident, I believe I mentioned every Particular.

Q. (*by*

Q. (*by the Managers.*) You have ſtated, that you never prevented any of the Women from leaving the Zenana; that they were not confined; that any Perſon that choſe it might come out, only being ſearched, to prevent their taking out Valuables. Explain this Letter of the 21ſt February 1782.

" To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" Encloſed, I beg leave to tranſmit you a Chit ſent to me by Lattafit Ally Khawn, Head Durogah of the Kourd Mhal, who has repreſented to me that a Number of Women who went into the Zenanah to ſee their Relations, are ready to lie-in, and wiſh to come out of the Zenanah for that Purpoſe. He has applied to me to order their Releaſe; but as I do not think I am authoriſed ſo to do, from the Nature of the Inſtructions received by me from Major Naylor, I requeſt your Inſtructions, how I am to act.

" I have the Honour to be,

" Palace, Fyzabad, Sir,

February 21ſt 1782. Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) Leo^d Jaques, Captain
2d. Batt. 20th Reg. Sepoys." (*a*)

By this Letter, it ſeems as if it was impoſſible for a Woman with Child to come out of the Zenana, without a particular Licence given.—Do you recollect how that is?

A. Immediately upon my going there, I was not quite ſo well acquainted with the Reſident's Wiſhes as I was afterwards; of Courſe, as to thoſe Points I was not thoroughly acquainted with, I took the earlieſt Opportunity of informing myſelf. Lettaffit Ali Cawn knew that the Doolies were examined, and moſt probably he did not wiſh that ſome of thoſe People ſhould be examined.

Q. Whether you received any Anſwer to that Letter, authoriſing you to let Perſons go in and out, and thoſe People in particular?

A. I really conceive I muſt have received a Letter in Anſwer to that; but the Spirit of my Orders was ſtrictly to prevent Treaſure and Valuables coming out: I had no Orders to keep any Body from coming out, except they were carrying Valuables.

Q. Then you now ſtate, that all the Friends of the Priſoners were allowed to have free Intercourſe?

A. If you pleaſe, I will mention one Thing that will ſet that Matter right; whoever Hoolas Roy ſaid might come in, I was authoriſed to admit.

Q. By a Liſt, or by Directions from Hoolas Roy?

A. I had no Liſt: Hoolas Roy was a Perſon left with me to direct who ſhould, and who ſhould not go in.

Q. Therefore the Liberty you mean was, a Liberty for all whom Hoolas Roy did not forbid?

A. Yes.

Q. When any Perſon applied to come in, were they ever permitted to go, without previous Application to Hoolas Roy, to know whether it was proper?

A. There were none refuſed, except they appeared to be improper Perſons to be admitted; there were many People went in and out.

Q. What was that Appearance which made you determine them to be improper Perſons?

A. If there had been any armed Men, I ſhould not have ſuffered them to go in, without conſulting Hoolas Roy; if there had been any other great Men, as I had generally People about me who had a tolerable Knowledge of the People belonging to that Place, if there had been any that ſeemed to be of high Rank and Condition, I ſhould not have admitted them, without having conſulted Hoolas Roy, whether it was proper for them to go in or not.

Q. Did he permit Letters to paſs to and from thoſe Perſons?

A. Not Letters: I ſtopped all Letters.

Q. All Letters?

A. Yes, all Letters that appeared to be of a ſuſpicious Nature.

Q. What were the Things that determined your Judgement of the Letters that were ſtopped?

A. I had a Moonſhy to read them.

Q. To read the Inſide of the Letters, as well as the Directions without?

A. To read ſufficient.

Q. To open them?

A. There are many Letters that come within an outſide Paper, ſealed, and you may eaſily draw out the Letter without breaking the Seal.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 855.

Q. Suppoſe

Q. Suppoſe a Letter had appeared to you doubtful, ſhould you have gone to Hoolas Roy about that? Did you ever apply to Hoolas Roy to know, whether you ſhould deliver any Letters that were brought there or not?

A. I believe I very often did. There was one Thing I would wiſh to mention; there were many Letters, and little Notes, on trifling Subjects, coming from one Merchant to another, and from one Servant to another; thoſe Things we were able ſufficiently to underſtand, without the Trouble of opening them.

Q. Without the Trouble of opening them?

A. Many that the People knew what might be in them.—Nothing that would militate againſt my Inſtructions.

Q. Have you a Copy of the Inſtructions that were given you?

A. I really do not know that I have any Copy of them.

Then the following Letter was read from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book A, already delivered in, beginning at Page 100 of the ſame Book.

" To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" Encloſed I beg leave to tranſmit you a Letter from the Two Priſoners, Bar Ally Khawn, and Jewar Ally Khawn, in Anſwer to One they received from you this Morning, which they would have not received had I not known it was from you, conceiving it was contrary to my Inſtructions, which are to prevent their having any Intercourſe with their Adherents.

" I have the Honour to be,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

humble Servant,

" Palace, Fyzabad,
February 22d 1782.

(Signed) Leo^d Jaques, Capt^n
2^d Batt^n 20^th Reg^t of Sepoys." (a)

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs.

Q. What Anſwer did you receive to this Application to Mr. Johnſon?

A. I was directed in it to admit none but thoſe that Hoolas Roy approved of; I believe that was the Anſwer.

Q. Have you that Anſwer?

A. I believe I have nothing of the Kind.

Then the following Extract of a Letter from the Witneſs to Mr. Middleton, dated Fyzabad, 23d April 1782, was read from Book A, already delivered in, beginning at Page 165 of the ſame.

" Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" Allow me the Honour of informing you, that the Place, the Priſoners Bar Ally Cawn, and Jewar Ally Cawn are confined in, is become ſo very unhealthy from the Number obliged to be on Duty in ſo confined a Place, at this hot Seaſon of the Year, and ſo ſituated that no Reduction can with Propriety be made from their Guard, it being at ſuch a Diſtance from the Battalion.

" I ſhall be glad of your Permiſſion to remove them to a Houſe more contiguous to the Battalion Lines, and where they will be in more Security, with One Third of the Number, than they are at preſent. (b)

(Signed at the End) " Leonard Jaques, Captain commanding at Fyzabad."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs.

Q. You have ſtated that the Priſoners were not treated with any Degree of Severity; do you remember whether you received any Anſwer to that Application?

A. I do.

Q. What was that?

A. To remove them.

Q. Where did you remove them to?

A. I removed them to Jewar Ali Cawn's Houſe; a very elegant commodious Houſe, lately built, cloſe by where I reſided myſelf, and where the Battalion was.

Q. Where was the unhealthy Place you removed them from?

A. Bahar Ali Cawn's Houſe.

Q. You have appeared to ſay, that no Severity or Hardſhips were uſed towards thoſe Priſoners; explain this Paſſage in Mr. Middleton's Letter of the 22d of May 1782, to you, toward the latter

(a) Vide ſupra, Page 855.

(b) Vide ſupra, Page 856.

End of their Confinement: "I am ſorry it is not in my Power to comply with your Propoſal of eaſing the Priſoners for a few Days, of their Fetters.—Much as my Humanity may be touched by their Sufferings, I ſhould think it inexpedient to afford them any Alleviation, while they perſiſt in a Breach of their Contract with me." (*a*) When Mr. Middleton expreſſes his Humanity ſo touched with their Sufferings, to what could he allude, if the Priſoners never ſuffered any Hardſhips of any Sort?

A. I have already repeated ſeveral Times, that I was ordered to put them in Irons; this you have been ſufficiently acquainted with, I preſume; and, except thoſe Particulars, I know of no Severities that were uſed towards them. I take it, that was an Application upon Account of their Sickneſs.

Q. You have talked of a ſpacious Garden which the Priſoners had the Uſe of. You ſay, in your Letter of the 18th May 1782, to Mr. Middleton, that "The Priſoners Bar and Jewar Ally Khawn, who ſeem to be very ſickly, have requeſted their Irons might be taken off for a few Days, that they might take Medicine, and walk about the Garden of the Place where they are confined, to aſſiſt the Medicine in its Operation. Now, as I am ſure they would be equally as ſecure without their Irons as with them, I think it my Duty to inform you of this Requeſt, and deſire to know your Pleaſure concerning it." (*a*) Did you receive any Anſwer to that Letter?

A. I did.

Q. Do you know where it is?

A. The Anſwer has, I believe, been read.

Q. Whether you ever had any Complaint of Hoolaſs Roy of his ill-uſing and beating the Servants of Bahar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn?

A. There is a Circumſtance, with reſpect to the Behaviour of Hoolas Roy, that your Lordſhips may not think ſo well to go into; it is of ſome Length; it was reſpecting the Gunge, or Market, that they had the Profit of, that Hoolas Roy had interfered in a Manner I thought was not right.

Q. The ſingle Queſtion now put is, whether you recollect any Inſtance of ill Treatment inflicted by Hoolas Roy, upon the Servants of Bahar or Jewar Ali Cawn?

A. I did not conceive it to be of beating the Servants of Bahar and Jewar Ali Cawn; there was ſomething, whether it went the Length of beating I cannot ſay: It was not within the Palace, but within the Walls of Fyzabad.

Then the following Extract of a Letter from Capt. Leonard Jaques, dated, Fyzabad, 30th May 1782, and addreſſed to Nath. Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court, was read.

"To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

"Sir,

"I have deſired Lieutenant Gawen to ſend you in his Bill, for the Expence he has been at during his Command, in which ſome Repairs to the Gun will be included; and, immediately on Major Gilpin's Arrival, I ſhall ſend you in my Bill, for every contingent Expence I have been at ſince the Firſt of April laſt. Agreeable to your Deſire, I now beg Leave to inform you of the Particulars of Hoolaſs Roy's Behaviour to me, and which are as follows: Soubah, who had been Chowdry of Begum Gunge upwards of Fifteen Years, and diſplaced by Hoolaſs Roy, came to complain, that his Mother, and ſome of his Servants, had been beat and abuſed by Hoolaſs Roy's Servants; acquainting me at the ſame Time, that their Reaſon for ſo doing, was his being much liked by the black People, who did not behave to the new Man ſo well as they had done to him; and that this occaſioned Hoolaſs Roy to ſuppoſe him acceſſary thereto. Hoolaſs Roy happening to be with me a Day or Two after, I aſked him about it; when he got very warm, obſerving, he did not expect, when he came to me, that he was to be queſtioned about every Complaint that might be preferred, and that he would write to you on the Occaſion. His Behaviour, in ſhort, was ſuch, as induced me to enquire, very minutely, into the Matter; when I found, that what the Chowdry told me, was very true, and that he had been very ill uſed by Hoolaſs Roy. In conſequence of this, I aſked Jerrour Sing (under whom the Gunge was, that this Man had been Chowdry to ſo many Years) about the Man: He told me, he was a good Man, and that his Father was then in his Employ, and that he gladly would replace him; which he did. Howlaſs Roy, nettled, I doubt not, at this, in a Day or Two after, meeting, at different Times, my Orderlies and Hircarrahs, thought proper to queſtion them about the Buſineſs I had ſent them upon, though entirely foreign to any Concern of his; and uſed threatening Language to one or two who happened to be near his Houſe of Abode. His Reaſons for ſo doing I cannot tell; but ſhall enquire, if you approve thereof.

"I have the Honour to be, Sir,

"Fyzabad, May 30, 1782. your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) Leonard Jaques,
Captain commanding at Fyzabad."

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 857.

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. You have ſtated, That, in conſequence of your Orders, you examined the Doolies that came from the Khourd Mahl; Whether you did not know that the Women confined in the Khourd Mahl, had ſome Property and Valuables of their own?

A. I do conceive they muſt have had ſomething: I can give very little Information with reſpect to what they had. I have already depoſed, that Letaffit Ali Cawn complained they had ſold almoſt every Thing that they had; and that they alſo called out from the Tops of the Houſes, they were in a ſtarving Condition.

Q. What Inſtructions or Means had you to diſtinguiſh any Goods and Valuables, carried out of the Khourd Mahl, whether they were the Property of the Begums, or of the Women of the Khourd Mahl, or of the Viſitors in the Zenana?

A. I ſhould have ſtopped Valuables, let them belong to whom they would, till I had had Mr. Middleton's further Inſtructions about them.

Q. Have you heard whether the Nabob had any Claims under the Mahommedan Law to the Property of thoſe Women of the Khourd Mahl, or to their Effects of any Sort?

A. I always underſtood, but it is ſheerly from Hearſay, that they were altogether the Nabob's Treaſures.

Q. Was you informed of any Ground or Reaſon for ſeizing the Property of the Khourd Mahl, or was any ſeized that you know of, or heard of?

A. I never found any Thing that I had Occaſion to ſtop from the Khourd Mahl.

Q. Do you know of any Body having ſtopped or ſeized any Thing, Treaſures or what elſe, from the Khourd Mahl?

A. I do not.

Q. You never ſtopped any Valuables; do I underſtand you right?

A. I never heard of any Thing found in the Khourd Mahl that was ſeized.

Q. Did you ever ſtop any Thing that came from the Khourd Mahl?

A. I do not recollect that I did; nor do I recollect ſtopping any Thing from the Coſs Mahl; for they knew my Orders pretty well, and took care accordingly.

Q. Was it frequent to ſtop the Doolies?

A. I believe, ſcarcely a Day paſſed without.—I beg to offer one Obſervation: From the Time of my writing the Letter to Mr. Middleton, till I had his Anſwer, there were no Doolies allowed to go out till I received his Inſtructions; till he choſe to pay me the Bill; I did not chuſe to pay thoſe Women any longer to examine them, till he agreed to pay my Bill.

Q. How long was that Period?

A. I ſuppoſe, about Three or Four Days.

Q. Whether you ever ſaw or heard of any Treaty with Mr. Middleton, by which the Maintenance of the Women in the Khourd Mahl was guaranteed to them by the Engliſh?

A. I have depoſed, that I was written to by Mr. Middleton or Mr. Johnſon, telling me, we could have nothing to do with the Women of the Khourd Mahl, either directly or indirectly, regarding their Maintenance.

Q. Whether you heard that the Aſſignments made for the Maintenance of theſe Women were punctually applied to that Purpoſe?

A. I have already depoſed they were not; but where the Fault lay, except between the Nabob and Collector, I do not know.

Q. Do you know the Lands out of which thoſe Aſſignments were payable?

A. I do not.

Q. Do you know whether they ever were ſeized by Order of Mr. Middleton?

A. I do not.

Then the following Extract of a Letter from Major Gilpin to Mr. Johnſon, dated the 4th of July 1782, was read.

"If nothing elſe will do, Recourſe muſt be had, for which I have the Sanction, to putting a Guard upon the Palace Gates of the Elder Begum, and ſtraitening the entering of Proviſions for a Day or Two."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Whether any ſuch Orders were given as theſe?

A. I cannot charge my Memory with any Thing of the Kind.

Q. How came your Battalion to be reduced in the Manner you have deſcribed?

A. I ſhould have told you in about Five Minutes, if I had gone on with my Evidence. My Battalion had been Part of a Battalion of 700 Men; it was augmented, in conſequence of the

Diviſion which took place, to 1000, and there were 500 to each Battalion. There were a Number of Recruits; I had not above Fifty of the old Sepoys in my Battalion.—

Q. How came they to be reduced to Fifty?

A. In conſequence of the Draughts from the Battalion, before they were formed into a Regiment, moſt of the old Sepoys had been taken away: and in the latter End of 1780, or the Beginning of 1781, it was found neceſſary to augment the Eſtabliſhment of the Army; and that which had been a Battalion of Sepoys before, was augmented to a Regiment conſiſting of Two Battalions; a great many of the old Sepoys were continually draughted to other Places, and there were a great many new Sepoys at this Place.

Q. In 1780, or 1781, you ſay there was a general Augmentation of the Army; and between that and 1782, many Draughts had been made from that Battalion ſo augmented, by which Means your Battalion was reduced—Is it ſo?

A. Yes; and in conſequence of Major Naylor having been very particular and careful, with Twice the Number of Men, and Two Guns, I concluded it my Duty to take every poſſible Means I could to get my Battalion into a defenſive Situation. I found a great deal of Powder and Lead there; and I converted the Lead into Balls, and made up Cartridges, and practiſed my Men. This is the Circumſtance I alluded to and mentioned in my Letter to Mr. Middleton, and which I thought neceſſary to have refunded.

Q. How came your Battalion to be compoſed of Recruits ſo undiſciplined?

A. The Draught had been made before the Battalion was made into a Regiment.

Q. (*Croſs-examined.*) Whether the Object of this Examination and Search of the Doolies was not the Detection of the Begum's Treaſure only, and not applied to the Khourd Mahl?

A. That I believe was the Object.

Q. What do you mean by the Admiſſion of proper, and the Excluſion of improper Perſons; is it with Reference to Reſcue of the Perſons under Confinement; by improper Perſons, do you only mean thoſe that would have made a Danger of a Reſcue, or do you mean any other Deſcription of Perſons whatever?

A. Thoſe that would have been dangerous in point of Reſcue, I conceived to be the moſt particular, which I ſhould attend to; but upon many other Occaſions there might be ſuch People as it might have been improper for them to conſult with.

Q. You have ſaid already, you thought you ſhould not admit any Body of Rank or Conſideration, till you had firſt of all conſulted Hoolas Roy; was that the Idea you entertained?

A. That was my Idea, and agreeable to my Inſtructions.

Q. How long did the Priſoners remain at Bahar Ali Cawn's Houſe, before they were removed to Jewar's, which was the more commodious and better Reſidence?

A. I really cannot tell; I believe it was Eight or Nine Weeks, or a little more. The Letters will aſcertain it.

Q. What was the Extent of the Garden in Jewar Ali Cawn's Houſe?

A. There were two or three Gardens, all of which opened into each other. I ſuppoſe the Length of the Gardens might extend to ſixty or ſeventy Yards, and they might be about thirty Yards deep.

Q. Do you mean all the Gardens together?

A. I reckon them all together.

Q. Whether they were, in Fact, prevented from walking about the Gardens of Jewar Ali Cawn's Houſe?

A. They were not prevented walking about with their Irons on; but I could not take their Irons off, in Conſequence of the Application.

Q. What were the Weight of their Irons?

A. I ſuppoſe they might be about Two Pounds; they were made faſt with Couplets; they could not ſtep above a Foot at a Time; they could not make a Pace of above a Foot.

Q. Do you know the Irons that are uſed in the Priſons in England; were they like thoſe?

A. I cannot charge my Memory with what they are. I can deſcribe the Irons as they were.

Q. Deſcribe the Irons.

A. There was a round Ring to go round the Leg, with a Joint in it to admit the Leg, then the other Joint was brought to, and they were rivetted together; then there was a long Link to each Iron, and a Ring at the End of the Two Irons, and One Ring for the Centre, that is, Two Links and Three Rings.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) Whether Shumſhire Cawn was confined in the Houſe of Bahar, and alſo of Jewar Aly Cawn: was he removed from the Houſe of Bahar Ali Cawn with the other Priſoners?

A. To the beſt of my Recollection he was; I never recollect a ſeparate Place for either of the Three;

Three; they were altogether in Bahar Ali Cawn's Houſe, till they were removed to Jewar Ali Cawn's Houſe.

Q. Was Shumſhire Cawn in Irons?
A. I believe not; I think not.

Q. Recollect whether he was, or was not, in Irons.
A. I really believe not; but the Letter which is in Evidence will aſcertain it; I think Bahar and Jewar Ali Cawn were the Two I was ordered to put in Irons.

Q. Why do you think ſo? Did your Orders apply to Bahar and Jewar Ali Cawn, excluſive of Shumſhire Cawn?
A. I never conſidered Shumſhire Cawn to be of that Conſequence as Bahar and Jewar Ali Cawn; I expected I ſhould, during my Command there, have had Authority to releaſe him.

Q. Whether he was not equally capable of eſcaping, if not put in Irons?
A. I believe it would have been very difficult, it muſt have been a Miracle, for any to eſcape.

Q. Were any Means taken to prevent the Eſcape of the One, which were not taken with reſpect to the others, except the Irons?
A. None; they were all in the ſame Place.

Q. Do you underſtand that the Irons were to prevent their Eſcape, or for any other Purpoſe?
A. Severities are mentioned in the Letter.

Q. Whether Hoolas Roy had any direct Authority over the Priſoners, but ſuch as he muſt have exerciſed through you?

A. He could not have done any Thing of the Kind without my Permiſſion: They might talk to him, or he to them.

Q. But he could not conſtrain them, or inflict any Thing upon them, but through you?
A. No.

Q. Did Hoolas Roy, in Fact, refuſe Admiſſion, or admit Perſons, without a perſonal Application to you?
A. I do not believe he did; my Sepoys would not have received any Orders but from me.

Q. I underſtood the Witneſs to have ſaid, no Perſon was ever refuſed: I underſtand him now to have ſaid, he does not imagine Hoolas Roy would have done ſo, without applying to him; but that the Sepoys might have admitted them without perſonal Application to him?
A. No, they would not.

Q. Not without applying to you?
A. There was a Subaltern Officer that mounted Guard, with ſuch a Number of Sepoys, in the Houſe with him.

Q. Do you underſtand that any Application was made to Hoolas Roy, ſo as to receive a Refuſal, without firſt coming to you?
A. I do not recollect any Applications being made that were refuſed.

Q. Whether you are quite certain that no Perſon who did apply was, in Fact, refuſed?
A. Many might apply to Hoolas Roy, and I could not be anſwerable for it; but none applied to me, that was refuſed.

Q. You ſaid, that nobody had Acceſs to the Begums, or any Means of knowing what their Treaſures were? Then what Foundation had you for ſuppoſing the Begums could have paid the whole Demand if they had been inclined to do ſo?
A. What Demand?

Q. The Demand made upon them by the Nabob of Twelve Lacks?
A. It muſt have been made through the Miniſter.

Q. The Queſtion is this; you have ſaid, you thought they could have paid that Demand if they would: Do you recollect having ſaid that?
A. Yes.

Q. Upon what Foundation did you ſay that?
A. I have always underſtood from the different black People of Fyzabad, that Bahar Ali Cawn was worth a Crore of Rupees.—Jewar Ali Cawn was looked upon to be always poor: He had expended all his Money in Building.

Q. Was that the Foundation you went upon, in ſuppoſing the Begums could have paid if they would?
A. Yes; that was One; and beſides, I have alſo underſtood that, upon the Death of Sujah ul Dowlah, there were a great many Crore of Rupees in the Zenana.

Q. In what Time could you receive Anſwers to your Letters from Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon? What Time would it take to write them and receive an Anſwer?

A. I

A. I believe in Two Days from the Night I wrote; it would arrive at Lucknow the next Night, and I ſhould have an Anſwer the Night following, I believe.

Q. What Length of Time would the Communication take up between you and them, if you thought fit to conſult the Governor General and Council at Calcutta, and to receive an Anſwer at Fyzabad?

A. I believe, within a Month.

Q. How many Miles had you marched from your Station to reach Fyzabad in the Country of Oude?

A. I was at Lucknow then.

Q. Then, did you obſerve any Symptom of Rebellion during your March from Lucknow to Fyzabad?

A. No; I did not obſerve any Thing of the Kind from Lucknow to Fyzabad. We had marched from Cawnpore, intending to go to the Jaghires; we were given to underſtand they were in Rebellion; but we turned off ſhort to Lucknow.

Q. To your Knowledge, had you, at any Period during your Reſidence in the Country, obſerved any Symptoms of Rebellion?

A. We were ordered with the 20th Regiment to march, I believe it was the 23d of December 1781; we were ordered to march to the Jaghires, where I underſtood they were in Rebellion, to ſuppreſs that Rebellion; and when we had got 7 or 8 Coſs from Dahnow, we received Orders to march for Lucknow. I could not doubt there was a Rebellion, otherwiſe the Regiment would not have been ordered for that Service.

Q. Whether, in obeying the Orders given you by Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon, you did, or did not, conſider yourſelf as obeying the Orders of the Governor General and Council at Calcutta, and that they were acting under the Orders of the Government at Calcutta?

A. Surely I did.

Q. Did not your Guard command the Zenana, ſo as to be an effectual Confinement to the Women within it?

A. My Orders were to ſtop Valuables. Any ſingle Perſon, that choſe it, might have gone out?

Q. You cannot mean that, during the whole Time you were there, any Perſon might have gone out; becauſe you wrote a Letter, of the 23d of February, in which you ſay, you are not authoriſed to let any Women go out, of any Kind whatever, and deſire to receive Inſtructions upon that Head. Do you remember that Letter?

A. The poor People never were prevented; it was thoſe who went in Doolies that were examined.

Q. Attend to the Letter and the Period, and then ſay what you mean: The Queſtion is this: Did you mean to ſay, before the 23d of February, there was the ſame open Paſſage backwards and forwards, as there was afterwards, for the Women in Doolies?

A. As to the poor People, and low Dependants, they were never prevented; but the Women in a more eligible Situation, and Women of high Rank or Delicacy, would not go expoſed.

Q. Was the Confinement as eaſy before the 23d of February, as after?

A. If they had choſen to have gone out without Doolies, they might have gone out before.

Q. But if they choſe to go out in Doolies, they could not have gone out before that Letter of the 23d of February?

A. Any Women that were ſo indifferent about themſelves, as to go without being in Doolies, would never have been prevented either before or after; but thoſe who really did not chuſe to be ſeen by every body, could not go out before or after without being examined, becauſe Doolies, as it is in my Letter obſerved, might carry out Valuables.

Q. But the Queſtion is, Whether, without Examination, they could have gone out before the 23d of February?

A. Yes; there were many went out before: It was in Conſequence of Lettaffit Ali Cawn having applied to me for a Number of People to ſee their Friends, that I was doubtful of People having gone out, that probably it might not have been right to let go; and, that I might be cautious, and guard againſt doing any Thing improper, I applied to the Reſident, and the Reſident gave me Authority to let them go out.

Q. If I underſtand the Letter right, it implied, that nobody could go out before the 23d February 1782: You ſeem to expreſs yourſelf there as not authoriſed to let thoſe go out that wanted to go out; the Difficulty is, how you underſtood you were not authoriſed to let them out, if all might go out before the 23d February, ſubject only to that Examination?

A. In Conſequence of having been applied to by Lettaffit Ali Cawn, for thoſe Women going out, I thought it incumbent upon me to apply to the Reſident to know his Will concerning it. I applied, and they were let go out; but, before that, there were many that were let out and in

in Doolies; thoſe who went in in Doolies, we never troubled ourſelves about; but, when any went out, I had them examined by the Women.

Q. You ſeem to ſay, that, under the Spirit of thoſe Orders, this Searching was confined to the Women of Rank: Whether Women, going out on Foot, could not have conveyed Gold and Jewels, and Valuables, from the Zenana, as well as thoſe that went in Doolies?

A. Surely they might; but my Orders did not lay me under the Neceſſity of ſtopping them.

Q. You did not ſtop thoſe?

A. No; I do not recollect ſuch a Thing as One being ſtopped, except thoſe who went in Doolies.

Q. If you thought they might carry Valuables, why not ſtop them, as well as thoſe that went out in Doolies?

A. If I conceived they had had any Thing about them, I ſhould have ſtopped them.

Q. Whether the Claim you made for contingent Expences was allowed, and paid you by the Reſident?

A. Yes; it was.

Q. You marched, as I underſtand, to a Place called Cawnpore; and, upon your Arrival there, inſtead of going on to ſuppreſs what is called the Rebellion in the Jaghires, you was ordered to Lucknow, and then to take your Station at Fyzabad; I wiſh to know whether it was not a falſe Alarm:—Whether you did not underſtand that the Cauſe of your March to the Jaghires being countermanded, was that it was a falſe Alarm, and that in fact there was no Rebellion?

A. The Station of our Regiment was under Colonel Morgan at Cawnpore; we marched Seven Coſs from Dalmow, from whence we had Orders from the Reſident to march to Lucknow, the Reſident and his Body Guard being gone to Fyzabad, that Lucknow might not be left without Troops.

Q. Did you not underſtand at that Time that the Diſturbance, whatever it was, was ſuppreſſed or over?

A. We did not conceive it ſuppreſſed.

Q. Did you hear of any Action or Battle afterwards at the Jaghires?

A. After the Reſident arrived from Fyzabad at Lucknow, I was ordered to march to relieve Major Naylor; the other Battalion of our Regiment was ordered to march into the Jaghires.

Q. Did you ſee Major Naylor upon your Return to Fyzabad?

A. I do not recollect his coming to Fyzabad, after he left it upon my taking the Command.

Q. Did you ſee any Officer that had been with Major Naylor in that March to the Jaghires?

A. It was Major Gilpin that marched into the Jaghires.

Q. Did you ſee Major Gilpin after that?

A. Many Times.

Q. Was this after, or before the ſeizing of the Treaſures?

A. I met 43 Lacks between Lucknow and Fyzabad.

Q. When was you ordered to march to aſſiſt in ſuppreſſing the ſuppoſed Rebellion upon the Reſumption of the Jaghires?

A. We were ordered, I obſerved before, in December, I believe the 23d, to march to the Jaghires, and we marched One Day's March beyond Dahnow; there we received Orders to ſtrike off to Lucknow; and, in conſequence of the Vizier's returning to Lucknow, and the Reſident and his Body Guard, or a Part of it, with him, I marched to relieve Major Naylor; he went to his Command further into the Country, and Major Gilpin, with the other Battalion of our Regiment, marched to the Jaghires from Lucknow, and ſtaid in the Jaghires till the Beginning of June, when he came to take the Command at Fyzabad.

Q. You ſaid, you did not conſider Shumſhire Cawn to be a Man of the Conſequence of Bahar and Jewar Ali Cawn; was any Money expected from Shumſhire Cawn?

A. I do not recollect having had any other Inſtructions regarding Shumſhire Cawn, but ſheerly to detain him a Priſoner; I do not know any particular Reaſon for his being confined.

Q. Do you know whether he had Money, or not?

A. No, I do not.

Q. You had no Orders to put him in Irons?

A. To the beſt of my Remembrance, I had none: But that will appear from the Letter.

Q. (*by Counſel*). What was the Amount of the contingent Bill that was paid to you?

A. Really I cannot now tell; I believe about 300, or 400, or 500 Rupees.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether any Proviſions were ever ſtopped from going into the Khourd Mahl?
A. None, that I ever heard of, or knew of.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) You ſay, while the Priſoners were under your Charge, they were under no Reſtraint in the Article of Diet; do you know whether they had any Difficulty in procuring Proviſions, ſuch as they wanted?
A. I do not conceive they had any.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they ſhould now proceed to lay before the Houſe the Correſpondence between Mr. Middleton and Major Gilpin, previous to their calling Mr. Middleton upon that Subject.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 28th July 1783, from Book 81, already delivered in, beginning at Page 206 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, 28th July 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident; Secret Dep. Monday.
Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.
John Stables, }
Mr. Macpherſon indiſpoſed.

" Sir, Baugulpoor, 27th January 1782.

" I have received your Letter of the 20th inſtant. I thank you for the good News which it contains, and for the Proſpect which it has afforded me of a complete and proſperous Termination of the Meaſures impending.

" I deſire that you will endeavour to diſſuade the Nabob from concluding any Settlement with the Begums, until the Board, or myſelf, have been adviſed of the Amount of the Treaſure recovered from them, and of the Balance due at the lateſt Period from the Nabob to the Company.

" I hope to receive from you a Report of the final Iſſue of this Buſineſs, and of a Sum realized and in your Poſſeſſion for our Relief, in time to ſend Advice of both, by the Packet now under Diſpatch; and I ſhall keep it open until the 7th of next Month, but no longer, for that Purpoſe.

" I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
" (True Copy.) Nath. Middleton. (Signed) Warren Haſtings." (*a*)

Read, the following Extract from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book A, already delivered in.

" To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" Agreeable to your Inſtructions, I went to the Priſoners, Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn, accompanied by Hoolaſs Roy, who read the Papers reſpecting the Balance now due, &c. &c.

" In general Terms, they expreſſed Concern at not being able to diſcharge the ſame, without the Aſſiſtance of the Begum; and requeſted Indulgence to ſend a Meſſage to her on that Subject, and in the Evening they would give an Anſwer.

" I went at the Time appointed for the Anſwer, but did not receive a ſatisfactory one: In Conſequence of which, I deſired them to be ready, at the ſhorteſt Notice, to proceed to Lucknow; and explained to them every Particular contained in your Letter of the 1ſt inſtant reſpecting them.

" Yeſterday Morning I ſent for Lataffit Ally Cawn, and deſired him to go to the Bhow Begum, and deliver the Subſtance of my Inſtructions to her; which he did, and returned with the enclоſed Letter from her. From ſome Circumſtances which I have heard To-day, I am hopeful the Priſoners will ſoon think ſeriouſly of their Removal, and pay the Balance, rather than ſubmit themſelves to an inconvenient Journey to Lucknow.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
" Fyzabad, Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
5th June 1782. (Signed) " M. Gilpin,
Major Com^d^."

Read, the following Extract from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book D, already delivered in.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XLIII.

" To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

" Sir,

" I have been favoured with your Letter of the 5th inſtant, informing me of the Steps you had taken in conſequence of my Inſtructions of the 1ſt, and covering a Letter from the Bhow Begum, which is ſo unſatisfactory that I cannot think of returning an Anſwer to it. Indeed, as all Correſpondence between the Begum and me has long been ſtopped, I requeſt you will be pleaſed to inform her, that I by no Means wiſh to reſume it, or to maintain any friendly Intercourſe with her, until ſhe has made good my Claim upon her for the Balance due.

" I have now, in Conformity to my former Inſtructions, to deſire that the Two Priſoners, Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn, may be immediately ſent under a ſufficient Guard to Lucknow, unleſs, upon your imparting to them this Intimation, either they or the Begum ſhould actually pay the Balance, or give you ſuch Aſſurances or Security for the Aſſets to be immediately forthcoming, as you think can be relied upon; in which Caſe you will of courſe ſuſpend the Execution of this Order———" (*a*)

The Counſel for the Defendant acquainted the Houſe, that underſtanding the Honourable Managers meant to have called Major Gilpin, they had not objected, as they might have done, to the above-mentioned Letters being read from the private Letter Book of Mr. Middleton; that Major Gilpin was attending, and might ſpeak to the Facts; but the Tranſcript of theſe Letters in the private Letter Book of Mr. Middleton was no Evidence; and they ſhould have interpoſed before, if the Managers had not intimated that they would call Major Gilpin.

The Managers for the Commons ſaid, they utterly denied having intimated to the Counſel that they intended to call Major Gilpin: As to the Letter Books not being Evidence; they had been admitted as Records throughout the Whole of the Proceedings upon this Article.

The Counſel for the Defendant obſerved, they had not renounced their Right to object to the Letter Books in queſtion, when, in their Diſcretion, they ſhould think fit ſo to do.

The Counſel for the Defendant being aſked what their Objection was, made Anſwer, that they objected to the Tranſcript of a Letter in Mr. Middleton's private Letter Book being read, without any Proof being given of the Exiſtence of the Original; and were heard in Support of the Objection.

The Managers for the Commons were heard in Anſwer.

Then NATHANIEL MIDDLETON Eſquire was called in, and examined as follows:

Q. While you was Reſident at Lucknow, Major Gilpin was One of the Perſons employed under you at Fyzabad?
A. Yes.

Q. And he correſponded with you in the Courſe of that Employment?
A. Yes.

Q. What is become of the Letters he wrote to you in the Courſe of that Correſpondence?
A. They are in the Office at Lucknow.

Q. And that is the Place where they ought to be preſerved?
A. Yes.

Q. Are they all there?
A. I have no doubt they are all there.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw,

Then the Managers for the Commons propoſed to read a Letter from Mr. Middleton to Major Gilpin, dated Fyzabad, 9th June 1782, from Mr. Middleton's Letter Book D, already delivered in, beginning at Page 60 of the ſame Book.

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, that as to the Letter now propoſed to be read, there was clearly no Evidence that the Original ever exiſted; if it did,

(*a*) Vide infra, Page 874.

Major

Major Gilpin, who was attending, either had it in his Poſſeſſion, or could account for its Loſs.

The Managers for the Commons were heard in Anſwer to this Objection.

The Houſe obſerved, that if the Objection was inſiſted upon, it muſt prevail.

Then the following Extract of a Letter from Major Gilpin, dated Fyzabad, 15th June 1782, and addreſſed to Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, was read.

" Sir,
" Indiſpoſition prevented me replying to your Letter of the 9th inſtant, ſooner.

Then the Managers for the Commons propoſed to read the Letter of 9th June 1782, referred to in the Extract laſt read.

The Counſel for the Defendant objected.

The Managers for the Commons were heard in Support of the Evidence offered.

Then it was moved, that Mr. MIDDLETON be again called in; and being called in, he was examined as follows:

Q. What was your Mode of taking Copies of your own official Letters, when you wrote to any of the Perſons belonging to the Government?
A. They were taken by Writers in the Office, into a Book kept in the Office.

Q. Were they taken before your Letter was tranſmitted, or from any Copy of that Letter?
A. In general, I imagine, they were taken from the fair Copy.—It was my Practice to make foul Draughts of the Letters I had Occaſion to write.—Sometimes it might happen the Copies were taken from the foul Draught; but in general they were taken from a fair Draught, before it was tranſmitted.

Q. Were they taken before the Letter was tranſmitted, or after?
A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay in all Caſes.—In ſome Caſes, no doubt, they were taken after the Letter was tranſmitted, from the foul Draught; but in general moſt certainly from the fair Copy, before it was tranſmitted.

Q. Are thoſe Letters in your Books the original Copies you made, or Copies of thoſe Copies?
A. Copies of thoſe Copies.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Managers for the Commons were further heard in Support of the Evidence offered.

The Houſe obſerved, that as yet the Paper produced had not been proved to be an authentic Copy; and the Objection being made, it was neceſſary to diſpoſe of it according to the Rules of Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons deſired Leave to retire for a few Minutes; and being returned, proteſted againſt there being any ſolid Objection to the Evidence offered; but waived their Right to produce it in preſent, to avoid a Diſcuſſion, which, if it ſhould be found material at any future Period, they ſhould hold themſelves at Liberty to enter into more fully.

MAJOR MARTIN GILPIN was then called in; and being ſworn, was examined as follows:

Q. Have you the Originals of the Correſpondence which paſſed between you and Mr. Middleton, at the Time you were ſtationed at Fyzabad?
A. I have.

Q. Where are they?
A. They are in the Country: They were authenticated in the Houſe of Commons; and I did not judge it of any Conſequence to bring them from the Country, after they had been publickly authenticated, otherwiſe I ſhould have had them here, and produced them before this Court.

The Counſel for the Defendant being aſked, whether they meant to inſiſt upon the Production of the original Letters, made Anſwer, That, if Major Gilpin had examined any Papers, which purported to be Copies of the Originals, and knew them

to be true Copies, they would not interrupt the Progreſs of the Proceedings with any Delay upon that Account.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they could ſhew the Witneſs the very ſame Book which had been ſhewn to him in the Houſe of Commons, and which, upon Inſpection, he ſaid, contained correct Copies of the Originals.

Then a printed Book was ſhewn to the Witneſs, and the following Queſtion put to him.

Q. Did you compare thoſe printed Copies with the original Letters?

A. They were ſent up to me, and I did examine them with my own Letter Book, and with the original Letters which I received from Mr. Middleton; and there was very little Alteration in any of them; indeed, none of any Conſequence.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

The Counſel for the Defendant obſerved, That the Evidence offered was not ſtrict legal Evidence; but they would not object to its being received.

Read, from the Book ſhewn to the Witneſs, intituled, "Minutes of the Evidence taken before a Committee of the whole Houſe of Commons, on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors preſented to the Houſe againſt Warren Haſtings Eſquire, late Governor General of Bengal," the following Letter, from Mr. Middleton to Major Gilpin, dated the 9th of June 1782, beginning at Page 72, of the ſame Book:

"To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

"Sir,

"I have been favoured with your Letter of the 5th inſtant, informing me of the Steps you had taken in conſequence of my Inſtructions of the 1ſt, and covering a Letter from the Bhow Begum, which is ſo unſatisfactory that I cannot think of returning any Anſwer to it. Indeed, as all Correſpondence between the Begum and me has long been ſtopped, I requeſt you will be pleaſed to inform her, that I by no Means wiſh to reſume it, or to maintain any friendly Intercourſe with her, until ſhe has made good the Balance of my Claim upon her.

"I have now, in Conformity to my former Inſtructions, to deſire that the Two Priſoners, Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn, may be immediately ſent under a ſufficient Guard to Lucknow, unleſs, upon your imparting to them this Intimation, either they or the Begum ſhould actually pay the Balance, or give you ſuch Aſſurances or Security for the Aſſets to be immediately forthcoming, as you think can be relied on; in which Caſe you will, of courſe, ſuſpend the Execution of this Order.

"I wiſh you, Sir, to explain Once more to the Priſoners the Imprudence and Folly of their Conduct in forcing me to a Meaſure which muſt be attended with Conſequences ſo very ſerious to them, and that when once their Removal to Lucknow is effected, it will not be in my Power to ſhew them Mercy, or to ſtand between them and the Vengeance of the Nabob. Adviſe them to reflect ſeriouſly upon the unhappy Predicament in which they will be involved in one Caſe, and the Relief which will be in my Power to procure them in the other, and let them make their Option; but you will take care to convince them that this is the laſt Application which will be made to them. You will inform the Begum of theſe Inſtructions.

"I have nothing more to add, but that I rely greatly on your Abilities and prudent Management for a ſucceſsful Iſſue to this Buſineſs. You are already informed that my immediate Object is, the Recovery of the Balance due from the Begum, as ſtated in my Letter of the 1ſt inſtant, and notwithſtanding any Orders I may give you, I deſire you will conſider yourſelf to poſſeſs a diſcretionary Power to deviate from them as local Circumſtances may require, and, in ſhort, to purſue, unreſtricted, ſuch Meaſures as to your own Judgment ſhall appear beſt calculated to enſure the moſt certain and ſpeedy Accompliſhment of my Object.

"Lucknow, 9 June 1782. "I have the Honour to be, Sir, your, &c.
(Signed) Nath. Middleton."

Read, from the ſame Book, the following Letter from Major Gilpin to Mr. Middleton, dated the 15th of June 1782, beginning at Page 73 of the ſame.

"To N. Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Court of Lucknow.

"Sir,

"Indiſpoſition prevented my replying to your Letter of the 9th inſtant ſooner.

"I explained every Circumſtance contained in your Letter to Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn relative to them; and as I could not draw a ſatisfactory Anſwer from them, I deſired they would be ready to proceed to Lucknow on Monday Morning the 17th inſtant, and iſſued Orders for a Detachment to be in Readineſs to eſcort them.

" Since which, various Meſſages and Plans for the Payment of the Balance were offered to me, both by the Begum and the Priſoners.

" In all of which, ſuch a Length of Time was required by the Parties to diſcharge the ſame, that I could not, conformable to your Inſtructions, attend to them.

" They urged my addreſſing you on the Subject; but I aſſured them it was in vain; that I had already acquainted you they were to march on Monday, conſequently it was not in my Power to keep them here any longer.

" Yeſterday the Priſoners requeſted to ſee me, and in the Evening I went to them.

" They informed me that the Begum was very deſirous to pay the Balance, but at preſent it was not in her Power to do it in Money; but that ſhe would ranſack the Zenanah for Kemcobs, Silks, Muſlins, Cloths, &c. &c. to that Amount; and that ſhe would even admit of a Deduction from the annual Allowance that would be made her for Subſiſtence in lieu of her Jaghire.

" I deſired them to advert to the murmuriug that the Sale of Articles on a former Occaſion cauſed, which they themſelves informed me of when I firſt demanded Payment of the Balance, and to the Reply I made them, which was, that a Gem To-day might be valued at 20,000 Rupees, yet if it was requiſite to turn it into Caſh, it might not ſell for Half the Sum To-morrow; conſequently, it was of no greater Value in Payment of that Nature than the Sum it actually ſold for.

" That I was ſure of the ſame Circumſtance in the preſent Caſe, and therefore adviſed them to urge the Begum for Payment in Caſh before Monday.

" I am yet hopeful that To-morrow will be a buſy Day. In the Morning I ſhall ſend to know what Time of the Day they will ſee me, that I may bring the Officer commanding the Eſcort to take Charge of them, which will probably have the deſired Effect.

" I have the Honour, &c.

" Fyzabad, 15th June 1782.

(Signed) Martin Gilpin, Major Com^dg.^"

Read, the following Letter, from Major Gilpin to Mr. Johnſon, dated 20th June 1782, from the ſame Book, beginning at Page 74 of the ſame.

" To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Act^g Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" After the moſt urgent Arguments, both to the Begum and the Priſoners, Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn, for the Payment of the Balance, I found it was in vain to expect Money from them, without uſing Severities I was not impowered to inflict.

" I therefore (conformable to Mr. Middleton's Inſtructions) ordered the Priſoners to proceed to Lucknow, under a ſtrong Guard of Two hundred Men, commanded by Lieutenant Crow; and they marched from this on Tueſday the 18th inſtant, Two Coſs out of Town.

" When they arrived at the Ground, I wrote to Lieutenant Crow, and deſired him to tell the Priſoners, if they would pay the Balance that I would order them to return; and requeſted he would explain the horrid Situation they muſt be in at Lucknow, probably for Life.

" Lieutenant Crow could obtain no other Anſwer, than it was not in their Power to do it; but they requeſted I would urge the Begum again for Payment; which I did, and had the following Anſwer:

" Releaſe my Jaghire and my Cojahs, and then I will ſell Goods to that Amount."

" Next Morning the Priſoners marched to Begum Gunge, when Lieutenant Crow begged them to conſider their Situation, and offer Terms for Payment; that he would halt until he had an Anſwer from me; but they ſtill declared their Inability.

" I ſent again to the Begum, who returned me the ſame Anſwer as before.

" A Spy (that I had placed over the Priſoners, to attend to what Meſſages might paſs between them and the Begum) informed me, that on their Arrival at Begum Gunge, they ſent to the Begum, deſiring her to conſider, that their Situation grew more and more ſerious, and urged ſtrong Arguments to induce her to pay the Balance; that if ſhe did not, they muſt, at Lucknow, divulge every Secret to ſave themſelves.

" From this Meſſage I had hopes the Buſineſs would be ſettled, and I have waited in anxious Expectations of hearing from her all Day.

" The Cojahs one Day told me, that if I would pitch the Begum's Camp Equipage, and deſire her to prepare for an immediate Journey, in all Probability ſhe would pay the Balance due; however, I would not venture to take a Step of that Kind without your Orders and Authority, which, give me Leave to aſſure you, I ſhall be happy to receive, and that I will execute them with Pleaſure.

" I have the Honour to be,

" Sir,

" Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

" Fyzabad, 20th June, 1782.

(Signed) Martin Gilpin, Major Com^dg.^"

Read,

Read, the following Letter from Mr. Johnſon to Major Gilpin, dated the 24th June 1782, from the ſame Book, beginning at Page 74 of the ſame.

" To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

" Sir,

" I have received the Honour of your Letter of the 20th. The Priſoners arrived here this Morning. Lieutenant Crow has delivered them over to Captain Waugh, and returns to you in a Day or two.

" I think their Hint to you a very good one, and worth improving upon; was the Bhow Begum to think that ſhe muſt go to Allahabad, or any other Place, while her Palace is ſearched for the hidden Treaſure of the late Vizier, it might go further than any other Step that can be immediately taken towards procuring Payment of the Balance outſtanding.

" The Priſoners are to be threatened with Severities To-morrow, to make them diſcover where the Balance may be procurable, the Fear of which may poſſibly have a good Effect; and the Apprehenſions of the Begum, leſt they ſhould diſcover the hidden Treaſure, may induce her to make you Tenders of Payment, which you may give any reaſonable Encouragement to promote that may occur to you.

" The Jaghire cannot be releaſed to her on any other Terms, nor even to the Nabob, until the Five Lacks, for which it was granted, be paid up; and the Priſoners muſt alſo be detained until the full 55 Lacks be liquidated; conſequently, nothing but the Fear of an Increaſe of Demand upon Breach of the Firſt Engagement on her Part, will induce her to prompt Payment.

" I have, &c.

" Lucknow, 24th June 1782. (Signed) " R. Johnſon."

Read, the following Letter, from Major Gilpin to Mr. Johnſon, dated the 27th June 1782, from the ſame Book, beginning at Page 75 of the ſame.

" To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Court of Lucknow.

" Sir,

" This Morning I deſired my Commandant would ſend for one of the Begum's Cojahs, and enquire after her Health; that I ſuppoſe ſhe had forgot that I was here, and the Buſineſs I was ordered upon, by not hearing from her ſince the Priſoners went away.

" I deſired him, at the ſame Time, to enquire what Camp Equipage and Carriage ſhe had for it; and judging the Cojah would enquire the Cauſe of ſuch a Queſtion, I prepared him with a ſuitable Anſwer.

" The Cojah took the Alarm as I wiſhed, and deſired to know the Reaſon of ſuch Enquiry: The Commandant (of whoſe Fidelity I have had long Experience) replied, 'I do not know; I was 'with the Major this Morning, when he received an Expreſs from Lucknow, and, after reading 'his Letters, he deſired me to make Enquiry about the Begum's Camp Equipage, &c.; and he 'only added, However diſagreeable Orders might be, it was his Duty to obey them.'

" This Evening the ſame Cojah came to me, and told me, if I was at Leiſure in the Morning, he would be glad to ſpeak with me.

" From which I ſhould imagine ſhe has alſo taken the Alarm; and I acquaint you with the Particulars, that ſhould you think a Hint to Bahar Ally Cawn requiſite (from whom ſhe has Accounts daily) that Orders were ſent to me reſpecting the Begum, it might, at this Juncture, increaſe her Fears, and bring Matters to a ſpeedy Iſſue.

" I have the Honour to be,

Sir,

" Fyzabad, 27th June 1782.

Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) Martin Gilpin,
Major Com^dg."

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, the following Letter from Mr. Johnſon to Major Gilpin, dated the 4th July 1782, beginning at Page 75 of the ſame.

" To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

" Sir,

" I received the Honour of your Letter of the 27th Ultimo; ſincerely hope your Endeavours at Fyzabad may meet with ſome Succeſs, as mine here, with the Priſoners, promiſe very little.

" If nothing elſe will do, recourſe muſt be had (for which I have the Nabob's Sanction) to putting a Guard upon the Palace Gates of the Elder Begum, and ſtraitening the Entrance of Proviſions for a Day or Two, taking Care that no real Injury be ſuffered, only endeavouring to alarm by every poſſible Means.

" Lucknow, 4th July 1782.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. Johnſon."

Read,

Read, from the ſame Book, the following Letter from Major Gilpin to Mr. Johnſon, dated the 6th July 1782, beginning at Page 76 of the ſame.

" To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" To give you a Relation of every Letter and Meſſage that has paſſed between the Begum and me ſince my Letter of the 27th Ultimo, would be intruding on your Time to little or no Purpoſe.

" It is however neceſſary to aſſure you, that I have done and ſaid every Thing that Imagination could invent or ſuggeſt to induce her to pay the Balance.

" One Day ſhe gives me Reaſon to expect a Reconciliation and Payment, the next ſhe expreſſes her Poverty and Inability without her Jaghire to mortgage for it.

" In ſhort, ſhe is the moſt obdurate of her Sex; and I fear I muſt poſt a Company of Sepoys at the Old Lady's Gate To-morrow, conformable to your Letter of the 24th inſtant.

" She has been ſo * told, that I have the Orders by me to remove her, and ſhe declares ſhe will put an End to her Exiſtence rather than ſuffer it; but theſe are Words of Courſe in her Situation. * Sic in Orig.

" The old Lady has offered me One Lack of Rupees to ſend for the Priſoners, to be paid in Twenty-four Hours after their Arrival at this Place.

" I have the Honour to be,

" Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) M. Gilpin,

Major Com^dg.

" Fyzabad,

" 6th July 1782."

Read, the following Letter from Mr. Johnſon to Major Gilpin, dated the 9th July 1782, beginning at Page 76 of the ſame.

" To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

" Sir,

" I am honoured with your Letter of the 6th. The Lack of Rupees offered by the Begum, would be of little Conſequence, if paid upon Condition of the Reſtoration of the Priſoners, through whom alone the whole Balance can be obtained, if it is obtainable. Unleſs therefore they will pay it without ſuch Condition annexed, the Negociation is fruitleſs.

" I have this Day ſent the Priſoners Word, that as they perſiſt in declaring that they know of no ſecreted or depoſited Treaſure in the Hands of the Bhow Begum, excepting that which they have paid to the Company; and further, that they poſſeſs no Means of liquidating the Balance, which were the only Purpoſes for which I brought them from Fyzabad, and for the Fulfilment of which I would have interceded for the Remiſſion of their Crimes againſt the Company; but this being now over by their Obſtinacy, I ſhould now ſend them to Chunar Gur, of which I gave them Four Days Notice, that as they were now about to be ſeparated for ever from their Principals, they might have an Opportunity of communicating to them whatever they might have to ſay on ſuch an Occaſion.

" This Meſſage I now make you acquainted with, that you may mention their Departure from hence for Chunar in the ſame Light to the Begum. It poſſibly may have more Effect than any Reſtraint upon their Palaces at Fyzabad; for if they would give One Lack to have them returned to Fyzabad, they may poſſibly give the 6½ to ſave them from a final Separation.

" The preciſe Terms upon which they offered the Lack I do not clearly underſtand from your Letter; whether they would give it merely to have their Priſon at Fyzabad inſtead of Lucknow, or whether any Sort of Enlargement is underſtood by it. In your future Letters, when you mention the Begums, I ſhall be obliged to you to diſtinguiſh them by the Appellation of the Bhow Begum and the Elder Begum; the Firſt is the Wife of Sujah ul Dowla, the latter his Mother.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. Johnſon."

" Lucknow,

9th July 1782.

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, the following Letter from Major Gilpin to Mr. Johnſon, dated the 11th July 1782, beginning at Page 77 of the ſame.

" To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" Finding every Effort to obtain the Balance from the Bhow Begum fruitleſs, I reſolved on poſting a Grenadier Company at the Gate of the Elder Begum's Palace, agreeable to the Tenor of your Letter of the 4th inſtant, which I did on the 9th in the Morning, but gave them no other Orders than to maintain their Poſt in caſe of any Oppoſition, and not ſuffer armed Men to enter the Palace.

" About an Hour after, I had a Meſſage from the Elder Begum, deſiring me to go there, which I did immediately.

" I was conducted into a little Room, ſome Diſtance from the Houſe, where I ſtayed about Six Hours, endeavouring to adjuſt Matters with the Cojahs [the Conveyancers of our ſeveral Meſſages] but returned without coming to any Agreement.

" All next Day was ſpent in the ſame Manner; but in the Evening the Bhow Begum came to the following Agreement:

" That I ſhould write for the Priſoners Behar and Jewar Ally Cawn to be ſent back to Fyzabad.

" That immediately on their Arrival ſhe would deliver up all the ready Caſh ſhe had, towards the Payment of the Six Lacks and a Half.

" That what remained deficient, Goods ſhould be ſold to make good the ſame as ſoon as poſſible.

" That Mr. Johnſon ſhould nominate an Agent, who, with Behar Ally Cawn, ſhould attend the Sales, or receive the Goods in Payment by their Approvement.

" That ſhe agreed to deliver up every Thing valuable in her Poſſeſſion, to make good the ſame, which Bahar Ally Cawn only could come at.

" That the Guard ſhould be withdrawn, until Mr. Johnſon's Anſwer was obtained.

" That the Priſoners were (when the Balance was paid) to be enlarged.

" In conſequence of theſe Propoſals I withdrew the Guard laſt Night about Ten o'Clock.

" I have every Reaſon to believe the Bhow Begum will ſtand to this; and, from every Information, I do not believe we could come to a more ſpeedy Concluſion of this Buſineſs.

" Soon after I had withdrawn the Guard, I received your Letter of the 9th, and communicated the Contents to the Cojahs, which will certainly have a good Effect.

" It was the Elder Begum that offered the Lack of Rupees to be paid for the Priſoners being returned to this Place, but it was to be conſidered in Part Payment of the Six Lacks and a Half.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) " Martin Gilpin,
" Major Commanding."

" Fyzabad,
11th July 1782.

Read, the following Letter from Mr. Johnſon to Captain Waugh, dated the 25th June 1782, from Book D, already delivered in, beginning at Page 66 of the ſame.

" To Captain Waugh.

" Sir,

" I conclude that Lieutenant Crow has delivered over to you Yeſterday the Two Priſoners from Fyzabad; and have to requeſt, that you will be pleaſed to ſend them under a proper Eſcort this Afternoon, ſo as that they may arrive before dark at the Bangalow, occupied until Yeſterday by Mr. Swainſton, where they will continue under your Guard.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt humble Servant,
(Signed) R. Johnſon,
Acting Reſident."

" Lucknow,
25th June 1782.

Read, the following Letter, from Mr. Johnſon to the Officer commanding the Guard, dated the 28th June 1782, from the ſame Book, beginning at Page 68 of the ſame.

" To the Officer commanding the Guard.

" Sir,

" The Nabob having determined to inflict corporal Puniſhment upon the Priſoners under your Guard, This is to deſire, that his Officers, when they ſhall come, may have free Acceſs to the Priſoners, and be permitted to do with them as they ſhall ſee proper; only taking care that they leave them always under your Charge.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) " R. Johnſon, Acting Reſident."

" Lucknow, the 28th June 1782.

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, the following Letter, from Mr. Johnſon to the commanding Officer of the Guard, dated the 23d July 1782, beginning at Page 85 of the ſame Book.

" To the Commanding Officer of the Guard.

" Sir,

" Some violent Demands having been made for the Releaſe of the Priſoners, it is neceſſary that every poſſible Precaution be taken for their Security. You will therefore be pleaſed to be very

very ſtrict in guarding them; and I herewith ſend another Pair of Fetters, to be added to thoſe now upon the Priſoners.

" I have the Honour to be, Sir,
Your, &c.

" Lucknow, the 23d July 1782. (Signed) " R. Johnſon, Acting Reſident."

Read, from Book A, already delivered in, the following Letter, from the Commanding Officer of the Guard to Mr. Johnſon, beginning at Page 56 of the ſame Book.

" To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Acting Reſident.

" Sir,

" I have received your Inſtructions, and ordered the Fetters to be added; but they are by much too ſmall for their Feet. The utmoſt Regard ſhall be paid to the Security of the Priſoners. I have ſent back the Fetters, that you may have them altered, if you think proper.

" I have the Honour to be, Sir,

" Lucknow, 23d July 1782. (Signed) " Robert Steere Allen,
Lieut. 31 Regiment, commanding Guard."

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, the following Letter from Mr. Johnſon to Major Gilpin, dated the 17th July 1782, beginning at Page 78 of the ſame.

" Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

" Sir,

" I am honoured with your Letter of the 11th. I have no * Objection to the Begum's Propoſals for liquidating her Engagements, than that they are indefinite in Period, and in ſome Meaſure as to the Means ſhe is willing to declare in her Poſſeſſion for the Balance, and that there is no Sort of Hold or Security for the Peformance, beyond what I have poſſeſſed theſe Six Months paſt in vain—her Agreement, ſigned and ſealed. * Sic in Orig.

" I therefore requeſt you will deliver her the following Anſwer:——That if Promiſes or Agreements, without other Security, were of any Value, the preſent Trouble and Vexation ſhe ſubmits to, and has brought upon herſelf, would have had no Exiſtence; of courſe, that before I can in any Shape alter my Plan of preſſing, by every Means in my Power, the Payment of the Balance, ſhe muſt produce ſome reſponſible Security, which is always attainable by a Depoſit of the Caſh and Goods, in the Hands of ſome truſt-worthy Shroff, or other conſiderable Perſon, who may thereby be induced to become reſponſible for the Payment.——

" This done to my Satisfaction, and a Time fixed for the final Diſpoſal, at Profit or Loſs, of the Goods, I am willing immediately to agree to and complete every other Requiſition which ſhe has made through you.

" I before underſtood that the Lack offered was in Part Payment of the Balance; all I meant to aſk, whether the Eunuchs were claimed to be enlarged upon it, or only to be returned Priſoners to Fyzabad? If the latter is the Caſe, and that the Elder Begum will pay One Lack, and that at the ſame Time their Preſence ſhall appear abſolutely neceſſary to take out or diſpoſe of the Goods, &c. I will of courſe accept this Lack, which upon this Footing, in a Two-fold Light, muſt accelerate the Buſineſs.

" I ſuppoſe you have learnt nothing further of the Effect upon the Bow Begum, of the Threat of ſending the Eunuchs to Chunar.

" Lucknow,
17th July 1782. I have, &c.
(Signed) R. Johnſon."

Read, alſo, from the ſame Book, the following Letter from Mr. Johnſon to Major Gilpin, dated the 22d July 1782, beginning at Page 79 of the ſame.

" To Major Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

" Sir,

" I am juſt honoured with a Letter from you, without Date, informing me that the Bow Begum now demands the Releaſe of her Jaghire, and of the Priſoners, as Preliminaries to the final Adjuſtment of the ready Money Balance due from her. Her altering her Terms as ſoon as ſhe perceived any Appearance of ſmoothing her own Propoſals, proves the Neceſſity of my Caution in not truſting implicitly to her Promiſes, and requiring ſome Security for Performance upon her Behalf, previous to the Accompliſhment on my Side of her Claims. However, all Negotiations ſeem now out of the Queſtion by the preſent new Demand of the previous Releaſe of her Jaghire: She and her Agents made ſo bad a Uſe of the Power and Force ſhe poſſeſſed with the Jaghires during the late Troubles, to the almoſt total Subverſion of the Nabob's Government, joined with ſo glaring an Oppoſition to the Engliſh Intereſt, that neither Party can ever again conſent to her being replaced in ſo dangerous a Situation.

" This Claim, therefore, is admiſſible in no Extremity; independent of which, the Jaghire is the only real Security I poſſeſs for the certain Collection, although in a dilatory Mode, of the Six

Six Lacks and a Half due upon the ready Money Payment, and almoſt Three Lacks and a Half upon a ſeparate Order of Five Lacks, payable from the reſumed Jaghire; and the Poſſeſſion of the Priſoners and Palace are further Securities.—Was I voluntarily to relinquiſh theſe, in Exchange for ſome more Papers or Words of the Bhow Begum's, I ſhould moſt certainly throw the Company's Aſſignments into a Riſk that I could never anſwer; and it is very little ſhort of Certainty, that Ten Lacks of the Company's Balance would, by ſuch Proceeding, be irrecoverably loſt. To theſe Preliminaries, therefore, I can by no Means aſſent; and if no ready Money is to be procured from the Bhow Begum, or her Agents, I muſt be ſatisfied to remain in Poſſeſſion of the Palace, Priſoners, and Jaghire, and continue collecting by Degrees that which cannot be more ſpeedily acquired.

" With regard to Threats of Reſiſtance, they muſt (as far as I may be able to judge at this Diſtance) conſiſt in mere Shew; if they did not think fit to reſiſt when they had between 7 and 10,000 armed Men aſſembled, and we not yet in Poſſeſſion of the Palace and Avenues, there is very little Probability of their attempting it when we are in full Occupation of the Town, Fort, and every Poſt in it, and no armed Force on their Side but what is within their Garden Walls, which certainly cannot be many, as it has been One conſtant Object of the Regiment, ſince its Poſſeſſion of the Town, to prevent the Accumulation of armed Men in or near the Town. In ſuch a Situation, it would be more than Madneſs were they to attempt the Attack of 4 Battalions; nor could the Attack, if ſucceeded in, be of any Benefit to them.

" The Propoſal of evacuating one Place, and having it ſearched, and then evacuating the next upon the ſame Principle, is apparently fair.—But it is well known, in the firſt Place, that ſunk, bricked up, or otherwiſe hidden Treaſure is not to be hit upon in a Day, without ſome Guide. I have, therefore, informed the Nabob of this Propoſal; and, if the Matter is to be reduced to a Search, he will go himſelf to ſuch People as he may poſſeſs for Information, together with the Priſoners; and when in Poſſeſſion of the Ground, by puniſhing the Priſoners, or by ſuch other Means as he may find moſt effectual, to forward a ſucceſsful Search upon the Spot, he will avail himſelf of the Propoſal made by the Bhow Begum.

" In reply to the Two Queſtions you ſtate; firſt, 'Should her Forces attack the Guard round 'the Elder Begum's Palace, muſt I enter and extirpate them, to a Man?' And ſecondly, 'If ſhe 'will not come to any Alteration of Terms, am I to withdraw the Guard, or not?'

" To both theſe I need only obſerve, That the Object of diſtreſſing the Bhow Begum, by a Guard upon her Palace Gate, is merely to obtain a ready Money Payment from her of a Balance due upon an accepted Aſſignment of the Nabob's upon his late Father's Treaſure. But this ready Money, if not paid, is recoverable in the Courſe of a few Months upon the Jaghire in my Poſſeſſion. It is therefore not worth proceeding to any Extremities, beyond the One deſcribed, upon ſo reſpectable a Family. But, in Support of the Order, if the Servants of the Bhow Begum, or any other, attempt to drive off your Guard, they muſt of Courſe be ſupported in their Stations, and the Aſſailants puniſhed, repelled, and purſued, if they take any Road but the inner Parts of the Palace. Theſe muſt remain ſacred; and nothing can warrant any Entrance into them while we are at Peace with the Nabob Vizier, and only mean to enforce a ſpeedy, inſtead of a dilatory Payment. The Aſſailants may entirely be repelled, and the Poſt maintained, without purſuing within the Walls, unleſs the Poſt is totally commanded by Embraſures through a Parapet behind the Walls. In this Caſe they may avail themſelves of their Cover to fire upon the Guard, it is adviſable to take a more diſtant and covered Station, ſo as to diſtreſs Acceſs to, and Egreſs from the Palace, which will anſwer every Purpoſe required. I muſt repeat, that no Extremity can warrant a forcible, or other Entrance, into the Palace, under the Circumſtances that cauſe the ſtationing a Regiment at Fyzabad, which are merely to retain the Fort, and to teaze the Bhow Begum, if poſſible, into Payment. And unleſs, after the above Explanations, you deem the Preſence of the 23d Regiment abſolutely and indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſupport your Guard, be pleaſed, upon Receipt of this, not to delay its March into the Provinces.

" Lucknow,
22 July, 1782.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. Johnſon."

Then MAJOR GILPIN was again called in.

Q. (*Croſs examined.*) At what Time did you arrive at Fyzabad?
A. On or about the Firſt of June.

Q. In what Year?
A. In the Year 1782.

Q. Whether Bahar and Jewar Ali Khan were delivered over to your Cuſtody upon your Arrival at Fyzabad on the Firſt of June 1782?
A. They were.

Q. Was Shumſhire Khan delivered over alſo to you?
A. He was included.

Q. All the Three Priſoners were delivered over to you?
A. Yes.

Q. In

Q. In what Place were they confined?
A. In Jewar Ali Khan's own Houſe.

Q. What Sort of a Place is that; and in what Manner were the Priſoners treated during the Time you had them in Charge?
A. It was a very elegant Houſe, built by Jewar Ali Kawn, as I underſtood; and he had laid out a very conſiderable Sum of Money in making it as commodious and like a Palace as he poſſibly could.

Q. And in what Manner were the Priſoners treated while under your Charge?
A. With all the Delicacy and Reſpect their Situation could poſſibly require.

Q. What Extent of Garden belonged to the Houſe?
A. I cannot poſſibly ſay; it was a very extenſive one.

Q. Had they Permiſſion to go into that Garden whenever they pleaſed?
A. They had, within their own Centinels that were placed within the Garden.

Q. What Part of the Garden did that confine them to; what Scope had they within the Centinels?
A. It was a very extenſive Garden, and the Centinels were on the Outſide. They were not allowed to go out of that Garden, but to walk at Pleaſure all round it.

Q. Do you mean that the Centinels were without the Garden?
A. There were Centinels without the Wall, and ſome within the Garden; thoſe Centinels within the Garden never interrupted their walking in the Garden at all, but were placed there to prevent their going out of the Garden.

Q. *(by a Lord)*. Then they had the whole Garden to range in?
A. Yes.

Q. *(by Counſel)*. What Orders were given to the Centinels reſpecting their Behaviour to the Priſoners?
A. After the general Order of Security, they were directed to treat them with as much Humanity and Tenderneſs as their Situation would admit of; not to interrupt them in any of their Paſtimes, or in any innocent Amuſement whatſoever.

Q. Were they in Irons at this Time?
A. They were.

Q. Do you know whether in point of Fact they did enjoy any of their uſual Amuſements and Society in that Place?
A. I really cannot ſay: I never ſaw any Entertainment there.

Q. Did you never viſit them?
A. Frequently.

Q. Did they make any Complaints to you of their Treatment?
A. None in particular.

Q. Were there any other Reſtraints or Severities exerciſed towards them, except keeping them in Cuſtody, and the Circumſtance of their having Irons on?
A. Not while I had the Charge of them.

Q. Did you ſee them after you ceaſed to have Charge of them?
A. I releaſed them at a diſtant Period from what we are now inveſtigating; but they were ſent from me to Lucknow; afterwards they were returned to me, and then I releaſed them.

Q. How long did they continue in your Charge from the Firſt of June 1782, when you took Poſſeſſion of them?
A. They went from me, I think, about the Fifteenth of June to Lucknow.

Q. And how long was it before they were returned into your Charge again?
A. They did not return to me till about the 17th of Auguſt.

Q. When were they finally diſcharged?
A. About the 4th of December that Year.

Q. So they continued in your Cuſtody from the 17th of Auguſt to the 4th of December?
A. They did.

Q. And were treated in the ſame Manner as they were before?
A. Yes.

Q. Were they in Irons all the Time?
A. I cannot charge my Memory, but I rather think the Irons were taken off when they came from Lucknow in Auguſt.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether you recollect about the 21ſt of July 1782, a Circumſtance of there being a Number of armed Men in the Begum's Palace, and the City in Arms?
A. About that Period there were.

Q. Give an Account of what you remember of that Period.
A. When I poſted the Guards over the elder Begum's Palace, they then aſſembled a great Number of Troops; I found it neceſſary to augment my Guard for ſome Time, till the Begum delivered herſelf up, and came into the Palace, and then I withdrew my Guard.

Q. What Diſtance of Time was there, between the firſt Stir that you mentioned, and the Begum's coming into the Palace.
A. Not many Days.

Q. Do you remember their having threatened to fire upon Lieutenant Crow, who commanded a Party there?
A. Lieutenant Crow reported that Circumſtance to me, and in conſequence I augmented the Guard.

Q. Where was Lieutenant Crow's Station at that Time?
A. At the Gate of the elder Begum.

Q. When was that?
A. That was in the Month of July 1782.

Q. Was that Report made to you in the Courſe of Orders, as a Military Report?
A. It was.

Q. Whether you recollect having repreſented, that you had Reaſon to ſuppoſe the elder Begum was very deſirous, and anxious to begin an Engagement?
A. I had every Reaſon to believe it.

Q. Did you repreſent that?
A. I repreſented it to the Court at Lucknow.

Q. What do you mean by beginning an Engagement?
A. To commence an Action—beginning to fire.

Q. What Forces had ſhe?
A. Some thouſands in the City.

Q. That were under her Command?
A. That were under her Command.

Q. What Number of Forces had you under your Command?
A. I had my own Regiment and Major Buchanan's, Two Regiments of Sepoys, and Four Pieces of Ordnance; about two thouſand Men in all.

Q. (*by a Lord*). In what Manner were the Begums Forces armed?
A. With Matchlocks and Sabres.

Q. Am I right, in ſuppoſing, that the ſole Object of all the Meaſures that were purſued againſt theſe Perſons, was to inforce the Payment of the Balance due from them?
A. It was; I underſtood it ſo.

Q. Were any ſuch Inſtructions given to you?
A. That was the Tenor of my Inſtructions.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Counſel ought not to ſtate it as a Balance due.

The Witneſs was aſked:

Q. Was it ſo called in your Inſtructions?
A. The Inſtructions ſpecified the Balance due; it was particularly ſo mentioned in my Inſtructions.

Q. Whether any Meaſures were purſued upon this Occaſion, that did not appear to you to be neceſſary for that Purpoſe?
A. I really do not comprehend the Queſtion, ſufficiently to give an Anſwer.

Q. You ſaid you kept the Begums in their Palaces, and confined them?
A. Yes.

Q. And you kept their Miniſters Jewan and Behar Ali Khan in Confinement?
A. At that Period they were at Lucknow.

Q. But

Q. But during the Whole of your Charge, while you was at Fyzabad, the Queſtion is, whether you knew of any Thing having been done with reſpect to the Begums or their Miniſters, which, according to your Judgement, was beyond what was neceſſary for compelling them to pay that Sum of Money?

A. I do not know how far it might be deemed neceſſary.—Thoſe were the Orders I received, and I executed them to the beſt of my Abilities.

Then the following Extract of a Letter from Mr. Gilpin to Mr. Johnſon, dated the 20th of June 1782, was read to the Witneſs.

" To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Acting Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" After the moſt urgent Arguments, both to the Begum and the Priſoners Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn, for the Payment of the Balance, I found it was in vain to expect Money from them, without uſing Severities I was not impowered to inflict." (*a*)

The Witneſs ſaid:

That was prior to the Time I am ſpeaking of.

Q. Whether you had not Reaſon to believe that the Begums could have diſcharged the Balance at once, if they choſe it.

A. I believe there was no Doubt but what the Begum might have diſcharged it, if ſhe had been inclinable ſo to do.—It is impoſſible for me to ſay for a Certainty; but I had every Reaſon to believe it.

Q. Whether, during all this Period, an Intercourſe by Letter was not kept up between the Begum and her Miniſters?

A. At that Period Bahar and Jewar Ali Khan were at Lucknow: How far ſhe might correſpond with them, while in Confinement at Lucknow, it is impoſſible for me to aſcertain.

Q. Did ſhe correſpond with them while they were under your Charge?

A. Frequently Meſſages paſſed; and, I dare ſay, Letters. I never gave any Orders to interrupt any Thing of the Kind.

Q. There is One Paſſage which has been read in your Letter of the 20th June 1782, it is repreſented in this Manner: " The Cojahs One Day told me, that if I would pitch the Begum's Camp Equipage, and deſire her to prepare for an immediate Journey, in all Probability ſhe would pay the Balance due:" (*b*) Whether the Cojahs did make ſuch a Repreſentation to you: Was that Repreſentation, in Fact, made to you?

A. It was made to me.

Q. By whom?

A. By the Cojahs.

Q. (*by a Lord.*) Who are the Cojahs?

A. The Eunuchs, Bahar and Jewar Ali Khan.

Q. Were the Cojahs in Priſon when they made this Repreſentation to you?

A. They were in the ſame Confinement they had always been in.

Q. Were they to have been releaſed upon this Demand being paid?

A. They were.

Q. (*from the Managers.*) Was this a Repreſentation made by the Priſoners themſelves, Bahar Ali Khan and Jewar Ali Khan?

A. I have anſwered it was.

Q. Perſonally?

A. Yes, perſonally.

Q. (*by Counſel.*) In that ſame Letter, dated 20th of June 1782, it is ſaid, " A Spy (that I had " placed over the Priſoners, to attend to what Meſſages might paſs between them and the Begum) " informed me, that on their Arrival at Begum Gunge, they ſent to the Begum, deſiring her to " conſider that their Situation grew more and more ſerious, and urged ſtrong Arguments to in- " duce her to pay the Balance; that if ſhe did not, they muſt at Lucknow divulge every Secret " to ſave themſelves." (*c*) Whether ſuch a Repreſentation as is ſtated in that Letter was made to you?

A. It was.

Q. By whom?

A. By the Spy that I had.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 875. (*b*) Vide ſupra, ibid. (*c*) Vide ſupra, Ibid.

Q. Had

Q. Had you any Means of knowing, what that Secret was, which they would divulge at Lucknow?

A. I do not know; it is impoſſible for me to ſay what it was; it ſtruck me that it might be concerning Treaſure; it might be any other Circumſtance reſpecting the Troubles, Rebellion, or any Thing elſe; it is all Conjecture; but they ſeemed to lay great Streſs on the Secret.

Q. Did the Eunuchs divulge to you any Secret while they were under your Charge, correſponding to the Idea you entertain of the Word "Secret" here.

A. They did not.

Q. In a Letter from Mr. Middleton to you of the 1ſt of June 1782, it is mentioned that there was ſent to you "a Copy of a Letter received Yeſterday from the Vizier, authorizing and urging" him, Mr. Middleton, "to uſe every Means in" his "Power to enforce their Compliance;" whether you, in Point of Fact, received ſuch a Letter from the Vizier to Mr. Middleton: Was a Copy of it tranſmitted to you?

A. I recollect ſome Incloſure ſent me by Mr. Middleton about that Period for the Purpoſes mentioned, but I cannot charge my Memory exactly with them; and I think I have them ſomewhere amongſt my Papers.

Q. Whether it has been the uſual Practice, during all the Time you have been acquainted with the Service, for the Correſpondence between the Reſident and the Officers with whom he correſponded upon Buſineſs, to be ſent to Calcutta?

A. I cannot ſay whether they did or not: I tranſmitted none to Calcutta myſelf.

Q. Do you know whether it was ever uſual for the Officers who received Letters, to tranſmit thoſe Letters, or to keep them in their own Poſſeſſion: Yourſelf, for Inſtance?

A. I kept them all myſelf.

Q. Was that the uſual Courſe of the Office?

A. I cannot ſay.

Q. Did you underſtand it to be ſo?

A. I ſhould imagine every Officer would, for his own Security, keep the Originals.

Q. How long was you in India?

A. Seventeen Years and an Half, from the Year 1768, till the Beginning of the Year 1785?

Q. Did you underſtand it to be uſual in that Country, for the Natives to conceal their Treaſures——throughout the Whole of India? What Parts of Indoſtan were you in?

A. I was employed in the Upper Provinces in general.

Q. Have you had an Opportunity of knowing what the Cuſtom inquired after was?

A. It has been underſtood to be the general Cuſtom, for the Natives to conceal their Money.

Q. Is that Cuſtom confined to the Places where the Engliſh Government prevails, or does it extend to thoſe Places where the Native Government prevails?

A. It is pretty general throughout the Country.

Q. Do you mean to repreſent, that it is more or leſs prevalent where the Engliſh Government is, or where the Native Government is?

A. It is impoſſible for me to anſwer that Queſtion. In Calcutta, poſſibly they may not be ſo cautious; but up the Country, where they are ſubject to Invaſions and to Wars, there it is always underſtood to be the Cuſtom. Calcutta is a Place of Security, and they have not that Neceſſity for doing it; but I am not able to give a diſtinct Account of it.

Q. Was you in Oude at the Time of Sujah ul Dowlah's Death?

A. I was.

Q. Whereabouts?

A. I was encamped in the Rumna, which is adjoining to the City of Fyzabad, when Sujah ul Dowlah died.

Q. Sujah ul Dowlah reſided at Fyzabad?

A. He did.

Q. Was Sujah ul Dowlah's Army conſiderably in Arrear at that Time?

A. I believe it was.

Q. Were there not Apprehenſions of an Inſurrection upon that Account?

A. So much ſo——

Q. How near was this to the Death of Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. While he was lying a Corpſe, before the Funeral. I was going to obſerve—ſo much ſo, that I, who was then a ſubaltern Officer in the Firſt Battalion of Sepoys, a Lieutenant, was ordered to be ready with Four Companies at a Moment's Warning, to quiet any Riot or Tumult there might be in the City of Fyzabad in conſequence of his Death.

Q. Do you know where Sujah ul Dowlah kept his Treafures?
A. I always underſtood they were kept in the Zenana.

Q. Do you know whether the Revenues collected from Time to Time, by the Aumils, were carried into, and depoſited in the Zenana?
A. If the Treaſury was in the Zenana, undoubtedly the Collections were carried there.

Q. But you know it only from Report?
A. I do not know it of a Certainty; I had nothing to do with the Collections.

Q. Upon the Death of Sujah ul Dowlah, did that Treaſure become the Property, by the Laws of that Country, of his Widow, or of his Succeſſor, Aſoph ul Dowlah?
A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay; I do not know that he made any Will, or bequeathed it to any Perſon; it came into her Poſſeſſion.

Q. It came into her Poſſeſſion?
A. It was in her Poſſeſſion, by being within the Zenana.

Q. I underſtand you, Sujah ul Dowlah made no Will: Did you underſtand he made any other Diſpoſition of his Property in his Life-time?
A. I underſtood he gave a certain Jaghire, a Tract of Land, to his Wife, the preſent Bow Begum.

Q. But do you know of any Diſpoſition having been made, by Sujah ul Dowlah, of thoſe Treaſures in the Zenana?
A. I do not.

Q. Whether the Property, not the Poſſeſſion, did, in point of Fact, belong, by the Cuſtoms of that Country, to the Succeſſor, or to the Widow of the deceaſed Sovereign?
A. I ſhould imagine his Heir-apparent had the greateſt Claim to it.

Q. But you know nothing of it yourſelf.
A. I could not.

Q. Had you any Reaſon for imagining it?
A. No other than that there were Drafts made upon that Treaſure, immediately after the Death of Sujah ul Dowlah; and the Money that came from the Zenana, was depoſited in our Camp, and embarked on Board Boats, and tranſmitted to the Preſidency at Calcutta.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, that, according to your Judgement and Knowledge of the Cuſtoms of that Country, the Treaſures within the Zenana would have gone to the Nabob, and not to the Widow?
A. I ſhould rather think it would, when ſo ample a Proviſion was made for the Widow; but that is a Point of Law I am not competent to judge of.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* Whether you was not examined before the Houſe of Commons?
A. I was.

Q. *(from Counſel.)* How long did you continue at Fyzabad, from your firſt going there on the Firſt of June 1782?
A. On December 7th 1782, I marched from Fyzabad.

Q. Whether the Women in the Khourd Mhal were at that Time diſtreſſed?
A. At one Period they were; but I relieved them from that Diſtreſs, by giving them a Sum of Money.

Q. Upon whom did the Maintenance of the Khourd Mhal depend? Who maintained the Khourd Mhal?
A. His Excellency the Nabob Vizier.

Q. From whom was the Maintenance furniſhed; under whoſe immediate Care was it?
A. It was under the Charge of Lettaffit Ali Khan, and he received an annual Stipend from the Foujedar of Sahlone, which, I think, to the beſt of my Recollection, amounted to Forty thouſand Rupees annually, but they had neglected by ſome Means or other paying it, and the Women became diſtreſſed in conſequence; I repreſented it to the Court at Lucknow, and I paid them Ten thouſand Rupees, for which I have now the Receipts of Lettaffit Ali Kawn for Five thouſand each.

Q. At what Time was that Relief afforded them by you?

The Witneſs delivered in Two Papers, indorſed "Lettaffit Ali Khan's Receipt for 5000 Rupees for the Uſe of the Khourd Mahl."

The ſame were read as follow:

"Fyzabad,

" Fyzabad, 19th November 1782.

" Received this Day, from Major Martin Gilpin, the Sum of Twenty Son Korah Rupees, Five thouſand, for the Uſe of the Women in the Khourd Mahl Zenanah."

Here follow, in the Original, ſome Perſic Characters.

L. S.

Here follow more Perſic Characters.

" Fyzabad, 27th Nov. 1782.

" Received this Day, from Major Martin Gilpin, the Sum of Twenty Son Korah Rupees, Five thouſand, for the Uſe of the Women in the Khourd Mahl Zenanah."

Here follow, in the Original, ſome Perſic Characters.

L. S.

Q. Is the Paper in Perſian or in Engliſh?

A. I wrote one in Engliſh, and there is one in Perſian to the ſame Tenor and Effect, with their Seal to it.

Q. That is a literal Tranſlation that you read?

A. As near as poſſible.

Q. Was this Relief furniſhed by you to the Khourd Mahl, as Part of your official Duty, or from Motives of Humanity?

A. I did not conſider it as my official Duty. I thought it an Act I ought to do, ſeeing the diſtreſſed Situation that they were in.

Q. Did you do this upon the Nabob's Account?

A. I did; and received back the Sum, exactly as I had paid it, from the Nabob.

Q. Had you previous Orders from the Nabob?

A. I wrote to Mr. Briſtow. He told me he had written to the Nabob, and authoriſed me to draw upon the Engliſh Reſident for that Sum, which I did, and it was paid.

Q. Did the Nabob expreſs any Approbation, or Diſapprobation, of that Interference of yours?

A. He wrote me a very angry Letter upon the Subject, and told me, I had no Right to interfere with that Zenana.

Q. Was the Whole of that Eſtabliſhment under the Nabob and his Officers, or had the Engliſh any Concerns, and what, in it?

A. I never underſtood, the Engliſh had any Thing to do with it, at all.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Mercurij, 28° Maij 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

The Managers for the Commons informed the Houſe, that, in looking over the printed Evidence, they had obſerved ſeveral material Errors. They took it for granted, thoſe Errors were unavoidable, and entirely owing to the Haſte in which the Queſtions and Anſwers were taken down; which, at a proper Time, they meant to point out to the Houſe, and take their Pleaſure, as to the Manner in which they ſhould be corrected.

Then MAJOR GILPIN was again called in.

The Counſel for the Defendant deſired the laſt Queſtion and Anſwer, with which the Croſs Examination cloſed Yeſterday, might be read.

The ſame were read, as follows:

'Q. Was the Whole of that Eſtabliſhment under the Nabob and his Officers, or had the Engliſh any Concern, and what, in it?

'A. I never underſtood the Engliſh had any Thing to do with it, at all.'

Q. The Eſtabliſhment mentioned, was the Eſtabliſhment of the Khourd Mahl; whether there was any Intercourſe between the Khourd Mahl and the Begums?

A. None that I know of.

Q. Did the Begums, in any Manner, contribute to the Support of the Khourd Mahl?

A. They never did, in the leaſt, during the Time that I commanded at Fyzabad; I can only ſpeak as to that Period.

Q. Have you any Knowledge of that Subject: Might they, or might they not, have contributed: Whether you knew it, or not?

A. I always underſtood they had an Inveteracy againſt the Women of the Khourd Mahl, even in Sujah ul Dowlah's Life-time.

Q. Whether the Seizure of the Begums Treaſures, or their Jaghires, could, in any Reſpect, contribute to the Diſtreſſes that were experienced by the Khourd Mahl?

A. I do not ſee that it could, in any Reſpect.

Q. Do you know whether any Meaſure, in which the Engliſh were at all concerned, could produce, or in any Degree contribute, to thoſe Diſtreſſes?

A. I do not think, that the Interference of the Engliſh could have effected the Eſtabliſhment of the Khourd Mahl, in any Reſpect.

Q. You mentioned Yeſterday the Diſtrict which was aſſigned for the Maintenance of the Khourd Mahl?

A. It was the Diſtrict of Sultanpore, and I apprehend that I ſhould have made a Miſtake, and called it Sahlone. Sahlone was the Begum's Jaghire, but Sultanpore is the Diſtrict that was aſſigned for the Maintenance of the Khourd Mahl.

Q. Whether that Country of Sultanpore was, in the Whole, or in Part, ever aſſigned to the Engliſh?

A. I

A. I cannot ſay that it was; all I know is, that Letaffit Ali Khan told me that Sultanpore was the Diſtrict from whence they drew their Subſiſtence; but whether the Whole of the Revenues of that Diſtrict were aſſigned for it, or whether they were to deduct 40,000 Rupees annually, I cannot ſay.

Q. What do you mean by deducting 40,000 Rupees annually? Do you mean whether the Aſſignment was of 40,000 Rupees only, or of the whole Rent?

A. What the whole Rent of the Diſtrict might be, I do not know; it might be Two or Three Lacks of Rupees; all I knew was, that they had their Subſiſtence drawn from that Diſtrict.

Q. But you ſpoke of 40,000 Rupees?

A. That was the Sum allotted them for their Maintenance; it was paid by the Foujedar of Sultanpore to Letaffit Ali Khan.

Q. The Queſtion was, whether you knew that the Country of Sultanpore was ever, in Part, or in the Whole, aſſigned over to the Engliſh?

A. I never heard of any particular Aſſignment of that Diſtrict to the Engliſh.

Q. I underſtand you to have ſaid, that the Sum of 40,000 Rupees annually was aſſigned for the Maintenance of the Khourd Mhal, paid to Letaffit Ali Khan, and by him diſtributed for that Purpoſe; whether that Sum was conſidered as ſufficient for that Purpoſe, if regularly paid?

A. Letaffit Ali Khan informed me, in the Courſe of Converſation at the Time of their Diſtreſſes, that if this ſtipulated Sum had been paid regularly, there never would have been any Cauſe of Complaint.

Q. Whether Letaffit Ali Khan was in any Reſpect ſubject to the Orders of the Begums, or either of them?

A. Not in the leaſt, that ever I underſtood.

Q. You was in the Country of Oude in 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782?

A. The greateſt Part of them, I was.

Q. Whether you recollect any Drought in the Country in either of thoſe Years, or in all of them?

A. Yes; there was.

Q. In which?

A. In the Years 1781 and 1782.

Q. By Drought, you mean, a Defect of Rain from the Nature of the Seaſon?

A. Yes.

Q. Whether the Cultivation of the Country ſuffered conſiderably in Conſequence of that Drought?

A. Conſiderably.

Q. Whether you ever heard any Complaints, of the Engliſh Officers being ill-treated, in their Paſſage through the Country of Cheit Sing?

A. There have been many Complaints, that the People were inſolent to them, as they paſſed through the Country: I never met with any Interruption myſelf.

Q. I underſtood you was in the Country of Oude at the Time of the Inſurrection at Benares; whether, ſuppoſing the Engliſh Arms had been unſucceſsful at Pateeta, a general Inſurrection in the Country was not much to be apprehended at that Time?

The Managers for the Commons deſired the Counſel would mark the Period they alluded to at Pateeta, as there were Two Actions there.

The Witneſs was aſked;

Q. Was there ever an Attack upon Pateeta?

A. There was, by Colonel Popham.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* Where was you at the Time?

A. I was upon my March from the Mahratta Country, to join the Brigade under the Command of Colonel Morgan.

Q. Where was that Brigade then?

A. It was then in the Douab.

Q. *(by Counſel.)* Suppoſe the Britiſh Arms had been unſucceſsful in the Month of September againſt Pateeta, would it not have afforded a favourable Opportunity to their Enemies to take Advantage of it?

A. That is Matter of Opinion entirely. It would, undoubtedly, have given very great Encouragement to an Inſurrection.

Q. What did you know of the Situation of the Begum's Forces in September 1781?

A. At that Period I commanded a Detachment in the Mahratta Country of Two Regiments. The Begums had a Force in their own Diſtrict, but what Number they were, I cannot ſay.

Q. From the State of the Douab, what Effect would any Diſadvantage ſuffered in Benares have had upon that Diſtrict?

A. Upon the Diſtrict in the Douab?

Q. Yes, there was a Britiſh Force ſtationed there; would that Force in the Douab have been in Danger from a Failure at Benares?

A. Had a general Inſurrection taken place, it would have been, a very difficult Matter for the Engliſh Troops in the Douab to have extricated themſelves; but I only ſpeak of a general Inſurrection: The Troops then in the Douab could not have affected us very materially, becauſe there were very few Troops in the Douab, at that Period, but Engliſh Troops.

Q. Whether, at that Period of Time, the perſonal Safety of Mr. Haſtings was not conſidered of great Conſequence to the Protection of the Britiſh Government in India?

A. It undoubtedly was ſo much ſo, that when Major Lumſdaine came up to the Head of my Regiment on a March to Illihabad, and related the Circumſtances of ſeveral Detachments being cut off——

Q. What happened when Major Lumſdaine came to the Head of your Regiment?

A. He ſaid an Expreſs had arrived with Colonel Morgan, informing him ſeveral Detachments had been cut off. My Reply was, "If Mr. Haſtings is ſafe in Chunar, reſt aſſured he will extricate us out of our Difficulties; but, on the other Hand, if he is cut off, we ſhall very ſoon act the laſt tragick Scene, and neither you nor I ſhall live to tell the Story." Thoſe were my Sentiments of Mr. Haſtings at that critical Period. Major Lumſdaine is now in England.

Q. In what Eſtimation was Mr. Haſtings's Character in India, during the Time you reſided there?

A. He was eſteemed a Man of very great Abilities, and a Man of Humanity.

Q. Was he conſidered as a mercenary venal Man, and a corrupt Governor, or not? Had he any Drawbacks upon that Character? Was he conſidered in a bad Light?

A. Before the Act paſſed for a Governor General and Supreme Council, the publick Papers, and all the Records of the India Houſe, ſpeak highly of him as a Governor.

Q. Do you mean that this was the Character he held in India, or do you only mean to refer to what has been written from India to England, for the Foundation of what you report of him?

A. His Character was univerſally reſpected as ſuch in India; thoſe Circumſtances were related and publiſhed in England; and I mentioned the Records, not as referring your Lordſhips to them by any Means, but that all the World might ſee his general Character upon thoſe Records.

Q. (*by a Lord.*) Do you mean to ſpeak of the Character which he held in India down to 1773, or during the whole Time?

A. I ſpeak of the Period down to 1773, as a remarkable Inſtance of his Attention to the Intereſts of the Eaſt India Company; after that Period there were ſome little Diſputes in the Council, and various were the Opinions reſpecting them; and I can only give Matter of bare Opinion upon it.

Q. Then, generally, what was the Character which Mr. Haſtings bore during the whole Time of your being in India, in Point of Integrity, in Point of Humanity, and Attention to the Company's Affairs, throughout the Whole of his Government, and throughout all India, from the Beginning to the End, as well after 1773, as before?

A. I have anſwered that Queſtion, I think, very fully; however, I will be more explicit: I looked upon Mr. Haſtings as a very great Man, and as a Man of Integrity and Humanity.—Many Inſtances of his Generoſity have been related; none of them come within my Knowledge, as I never had the Pleaſure of his Acquaintance until I returned to England.

Q. I think you ſaid you never ſaw Mr. Haſtings till you came to England?

A. At St. Helena was the firſt Introduction, to the beſt of my Recollection, that I had to him, when Mr. Haſtings came to pay a Viſit to Colonel Muir, who lived in the ſame Quarters that I did.

Q. There were ſome Letters that were delivered by you to Mr. Middleton, can you recollect whether they were the Originals of the Letters in the Perſian Language, or Copies of them; do you remember what they were?

A. If they were the Letters given to me by the Begum from Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon, they were in Perſian. They were the original Letters, and had the Signatures of Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon affixed to them—the Initials of their Names.

Q. Were the Initials only put to thoſe Letters?
A. That was all. Never more than juſt the Initials were put to any Letter.

Q. What became of thoſe Letters?
A. Whether I returned them to the Begum again, or have them in my Poſſeſſion now, I really cannot ſay exactly.

Q. Did you receive them back from Mr. Middleton?
A. I did.

Q. How ſoon after you had delivered them?
A. A few Hours, probably a Day; I will not charge my Memory exactly with it; I think it was in the Courſe of the ſame Day. I rather believe I gave them to him in the Morning, and received them back again the ſame Day; but I will not be poſitive.

Q. But whether thoſe Letters are deſtroyed, or whether they are in your preſent Cuſtody, is more than you know?
A. I do not recollect at preſent, whether I did deliver them back to the Begum, or whether I have them now among my Perſian Papers.

Q. Whether your Letter to Mr. Middleton, of the 19th of October 1782 (*a*), was anſwered by his Succeſſor in Office, Mr. Briſtow?
A. I do not know whether it was anſwered by Mr. Middleton or Mr. Briſtow, I cannot charge my Memory with it; but it was about the Period of Mr. Middleton's Departure.

Then the laſt Queſtion and Anſwer were read by the Clerk.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Words "incloſing thoſe Letters," which were added by the Counſel in putting the Queſtion, after the Date of the Letter, were omitted.

The ſame were ordered to be inſerted, viz.

"Q. Whether the Letter of the 19th of October 1782, incloſing thoſe Letters, was anſwered by his Succeſſor in Office, Mr. Briſtow?
A. I do not know, whether it was anſwered by Mr. Middleton or Mr. Briſtow: I cannot charge my Memory with it, but it was about the Period of Mr. Middleton's Departure."

Q. Do you remember the Letter from the Begum to Mr. Middleton?
A. If the Honourable Managers will permit me to refreſh my Memory by looking into their Book, I will give a very direct Anſwer to it.

Then a Book was ſhewn to the Witneſs, and he proceeded as follows:

A. Mr. Middleton never did reply to that Letter of the 19th October 1782. It is a very ſingular Letter, and if it was read, your Lordſhips would perceive that it was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed upon me, that I could not make a Miſtake. Mr. Middleton never did anſwer it.

Q. That is a Letter, of the 19th October, from you to Mr. Middleton?
A. Yes.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the Queſtion put by the Counſel had led the Witneſs to a Contradiction; for he had juſt before ſaid he gave the Papers perſonally to Mr. Middleton, and the Counſel's Queſtion made it that they were encloſed.

The Witneſs ſaid,

The Letter of the 19th October, which I encloſed to Mr. Middleton, was from the Bhow Begum; for I particularly mention "The encloſed Letter from the Bow Begum is in Reply to yours "which I delivered on my Return to this Place." (*b*) The Papers were delivered to Mr. Middleton before that Period, when I was at Lucknow.

Q. Which Papers?
A. The Letter from Colonel Hannay, and Captain Gordon's Letter to her, I delivered to Mr. Middleton when I was at Lucknow.

Q. At what Time was that? How long before that Letter?
A. It muſt be about the Beginning of October; but I cannot exactly recollect the Date.

Q. Can you aſcertain the Time before the 19th of October 1782, when you had been at Lucknow?
A. I cannot exactly ſay, but I believe it was in the Beginning of October, or about the Middle of October.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 749, & infra, Page 896. (*b*) Vide ſupra, ibid. & infra, ibid.

Q. (by

Q. *(by the Managers.)* There is a Letter in that Book, now before you, of the 20th September, from a Place called Deriabad, *(a)* when you was upon your Road from Fyzabad to Lucknow, that Place is about Half Way between Fyzabad and Lucknow: Recollect only the Time it took you in travelling from Deriabad to Lucknow?

A. The Honourable Manager is exactly right; for here is my Letter dated the 20th of September 1782, at Deriabad: I felt myself some Time past indisposed with a feverish Complaint, and I was obliged to go on account of my Health: I had mistaken the Time, it was not in October, but in September.

Q. Now you find you were at Deriabad upon the 20th of September, Can you now bring it to your Memory at what Time you arrived at Lucknow?

A. I fancy I arrived the Third Day after that; I think I only made Four Days March of it.

Q. Was that the Time at which you delivered those Papers?

A. I believe it was when I was at Lucknow at that Time.

Q. Whether you received a Letter, that is entered in the Book before you, from Mr. Bristow, addressed to you, bearing Date the 4th November 1782, in which there is this Acknowledgement: "I received your Letters of the 12th, 19th, 27th, and 30th, Ultimo?" *(b)*

A. I dare say I did, I have not a Doubt about it; and I fancy I could produce the original Letter.

Q. Did you know the Court of Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. I did.

Q. Did you know the Court of Asoph ul Dowlah?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there a material Alteration in the Countenance, Figure, and Establishment of his Court, from that kept by his Father?

A. The present Nabob never did, from the Beginning, keep such a splendid Court as his Father did.

Q. Not from the Beginning?

A. Not from the Beginning. I was at Fyzabad when he was First placed upon the Musnud.

Q. From the Time of his being placed on the Musnud, subsequent to that Time, did you observe any material Alteration made in the Figure of Asoph ul Dowlah's Court?

A. None of any Consequence.

Q. *(by the Managers.)* You have stated, that you are not sure whether you returned those Letters, or not, to the Begum, or whether you have them now in your Possession: Recollect, whether you did not afterwards, in November, convey other Copies of those Letters from the Begum to Mr. Bristow——of Colonel Hannay's and Captain Gordon's Letters?

A. I did.

Q. Then she must have had them returned, to have sent Copies of them to Mr. Bristow?

A. I gave him Copies of them.

Q. *(by a Lord.)* Was it not about the Fourth of November that you gave Copies of them to Mr. Bristow?

The Managers for the Commons stated, it was about the End of October.

Q. Then those Letters must have been in your Possession at that Time?

A. They were; but whether on my taking Leave of the Court, and quitting that Station, which I did in December following, I delivered them to the Begum, or kept them, I cannot say; but I am sure I could not have delivered them to the Begum till then, if I did at that Period.

Q. Do you say, you sent the Copies to Mr. Bristow?

A. If I recollect right, I enclosed one of the Begum's Letters along with those; they were under Enclosures from me.

Q. In a Letter from the Bow Begum to Mr. Bristow, which appears to have covered Copies of those Letters from her; She says, "the Letters of Thanks I have received from both those Gentlemen [Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon], are still in my Possession; Copies of which, I gave in Charge to Major Gilpin, to be delivered to Mr. Middleton;" and then with that Letter she sends other Copies to Mr. Bristow?

A. The Mistake must have happened on her Part, for I had the Originals, and I do not despair of finding them on my Return into the Country.—She did not deliver Copies, but Originals; I dare say they are among my Persian Papers yet.—As a Proof that they were Originals, I pointed out the initial Letters to Mr. Middleton, when he suspected that they were not Originals: that there were the initial Letters of Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon to them.

(*a*) Vide infra, Page 896. (*b*) Vide infra, Page 897.

Q. Do

Q. Do you mean, that you told Mr. Middleton ſo at the Time you delivered the Letters to him?
A. Yes; that I pointed that Circumſtance out to Mr. Middleton. If I can find them, I will tranſmit them with the greateſt Pleaſure; I do not wiſh to withhold any Secret whatever.

Q. Did you cauſe thoſe Letters to be tranſlated at Fyzabad, after your Return from Mr. Middleton from Lucknow?
A. I think I had a Tranſlation of them before I went there.

Q. Where, and by what Means, did you get that Tranſlation?
A. By the Aſſiſtance of my Commandant, who acted in the Capacity of Moonſhy, and the Aſſiſtance of Captain Hyde, who was a Captain in my Regiment.

Q. Where was it done?
A. At Fyzabad.

Q. Can you recollect, whether it was after your Return from Lucknow, or previouſly to your going to Lucknow, that you cauſed thoſe Letters to be tranſlated?
A. I have already ſaid, that to the beſt of my Recollection it was before I went to Lucknow.

Q. Did you omit communicating to Mr. Middleton the Circumſtance of your having Tranſlations of the Letters, or did you ſhew thoſe Tranſlations to Mr. Middleton?
A. I think I gave him the Originals; and whether I mentioned any Thing of my having the Tranſlations, I do not recollect; but it was unneceſſary to Mr. Middleton, as he underſtood the Perſian Language ſo well.

Q. Did Mr. Middleton read the Perſian Originals in your Preſence, and appear to underſtand them?
A. He read a Part of them, if not the Whole;—I cannot anſwer to the Whole: But he requeſted that I would leave them with him, that he might peruſe them at Leiſure.

Q. When was Shumſhire Cawn releaſed?
A. He was releaſed at the Time that Bahar and Jewar Ali Khan were.

Q. Do you remember what Time that was?
A. December the 4th, 1782. I enlarged them by Order of his Excellency the Nabob. I have a Memorandum of it here, which I took to refreſh my Memory.

The Witneſs read the ſame, as follows:

" 4th Dec. 1782, Camp at Fyzabad.

" His Excellency the Nabob Vizier having been pleaſed to grant the Enlargement of the Priſoners Bahar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, from their long Confinement, the Guards over the
† Sic in Orig. ſaid Men is † in Conſequence withdrawn; and Liberty granted them to paſs and repaſs all Guards and Centinels, in common with other People."

Q. And Shumſhire Khan was enlarged at the ſame Time?
A. Yes, he was releaſed at the ſame Time.

Q. By whom was the Order conveyed to you?
A. It was conveyed to me by Mr. Briſtow, for the Enlargement of Bahar and Jewar Ali Khan.

Q. But, for the Enlargement of Shumſhire Khan, what Order had you?
A. I had none.

Q. Your Memorandum purports, that Bahar and Jewar Ali Khan were releaſed by Order of the Nabob, but mentions nothing of the Releaſe of Shumſhire Khan; upon what do you go in ſuppoſing that Shumſhire Khan was impriſoned down to the 4th of December?
A. When I received Orders to enlarge Bahar and Jewar Ali Khan, no Mention was made of Shumſhire Khan; I did not know what to do with him, but I ſpoke to Bahar and Jewar Ali Khan, and I aſked them whether they would be reſponſible for Shumſhire Khan if I ſhould do wrong in delivering him, ſo as to return him again into my Cuſtody to be a Priſoner, in caſe I ſhould be called to account; and, in conſequence of their Promiſe, I releaſed him, and he ſtands now in that very Predicament, and no Demand was ever made to me for Shumſhire Khan.

Q. Whether, while you had Bahar and Jewar Ali Khan and Shumſhire Khan in your Cuſtody, any Inquiry whatever was ſet on foot, in order to diſcover their ſuppoſed Treaſon and Rebellion againſt the Nabob and the Engliſh?
A. I do not recollect that there was any publick Enquiry of that Kind.

Q. Was any Enquiry at all, that you remember, ſet on foot?
A. I do not recollect any thing more than Gentlemen by accident juſt ſpeaking to them: There was no Enquiry by Authority; Converſations might have paſſed upon that Subject.

Q. For

Q. For what Purpoſe were Bahar and Jewar Ali Khan taken out of your Cuſtody, and ſent to Lucknow? And when were they ſo taken out?

The Witneſs read the following Memorandum:

"June 18th, ſent the Priſoners Jewar and Bahar Ali Khan to Lucknow, in Charge of Lieutenant Crow, with Two Companies of Sepoys."

Q. For what Purpoſe were they ſent to Lucknow?
A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay, for what Purpoſe; but I ſent them by Order of the Reſident.

Q. Did the Order from the Reſident convey any Thing more to you, than the mere Order for ſending them, or did it expreſs to you for what Purpoſe they were to be ſent?
A. I ſhould ſuppoſe for the Purpoſe of getting the Payment of the Balance from them.

Q. How do you collect that Senſe? Was it Part of the Order?
A. I only collect it from the general Senſe of Mr. Johnſon's Letter to me.

Q. Did not you learn from Mr. Johnſon's Letter—according to your Memory of that Letter now, that Severities had been threatened to be uſed to them in Lucknow, in order to get from them the Secret of the Place where the Treaſures were concealed at Fyzabad?
A. I do not know whether Mr. Johnſon did expreſs it in his Letter to me; I rather think he ſaid he had uſed Threats, but I do not recollect Severities being mentioned; but the Letter will ſhew it.

Q. Who commanded the Guard which eſcorted Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn to Lucknow?
A. Lieutenant Crow.

Q. You ſay, in a Letter to Mr. Johnſon, of the 23d of July 1782, that "the Elder Begum appeared at one Time very anxious to begin an Engagement" (*a*):——Recollect, whether you did not underſtand that Threat to be with an Intention that ſhe herſelf might be deſtroyed,—and that you underſtood it to be her Determination to die in a rebellious Blaze (*b*).—Do you recollect that Paſſage?
A. I do recollect it, and I believe it would ſave a great Deal of Trouble if the Reſt of my Correſpondence upon that Subject was read; particularly my Letter in Anſwer to Mr. Johnſon's laſt Letter that was read Yeſterday: Mr. Johnſon's Letter implied ſome little Miſconduct on my Part, which I anſwered fully; and I feel myſelf hurt at its not being read, becauſe my Character as a Soldier is at Stake.

Read, the following Letter from Major Gilpin to Mr. Johnſon, dated the 2d Auguſt 1782, from the printed Minutes of the Evidence taken before a Committee of the whole Houſe of Commons, on Thurſday the 18th May 1786, already delivered in, beginning at Page 83 of the ſame.

"To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at Lucknow.

"Dear Sir,

"I have to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter of the 31ſt ult°, which makes it requiſite for me to point out clearly to you the Impracticability of maintaining the Poſt at the Elder Begum's Gate, in the Mode you preſcribe in your Letter of the 22d ult°.

"The Elder Begum had aſſembled not leſs than Four thouſand Men in the City, beſides the whole Country were in Motion to her Aſſiſtance. With ſuch a Force, was it poſſible for the Detachment to maintain the Poſt at the Gate, if they were not ſuffered to enter the ſame when fired upon, and put the Whole to Death?

"Can it be ſuppoſed that Officers and Men will ſtand tamely in a Street when fired on, through Windows, Doors, Loopholes, &c. &c. which ſurround and command them, without exerting every Ability to deſtroy that ſecreted Enemy? And can it alſo be ſuppoſed that, when fired upon, they will ſhamefully retreat, under the ſcandalous Appellation of cowardly Fellows? Epithets that might have been too juſtly applied by the Begum's People, had the Attempt been made, and God forbid that I ſhall ever live to hear ſo ſcandalous a Reflection thrown out on the Corps I command.—I have had the Honour to ſerve my King and Country near Twenty-four Years, with the conſtant Approbation of my Superiors; and can it be ſuppoſed, after ſuch a Length of Service, that I wanted wantonly to throw away a Reputation I have ſo long laboured to obtain? which muſt inevitably have been the Caſe in the Eyes of every military Man, had the Detachment been ordered by me to retire to a more diſtant Poſt when fired upon, as you preſcribe?—What did the Governor General ſay of the Attack of Ramnagur, by the late Captain Mayaffre? And did not the whole World condemn Lieutenants Stalkers, Scott, and Symes, for not putting Cheyt Sing to inſtant Death when the Attack was made on the Guard.

(*a*) Vide infra, Page 894. (*b*) Vide infra, ibid.

" Theſe were Circumſtances that required due Attention on my Part; and I do aſſure you, it did not appear poſſible to have continued that Guard an Hour longer, without an Attack from them; the Conſequence of which would, in all Probability, have been a more ſerious Rebellion than that of Cheyt Sing's was, yet not, in any reſpect, fatal to this Detachment, for the Orders I had given almoſt enſured Succeſs, in caſe of an Attack.

" Situation and Circumſtances (viſible to every Perſon here) made it requiſite to withdraw the Guard the Moment the Begum requeſted it, unleſs my Orders for extirpating every Man in Arms had been clear and poſitive, and which, from the Tenour of your Letter, I never could expect to receive, as you ſay, " it is not worth proceeding to Extremities with ſo reſpectable a Family, &c." I am very happy, the Thirty-third Regiment was here, and particularly ſo, that Major Buchannan commanded it, whoſe Length of Service and ſteady Conduct has met with general Applauſe—His Sentiments and mine coincided in every Particular.

" I have now to anſwer your Letter of the 31ſt, wherein you diſapprove of my withdrawing the Guard; a Circumſtance that you imagine has cauſed the total Failure of this Buſineſs.—In Reply to which, give me Leave to obſerve, that the only Mode of paying the Balance, without going to Extremities, is, in my humble Opinion, by that Agreement to all Appearance made permanent.

" She has promiſed, in the moſt ſacred Manner, to deliver up the Caſh, Jewels, &c. that ſhe has in her Poſſeſſion, to make good the ſame.

" Should ſhe not ſtand to this Agreement, my Promiſe to her, of viſiting the Elder Begum, is void; and ſhe of courſe becomes a State Priſoner in the Fort, where every Reſtraint that may be judged requiſite can be more eaſily enforced, than if ſhe was at the Elder Begum's in the City. I have now to requeſt, ſince you have diſapproved of the Agreement, which appeared to me the moſt eligible and ſecure, that you will draw up the Terms which are to be accepted of, and every Exertion in my Power ſhall be made to obtain them.

" I am, Dear Sir,
Your obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) M. Gilpin."

" Fyzabad,
2d Auguſt 1782.

To ſhew the Situation the Begums were in at this Time, and the Probability there was of an Engagement,

Read, the following Letters from the ſame Book, beginning at Page 80 of the ſame.

" To Richard Johnſon Eſquire, Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" The Situation of Affairs all Day Yeſterday was very precarious, ſo much ſo, that by the Encreaſe of Troops in the City, I every Moment expected the ſerious Scene to open.

" The Bhow Begum ſent no Meſſage all the Day, which confirmed me in Opinion ſhe meant an immediate Attack; and in conſequence I was prepared in every reſpect, and gave the neceſſary Inſtructions to every Poſt and Party.

" Early in the Evening, the Bhow Begum ſent to requeſt I would ſend my Commandant to her, which I readily complied with, but told him to tell her, " That aſſembling ſuch a numerous Force in the Town was needleſs; that I had given Orders, in caſe of a ſingle Shot from them, to enter the Palace, and put to Death every Man in Arms; that the Banaraſs Maſſacre was ſtill freſh in the Minds of the Officers and Sepoys; and that, notwithſtanding the Orders I had given to ſpare Women and Children, I could not expect much Delicacy would be obſerved, if once they entered; I therefore recommended her to conſider the critical Situation, and come to Terms."

" She gave me every Aſſurance that ſhe wiſhed for Peace and Quietneſs, but inſinuated as much, as that ſhe was not abſolutely Miſtreſs of her own Conduct; and I have Reaſon to ſuppoſe the Elder Begum was very deſirous and anxious to begin an Engagement; nay, I am convinced, by various corroborating Circumſtances, that ſhe was reſolutely bent, and firmly reſolved, to die as ſhe had lived, in a rebellious Blaze.

" However, about 12 o'Clock at Night the Bhow Begum agreed to give up every Thing ſhe had, to be diſpoſed of for the Payment of the Balance due, but that ſhe could not get at the Jewels and other valuable Goods, until the Arrival of the Priſoners Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn; that as ſoon as they arrived the Things ſhould be depoſited.

" It is alſo, I believe, certain, that ſhe never will agree to any other Terms while ſhe remains under the Roof of the Elder Begum.

" Finding it was abſolutely impoſſible to keep much longer from a general Engagement, and not having Orders to ſtorm the Palace, or diſarm the Troops (which, by the bye, would have been a bloody Scene) I accepted thoſe Terms, and withdrew the Guards, at the Requeſt of the Begum; and I now wait your Inſtructions and Reply to my Letter of the 21ſt.

" I have further to add, that ſhe has confirmed the Agreement by Letter this Morning, aſſuring me, be the Conſequences what they will, ſhe has no other Mode of Payment; at the ſame Time ſhe expreſſes much Satisfaction that this diſagreeable Buſineſs is ſo near adjuſted.

" The

" The Twenty-third Regiment has by this been detained only One Day, as Major Buchannan could not poſſibly have marched before the Twenty-fourth. He will now march from this the 25th.

" I have the Honour to be, Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
Martin Gilpin,
Major Commanding."

" Fyzabad,
23d July 1782.

" To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

" Sir,

" I am honoured with your Letter of the 23d, and am much concerned that you did not wait the Anſwer to your Firſt Letter, before you withdrew the Reſtraint placed upon the Begum, with ſo ſucceſsful an Appearance. You promiſed in your Letter of the 21ſt to hold what you had got, and to remain as you were; had you abided by this Engagement, you would have found, by my ſubſequent private Letter, written the Day after my Reply to your Expreſs of the 21ſt, the certain Succeſs of the Plan which now is thrown further back than ever; for, if I underſtand your laſt, an † unlimited Amount are to be delivered up, with a poſitive Agreement to releaſe the Priſoners; whereas, before this laſt Effort on our Side (in which I do not learn that the ſame Station was occupied that was poſſeſſed on the firſt Reſtraint upon the Palace Gate) the elder Begum offered One Lack in Part Payment, for only transferring the Priſoners; and afterwards, upon ſurrounding the Palace, the Bow Begum offered One Half of the Money down, and the Remainder in Goods (much preferable to the preſent Offer) which was refuſed, becauſe ſhe would give no Security for the Performance of her Offer, to obtain which you placed the Second Reſtraint; and have now withdrawn them upon leſs favourable Terms, and ‡ what we poſſeſſed in Hand from the Reſult of the Firſt Reſtraint, and this at a Time when you had double the Force, One Half of which might have ſcoured the Town of any armed Force it could contain, while the Remainder could ſcarcely fail of maintaining its Poſt uninterruptedly round the Palace. From the Steps of Compliance immediately adopted by the Begum in her Overtures to the Shroffs at Lucknow, it is ſelf-evident (in Addition to the Conviction of her Ability, and other Arguments hazarded in my laſt) that ſhe could never mean to attempt an Attack upon your Poſt.—But, dropping all uſeleſs Diſcuſſion upon what is paſt, and of courſe remedileſs, I muſt apply ⊥ to her Offer through you, upon which you have now withdrawn the Guard; it is this, That if I refuſed the former advantageous Tenders for Want of ſome Security, I ſtill more poſitively reject this, which is neither ſo advantageous, and equally unaccompanied with the leaſt Shadow of Security, and burthened with a Demand of releaſing her Agents as ſoon as what ſhe may chuſe to depoſit ſhall be declared. This, as the Begum has dropped her Firſt Terms, I now refuſe to agree to, as I ought to have done then, when propoſed as a Condition upon the Payment: I always ſaid, that if through their Means the Company's Balance could be liquidated, it would give me an Opening to recommend them to Lenity, and an eaſy Diſcharge from the Crimes they ſtand accuſed of; but to ſtipulate ſuch an Exchange, would be indecent on my Behalf, a Circumſtance I had not before ſufficiently weighed, but which I have now an Opportunity to eſtabliſh. Upon the Whole, therefore, the following is the only Line for you to follow now: Firſt, to prohibit throughout the Town any armed Men appearing in the Streets; and after due Notice given, to order conſtant Patroles to execute it, and in caſe the Regulation is not ſpeedily and ſtrictly obeyed, to make Example of the Firſt Offenders; next to eſtabliſh ſuch Poſts, at ſuch Diſtances as you ſhall deem practicable and tenable to a Certainty, round the Palace, through which whoever ſhall pleaſe may paſs, from the Palace, but none return within it. Thus gradually, Once more, for a Third Time, re-eſtabliſhing the Firſt Reſtraint, and remaining in that Poſition, whatever may be the Reſult of it (unleſs that if § immediate full Payment or full Security, without Reſtrictions and Stipulations on our Side) until the Guards ſhall be ordered off. My Motive for ſubſcribing this ſlow and quiet Method is founded merely upon your Information of the violent Intention of the Elder Begum, which ſhe will have no Opportunity of carrying far by this Mode, as the Forces within the Palace cannot, or ought not, to be conſiderable, for the Reaſons aſſigned in my laſt, founded upon the neceſſary Precautions, that I cannot doubt has been obſerved, to prevent armed Men going into the Palace.

† Sic in Orig.

‡ Sic in Orig.

⊥ Sic in Orig.

§ Sic in Orig.

" I ſhall have no Objection to transfer the Confinement of the Priſoners to your Camp at Fyzabad, when the Begum may return to any Terms that can be accepted, as I know their Preſence there may be of Uſe, although I alſo know that their being here is great Subject of Alarm to the Bhow Begum.

" But I repeat, that ſhould you again be able to re-eſtabliſh yourſelf, as I hope, without any Struggle, which you muſt ſee, from this and my laſt, how much I wiſh to avoid, that you upon no Account withdraw until the Propoſals ſhall have been referred, and Time given for an Anſwer from hence, unleſs in the Caſe of full unconditional Submiſſion and Compliance from the Begum.

" It is not rational to ſuppoſe that ſhe will long ſubmit to troubleſome Reſtraint, poſſeſſing the Means, as I know ſhe does, for releaſing herſelf; I therefore place great Reliance upon the Effect of your fulfilling the Spirit of theſe Directions. The Letter muſt depend upon Circumſtances, and your own Diſcretion.

" I have, &c.
(Signed) R. Johnſon."

" Lucknow,
25th July 1782.

" To Nath[l] Middleton, Eſquire.

" Sir,

" I have the Pleaſure to encloſe you Ten Bills of Exchange on the Bankers at Lucknow, amounting to Fifty thouſand Rupees, on account of the Balance due from the Bhow Begum, which I received from the Priſoners Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn.

" Hoolaſs Roy is of Opinion that the Goods which I have received from the Bhow Begum are well worth Four Lacks of Rupees, even allowing that they ſell greatly under their Value.

" The Goods were to have left Fyzabad To-day, but owing to a continued Rain I have delayed them until Choppers can be made for the Hackeries.

" I have had a Paper War with the Elder Begum theſe Two Days; ſhe did promiſe to lend One Lack to be paid to me, how far I ſhall be able to ſucceed I cannot yet ſay; however, I am hopeful, even without her Aſſiſtance, that I ſhall get all together between Five and Six Lacks on Account of this Balance.

" I am under Promiſe to the Begum of viſiting Lucknow with ſuch Propoſals, that will, I hope, enſure the ſmall Balance that may remain, although the Elder Begum ſhould not aſſiſt.

" I have the Honour to be, Sir,

" Fyzabad, Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

† Sic in Orig. † 5th Septem[r] 1782. (Signed) Martin Gilpin,

Major Commanding."

" To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

" Sir,

" I am honoured with your Letter of the 15th. As it is not poſſible I can liſten to any Terms for the Begums before the final Diſcharge of their conditional Agreement for 55 Lacks, your coming here upon ſuch an Agency can only be Loſs of Time in completing the Recovery of the Balance of 6,55,000, for which your Regiment was ſent to Fyzabad; I muſt therefore deſire you will leave no Efforts, gentle or harſh, unattempted to complete this before you move from Fyzabad, and I am very anxious that this ſhould be as ſoon as poſſible, as I want to employ your Regiment upon other emergent Service, now ſuffering by every Delay.

" Lucknow, I have, &c.

17th September 1782. (Signed) N. Middleton."

" Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" Imperfect Health for ſome Time paſt, with a Feveriſh Complaint, and violent Head Aches, encreaſing rather too faſt, made it abſolutely neceſſary for me to quit the unwholeſome Air of Fyzabad many Days ſooner than I either intended or was prepared for, as a Change of Air and Medical Aſſiſtance was now become neceſſary.

" I had the Pleaſure to receive your Letter of the 17th, ſince my Arrival here, the Dauk having miſſed me on the Road. I have to aſſure you there will be no Time loſt by my Journey to Lucknow, for I fancy the Balance that may remain, after the Sales of the Effects, will not be a Subject Matter to detain the Regiment from the active Service you propoſe for it; and my Preſence, on this Occaſion, is alſo requiſite at Lucknow, to provide the neceſſary Stores for a Campaign. My Stay at Lucknow will be very ſhort, if my Health will admit of an immediate Return; it is a Place I have neither Inclination to viſit, or Buſineſs to delay me long at.

" I have the Honour to be, Sir,

" Deriabad, Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

Septem[r] 20th 1782. (Signed) Martin Gilpin.

" N. B. Lieut. Brown, with the Effects, marched from Fyzabad the 17th, and I hope he will arrive with you by the 20th or 21ſt."

" To Nathaniel Middleton, Eſq. Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" The encloſed Letter from the Bhow Begum, is in Reply to yours which I delivered on my Return to this Place.

" She obſerves to me, that her Situation is truly pitiable, her Eſtate ſequeſtered, her Treaſury ranſacked, her Cojahs Priſoners, and her Servants deſerting daily from her for Want of Subſiſtence. That ſhe has ſolicited the Loan of Money to ſatisfy the Demands of the Company from every Perſon that ſhe imagined would or could aſſiſt her with any: But the Opulent will not liſten to her Adverſity. She did hope the Wardrobe that was ſent to Lucknow might have ſold for at leaſt One Half of the Company's Demands on her: But even Jewelry and Goods, ſhe finds (from woeful Experience) loſes its Value the Moment it is known they came from her.

" That ſhe has now ſolicited the Loan of Caſh from Almaſs Ally Cawn; and if ſhe fails in this

‡ Sic in Orig. Application, ſhe has no Hopes of even ‡ borrowing a Sum equal to the Demand.

" She

" She thanks you kindly for your Friendſhip towards her; and hopes you will lay the Copies of thoſe original Letters, which I gave you to read, before the Honourable the Governor General and Supreme Council, to convince them that the Information they received reſpecting any rebellious Principles on her Part, at the Time of Cheyt Sing's, was wicked, and without Foundation.

" The above, Sir, is the Subſtance of Converſation, on her Part, to the urging Arguments which I have uſed to obtain the Balance.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) Martin Gilpin,
Major Commanding."

" Camp at Fyzabad,
19th October 1782.

Read, the following Extract from Book D, already delivered in, beginning at Page 120 of the ſame.

" To Major Gilpin.

" Dear Sir, Lucknow, 22d October 1782.

" Encloſed I have ſent the Nabob's Bond to the Begum, as it may probably afford ſome Satisfaction to deliver it yourſelf. The Multiplicity of Buſineſs I have had upon my Hands for this ſome Time paſt, muſt plead my Apology for not having done it before.

" I am, with Eſteem,
" Dear Sir,
Your very obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) Nathaniel Middleton."

" N. B. The above mentioned Bond of the Nabob Vizier's to the Begum for R^s 82,000, was diſpatched by the Dauk from Lucknow to Major Martin Gilpin at Fyzabad, on the 22d October 1782, by

(Signed) J. C. M."

Read, the following Letters from the Minutes of the Evidence before a Committee of the Whole Houſe of Commons, already delivered in, beginning at Page 90 of the ſame.

" To John Briſtow Eſquire, Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" Laſt Night, about Eight o'Clock, the Women in the Khourd Mahl Zenana, under the Charge of Letaffut Ally Cawn, aſſembled on the Tops of the Buildings, crying in a moſt lamentable Manner for Food; that for the laſt Four Days they had got but a very ſcanty Allowance, and that Yeſterday they had got none.

" The melancholy Cries of Famine are more eaſily imagined than deſcribed, and from their Repreſentations, I fear the Nabob's Agents for that Buſineſs are very inattentive; I therefore think it requiſite to make you acquainted with the Circumſtance, that his Excellency the Nabob may cauſe his Agents to be more circumſpect in their Conduct towards theſe poor unhappy Women.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obed^t humble Serv^t,
(Signed) Martin Gilpin,
Major Comm^g."

" Fyzabad,
30th Octob^r 1782.

" To Major Martin Gilpin, Commanding at Fyzabad.

" Sir,

" I have received your Letters of the 12th, 19th, 27th, and 30th ultimo.

" I communicated the Contents of that of the 30th to the Miniſter, who promiſed me to iſſue Orders for the Payment of a Sum of Money to relieve the Diſtreſs of the Khourd Mahl. I ſhall alſo forward a Bill for Ten Thouſand Rupees to you, in the Courſe of Three or Four Days; and if, in the mean Time, you may find Means to ſupply to the Amount of that Sum, I will become perſonally reſponſible to you for the Re-payment.

" I ſhall anſwer the Begum's Letter, when I may be able to ſpeak with any Certainty on the Points relative to which ſhe writes me. I hope to * this alſo, in the Courſe of Three or Four Days, and requeſt you will make my Reſpects, and inform her of my Intentions. * Sic in Orig.

" You will continue to act conformable to any Inſtructions occaſionally tranſmitted to you by Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your's, &c.
(Signed) John Briſtow,
Res^t at the Vizier's Court."

" Lucknow,
4th Novem^r 1782.

" To John Briſtow Eſquire, Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" The repeated Cries of the Women in the Khourd Mahl Zenana, for Subſiſtence, has been truly melancholy.

" They beg moſt piteouſly for Liberty, that they may earn their daily Bread by laborious Servitude, or to be relieved from their Miſery by immediate Death.

" In conſequence of their unhappy Situation, I have this Day taken the Liberty of drawing on you in favour of Ramnarain, at Ten Days Sight, for Twenty Son Kerah Rupees Ten thouſand, which I have paid to Cojah Latafat Ally Cawn, under whoſe Charge that Zenana is.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obed[t] humble Serv[t],
(Signed) Martin Gilpin,
Major Command[g].

" Camp at Fyzabad,
15 Novem[r] 1782.

" To John Briſtow Eſquire, Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" Before my Return to Fyzabad, the Bhow Begum had replied to his Excellency the Nabob Vizier's Letter; the Contents of which I imagine he would communicate to you.

" The elder Begum I underſtand (from Report only) never intends to put Pen to Paper to him again.

" What Probability there may now be of ever receiving the Balance from the Begum, you, from her Letter to the Nabob, will be beſt able to judge; but I am clearly of Opinion, that whilſt her Eunuchs, Behar and Jewar Ally Cawn, remain Priſoners, and the Battalions continue here with any Reſtraint on her, that ſhe will never agree to pay a further Sum on the Score required; and indeed it appears to me only recoverable by moderate Means. If the Priſoners were releaſed, and the Troops withdrawn from her, I fancy ſhe would, in a ſhort Period, enter into a Negociation with you; and on certain Terms be induced to pay the Sum wanted.

" Encloſed I ſend you the Copy of a Letter which I received this Morning from her. The Circumſtances of her Servants quitting her for Want of Subſiſtence, is very certain and public; and whether real or fictitious, I will not take upon me to determine; but I judge it neceſſary to make you acquainted with the Circumſtance.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.
(Signed) Martin Gilpin,
Major Command[g].

" Fyzabad,
18 Nov[r] 1782.

" To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

" Sir,

" I do myſelf the Pleaſure to encloſe you a Duplicature of a Letter that will be delivered to you by Affrien Ally Cawn. As it may be ſome Days before he will arrive at Fyzabad, and the Enlargement of the Begums Eunuchs has been reſolved upon, it appears neceſſary that it ſhould be delayed; you will therefore immediately releaſe Behar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, for whom, and the Begum, I ſhall ſend you Letters by To-morrow Night's Dawk.

" You will, in the mean Time, continue your Solicitation for the Balance due to the Vizier; and ſhould you receive any Money on this Account, tranſmit it under a proper Eſcort to Lucknow.

" I am happy to inform you, that the Begum is highly pleaſed with your Treatment of herſelf and Eunuchs; and I ſhall not fail, in my Letter, to expreſs the Senſe I entertain of your Conduct.

" Lucknow,
the 2d December 1782.
(Signed) John Briſtow."

" Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

" Sir,

" I received your Letters of the 15th and 18th Ultimo.

" The Vizier having thought proper to expreſs his Pleaſure, that the Begum ſhould be relieved from the Reſtraints under which her Servants have been laid, I notify the ſame to you, and inform you, there is no further Occaſion for the Services of the Troops under your Command ſtationed at Fyzabad.

" Previous to your Departure, you will deliver over Charge of the Fort of Fyzabad to Auffreen Ally Cawn, or ſuch Perſon as he may appoint to receive it, and to whom you will alſo explain any other Matters neceſſary for his Information. You will releaſe the Begum's Eunuchs, Bahar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, from Confinement, and you will deliver the Artillery, Ammunition, and Stores under your Charge, belonging to the Vizier, to Lullmun Shogul, the Aumil of Gonda, or the Agent or Agents he may appoint.

" You

" You will oblige me by the Communication of any Particulars relative to the Tranſactions at Fyzabad, which you think will enable the Vizier to effect the Recovery of the Balance ſtill remaining due on account of the Begum's Engagement.

" Permit me to convey to you his Excellency's Satisfaction at your Conduct in the Diſcharge of your Duty at Fyzabad.

(Signed) John Briſtow."

" Lucknow,
the 2d Decem^{r} 1782.

" To John Briſtow Eſquire, Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

" Sir,

" I have to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter of the 2d inſtant, and in conſequence immediately enlarged the Priſoners Behar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn from their Confinement—a Circumſtance that gave the Begums and the City of Fyzabad in general the greateſt Satisfaction.

" In Tears of Joy, Behar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn expreſſed their ſincere Acknowledgments to the Governor General, his Excellency the Nabob Vizier, and to you, Sir, for reſtoring them to that invaluable Bleſſing, Liberty, for which they would ever retain the moſt grateful Remembrance; and at their Requeſt I tranſmit you the incloſed Letters.

" I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

" Fyzabad,
5 December 1782.

(Signed) Martin Gilpin,
Major Command^{g}."

" Copy of a Letter from Major Gilpin to Mr. Briſtow.

" Dear Sir,

" I wiſh you had been preſent at the Enlargement of the Priſoners. The quivering Lips, with the Tears of Joy ſtealing down the poor Men's Cheeks, was a Scene truly affecting; and, as Triſtram Shandy juſtly obſerves, fit only for a Sentimental Traveller.

" If the Prayers of theſe poor Men will avail, you will, at the laſt Trump, be tranſlated to the happieſt Regions in Heaven.

" I am, &c.

" Fyzabad,
5 December 1782.

(Signed) M. Gilpin."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, that they would next read the Paper of Intelligence, which had been authenticated by Mr. Holt, in his Evidence at the Bar, (*a*) relative to the miſerable Situation of thoſe Women, which they meant to bring home to Mr. Haſtings.

Read, from Book 73, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 17th February 1784, beginning at Page 28 of the ſame Book.

" Fort William, the 17th February 1784.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheler, and
John Stables, } Eſquires.

Mr. Macpherſon abſent from the Preſidency for the Benefit of his Health.

" The following Letter and its Encloſures were received from Mr. Briſtow, on the 8th inſtant, and circulated.

" Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

" I have the Honour to forward, for your further Information, the Encloſure N° 3. It contains a Relation of the Hardſhips endured by the Ladies of the late Vizier's Zenana.

" I have the Honour, &c.

" Lucknow,
29th January 1784.

(Signed) John Briſtow,
Reſ^{t} at the Vizier's Court."

" Tranſlation of a Paper of Intelligence from Fyzabad.

" The Ladies, their Attendants and Servants, were ſtill as clamorous as laſt Night; Lataffit the Daroga went to them and remonſtrated with them on the Impropriety of their Conduct, at the ſame Time aſſuring them, that in a few Days all their Allowances would be paid; and ſhould

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(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 397 and 399.

that

that not be the Caſe, he would advance them Ten Days Subſiſtence, upon Condition that they returned to their Habitations. None of them, however, conſented to his Propoſal, but were ſtill intent upon making their Eſcape through the Bazar, and in conſequence formed themſelves in the following Order,—the Children in the Front, behind them the Ladies of the Seraglio, and behind them again their Attendants; but their Intentions were fruſtrated by the Oppoſition which they met with from Lataffit's Sepoys.

" The next Day Lataffit went Twice to the Women, and uſed his Endeavours to make them return into the Zenana, promiſing to advance them 10,000 Rupees, which, upon the Money being paid down, they agreed to comply with, but Night coming on, nothing tranſpired.

" On the Day following, their Clamours were more violent than uſual, Lataffit went to confer with them on the Buſineſs of yeſterday, offering the ſame Terms; depending upon the Fidelity of his Promiſes, they conſented to return to their Apartments, which they accordingly did, except Two or Three of the Ladies, and moſt of their Attendants. Lataffit then went to Hoſhmund Ally Cawn to conſult with him about what Means they ſhould take; they came to a Reſolution of driving them in by Force, and gave Orders to their Sepoys to beat any one of the Women who ſhould attempt to move forward. The Sepoys accordingly aſſembled, and each one being provided with a Bludgeon, they drove them, by Dint of Beating, into the Zenana; the Women, ſeeing the Treachery of Latafit, proceeded to throw Stones and Bricks at the Sepoys, and again attempted to get out; but, finding that impoſſible, from the Gates being ſhut, they kept up a continual Diſcharge till about Twelve o'Clock, when, finding their Situation deſperate, they returned into the Rung Mahl, and forced their Way from thence into the Palace, and diſperſed themſelves about the Houſe and Gardens. After this, they were deſirous of getting into the Begum's Apartments; but ſhe, being apprized of their Intentions, ordered the Doors to be ſhut. In the mean Time, Latafit Hoſhmund Ally Cawn poſted Juſtices to ſecure the Gates of the Leſſer Mahl. During the Whole of this Conflict, the Ladies and Women remained expoſed to the View of the Sepoys. The Begum then ſent for Latafit and Hoſhmund Ally Cawn, whom ſhe ſeverely reprimanded, and inſiſted upon knowing the Cauſe of this infamous Behaviour. They pleaded, in their Defence, the Impoſſibility of helping it, as the Treatment the Women had met with, had only been conformable to his Excellency the Vizier's Orders. The Begum alledged, that even admitting that the Nabob had given theſe Orders, they were by no Means authorized in this Manner to diſgrace the Family of Sujah Dowlah, and ſhould they not receive their Allowances for a Day or Two, it could be of no great moment; what had paſſed was now at an End, but that the Vizier ſhould certainly be acquainted with the Whole of the Affair, and that whatever he directed, ſhe ſhould implicitly comply with. The Begum then ſent for Two of the Children who were wounded in the Affray of laſt Night, and after endeavouring to ſooth them, ſhe ſent again to Latafit and Hoſmund Ally Cawn, and in the Preſence of the Children, again expreſſed her Diſapprobation of their Conduct, and the Improbability of Aſoph ul Dowlah's ſuffering the Ladies and Children of Sujah Dowlah to be diſgraced, by being expoſed to the View of the Sepoys; upon which Latafit produced the Letter from the Nabob, repreſenting, that he was amenable only to the Order of his Excellency, and that whatever he ordered, it was his Duty to obey, and that had the Ladies thought proper to have retired quietly into their Apartments, he would not have uſed the Means he had taken to compel them. The Begum again obſerved, that what had paſſed was now over. She then gave the Children 400 Rupees, and diſmiſſed them, and ſent Word by Sumrud and the other Eunuchs, that if the Ladies would peaceably retire to their Apartments, Latafit would ſupply them with 3 or 4,000 Rupees for their preſent Expences, and recommended to them not to incur any further Diſgrace; and that if they did not think proper to act agreeable to her Directions, they would do wrong. The Ladies followed her Advice, and about 10 at Night went back into the Zenana. The next Morning the Begum waited upon the Mother of Sujah Dowlah, and related to her all the Circumſtances of the Diſturbance. The Mother of Sujah Dowlah returned for Anſwer, that after there being no Accounts kept by Crores of Revenue, ſhe was not ſurpriſed that the Family of Sujah Dowlah, in their Endeavours to procure Subſiſtence, ſhould be obliged to expoſe themſelves to the meaneſt of People. After bewailing their Misfortunes, and ſhedding many Tears, the Begum took her leave and returned home.

" A true Tranſlation,

(Signed) Rob^t Holt,

Aſſ^t to the Reſident." (*a*)

Read, from Book 85, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Letter from Mr. Briſtow to the Board, in a Conſultation of the 3d March 1783, beginning at Page 253 of the ſame Book.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXXV.

" Fort

" Fort William, 3d March 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
General Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief,
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.
John Stables,

" Major Gilpin, with One Battalion, has been ſtationed at Fyzabad for the Purpoſe of ſupporting the Vizier's Claim againſt the Begum, for the Recovery of his Patrimony, depoſited in her Charge.—I applied to the Vizier immediately upon my Arrival, for his Conſent to withdraw this Battalion, ſeeing little Prabability * that violent Meaſures would effect my further Payments.—I propoſed to him to truſt to her Generoſity for the Liquidation of the Balance, which was about Five Lacks.—The Vizier would not at that Time acquieſce in my Propoſal; but, determined on making One more Effort, previous to leaving it in her Diſcretion to prolong the Term of Payment; his Excellency accordingly addreſſed a Letter to the Begum, conveying his Senſe of her evading the Performance of her Engagements in very harſh Terms, and threatening, in caſe of Non-compliance with them, that her Eunuchs ſhould continue in Confinement, and Means be taken to recover the Money from her, as the Company would never be ſatisfied without it.—The Begum, in Reply, repreſented her Inability, having paid away all the Treaſure ever entruſted to her Charge by the late Vizier; but if the Eunuchs were enlarged, ſhe might, with their Aſſiſtance, be enabled to raiſe the Money upon Credit.—On his Excellency's receiving this Anſwer, I renewed my Solicitations for Permiſſion to withdraw the Battalion, reſting the Matter upon the Begum's Promiſe of diſcharging the Balance when her Eunuchs ſhould be releaſed.—I was induced to this Meaſure by the Repreſentations of Major Gilpin, who had been employed in the Buſineſs from the Commencement. His Opinion, aſſerting that every practicable coercive Exertion had been uſed, I beg leave to ſubmit to you in the encloſed Copy of his Letter to me on the Subject.—The Vizier at Length acquieſced in the Battalion's being withdrawn, for which I was the more anxious, as your Inſtructions to me diſapprove of Detachments, and the State of Affairs requires the Appearance of a formidable Force on the Frontiers.

* Sic in Orig.

" Lucknow, the 1ſt December 1782.

(Signed at the End) " John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court." (*a*)

To prove that Mr. Haſtings withheld the Communications contained in the above Letter, for Three Months, from the Board,

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 12th of May 1783, from Book 80, already delivered in, beginning at Page 658 of the ſame.

" Fort William, the 12th May 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.

" The Governor General lays before the Board, the following Letters from Mr. Briſtow to him, dated 12th December, and Incloſures 30th December, 4th and 31ſt of March, and 8th April.

" The Battalion at Fyzabad is recalled; and my Letter to the Board of the 1ſt inſtant has explained my Conduct to the Begum. The Letter I addreſſed her, a Tranſlation of which I beg leave to encloſe (N° 2), was with a View of convincing her that you readily aſſented to her being freed from the Reſtraints which had been impoſed upon her, and that your Acquieſcence in her Sufferings was a Meaſure of Neceſſity, to which you were forced by her extraordinary Conduct. I wiſhed to make it appear this was a Matter on which you directed me to conſult the Vizier's Pleaſure, that it might be known you were the Spring from whence ſhe was reſtored to her Dignity and Conſequence (*b*).

(Signed at the End)
" John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the Appendix to the ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 471 of the ſame Book.

" Appendix to Conſultation, 12th May 1783.

" Tranſlation of Letter from Mr. Briſtow to the Begum.

" I have had the Honour to receive your Letters.—Whereas the Proſperity and Welfare of the Vizier's Affairs are the earneſt Wiſh of the Governor General, I have, in obedience to my Inſtructions,

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXXVI. (*b*) Vide Appendix, N° LVIII.

ſtructions, repreſented to his Excellency, that I ſhall conform to his Pleaſure in whatever he might think proper to direct. I am happy to convey his Commands, that Major Gilpin ſhall, on the Arrival of Affrien Ally Cawn, march from Fyzabad, and immediately releaſe Bahar Ally Cawn and Soakur Ally Cawn. This Meaſure affords me the greater Pleaſure, as I am perſuaded, from the kind Expreſſions in your Letters, of the Regard you entertain for the Vizier, being dearer to you than Life, that you will in future conſult and cheriſh his Intereſts.

" It is probable the Vizier would have continued the Reſtraints upon your Excellency, if the Governor General had not, out of Reſpect for the Ties which bind you, and from a natural Benevolence of Diſpoſition, given his Aſſent. The ſtrict Alliance ſubſiſting between the Governor General and the Vizier will ever render an Union of Councils and Meaſures the Line of Conduct of both Governments. And it is a moſt pleaſing Circumſtance to me, to convey the Governor General's Approbation of the Reſtoration of your Excellency to the Dignity and Conſequence to which your high Rank and Birth juſtly entitle you.

" I beg leave to return my Thanks for the Senſe you expreſs of the becoming Conduct of Major Gilpin in the Execution of his Duty.

" Permit me to remind your Excellency, that there is ſtill a Balance of above Five Lacs due, on account of your Engagements; and as you promiſed, immediately on the Enlargement of your Eunuchs, to pay that Sum, I hope you will excuſe my Solicitations and Aſſurances, that by a Compliance you will render a Service both to the Vizier and the Company, whoſe Affairs at preſent require the Aſſiſtance of every pecuniary Aid.

(A true Tranſlation.)

(A true Copy.)

(Signed) Rob^t Gregory,

" E. Hay,

Aſſiſtant at the Vizier's Court." (*a*)

" Act^g Sec^y to the Secret Dep^t.

The Managers for the Commons deſired Mr. Hudſon might be called in.

Then Mr. ROBERT HUDSON was called in, and aſked;

Q. When did theſe Two Letters firſt appear upon the Conſultations? Have you looked over the Conſultations before the 3d of March, to ſee whether it has ever appeared before?

A. I believe, the firſt Time it appears is upon the 3d March 1783. The Letter juſt now read is on the Conſultation of the 12th May 1783.

Q. You have read over the Conſultations before that Time?

A. I have.

Q. Therefore you ſpeak negatively, that before that Time it does not appear upon the Conſultations?

A. It does not.

Q. *(Croſs examined.)* Whether the Letters are uſually entered upon the Conſultations immediately upon the Receipt of them, or whether they are not entered till ſome Conſideration is taken upon them? Do you know, what the Courſe is of doing Buſineſs at Calcutta, as to entering Letters?

A. I cannot ſpeak with any Certainty, as to the Proceedings at Calcutta; I can only obſerve how they are entered upon the Proceedings, they vary often, appear ſome Time after the Date of them.

Q. Therefore all you ſpeak to, is the Fact of their Appearance upon the Proceedings; but the Courſe of Buſineſs you know nothing of?

A. No.

Q. Does it appear to you, from obſerving the Courſe of Buſineſs as done at Calcutta, that Letters frequently appear to have been received, and to have been in the Poſſeſſion of the Government, before they are entered upon the Conſultation Minutes?

A. Very frequently.

Q. At all Times; not particularly during Mr. Haſtings's Government?

A. I ſpeak in general.

Q. Whether the Letter containing the Incloſures in queſtion, is addreſſed to the Governor General and Council, or to Mr. Haſtings perſonally.

A. The laſt Letter read begins, Honourable Sir.

Q. Is that the Style of Addreſs where a Letter is addreſſed to Mr. Haſtings perſonally, or where addreſſed to him as Governor General?

A. As Governor General.

Q. It was not with reſpect to that Letter, but the Letter containing that Paper with the Account of the Diſtreſſes of the Khourd Mhal?

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N°. LVIII, and N°. LXXXVII.

A. The

A. The Letter tranſmitting the Paper about the Khourd Mhal, from Mr. Briſtow, begins, " Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen;" the Date of Mr. Briſtow's Letter is the 29th of January 1784.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that as the Counſel for the Defendant had endeavoured to eſtabliſh, that it was not uſual to enter Letters upon a Conſultation, till ſome Act was done upon thoſe Letters; they would now ſhew, that in this Caſe the Act was done relating to the Subject Matter of this Letter, while the Letter was withheld; and that it was produced after the Orders were given.

Read, from Book 80, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 12th of May 1783, beginning at Page 634 of the ſame.

" The Governor General lays before the Board the following Letters from Mr. Briſtow to him, dated the 12th December, and Incloſures 30th December, 4th and 31 March, and 8th April."

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next prove, that in conſequence of Mr. Haſtings' having withheld from the Board his Knowledge that the Begum's Miniſters were releaſed, and alſo the Communication from Mr. Briſtow, of the Letter he had written to the Begum, informing her of it, the Board were induced to write to the Reſident, as if ignorant of thoſe Circumſtances.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 3d March 1783, from Book 85, already delivered in, beginning at Page 304 of the ſame.

" Fort William, 3d March 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident; Secret Dep. 3d March.
General Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief;
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.
John Stables,

" Agreed, That the following Letter be written to Mr. Briſtow.

" To Mr. John Briſtow.

" Sir,

" Having received, and taken into our Conſideration, the following Letters from you, we ſhall now tranſmit you our Sentiments and Orders upon them.

23d November,	2d January,
1ſt December,	13th D°
11th D°	24th D°
19th D° Two Letters,	29th D°
20th D°	30th D°.
30th D°	

" We deſire you will inform us of any, and what, Means have been taken for recovering the Balance due from the Begum at Fyzabad; and, if neceſſary, that you recommend it to the Vizir to enforce the moſt effectual Means for that Purpoſe.

" Fort William, 3d March 1783.

" We are, &c.

" (Signed) Warren Haſtings,
(Signed) Eyre Coote,
(Signed) Edward Wheler,
(Signed) John Macpherſon,
(Signed) John Stables."

" Warren Haſtings,
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon,
John Stables (*a*).

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, they would next read Mr. Briſtow's Anſwer to this Letter of the Board of the 3d of March 1783.

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 23d June 1783, from Book 82, already delivered in, beginning at Page 550 of the ſame Book.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXXVI.

" Fort

Secret Dept. Monday.

" Fort William, 23d June 1783.

" At a Council; Present,

Edward Wheler, } Esquires.
John Macpherson, }

The Governor General indisposed on the River.

Mr. Stables absent.

" Letter from Mr. Bristow to the Board, dated Lucknow, 31st March 1783.

" Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

" I have delayed replying to your Commands of the 3d instant, regarding the Means taken to realize the Balance due from the Begum, in Hopes that I might transmit you favourable Accounts of it. Before the Recall of Major Gilpin, she promised Payment; and since that Time, she has uniformly professed an Inability, unless her Jaghyre be relinquished. In my Address of the 1st December, I represented to your Honourable Board, that every practicable coercive Exertion had been used in Support of my Representations. I submitted to your Consideration, the Copy of Major Gilpin's Letter to me on the Subject. The Begum complains, that having no Pension or Jaghire, she now subsists her Family and herself with the greatest Difficulty; and should the Vizier persist in withholding every Allowance from her, she will be distressed for the Necessaries of Life.

" The above is the Substance of the Begum's Reasons for her Refusal, as they have been communicated to me both verbally and by Letter. I am of Opinion, however, from every Information I can obtain, that she has the Means of satisfying the Honourable Company's Demands,—but seeing little Prospect of a Jaghyre or Pension, she trusts to her Hoards for Support, and would suffer the severest Restraint sooner than comply. Previous to my Arrival, her Eunuchs were kept for many Months in Confinement, and led out to corporal Punishment. Guards were also put upon her House to prevent the Treasure from being carried away. These Measures failed, and you have before you the Opinions given by Major Gilpin, the Officer who commanded the Troops, that " all that Force could do has been done." Mr. Middleton thought it very practicable to recover the Money from the Begum, by continuing the Restraints; and though I differ from that Gentleman in my Sentiments, yet I think it my Duty to transmit the Extract of his Letter to me upon the Subject, that every Information in my Power may be presented for your Decision. The Articles mentioned by Mr. Middleton I received on taking Charge of the Office. They consisted of Eight Elephants, and various Sorts of Goods, valued by the Begum at Three Lacks. For the Goods, the Merchants of Lucknow offered me Eighty-one thousand Rupees. A great Part were damaged, owing to the long Time they had been kept in the Godouns at Fyzabad. I refused to sell them, until I obtained the Begum's Consent, which she granted me, after a Correspondence of Three Months; in the Course of which I repeatedly solicited her to receive them back. They were in so bad a State, that I was obliged to give the Purchaser Six Months Credit. This Bargain I even concluded with Difficulty. There was no Mode of disposing of the Elephants, except to the Nabob, who bought them at Fifteen hundred Rupees an Elephant.

" I have, in compliance with your Orders, applied to his Excellency to call upon the Begum to pay the Balance of the Account without further Delay, and inform her that no Excuses can be admitted, she will certainly evade, and probably refuse. If you ultimately determine on enforcing the Payment, I shall be under the Necessity of applying to Colonel Morgan for Military Aid.

" Lucknow, 31st March 1783.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
(Signed) John Bristow,
Resident at the Vizier's Court."

Then MAJOR GILPIN was again called in.

Q. Whether you ever saw or heard of the Treaty between Mr. Middleton and the Elder Begum, by which a Provision for the Women and Children in the Khourd Mhal, was guaranteed by the East India Company?

A. I never saw any such Treaty, nor did I ever hear of it, until I heard of it in this House.

Q. Have you any Knowledge of the Assignment of the Forty thousand Rupees, for the Maintenance of the Khourd Mhal, or have you it only from Hearsay?

A. I had it from Lataffit Ali Khan, who received it from the Foujdar of Sultanpore.

Q. Do you know, whether that District of Sultanpore had been seized or mortgaged by Mr. Middleton?

A. I do not.

Q. What Circumstances led you to make this Distinction between Sahlone and Sultanpore, and to correct your Evidence of Yesterday, in that Respect?

A. An Error in the Answer, nothing else; just a Mistake of the Two Words; I had very near fallen into the same Error this Moment.

Q. What

Q. What did you conceive the Age of the Elder Begum to be?
A. I do not know, but I ſuppoſe ſhe was about Eighty.

Q. Had you an Opportunity, while you was at Fyzabad, of knowing the general Character of theſe Women, or of obſerving Inſtances of their Diſaffection, or Attachment to the Britiſh Government?
A. By the Converſation, that I have had with the Natives of that Place only.

Q. From thoſe Converſations, what is your Opinion with reſpect to the Conduct and Character of the Bow Begum, and of her Diſpoſition with regard to the Engliſh Government?
A. I had a ſtrong Suppoſition, from the Papers produced to me, the Letters of Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon, that from theſe Circumſtances ſhe appeared innocent: It was upon thoſe Letters that I grounded my Sentiments of her Innocence.

Q. Do you not, from all the Circumſtances you adverted to, at the Time, in forming your Judgement, and according to your preſent Belief, entirely acquit the Bow Begum of any Diſaffection to our Government?
A. It is impoſſible for me to aſcertain that, upon my Oath; I gave my Opinion in the Houſe of Commons, that I acquitted her from thoſe Circumſtances; thoſe were the Grounds upon which I formed my Ideas; and your Lordſhips will be beſt able to judge, whether I am right or not.

Q. But from your Converſation with the Natives, and others, what Judgement did you form?
A. The Natives at Fyzabad were all in her Intereſt; and, from the general Converſations I had with them, they declared ſhe was innocent: I could not confute it.

Then the following Queſtion and Anſwer were read to the Witneſs from his Evidence in the Houſe of Commons, before a Committee of the whole Houſe there.

"Q. Had you any Opportunity of knowing the Characters of the Begums, and whether they were diſaffected to our Government?
"A. I had a very good Opportunity of knowing, from the Circumſtance of my having commanded ſo long there. The elder Begum, it was generally underſtood, and I have Reaſon to believe, was diſaffected to our Government; and my Sentiments of her Conduct ſtand recorded in my Correſpondence to the Court of Lucknow to that Effect: But with reſpect to the Bow Begum, I acquit her entirely of any Diſaffection to our Government, ſo far as comes to my Knowledge. Appearances were for ſome Time againſt her; but on cool deliberate Enquiry, I found there was no Grounds, for ſuppoſing her guilty of any rebellious Principles, at the Time of Cheit Sing's Rebellion."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Whether that, according to your Belief, is not your preſent Opinion?
A. I think I have anſwered that very fully; that it was upon thoſe very Principles that I did form an Opinion of her Innocence; how far they are juſtifiable or right, I will not take upon me to ſay upon Oath; there was no one Circumſtance that came to my Knowledge, during my Reſidence at Fyzabad, or my Reſidence in India, that I would wiſh to withhold from your Lordſhips.

Q. You ſtate here upon cool, deliberate Enquiry; what was that cool, deliberate Enquiry?
A. That cool, deliberate Enquiry, was the Converſations I had with the Miniſters and the People of Fyzabad, and the Letters from herſelf, expreſſing her Innocence; and it appeared to me from thoſe Letters, that ſhe really was our Friend and Ally.

Q. You have ſtated, that you conceived the Engliſh had no Right or Authority whatever to interfere or meddle in any Reſpect with the Khourd Mhal; whether you do not know, that it was by Orders from the Britiſh Government, that the Khourd Mhal was ſurrounded by Soldiers, and that the Women were confined or ſearched as they came out of it?
A. I beg to know what Time is alluded to; whether during my Command, or not?

Q. Not during your Command?
A. If it was after I left Fyzabad, I cannot aſcertain. I only ſpeak to Circumſtances while I had the Command.

Q. Was not the ſame Guard ſtationed in your Time that was ſtationed in Captain Jaques's Time?
A. There was: But I underſtood it was a Matter that happened after I left that Country.

Q. Whether the Guards, that were placed round the Khourd Mahl, were not placed under the Authority of the Britiſh Government?
A. I undoubtedly placed Guards there, and gave Orders to the Sepoys.

 Q. The

Q. The Khourd Mhal was within the ſame Circle of the Garden as the Zenana?
A. Yes; it was.

Q. Much Pains have been taken to draw an Anſwer from you, which is ſuppoſed to countenance the Belief, that the Engliſh Government never interfered with reſpect to the Khourd Mahl?
A. I drew that Concluſion from the Nabob's Letter to me, who was very angry with my interfering at all.

Q. That was for relieving their Neceſſities?
A. Yes.

Q. To whom did you tranſmit the Complaints of the diſtreſſed Situation of the Women in the Khourd Mahl?
A. To Mr. Briſtow, the Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

Q. Did not you draw upon the Britiſh Reſident for Money?
A. I did; and Yeſterday delivered in the Receipts.

Q. Deſcribe the Situation in which the Khourd Mahl and the Zenana were?
A. The Khourd Mahl was on one Side of a very ſpacious Garden, and the Begum's Palace was on the other, at a conſiderable Diſtance; I cannot ſay exactly how wide it was, but there was no kind of Connection whatever between the Two.

Q. Was there any Reſtraint put upon the Khourd Mahl peculiarly?
A. None by me; in conſequence of what Captain Jaques had done, in ſearching the Doolies as they came out, I continued that in like Manner; but I never knew any Thing that was found in any one of the Doolies.

Q. But there was a Guard ſurrounded the Khourd Mahl, and ſearched every Body that came out?
A. The Guard had nothing to do with the ſearching the Women that came out of it; there was a Woman appropriated for that Service diſtinctly; the Guards that were round the Khourd Mahl, were round the whole Palace, the whole Fort, and the whole City; nay, I had ſome ſmall Guards extended as far as Sujah ul Dowlah's Burying Place, and ſome few Miles out of the Town; ſo that, in fact, the whole City was ſurrounded by the Britiſh Troops.

Q. *(by a Lord.)* Could the Guards have been placed round the Zenana, ſo as to effect a Reſtraint upon the Palace, without alſo making a Conſtraint upon the Khourd Mahl?
A. As well as I can recollect, the Orders given to the Centinels were, to prevent any Men from having any Intercourſe with them, as is uſual in that Country to do where Women are kept; I believe that was the Tenor of the Orders; it was not to have any Reſtraint upon the Ladies at all.

Q. Whether it would be poſſible, by that Guard, to conſtrain the one without conſtraining the other?
A. Is it meant the Guard over the Begum's Palace?

Q. Yes.
A. That was within the City of Fyzabad, and the Khourd Mahl is within the Citadel.

Q. The Zenana I take to be within the ſame Diſtrict as the Khourd Mahl?
A. The ſame, only there is a wide Garden between them; that is all.

Q. Whether it would have been poſſible to have eſtabliſhed a Guard upon the Zenana, which would not have operated as a Conſtraint upon the Khourd Mahl alſo?
A. The Palace of Fyzabad, which I ſurrounded, is a Fort within itſelf, within that, is the Zenana; I was within the Palace with the main Body of the Troops; the Elder Begum's Palace is without that, it is in the City, more properly ſpeaking, at ſome Diſtance from the Gates; I ſuppoſe near a Quarter of a Mile from the Khourd Mahl and Zenana.

Q. Did you place Guards at the Gates of the Elder Begum's Palace?
A. Yes.

Q. Did not the Elder Begum threaten to deſtroy herſelf, if any Offer was made to remove her by Force from Fyzabad?
A. She did.

Q. Was not the Object of that Threat to remove her, to induce her to make a Diſcovery where the Treaſure was concealed?
A. I believe it was.

Q. Whether you were able to guard the Principal Zenana, without guarding the Khourd Mahl, or the Reverſe?
A. There were Guards placed about the Whole.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether you could guard one of thoſe Zenanas, without guarding the other? Whether the Guard that was placed upon the Zenana could have been kept there, ſo as to be a Conſtraint upon the Zenana, without being alſo a Conſtraint upon the Khourd Mahl?

A. I do not ſee there was any Conſtraint by our Guard, upon the one, more than upon the other.

Q. Whether there was a free Paſſage from the Zenana to the Khourd Mahl, and ſo *vicè verſa* from the Khourd Mahl to the Zenana?

A. They might have paſſed freely.

Q. Whether by thoſe Means the Treaſure and valuable Effects might not, by ſuch a Communication, have paſſed from the Zenana without the Walls of the Palace, through the Khourd Mahl?

A. No; I do not believe they could without the Centinel ſeeing them.

Q. But the Treaſures being conveyed, ſuch as were portable, from the Zenana to the Khourd Mahl, might they not, if there had not been a Guard placed there, have been conveyed entirely out of the Palace and the Zenana?

A. They clearly might.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) You ſay, the Revenues of Sultanpore were never ſeized upon, that you know of; I ſuppoſe, therefore, they were left to the Management of the Foujdars? Can you aſſign any Reaſon why the Revenues were not tranſmitted as uſual from the Foujdar, for the Uſe of the Khourd Mahl?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do you know whether the Surplus of the Revenue ariſing from the Diſtrict of Sultanpore, beyond the 40,000 Rupees, annually allotted to the Khourd Mahl, was given to the Nabob, or what became of it?

A. I do not.

Q. If you had received Orders to guard ſtrictly the Zenana, and leave the Khourd Mahl free, whether you, as a profeſſional Man, think you could have executed thoſe Orders?

A. To keep it perfectly free?

Q. If you had received Orders to keep a ſtrict Guard upon the Zenana, and to leave the Khourd Mahl perfectly open and free, was it poſſible, in a Military Way, to execute thoſe Orders?

A. It would have been leaving one Side of the Palace without any Centinel or Guard at all.

Q. Would it have been conſiſtent with the Uſage of the Country, to have ſtationed Centinels between the Zenana and the Khourd Mahl, in the Garden?

A. I believe there always were Centinels poſted there, even in the Life-time of Sujah Dowlah.

Q. Then how am I to underſtand, that that would have left that Part of the Palace open, where the Treaſures were, upon the Suppoſition that the Treaſures were depoſited in what was called the Begum's Zenana: Why would not a Line of Centinels placed between the Zenana and Khourd Mahl in the Garden have effectually ſecured the Zenana, though that Part of the Palace called the Khourd Mahl ſhould have been left open and free?

A. The Garden was too ſpacious for it, and I judged it neceſſary to have Centinels on both Sides; the Guards were placed on both Sides of the Garden.

Q. Then you left Room for Intercourſe, for them to paſs and repaſs?

A. But they could not paſs between, but the Centinels muſt have ſeen them.

Q. Was there any Examination of thoſe that paſſed from the Begum's Zenana to the Khourd Mahl?

A. I do not believe there was any Body paſſed from the One to the other, while I was there.

Q. Were not the Centinels a Check both upon the Zenana and Khourd Mahl, ſo as to prevent their paſſing backwards and forwards to either?

A. No, by no Means.

Q. (*from a Lord.*) What Reaſons, if any, did Mr. Middleton aſſign for giving back thoſe Perſian Letters you gave to him?

A. I underſtood he had taken Copies of them, with a Deſign of tranſmitting them to the Board; at leaſt that was my Requeſt to him; and he delivered back the Originals into my Poſſeſſion.

Q. Then he aſſigned no Reaſon?

A. He did not aſſign any Reaſon in particular.

Q. I underſtood you to ſay, that, to the beſt of your Recollection, you communicated thoſe Letters to Mr. Middleton ſoon after your Arrival at Lucknow: Did you communicate thoſe Letters to Mr. Middleton ſoon after your Arrival at Lucknow?

A. I did.

Q. There

Q. There ſeems to me to be a little Inaccuracy in the Evidence of the Witneſs, which I wiſh to ſtate, becauſe his general Evidence has been ſo ſingularly accurate: In the Letter of the 19th of October 1782, (*a*) to Mr. Middleton, if I take it right, you ſay to Mr. Middleton, "The Begums wiſh you to tranſmit thoſe Letters which I gave you to read:" Now it does ſeem, as it ſtrikes me from the general Tenor of that Letter, that thoſe Letters alluded to in your Letter, and which the Begums deſired Mr. Middleton to tranſmit, were then in Mr. Middleton's Poſſeſſion. Do you recollect that Paſſage in the Letter of the 19th of October?

A. I think the Paſſage ſays, The Begum hopes you have tranſmitted Copies of thoſe Letters to the Board.

Q. Had the Elder Begum any particular Communication with the Inhabitants of Fyzabad?

A. She might have had any Communication ſhe pleaſed; there was no Reſtraint upon that.

Q. Had ſhe, in Fact?

A. I dare ſay ſhe had; I cannot ſpeak poſitively to the Tranſaction.

Q. Then the Elder Begum's People were at Liberty to go into the Town, without Examination, whenever they pleaſed?

A. Except during the Time the Palace was ſurrounded, when the Younger Begum was in there, ſhe had no Reſtraint whatever put upon her.

Q. Could the Begums excite the People of the Town to rebel, while they were in Confinement?

A. By their Miniſters, their Agents, and Servants, they might.

Q. But were not the Agents alſo reſtrained from communicating with the Inhabitants?

A. They were paſſing and re paſſing ſome Time before a cloſe Confinement came, which laſted only a few Hours.

Q. Could the Zenana be guarded without its being a Check alſo upon the Khourd Mhal?

A. I think it might, if the Guards were diſtinctly placed upon the Zenana, and had no Orders to guard the Khourd Mahl, becauſe they were ſeparate Buildings; I ſuppoſe there was a Space of from Fifty to an Hundred Yards between them.

Q. *(by Counſel)* Whether the Place where the Treaſures were ſuppoſed to be depoſited was not in the ſame Incloſure with the Khourd Mahl. Where were the Treaſures ſuppoſed to be depoſited?

A. They were ſuppoſed to be depoſited in the Begum's Zenana.

Q. Was that within the ſame Incloſure with the Khourd Mahl?

A. No. It was not in the ſame Incloſure, there was a Garden which ſeparated them.

Q. Whether any Guards were placed upon either of thoſe Places, except ſuch as were neceſſary for preventing any Treaſure being removed from the Zenana?

A. I cannot recollect, that there were any other Orders given.

Q. Whether the placing of the Guards, or any other Meaſures taken, while you were there, had any the ſmalleſt Effect in ſtraitening the free Acceſs of Proviſions, or did at all contribute to the Diſtreſs of the Khourd Mhal?

A. Not in the leaſt.

Q. You have been aſked your Opinion reſpecting the Younger Begum: What was the Diſpoſition of the Elder Begum? Whether a general Report did not prevail of the Diſaffection of both the Begums?

A. I have ſtated in my Correſpondence that there did.

Q. Did any Circumſtance come to your Knowledge afterwards, to induce you to diſbelieve that Report with reſpect to the Elder Begum?

A. It never removed my Sentiments of the Elder Begum at all, no Report that I ever heard.

Q. What were your Sentiments of the Elder Begum?

A. That ſhe was undoubtedly in Rebellion. They were my Sentiments of her, and always muſt remain ſo.

Q. Whether you did not know that there were Cauſes for the Diſſaffection of the Elder Begum to the Engliſh?

A. There were a Variety of Circumſtances mentioned, which I cannot aſcertain as Facts; but they were publick Reports of Circumſtances that gained Credit with the Engliſh, from the general Tenor of her Conduct.

Q. What were they?

A. I cannot relate any particular Circumſtances, but I believe it might be carried back to the Period of the War in 1764:—As far back as the Battle of Buxar, when ſhe expreſſed herſelf with ſome Warmth againſt the Engliſh.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 749, 890, and 896.

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that the reigning Nabob being then at War with the Engliſh, his Mother ſhewed ſome Enmity to them alſo.

Then the Witneſs proceeded, as follows:

It was related, but how far it is to be depended upon, I will not ſay upon Oath, that when her Son took Leave of her, when going to march into that Country, ſhe begged he would take care to deſtroy the Engliſh as much as lay in his Power, reſerving Twelve Officers to carry her Palanquin.

Q. Whether that Jealouſy and Diſaffection to the Engliſh continued ſubſequent to the Year 1764?

A. I cannot ſpeak as to my own Knowledge.

Q. Do you know any Thing of her Diſaffection ſince the Year 1764?
A. Nothing in particular came to my Knowledge—it was from general Converſation.

Q. But an Opinion prevailed that ſhe remained with Diſpleaſure to the Engliſh?
A. It did.

Q. Whether the Younger Begum was not very much under the Influence of the Elder?
A. I believe I have expreſſed that in my Correſpondence, and anſwered it fully.

Q. I underſtood you to ſay, that originally the Report prevailed with reſpect to both the Begums, but that you was induced to alter that Opinion with reſpect to the Younger Begum, in conſequence of Mr. Gordon's Letters, and the Intelligence from ſome of her Miniſters and other Perſons.—Were not thoſe other Perſons in the Intereſt of the Younger Begum?
A. In general, the Town of Fyzabad were in her Intereſt.

Q. In what Senſe do you mean generally in her Intereſt:—Were the Perſons you converſed with merely thoſe who were in her Service and Houſhold, or the Inhabitants of Fyzabad in general?
A. Both; I held Converſations with both her own Body Servants, and the Inhabitants of the City.

Q. Whether you conſidered the Begum to be ſerious in the Threat you have mentioned, to deſtroy herſelf, or to hold it out as a Terror?
A. I thought it held out as a Terror.

Q. If they had attempted to remove her by Force?
A. I ſuppoſe the Queſtion has ariſen from what my Letter ſays.

Q. (*by Counſel.*) The Object of my Examination was ſingly reſpecting that Queſtion which was put by the Honourable Managers, as to the Threat of the Begum to deſtroy herſelf if ſhe was removed.—Do you ſuppoſe that if that Threat of removing her had been ſeriouſly carried into Execution, ſhe would have deſtroyed herſelf?
A. It is impoſſible for me to anſwer that Queſtion.

Q. Did you at that Time repreſent your Opinion that theſe were Words of courſe?
A. It is Matter of Opinion, and I do not chuſe to give a Matter of Opinion upon Oath.

Q. As to the Letters which are not produced, whether you were not ſubpœna'd by the Proſecutors, to give Evidence upon this Cauſe?
A. I was; I have the Summons in my Poſſeſſion.

Q. You were aſked reſpecting your having enlarged the Priſoners, by Order of the Nabob; whether you have the Orders that you iſſued upon that Occaſion?
A. I have a Memorandum of them here.

Q. State the Orders?

The Witneſs read the following Memorandum:

"Camp, Fyzabad, 4th December 1782.

"Detachment Morning Orders, by Major Gilpin.

"His Excellency the Nabob Vizier having been pleaſed to grant the Enlargement of the Priſoners, Bahar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, from their long Confinement, the Guards over the ſaid Men is * in Conſequence withdrawn, and Liberty granted them to paſs and repaſs all Guards and Centinels in common with other People."

* Sic in Orig.

Thoſe were the Orders I iſſued in conſequence.

Q. What do you mean by the Word "Rebellion," as applied to the Begums. In what Senſe do you uſe it?
A. In raiſing Troops, and in other Acts of Rebellion, in the common Acceptation of the Word.

Q. Againſt whom?

A. Againſt the Nabob's Government and the Britiſh Government jointly; but I beg to know the particular Time and Circumſtance the Queſtion alludes to?

Q. I underſtand you to have ſaid, you underſtood the Elder Begum was in a conſtant State of Rebellion. In what Senſe do you uſe the Word Rebellion; did you ſay the Elder Begum was in a conſtant State of Rebellion?

A. I always underſtood her to be diſaffected to the Engliſh Government; it might not be a proper Expreſſion of mine, the Word Rebellion.

Q. Do you know of any Act of Rebellion by the Elder Begum againſt the Vizier?

A. I cannot ſtate any.

Q. Do you know of any Act, which you call Rebellion, committed by the Elder Begum againſt the Company?

A. I do not know of any particular Circumſtance; only, it was generally ſuppoſed that ſhe was diſaffected to the Company.

Q. What Acts of Diſaffection or Hoſtility towards the Engliſh do you allude to, when you ſpeak of the Converſation of the World at the Time?

A. I have anſwered that Queſtion as fully as I can; that it was nothing but Converſation; that I knew of no particular Act or Deed myſelf.

Q. Were they the Acts of the Begum's, or of any of her Servants, which you heard in Converſation?

A. It was the general Converſation, that ſhe was diſaffected intirely to the Government; but as to Acts or Deeds beyond what I have already ſtated, I cannot ſpeak.

Q. I underſtood you to ſay, that the Centinels were not placed as a Reſtraint upon the Khourd Mahl; and I underſtood you likewiſe to ſay, that the Doolies coming out of the Khourd Mahl were conſtantly examined?

A. The Centinels did not interfere with the paſſing and repaſſing; the only Reſtraint by ſearching the Doolies was, by Women appointed for the Purpoſe of ſeeing whether there was any Treaſure: There was no Reſtraint upon their paſſing or repaſſing, but merely to prevent the Removal of any Goods.

Q. I underſtood you to ſay, that the Treaſures were ſuppoſed to be in the Zenana. How did it tend to ſecure the Treaſures in the Zenana, ſearching the Doolies that came out of the Khourd Mahl?

A. There was no particular Reaſon, it was not known to an abſolute Certainty, but it was thought neceſſary to take every Precaution we could. We underſtood the Treaſures were in the Begums Palace; but it was neceſſary to take every Precaution.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then NATHANIEL MIDDLETON Eſquire was called in, and examined as follows:

Q. (*by a Lord.*) I wiſh you to give an Explanation of this Paſſage in your Letter to Mr. Haſtings of the 6th of December 1781, upon which you was examined when you were laſt before the Houſe, (*a*) namely, "the Reſumption of the Jaghires, will be followed by the Meaſure heretofore propoſed." (*b*) Do you remember that Paſſage in the Letter?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Then the Queſtion is, At what Time, upon what Occaſion, in what Manner, by whom, and to whom, the Meaſure thus deſcribed by you was propoſed?

A. The Meaſure I referred to, was the Seizure of the Begums Treaſures.

Q. By whom propoſed?

A. It had at this Time been propoſed by the Nabob himſelf, but previouſly mentioned in a Communication that I had with Sir Elijah Impey at Lucknow.

Q. In your former Evidence, when aſked, whether the Meaſure was prior or ſubſequent to the Treaty of Chunar? you anſwered, long ſubſequent; and explained that to mean, ſeveral Months, or ſome Months. State, as correctly as you can, upon Memory, the preciſe Time, when that Meaſure, ſo deſcribed by you, was propoſed, by whom it was propoſed, and to whom it was propoſed? You ſay the Meaſure was propoſed by the Nabob?

A. Yes; but ſubſequent to the Converſation I had had with Sir Elijah Impey at Lucknow. But I have likewiſe ſtated, and have a firm Belief, that that Meaſure was converſed upon with the

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 753. (*b*) Vide ſupra, p. 724, and Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

Nabob long before Sir Elijah Impey's Arrival. That is my own Belief, though I cannot positively take upon me to ſay that that is the Fact?

Q. At what Time did you firſt communicate to Mr. Haſtings this Converſation you ſpoke of between the Nabob and you, when this had been the Subject of Converſation?

A. The Letter containing the firſt Communication to Mr. Haſtings upon that Subject from Lucknow is in Evidence before your Lordſhips (*a*). I do not recollect the Date, but I beg it may be referred to.

Q. Before the Letter is referred to, I would aſk whether we are to underſtand that the Meaſure which you deſcribe in the Letter of the 6th of December to be a Meaſure propoſed, be or be not the Meaſure mentioned in your Letter of the Second Day of the ſame Month? Do you remember the Meaſure that was mentioned in your Letter of the 2d of December?

A. Yes: I underſtand that to be the Meaſure of ſeizing the Begums Treaſures.

Q. Then I am to underſtand, that by the Meaſure heretofore propoſed, you underſtand that Meaſure mentioned for the Firſt Time in a Letter written Four Days preceding. Was that Letter of the Second of December the Firſt Time that you made any Communication to the Governor General of the Converſation you had had about ſeizing the Treaſures?

A. Undoubtedly, to the beſt of my Recollection and Belief, that was the firſt Time it was made either by me, or any Body with my Knowledge, from Lucknow.

Q. You ſay you perfectly recollect the Expreſſion in your Letter of the 6th of December, that the Reſumption of the Jaghires would be immediately followed by the Meaſure heretofore propoſed, and that "heretofore propoſed" is your Expreſſion by which you deſcribe to Mr. Haſtings a Meaſure which was mentioned to Mr. Haſtings, for the firſt Time, in a Letter, which, when the Second Letter was penned, Mr. Haſtings probably had not even then received? Whether you think yourſelf accurate and correct in ſtating the Meaſure mentioned in the Letter of the 6th of December to be the ſame Meaſure with that which you communicated in the preceding Letter of the 2d December? Do you, upon full Recollection, ſtate that to be the Caſe?

A. I refer the Expreſſion of "the Meaſure heretofore propoſed," generally to the Seizure of the Begums Treaſures; I cannot ſay whether I confined it ſolely to that Propoſal ſent to Mr. Haſtings, in the Letter dated the 2d of December, or whether I referred it to the Converſation I had with Sir Elijah Impey upon the Subject, but to the Meaſure moſt certainly of ſeizing the Treaſures.

Q. Do you remember this Paſſage in your Letter of the 2d of December?

"I had Yeſterday the Honour of informing you of the Meſſage I ſent to the Nabob, through the Miniſter, reſpecting the Jaghires, to which his Excellency, this Morning, returned me a Reply, purporting, that, if the Meaſure propoſed was intended to procure the Payment of his Balance due to the Company, he could better and more expeditiouſly effect that Object, by taking from his Mother what ſhe is very able to ſpare, and what he has an undoubted Right, as he conceives, to exact from her. The preſent Debt to the Company, as he with Truth obſerves, is a great Part handed down from his Father; and the Funds from which he might have been enabled to liquidate it, it is notorious, were withheld from him by the Begum, on the late Nabob's Death.

"This, my dear Sir, is a flattering Propoſition, and as to the Point of Right, admitting it to be leſs clear and defined than the Nabob chuſes to conſider it, you may poſſibly be of Opinion that the Conduct of the Begums on the late Diſturbances at Benares, as ſet forth in the ſeveral Teſtimonies laid before you, has forfeited any Claim they might originally have had to the Protection and Mediation of the Company, and further that it may not be political or yet perfectly Safe to truſt them any longer with ſuch powerful Means of promoting an Oppoſition to our Intereſts."

"P. S. Whatever may be your Reſolution upon the Subject of this Letter, it will be expedient to keep it ſecret.—The Reſumption of the Jaghires it is neceſſary to ſuſpend until I have your Sentiments on this Letter." (*b*)

You ſee, by the Interpretation which you put upon the Letter at the Time, you do conceive that the Reſumption of the Jaghires was ſo far doubtful as to be a Meaſure not to be carried into Execution, till you knew the Governor General's Pleaſure on the Propoſal made by the Nabob, which is evidently made as an Alternative:—Therefore I aſk, How you can refer ſpeaking of the Meaſure propoſed, as following immediately the Reſumption of the Jaghires;—how you can refer that Meaſure ſo deſcribed, to a Meaſure deſcribed ſo differently in your Letter of the 2d of December; how this Meaſure deſcribed to be "a Meaſure heretofore propoſed," and which you admit to relate to the Seizure of the Treaſures following immediately the Reſumption of the Jaghires, can be that Meaſure which the Nabob propoſed as an Alternative but Four Days before?

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 720, & Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

(*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 720, 721.

A. It

A. It appears by the Letter, it was mentioned as an Alternative by the Nabob; I can only repeat, that I certainly did refer the Expreſſion to the Seizure of the Begums Treaſures.

Q. Do you ſtill, upon your Recollection, ſtate that your Letter of the Second of December was the Firſt Communication that you ever made to Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject of ſeizing the Treaſures?

A. I never had a Doubt about it, nor have I at this Moment, that it was the Firſt Communication I made to Mr. Haſtings, on the Subject.

Q. Had any Anſwer to your Letter of the 2d of December arrived, before you wrote your Letter of the 6th of December?

A. I believe every Letter of Mr. Haſtings, as well as every Letter from me to Mr. Haſtings, both publick and private, upon that Subject, are now before your Lordſhips; I have no Recollection of any other Letter written from him or me upon the Subject.

Q. You will recollect, that in a Letter of the 5th of December to Sir Elijah Impey, which is now in Evidence *(a)*, you ſtate particularly, that the Treaſures will be immediately ſeized: In conſequence of what Order, did you, then the Miniſter Reſident, act, when you came to the Determination of aſſiſting the Nabob in ſeizing theſe Treaſures?

A. By Order of Mr. Haſtings, which will appear in the Letter before your Lordſhips.

Q. But I wiſh it to be particularly ſtated, when that Order was received; for you ſtate that the firſt Propoſal came from the Nabob, and conſequently, did not originate with Mr. Haſtings, but with the Nabob: Now, how is it poſſible, in the Nature of Things, that Mr. Haſtings could give any Order relative to a Propoſal originating with the Nabob; the Communication of which could not, in Point of Time, have reached Mr. Haſtings?—Did you, in conſequence of Orders received from the Governor General, propoſe directly, or inſinuate indirectly to the Nabob, that ſuch a Propoſal ſhould come from him the Nabob?

A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay, whether I might or not: I have no Doubt, but in conſequence of Converſation with Sir Elijah Impey, I might have told, or inſinuated to the Nabob, that if the Propoſal was made, it would not be unattended to.

Q. Can you, in ſo material a Part of your Adminiſtration, have totally forgotten, whether the Orders conveyed to you verbally from the Governor General, through Sir Elijah Impey, were or were not to endeavour, that ſuch Propoſal ſhould come from the Nabob?

A. I really cannot recollect exactly the Purport of Sir Elijah Impey's Communication, further than as I have ſtated; it was an Acquieſcence, that if the Nabob ſhould propoſe it, Mr. Haſtings would not object to it.

Q. You muſt ſee the very material Difference between Orders which purport to be a Willingneſs in the Governor General to acquieſce in that Meaſure, if the Nabob ſhould, as you ſtate the Nabob on former Occaſions had done, expreſs a Deſire to ſeize the Treaſures, and *proprio motu* propoſe it, and Orders of ſo different a Nature; namely, Orders to you as a Miniſter, to endeavour to get the Propoſal to come from the Nabob. Recollect therefore, under which Deſcription the Orders that you received are to be comprehended; namely, Orders of Acquieſcence that you ſhould intimate that ſuch an Intention would no longer be oppoſed, or Orders to endeavour that the Propoſal ſhould be made by the Nabob? Do you attend to the Difference between a general Order, to prevail upon the Nabob to make the Propoſition, and an Order only to intimate to him, that if he ſhould make the Propoſition it would not be rejected?

A. Certainly I underſtand the Difference.

Q. Which of theſe two were the Orders you received?

A. The Order I received from Mr. Haſtings moſt certainly is upon record. The Communication I received from Sir Elijah Impey, I did not conſider as an Order to act with the Nabob in the Buſineſs at all; I only conceived that it was a Communication upon which Mr. Haſtings wiſhed me, in all Probability, to conſult with the Nabob, and that if he ſhould make a Propoſal for the Seizure of the Treaſures, Mr. Haſtings would not oppoſe it. I cannot charge my Memory, at this Diſtance of Time, with the particular Communication from Sir Elijah Impey, upon the Subject: I give your Lordſhips, to the beſt of my Memory, the Impreſſion it made upon me at the Time, and which it has continued to make upon my Mind ever ſince.

Q. What Steps did you take in conſequence of the verbal Communication you received through Sir Elijah Impey, in order to execute thoſe Orders, whatſoever they were?

A. Is it meant of the Orders through Sir Elijah Impey.

Q. Yes?

A. I certainly did not conſider that Communication through Sir Elijah Impey, to extend to more than that I was to conſult with the Nabob upon it, and to inform him, that if a Propoſal was made

(a) Vide ſupra, Page 721; alſo, Appendix, N° LXIII.

by

by him to Mr. Haſtings, it would be aſſented to; I certainly could have taken no Official Steps whatever, in conſequence of that Communication through Sir Elijah Impey.

Q. The ſame Difficulty occurs, and I muſt once more deſire an Explanation, as far as you can give it: After all this Recollection, what is the Senſe you put upon thoſe Words, "the Meaſure heretofore propoſed?"

A. I am ſorry to be obliged to repeat ſo often; it certainly is the Meaſure of ſeizing the Treaſures, which, I knew from the Communication of Sir Elijah Impey, would not be oppoſed, whenever the Nabob ſhould propoſe it as a Meaſure.

Q. I am to underſtand then, that that Expreſſion refers to the Senſe you put upon the Letter, which you received from Sir Elijah Impey. Do the Words "heretofore propoſed" refer to the Letter you had received from Sir Elijah Impey?

A. I received a verbal Communication from Sir Elijah Impey; it might afterwards be mentioned by Letter. I certainly refer it generally to the Meaſure, whether it was communicated to me by Sir Elijah Impey, or by the Nabob.

Q. Whether upon Recollection of all the Circumſtances that have been before you now, you do apply that Phraſe of a "Meaſure heretofore propoſed," to the Meaſure of ſeizing the Treaſure, conſidering that upon the Second of December the Meaſure of ſeizing the Treaſure had been ſpoken of as an Alternative to ſeizing the Jaghires?

A. Certainly I could apply it to no other Meaſure whatever.

Q. Could it have been ſo applied, unleſs you had received ſome ſubſequent Communication on the Subject from Mr. Haſtings in ſome Way or other?

A. I certainly could not have ſpoken of it in the Manner I did, unleſs I had known it would have been a Meaſure accepted by Mr. Haſtings.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

Die Veneris, 30° *Maij* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed with their Evidence.

Then it was moved, That Mr. Holt be called to the Bar, to correct a Miſtake in the Minutes of his Evidence; and being called in accordingly, the following Queſtions and Anſwers were read by the Clerk.

" Q. In what Character was Colonel Hannay in that Country?
" A. I underſtood him to be the Commander of the Military Force, and to have the Collections under his Management.

" Q. From whom did he derive the Authority of collecting it?
" A. I heard it was from the Vizier, from the Nabob.

" Q. *(from a Lord.)* Did he farm the Revenue, or did he take it for the Vizier's Uſe?
" A. He received it for the Vizier's Uſe, as I underſtood.

" Q. He received it for the Vizier's Uſe?
" A. So I underſtand.

" Q. You know nothing of it?
" A. I know no Title for it." *(a)*

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Is the Expreſſion, " I know no Title for it," accurate? In what Senſe did you uſe thoſe Words?
A. I do not recollect having made uſe of the Words in that View, and cannot explain it now but as an Inaccuracy.

Q. Do you, or do you not, know any Thing of the Manner in which Colonel Hannay received that Revenue for the Vizier's Uſe?
A. Is it meant by what Authority?

Q. You were interrogated, Whether Colonel Hannay received the Revenue as a Farmer, or, as Bailiff, for the Vizier's Uſe? and you have ſaid, that he received it for the Vizier's Uſe; and when aſked, Whether you had any Knowledge of it, you anſwered, you knew no Title for it?
A. I fancy I meant, I knew of no Paper by which he was appointed, and which gave him Authority to collect the Revenue.

Then the following Queſtion and Anſwer were read to the Witneſs:

" Q. But you know he received it for the Vizier's Uſe?
" A. I know he did receive it, for I ſaw him carry it to the Vizier's Houſe." *(b)*

The Witneſs ſaid,

I never could have ſeen it carried to the Vizier's Houſe, becauſe the Vizier's Houſe was at the Diſtance of Eighty or Ninety Miles. I ſaw it carried to Colonel Hannay's Treaſury, and from thence it was conveyed to Lucknow.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 385.

(b) Vide ſupra, P. 385.

Then

Then the next Queſtion and Anſwer were read to the Witneſs, as follows:

" Q. There is a Doubt about your Anſwer to that Queſtion. The Queſtion put to you was, Whether you knew of his receiving them to the Vizier's Uſe, or of his bringing them to the Vizier's Account?

" A. I did not make any Anſwer to that Queſtion. I have anſwered, that I knew he did collect the Revenues of the Country, becauſe I ſaw them paid into the Treaſury. I underſtood they were for the Uſe of his Highneſs the Vizier; but I know nothing more of it." (*a*)

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. By Treaſury in this Anſwer, you mean Colonel Hannay's Treaſury?
A. Yes; the Place appropriated for receiving the Revenues, within his own Walls.

Then the following Queſtions and Anſwers were read to the Witneſs:

" Q. Did you ever hear that another Remiſſion of Two Lacks, beſides that which you ſtated for the Damage the Nabob might occaſion by Hunting in the Province, was demanded by Colonel Hannay?

" A. I have heard there was a ſubſequent Demand.

" Q. To what Amount?
" A. To the ſame Amount.

" Q. For what was that Remiſſion?
" A. For the Damage which the Cavalcade of the Vizier might occaſion.

" Q. That was the Occaſion ſpecified for demanding the Firſt Remiſſion?
" A. Yes.

" Q. Was the like Occaſion ſpecified upon the Second Time?
" A. Yes.

" Q. Was it for Damage actually done?
" A. Not as I heard of, but for Damage that might be done.

" Q. Were they both in the ſame Year?
" A. No.

" Q. Now, in either of the Years did you hear the Vizier went into the Province?
" A. In One Year he did.

" Q. Did he in the other Year?
" A. I do not know that he did.

" Q. Did you hear that Remiſſion was obtained?
" A. I do not know it was.

" Q. Did you hear it was not?
" A. No.

" Q. You ſaid he did come into the Province One Year; that was the Year he aſked and obtained a Remiſſion?
" A. Yes.

" Q. Did he come into the Province the Second Year?
" A. Yes."

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. Did you mean to ſay that the Vizier went in both thoſe Years into the Province, or only in One?

A. No; only in One.

Q. In which Year did he go into the Province?
A. He went into the Province the firſt Year; the ſecond Year he intended to go, but did not; and, as it ſtands here, it is a very palpable Contradiction.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 385.

The

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they had obſerved a great many Errors in the Courſe of the printed Evidence, and ſubmitted to the Houſe in what Manner they might beſt be corrected.

The Houſe informed the Managers for the Commons, that in point of Regularity, it could only be done by re-examining the Witneſſes to the Paſſages which were ſuppoſed to be erroneous.

Then Sir ELIJAH IMPEY was called in, and the following Extract of the Minutes of Evidence was read.

" Q. Whether you was not examined before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons?
" A. I was.

" Q. Whether you recollect the Subſtance of your Anſwer to this Queſtion. In a Letter of the 6th of December 1781, from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Haſtings, there is this Sentence; " Your Pleaſure reſpecting the Begums I have learnt from Sir Elijah Impey, and the Meaſure " heretofore propoſed will ſoon follow the Reſumption of the Jaghires:" to whom do theſe Words, " heretofore propoſed," refer? Do you recollect the Subſtance of your Anſwer to the Houſe of Commons?
" A. I really do not.

" Q. Do you recollect whether your Anſwer was, " By hearing the Letter read, I referred to a Propoſal by Mr. Haſtings through me to Mr. Middleton?"
" A. I certainly do remember that Anſwer; but I believe, if the Whole of my Evidence is taken together, it will appear I gave it there the ſame as I do now; that I related to Mr. Middleton what had paſſed between Mr. Haſtings and me, and that Mr. Haſtings ſeemed to aſſent to the Propoſition, that it was right the Begums Treaſure ſhould be ſeized; but I carried no Directions from Mr. Haſtings, that it was his Will to have it ſo done.

" The Counſel for the Defendant objected to this Mode of Examination.

" The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they had not waived their Right to examine the Witneſſes they called to what they had ſaid in another Place.

" The Witneſs deſired the Anſwer might ſtand.

" Q. Did you underſtand that you conveyed more than Mr. Haſtings's Conſent to the Nabob's reſuming of the Jaghires, namely, that you underſtood it was the Intention of Mr. Haſtings that Mr. Middleton ſhould recommend it to the Nabob as a Meaſure?
" A. I ſtill think that it was Mr. Haſtings's Intention that it ſhould be recommended to the Nabob as a Meaſure, and that I meant by, his conſulting the Nabob upon the Subject: I do not make uſe of the ſame Words, but to exactly the ſame Purpoſe; I ſhould have conſidered the mere conſulting the Nabob upon the Subject, if it was not the Intention of Mr. Haſtings to recommend it, as merely nugatory." (*a*)

Then the Witneſs was aſked,

Q. It is apprehended that the Queſtion and Anſwer laſt read, were meant to apply to the ſeizing of the Treaſures, and not to the reſuming of the Jagheers. Have you any Memory of the Queſtion, and how do you mean your Anſwer ſhould ſtand?
A. As far as I have any Recollection upon the Subject, it applies ſimply to the Reſumption of the Treaſures; with regard to the Jagheers, I had nothing to ſay with regard to the Begums Jagheers in particular, but to all the Jagheers.

Q. Then you underſtood the Queſtion referred to the Treaſures only?
A. I underſtood it referred to the Treaſures only.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Then it was propoſed by the Counſel for the Defendant, and agreed to, that in order to ſave Time, as the Errors were very numerous, the Managers for the Commons, and the Counſel for the Defendant, ſhould meet and report to the Houſe the Errors ſigned by the Witneſſes reſpectively, and in caſe any Doubt ſhould ariſe with reſpect to any Paſſage ſuppoſed to be erroneous, the Witneſſes ſhould be re-examined thereupon at the Bar, the Whole ſubject always to the Reviſion and Determination of the Houſe.

Then the Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they would next proceed to ſome written Evidence, to ſhew that the Directors did order an Enquiry

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 625.

to be made in India into the Conduct of the Begums, that all the World might know the real Truth of the Case, and that Mr. Hastings did stifle that Enquiry—previous to which they would read an Extract of a Letter from the Governor General to the Board, which first led the Court of Directors to order this Enquiry to be made.

Read, from Book 83, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Consultation of the 5th February 1782, beginning at Page 268 of the same Book.

"Fort William, 5th February 1782.

Secret Dep. Tuesday.

"At a Council; Present,

The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, who being returned to the Presidency takes his Seat at the Board;

Edward Wheler, John Macpherson, } Esquires.

Sir Eyre Coote on Service in the Carnatic.

"The following Letter from the Governor General, received on the 2d Instant, is now recorded.

"P. 274.—3dly. The Engagements concluded on the 19th September with the Nabob of Oude, I did hope, that on his Return to his Capital, which I had urged for that Purpose, he would immediately have entered upon the Execution of the Measures necessary for the Accomplishment of the Plan which we had mutually agreed upon, and particularly the Resumption of the Jagheers; an Act equally necessary to the Restoration of the Peace of his Country, and to the Discharge of his Debt to the Company.

"After having long waited with much Impatience for this Effect, I was apprised by the Resident's Letters, that the Nabob, from what Cause I know not, had shewn a great Reluctance to enter on this Business, notwithstanding the Warmth with which he himself originally solicited my Acquiescence in it; that he at length did resolve to carry it into Execution, and accordingly appointed an Aumil to take possession of the sequestered Jagheers; but that a powerful Opposition had been prepared by the Begums, which had obliged him to apply for the Assistance of our Troops; and that the Resident had accordingly written to Colonel Morgan to send a Regiment of Sepoys for that Service. As the Resident at the same Time expressed to me his Opinion, that a larger Force would be requisite to surmount the intended Opposition, I judged it improper to expose a Service of such Importance, either to the Hazard of a Defeat, or to the Chance of a Delay, and therefore immediately issued Orders, of which you have already been advised, for the March of Colonel Sir John Cumming, with his entire Detachment, for the Performance of it, advising the Resident of it. He in Reply expressed an Apprehension, that the Nabob Vizier would object to the Movement of so large a Force into the Heart of his Dominions, without what he would deem an adequate Occasion for it, to other Motives, which might be productive of Consequences hurtful to our Connection with him, and intreated that the Order might be revoked, assuring me, that there was no pressing Occasion for it.

"I accordingly ordered it to be suspended. In the mean Time, as I had conceived some Alarm from the Delays and Difficulties which had attended this Business, which did not appear to me of a Nature susceptible of them, I wrote to the Resident, requesting him solemnly to declare to me whether, with the Powers with which he had been invested, he was competent to carry into Execution this and the other Measures directed in my Instructions; that if he were not, I would myself proceed to Lucknow, and afford the Nabob my personal Assistance for carrying them into Execution; but that if in his Answer he should assure me that he was capable of accomplishing this Service, I would leave the Charge and Responsibility of it to him, and depart for the Presidency. I wrote a Letter to the Nabob in similar Terms. I received the Resident's Answer on the 2d of January; it contained a Declaration that my Presence was in no Shape necessary in that Quarter, and that he was fully competent to undertake and to effect the Accomplishment of all the Measures required by my Instructions, and that he should immediately march with the Nabob to Fyzabad for the Purpose of enforcing his Claims on the Begums.

"On the Receipt of this Letter, concluding that the Nabob's Answer would be to the same Effect, and that I should be sufficiently warranted by them to leave the Business in their Hands, I prepared for my Departure, allowing a sufficient Time only for the Receipt of the Nabob's Letter, which I expected at the latest to receive on the 7th. On that Day I left Benaris, but proceeded only to a short Distance below the Town. At the same Time I caused an Intimation to be given to the Nabob, that although, to prevent a further Loss of Time, I had thought it proper to begin my Journey towards Bengal, yet I should proceed by short Stages, and suspend my final Resolution until I had received his Letter in answer to mine, still retaining the Resolution of conforming to the Contents of it. If these should require me to proceed to his Presence, according to the Tenor of the Proffer, and that if I did not receive it before my Arrival at Patna, I would wait for it there. It was not till my Arrival at Patna, which was on the 19th Instant,

that I did receive his Anſwer, a Tranſlation of which ſhall accompany this. As it contained only a complimentary Invitation, accompanied with an Aſſurance ſimilar to that given me by the Reſident, in relation to the impending Buſineſs, I conſidered it as intended to leave me the free Option either to accept of his Inviration on the Footing he had expreſſed it, or to return to the Preſidency. After much Heſitation, and I will confeſs with ſome Reluctance, I have reſolved on the latter. I dread the Imbecillity and Irreſolution which too much prevail in the Nabob's Council, and muſt influence in ſome Degree both the Conduct of the Reſident and the Miniſters; and I conſider the impending Meaſure of too much Conſequence to be expoſed to the Riſk of a Diſappointment; yet the preſſing Letters which I have written to the Nabob, the ſtrong Injunctions which I have repeated to the Reſident, and the poſitive Aſſurances which I have received from both, afford me every Reaſon to hope that they will be carried into Execution, without further Difficulty or Delay; and I am further confirmed in this Concluſion, by the ſubſequent Advices which I have received ſince my Departure: Theſe amount to the following Subſtance—that the Nabob Vizier arrived at Fyzabad on the 8th, the Reſident accompanying him; that on the 12th he found it neceſſary to employ a Military Force to take poſſeſſion of the Kellah, which was effected without any Effuſion of Blood. The Two Eunuchs, Bahar and Jowarhur Ally Cawn, who were the prime Movers of the late Troubles, and the active Leaders of the preſent Oppoſition, were taken into Cuſtody, and their Followers, amounting to about Three or Four Thouſand armed Men, expelled from the Town and diſperſed. I think it proper to tranſmit to you a Copy of the Reſident's Letter, and to refer you to it for the Particulars of this Event.

" It may be neceſſary in this Place to inform you, that in Addition to the former Reſolution of reſuming the Begum's Jagheers, the Nabob had declared his Reſolution of reclaiming all the Treaſures of his Family, which were in their Poſſeſſion, and to which, by the Mahometan Laws, he was entitled. This Reſolution I have ſtrenuouſly encouraged and ſupported; not ſo much for the Reaſons aſſigned by the Nabob, as becauſe I think it equally unjuſt and impolitic that they ſhould be allowed to retain the Means of which they have already made ſo pernicious a Uſe, by exciting Diſturbances in the Country, and a Revolt againſt the Nabob, their Sovereign. I am not ſanguine in my Expectations of the Reſult of theſe Proceedings, but have required and received the Nabob's Promiſe that whatever Acquiſitions ſhall be obtained from the Iſſue of them, it ſhall be primarly * applied to the Diſcharge of the Balance actually due from him to the Company.

* Sic in Orig.

" Notwithſtanding the Reſolution which I have taken to return to the Preſidency, I yet foreſee that many Events may happen which may again require my perſonal Attendance in this Quarter, but even theſe will require that I ſhould firſt concert with you the Plan of my future Conduct reſpecting them. Though the Powers which I poſſeſs are ample and ſufficient for every Purpoſe which may occur, yet as they were granted in a very different State of Affairs, it is become abſolutely neceſſary that I ſhould avail myſelf of a free and full Communication with you upon every probable Contingency, which may proceed from the Effects of the late Changes, before I can venture again, if it ſhall be at all neceſſary, to interfere with my own Authority in any of the Affairs of this Quarter.

" I have made ſuch a Proviſion for this Event that I ſhall at any Time have it in my Power to arrive at Lucknow within at leaſt Three Weeks from my Departure from the Preſidency, and there is little Cauſe to apprehend any material Change of Affairs in the ſhort Interval which muſt neceſſarily precede my Arrival there.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

" On the Ganges, near Sunagegunah, (Signed) Warren Haſtings." (*a*)
January 23, 1782.

Read, the following Extract of a Letter from the Board at Calcutta to the Court of Directors, dated the 11th of February 1782, from Book 29, already delivered in.

" Par. 3. The above Papers contain ſuch a full Account of all the Tranſactions of the Governor General upon this Service, together with the Motives and Reaſonings upon them, that we think it would be ſuperfluous to add any Thing of our own, but to recommend them to your attentive Peruſal.

" Par. 4. By theſe it will appear that the Treachery and Intrigues of Cheyt Sing, ſupported by the Diſaffection and reſtleſs Diſpoſition of the Bhow Begum, Mother to the Nabob of Owde, at Fyzabad, produced Inſurrections in that Country, which till lately we were unapprized of, on account of the Communication between that Place and Benares being wholly cut off.

" Par. 5. At the ſame Time that the firſt Information of theſe Diſturbances reached us, we were happy to hear that they had been quelled by the Accounts received there of the ſucceſsful Efforts of our Troops in Benares, and the March of Two Regiments from Cawnpore to the Relief of Colonel Hannay, whoſe Sepoys gave evident Proofs, by their Deſertion, that they had been tampered with, and he with moſt of his Officers were in great Danger of their Lives, a Detachment under Lieutenant Gordon having been actually attacked and cut off, and the reſt of the

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° LXXXI.

Corps

Corps being ſurrounded by the Rabble levied under Sanction of the Begum, avowedly for the Service of Raja Cheyt Sing.

" Par. 6. The Circumſtance of theſe Levies is further corroborated by various Reports from Fyzabad, and by the Liſt of Cheyt Sing's Forces delivered to the Governor General at Chunar, in which the Troops ſaid to be come from Lucknow, which formed a Part of his Strength, muſt evidently be the ſame (ſince they agree in Number) with thoſe which Colonel Hannay declares to have been raiſed and ſent to him from Fyzabad.

(At the End.)

" Fort William,
11th February 1782.

Warren Haſtings.
Edward Wheler.
John Macpherſon." (a)

Read, the following Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Board at Calcutta, dated London, the 14th February 1783, from Book 42, already delivered in.

" 4. By the Second Article of the Treaty, the Nabob is permitted to reſume ſuch Jaghires as he ſhall think proper; with a Reſerve, that all ſuch Jaghiredars, for the Amount of whoſe Jaghires the Company are Guarantees, ſhall, in caſe of a Reſumption of their Lands, be paid the Amount of the net Collections through the Reſident.

" 5. We do not ſee how the Governor General could conſent to the Reſumption of ſuch Lands as the Company had engaged ſhould remain in the Hands of thoſe who poſſeſſed them previous to the Execution of the late Treaty, without ſtronger Proofs of the Begum's Defection than have been laid before us: Neither can we allow it to be good Policy to reduce the ſeveral Jaghiredars, and thus uniting the Territory, and the Troops maintained for the Protection of that Territory, under one Head, who may by that Means, at ſome future Period, become a very powerful Enemy to the Company.

" 6. With reſpect to the Reſumption of the Jaghires poſſeſſed by the Begums in particular, and the ſubſequent Seizure of the Treaſure depoſited with the Vizier's Mother, which the Governor General, in his Letter to the Board, 23 January 1782, has declared he ſtrenuouſly encouraged and ſupported, we hope and truſt, for the Honour of the Britiſh Nation, that the Meaſure appeared to be fully juſtified in the Eyes of all Hindoſtan.

" The Governor General has informed us, " That it can be well atteſted, that the Begums prin-
" cipally excited and ſupported the late Commotions; and that they carried their Inveteracy to the
" Engliſh Nation ſo far, as to aim at our utter Extirpation."

" 7. It muſt have been publicly known, that in 1775 the Reſident at the Vizier's Court not only obtained from the Begum, Widow of the late Sujah Dowlah, on the Nabob's Account, Thirty Lacks of Rupees, Half of which was to be paid to the Company, but alſo the Forbearance of Twenty-ſix Lacks, for the Repayment of which ſhe had Security in Land, on the Nabob's agreeing to renounce all further Claims upon her, and that to this Agreement the Company were Guarantees.

" 8. We find that on the 21ſt of December 1775, the Begum complained of a Breach of Engagements on the Part of the Nabob; ſoliciting your Protection for herſelf, her Mother, and for all the Women belonging to the Seraglio of the late Nabob, from the Diſtreſſes to which they were reduced; in conſequence whereof it was agreed, in Conſultation 2d January 1776, to remonſtrate wi h the Vizier; the Governor General remarking, " That as the Repreſentative of our
" Government has become an Agent in this Buſineſs, and has pledged the Honour and Faith of
" the Company, for the punctual Obſervance of the Conditions under which the Treaty was con-
" cluded, you had a Right to interfere, and Juſtice demanded it, if it ſhould appear that thoſe
" Engagements have been violated." And the Board at the ſame Time reſolved, " That as ſoon
" as the Begum's Engagements with the Nabob, to which Mr. Briſtow is a Party, ſhall be fulfilled
" on her Part, this Government will think themſelves bound to protect her againſt any further
" Demand or Moleſtation."

" 9. If therefore the Diſaffection of the Begums was not a Matter of public Notoriety, we cannot but be alarmed for the Effects which theſe ſubſequent Tranſactions muſt have had on the Minds of the Natives of India. The only Conſolation we feel upon this Occaſion is, that the Amount of thoſe Jaghires for which the Company were Guarantees, is to be paid through our Reſident at the Court of the Vizier; and it very materially concerns the Credit of your Government, on no account to ſuffer ſuch Payments to be evaded.

" 10. If it ſhall hereafter be found that the Begums did not take that hoſtile Part againſt the Company which has been repreſented (as well in the Governor General's Narrative, as in ſeveral Documents therein referred to; and as it nowhere appears, from the Papers at preſent in our Poſſeſſion, that they excited any Commotion previous to the Impriſonment of Rajah Cheyt Sing), but only armed themſelves in conſequence of that Tranſaction; and as it is probable that ſuch a Conduct proceeded entirely from Motives of Self-defence, under an Apprehenſion that they themſelves might likewiſe be laid under unwarrantable Contributions, we direct that you uſe your In-

(a) Vide Appendix, Nº LIV.

fluence

fluence with the Vizier, that their Jaghires may be reſtored to them; but if they ſhould be under Apprehenſions reſpecting the future Conduct of the Vizier, and with our further Protection, it is our Pleaſure that you afford thoſe Ladies an Aſylum within the Company's Territories, and theſe be paid the Amount of the Net Collection of their Jaghires, agreeably to the Second Article of the late Treaty, through the Medium of our Reſident, as may be aſcertained upon an Average Eſtimate of ſome Years back.

(Signed at the End),

Henry Fletcher,
Nath[l] Smith,
John Harriſon,
George Tatem,
R. Hall,
Henry Savage,
Step. Luſhington,
John Smith,
John Hunter,
L. Darell.
Joſeph Sparkes,
Ben. Booth,
Jac[b] Wilkinſon."

Read, the following Extract of a Conſultation of the 28th Auguſt 1783, from Book 156, already delivered in, beginning at Page 731 of the ſame.

" Fort William, 28th Auguſt 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident;
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.
John Stables, }
Mr. Wheler abſent.

" Mr. Wheler having left the following Minute with the Secretary in conſequence of reading the General Letter of the 14th February at the laſt Meeting, in the Public Department, it is now conſidered.

" General Letter from the Court of Directors, dated the 14th February 1783.

" Mr. Wheler.—It always has been and always will be my Wiſh to conform implicitly to the Orders of the Court of Directors; and I truſt that the Opinion on * which I ſhall give upon that Part of the Court's Letter which is now before us, will not be taken up againſt its Meaning, as going to a Breach of them. The Orders at preſent under the Board's Conſideration are entirely proviſional. *Sic in Orig.

" Nothing has paſſed ſince the Concluſion of the Agreement made by the Governor General with the Vizier at Chunar, which induces me to allow the Opinion which I before held, as well from the Governor General's Reports to this Board as the Opinions which I have heard of many Individuals totally unconcerned in the Subject, that the Begums at Fuzabad did take a hoſtile Part againſt the Company during the Diſturbances in Benares; and I am impreſſed with a Conviction that this Conduct of the Begums did not proceed entirely from Motives of Self-defence. But as the Court of Directors appear to be of a different Opinion, and conceive that there ought to be ſtronger Proofs of the Defection of the Begums than have been laid before them, I think that before we decide on their Orders, the late † preſent Reſident at the Vizier's Court, and the Commanding Officers in the Vizier's Country, ought to be required to collect and lay before the Board all the Information they can obtain with reſpect to the Defection of the Begum during the Troubles in Benaras, and their preſent Diſpoſition to the Company. †Sic in Orig.

" The Governor General deſires to record the following Minute.

" The Governor General.—I think Mr. Wheler has miſconceived the Intention of the Court of Directors. I have attentively read the Fourth and ſubſequent Paragraph of the Letter of the 14th February, but find no Order expreſſed or implied in them which can warrant the Enquiry propoſed by Mr. Wheler. The Court of Directors is already in Poſſeſſion of complete and legal Evidence of the hoſtile Part taken by the Begums of Fuzabad againſt the Company. I cannot directly object to the Propoſal for collecting freſh Evidence on the ſame Charges, but I muſt be informed of the Object of it, before I can aſſent to it. I do therefore object to the Queſtion in the preſent Terms and State of it."

Read, the following Extract of a Consultation of the 22d September 1783, from Book 84, beginning at Page 106 of the same Book.

" Fort William, the 22d September.

" At a Council; Present,
The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President;
John Macpherson, } Esquires.
John Stables, }
Mr. Wheler absent.

" Read and approved the Proceedings of the 15th Instant.

" The following Minute having been received from Mr. Stables the 18th Instant, is now recorded.

" September 9th, 1783.

" Mr. Stables.—The Court of Directors by their Letter of the 14th February 1783, seem not to be satisfied that the Disaffection of the Begums to this Government is sufficiently proved by the Evidence before them.

" I therefore think that the late and present Resident and Commanding Officers in the Vizier's Country at the Time, should be called upon to collect what further Information they can on this Subject, in which the Honour and Dignity of the Government is so materially concerned, and that such Information may be immediately transmitted to the Court of Directors.

" In the Enquiry proposed to be made, I wish it particularly to be attended to, whether any hostile Intention or Mark of Disaffection to this Government in the Conduct of the Begums appeared before the Troubles of Benaras.

" I think the Resident at the Vizier's Court should be called upon to give Information to the Board whether the Amount of the Begum's Jaghires has been paid to them, and by what Channel the Payment has been made. The Governor General desires that the Paragraphs of the Letter from the Court of Directors of the 14th February 1783, to which Mr. Stables alludes in his Minute, may be entered in this Place, because it does not appear to him that the Court of Directors had directed any Enquiry to be made, such as is now proposed; that it appears to him both too late and unnecessary at this Time to renew it, as very strong and authenticated Evidence of the Disaffection of the Begums has been collected and transmitted to the Court of Directors; and as the Reasons assigned by the Court of Directors, if these shall be transmitted with the Orders for the Enquiry, will prove in their Effect an Order collecting Evidence to the Justification and Acquittal of the Begums, not for the Investigation of the Truth of the Charges which have been preferred against them."

" The Governor General thinks it unnecessary to make any other Comment upon the Motion, or to give either his Assent or Dissent to it; but as the latter may be implied in the preceding Observations, if Evidence is to be collected, it should be collected from all Persons capable of giving it, and not confined to official Characters."

" Par. 6th. With respect to the Resumption of the Jaghires possessed by the Begums in particular, and the subsequent Seizures of the Treasure deposited with the Vizier's Mother, which the Governor General in his Letter to your Board 23d January 1782 has declared he strenuously encouraged and supported, we hope and trust, for the Honour of the British Nation, that the Measure appeared to be fully justified in the Eyes of all Indostan. The Governor General has informed us " that it can be well attested, that the Begums principally excited and " supported the late Commotions; and that they carried their Inveteracy to the English Na- " tion, so far as to aim at our utter Extirpation."

" 9th. If therefore the Disaffection of the Begums was not a Matter of public Notoriety, we cannot but be alarmed for the Effects which those subsequent Transactions must have had on the Minds of the Natives of India. The only Consolation we feel upon the Occasion is, that the Amount of those Jaghires for which the Company were Guarantees is to be paid through our Resident at the Court of the Vizier; and it very materially concerns the Credit of your Government on no Account to suffer such Payments to be evaded.

" 10th. If it shall hereafter be found, that the Begums did not take that hostile Part against the Company which has been represented as well in the Governor General's Narrative, as in several Documents therein referred to; and as it no where appears from the Papers at present in our Possession, that they excited any Commotion previous to the Imprisonment of Rajah Cheyt Sing, but only armed themselves in consequence of that Transaction; and as it is probable, that such a Conduct proceeded entirely from Motives of Self-defence, under an Apprehension that they themselves might likewise be laid under unwarranted Contributions; we direct that you use your Influence with the Vizier that their Jaghires may be restored to them; but if they should be under Apprehensions respecting the future Conduct of the Vizier, and wish our further Protection, it is our Pleasure that you afford those Ladies an Asylum within the Company's Territories, and those be paid the Amount of the net Collection of their Jaghires, agreeably to the 2d Article of the late Treaty, through the Medium of our Resident, as may be ascertained upon an Average Estimate of some Years back."

The Counſel for the Defendant requeſted Mr. Macpherſon's Minute, upon the ſame Subject, might alſo be read.

The ſame was read, as follows, from a Conſultation of the 13th October 1783, beginning at Page 681 of the ſame Book:

" Fort William, 13th October 1783.

" At at a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident,
John Macpherſon, and John Staples, } Eſquires.
Mr. Wheler abſent up the Country.

§ (" Mr. Macpherſon having delivered the following Opinion upon the Company's Orders of the
" * 4th February reſpecting the Begums at Fyzabad, it was ſent in Circulation, and is now * Sic in Orig.
" entered.

" Received 8th October.

" Mr. Macpherſon. 25th September.

" I have read the General Letter from the Court of Directors of the 14th of February with " Attention. When it was firſt read in Council, I underſtood the Paragraphs about the Begums " as directing an Inveſtigation of the Grounds on which they were deprived of their Jaghires; and " that we ſhould uſe our Influence with the Vizier to put them in Poſſeſſion of the Jaghires, if " there was not ſufficient Evidence of their rebellious Conduct, during the Troubles at Benares.

" On a cloſe Attention to the Words and Spirit of the different Paragraphs upon this Sub- " ject, I do not think that we are directed to commence any new Inveſtigation of Evidence. In- " deed I do not well ſee how ſuch an Inveſtigation could be regularly undertaken, or what ſalutary " Purpoſe it could produce.

" There has been no Appeal from the Begums to this Government; and there certainly was " ſufficient Proof, at the Time that thoſe who had the Management of their Concerns, during the " Troubles of Benares, were no Friends, but real Enemies, to the Cauſe of the Engliſh.

" The Points which the Court of Directors ſeem to have moſt at Heart are, 1ſt, That the En- " gagement of the 2d Article of the Benares Treaty ſhould be faithfully fulfilled; and 2dly, To " guard againſt the future Conduct of the Vizier, if he ſhould be diſpoſed to oppreſs the Begums.

" We ſhould therefore aſcertain whether the Amount of the Jaguirs of the Begums is regu- " larly paid to them through the Company's Reſident; and give them Notice that no future De- " mands ſhall be made upon them. This the Governor General might, I think, do in a Letter " that would make the Begums ſenſible of their paſt Miſconduct, yet inform them of the Lenity " and gracious Intentions of the Company in ordering them an Aſylum in Bengal, in caſe of future " Diſtreſs. In conſequence of the foregoing Opinion from Mr. Macpherſon, the following Minute " was delivered by the Governor General.

" G. G. † Gheretty, 9 October 1783. † Sic in Orig.

" I ſhould gladly acquieſce in the Motion made by Mr. Macpherſon, if I thought it poſſible " to frame a Letter to the Begums in any Terms which ſhould at the ſame Time convey the Inti- " mation propoſed by it, and not defeat the Purpoſe of it, or be productive of Evils greater than " any which exiſt in the Conſequences of the Proceedings which have already taken place, and " which Time has almoſt obliterated. The Orders of the Court of Directors are conditional. They " require nothing but in the Event of Diſcoveries made ſubſequent to the Advices which were before " you on the 14th February laſt, in Alleviation of the former Conduct of the Begums; nothing has " ſince appeared in relation to them; but their Refuſal, or rather that of One, to fulfil her En- " gagements for the Payment of the Remainder of the Sum exacted from her by the Nabob Vizier " in the Beginning of the laſt Year. Whatever Obedience may be due to the clear and aſcertained " Spirit of the Orders of the Court of Directors, this Obligation cannot extend to Points of " which neither the Letter nor evident Spirit of their Orders apply. If I am rightly informed, the " Nabob Vizier and the Begums are on Terms of mutual Good-will. It would ill become this " Government to interpoſe its Influence by any Act which might tend to revive their Animoſities; " and a very ſlight Occaſion would be ſufficient to effect it. It will be to little Purpoſe to tell them " that their Conduct has in our Eſtimation of it been very wrong, and at the ſame Time to announce " to them the Orders of our Superiors, which more than indicate the reverſe. They will in- " ſtantly take fire on ſuch a Declaration, proclaim the Judgment of the Company in their Favour, " demand a Reparation of the Acts which they will conſtrue Wrongs ‡ which ſuch a Sentence war- " ranting that Conſtruction, and either accept the Invitation to the proclaimed Scandal of the " Vizier, which will not add to the Credit of our Government, or remain in his Dominions, but not " under his Authority, to add to his Vexations, and the Diſorder of the Country by continual In- " trigues

Minute from the Governor General.

‡ " Thus in Orig."

* Sic in Orig. " trigues and Seditions. Enough alread * exists to affect his Peace, and the Quiet of his People.
" If we cannot heal, let us not inflame the Wounds which have been inflicted.
" If the Begums think themselves aggrieved to such a Degree as to justify them in an Appeal
" to foreign Jurisdiction, to appeal to it against a Man standing in the Relation of Son and
" Grandson to them, to appeal to the Justice of those who have been the Abettors and Instruments
" of their imputed Wrongs, let us at least permit them to be the Judges of their own Feelings, and
" prefer their Complaints, before we offer to redress them. They will not need to be prompted.
" I hope I shall not depart from the Simplicity of official Language in saying, that the Majesty
" of Justice ought to be approached with Solicitation, not descend to provoke or invite it, much
" less to debase itself by the Suggestion of Wrongs and the Promise of Redress, with the Denun-
" ciation of Punishment before Trial, and even before Accusation.
" (Signed) W. Hastings.

" Mr. Macpherson.—I see with the Governor General the Difficulty of writing a Letter to the
" Begums, that would not, in some Degree, extenuate their past Conduct, yet convey to them a
" Knowledge of the Protection tendered to them in the Event of future Distresses by the Court of
" Directors.
" I wished to adopt an Expedient to shew the Company that we were ready to meet any
" Wishes they had on the Subject. I only suggested the Idea, but do not move it as a Question.
" The Majesty of Justice ought certainly to be met with Solicitation, and should not descend
" to provoke or invite it; but from some Expression in the Letter of the Court of Directors, I am
" led to think they had some Complaint before them, or a different Representation from the Evi-
" dence sent by this Government about the Rebellion of the Begums, when they wrote their Di-
" rections of the 14th February last; otherwise they would either have approved or disapproved of
" the Conduct of this Administration, upon the Facts stated to them, or have been silent till they
" received further Advices. I agree with Mr. Stables, that the Resident at the Court of Oude
" should be called upon to state to the Board, whether the Begums have received the Amount of
" their Jaghuirs.") §

Read, from Book 81, already delivered in, the following Extract of a Consultation of the 28th July 1783, beginning at Page 213 of the same Book.

" Fort William, 28th July 1783.

Secret Dep. Monday.

" At a Council; Present,
The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President,
Edward Wheler, } Esquires.
John Staples, }
Mr. Macpherson indisposed.

" LIST of Mr. Middleton's public Correspondence with the Honourable Board, from the Period of signing the Treaty at Chunar, to the 23d October 1782, when he delivered over the Residency to Mr. Bristow.

" Of Date 17th October 1781, To the Honourable the Governor General.

20th }					
20th }	ditto	1781,	To	ditto	ditto
20th	ditto	1781,	To the Honourable Board.		
23d	ditto	1781,	Ditto	ditto.	
28th	ditto	1781,	To the Honourable the Governor General.		
29th	ditto	1781,	To the Honourable Board.		
30th	ditto	1781,	To the Honourable the Governor General.		
2d November		1781,	Ditto	ditto	ditto.
14th	ditto	1781,	Ditto	ditto	ditto.
4th December		1781,	Ditto	ditto	ditto.
12th	ditto	1781,	To the Honourable the Governor General.		
17th	ditto	1781,	To the Comptroller of the Offices.		
19th	ditto	1781,	To the Honourable the Governor General.		
22d	ditto	1781,	Ditto	ditto	ditto.
24th	ditto	1781,	To the Comptroller of the Offices.		
27th	ditto	1781,	To the Honourable the Governor General.		
30th }					
30th }	ditto	1781,	Ditto	ditto	ditto.
3d January		1782,	Ditto	ditto	ditto.
10th	ditto	1782,	Ditto	ditto	ditto.
13th	ditto	1782,	Ditto	ditto	ditto.
15th	ditto	1782,	Ditto	ditto	ditto.
18th	ditto	1782,	Ditto	ditto	ditto.

" Of

Of Date 20th January 1782, To the Honourable the Governor General.
25th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
27th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
(At the End of the Liſt),
(Signed) Nath[l] Middleton.
(And at the End of Conſultation),
(Signed) Warren Haſtings,
John Macpherſon,
John Stables." (*a*)

Read, from Book B, already delivered in, the following Letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Haſtings, dated the 8th October 1782.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

" Sir,

" Incloſed I have the Honour to forward you Letters from his Majeſty Shaw Aulum and Mirza Shuffee Cawn; and am, with the higheſt Reſpect,

Sir,
Your moſt obedient and
moſt humble Servant,
(Signed) N. Middleton, Reſident, &c."

Read, from the Appendix to the Banares Narrative, the following Extract, beginning at Page 87 of the ſame.

" Num. 37.

" To the Nabob Vizeer.

" Your Excellency will have heard from Report the rebellious and treacherous Conduct of Cheit Sing, which has delayed for a few Days my Departure towards Lucknow; and I am now arrived at Chunargur, where I ſhall remain ſome Time, to puniſh this Treachery and Rebellion, which has originated from his own wicked Diſpoſition. Your Excellency will therefore be pleaſed to return to Lucknow; and as the ſole Object of my Journey from Calcutta to this Quarter was to have an Interview with your Excellency, by the Bleſſing of God having ſhortly puniſhed in an exemplary Manner this Rebel, I ſhall be made happy by meeting your Excellency, who in the mean while muſt not ſuffer any Apprehenſions or Doubts to exiſt reſpecting this Buſineſs.

" As in this Time of Neceſſity Troops are wanted here, and our Concerns are the ſame, I have therefore written to Lieutenant Polhill, who is with ſome Companies of your Excellency's Sepoys at Illahabad, to come to this Place, and have promiſed to acquaint you with it; aſſuring him, that your Excellency will approve of his coming here.

" Chunargur,
23d Auguſt 1781.

" Warren Haſtings." (*b*)

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Appendix, beginning at Page 88 of the ſame.

" Num. 39.

" To Mr. Nath. Middleton, Collector, &c. Lucknow.

" Sir,

" Immediately upon Receipt of this Letter you will be pleaſed to pack up and diſpatch One Lack of Rupees in Silver, to be delivered here to the Commanding Officer of this Place. Should you not poſſeſs a Sum equal to this Amount in your Treaſury, you will be pleaſed to exert every Means in your Power to raiſe it upon your own Credit, or otherwiſe; and when prepared, put it in charge of the Officer commanding the Regiment of Sepoys which I lately ordered from Khaunpoor to Lucknow. He is directed to eſcort the Treaſure with his whole Force to this Place.

" You will further be pleaſed, immediately on Receipt of this, to ſend an Agent to Illahabad, with Directions to purchaſe Grain to ſuch Amount as he may be able to diſpatch by Water from thence to this Fortreſs, for the Uſe of the Troops encamped near it.

" You will alſo, as ſoon as poſſible, acquaint the Nabob Vizeer, that inſtead of meeting him upon the Road from Lucknow to Banaris, I now intend meeting him at Lucknow; and that I conſequently requeſt he will immediately return to that Place, and there wait my Arrival.

" Chunargur,
the 23d of Auguſt 1781.

" I am, &c.
" Warren Haſtings." (*c*)

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XLIII. (*b*) Vide ſupra, P. 195. (*c*) Vide ſupra, ibid.

Read,

Read, alſo, further Extract from the ſame Appendix, beginning at Page 102 of the ſame.

" Num. 67.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

" My dear Sir,

" I am this Inſtant favoured with your's of the 24th, and I Yeſterday received your publick Letter of the 23d. The Khaunpoor Regiment is arrived at Lucknow, and by To-morrow will, I have no doubt, be on its March, with a Lack of Rupees, to join you. Proviſions will alſo be ſent you daily from Illahabad. The Nabob will move towards you immediately. No Perſuaſions will induce him to return to Lucknow. On this Subject I have written fully to Johnſon. I have received no Letters from you but the Two above mentioned. We ſhall be near you in Eight Days.

" Huſſaupoor,
29th Auguſt 1781.

" My dear Sir, &c.
" Nath. Middleton." (a)

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Appendix, beginning at Page 104 of the ſame.

" Num. 69.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

" Honourable Sir,

" The unuſual Failure of Intelligence from you, and the Reports which are brought to me by the Natives being fraught with alarming Accounts of your Situation, have determined me to detach immediately Two Regiments of Sepoys, 40 European Artillery-men, with Four Guns and One Howitz, with Orders to proceed with all Expedition to join you; and the Officer commanding the Detachment has Orders to purſue ſuch Meaſures, and make ſuch Movements, as he ſhall deem expedient, according to his Intelligence, for effecting that Service. They will ſet off on Saturday next, September the 1ſt. The Artillery, for the ſake of Expedition, is to go down by Water to Illahabad, where it is to wait for the Arrival of the Sepoys. I ſhall immediately order Three Battalions from the Detachment at Calpee to march to this Station, and One Battalion under Major Gilpin will be left for the Protection of that Place. A freſh Supply of Ammunition has been diſpatched to Lucknow for Major Roberts's Regiment.—Though I cannot but imagine, that were your Situation anyways critical or dangerous, and you ſtood in need of Military Force to aſſiſt you, I ſhould not have remained ſo long without receiving Orders from you to ſend Troops down; yet I doubt not but the Step I have taken will receive your Approbation, as there is a Poſſibility of your Orders having miſcarried, and the Conſequence of a Delay, in ſuch a Caſe, might prove ſerious and dangerous.—I ſhall order the Regiment of my Brigade that is now at Futtehgur, to march down to this Station as ſoon as poſſible.—As the quick Arrival of this Letter to your Hands is promiſed to be rewarded by you, or the Officer who receives it, I beg leave to requeſt that you may be pleaſed to order the Sepoys and Boatmen ſuch Rewards, honorary or pecuniary, as you may think equal to the Merit of their Service.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.
" Khaunpoor, 29th Auguſt 1781. James Morgan, Colonel."

" Num. 70.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. Banaris.

" Honourable Sir,

" Since I incloſed the accompanying Duplicate, I have received a Letter from Lieutenant Pigott at Illahabad, covering a Note from Colonel Blair, to communicate your Orders to an Officer commanding a Detachment proceeding from Khaunpoor to Banaris by Water; and Lieutenant Pigott has ſent Three Copies of it that have ſince arrived. His Care and Attention I muſt beg leave to recommend here, as from theſe I received the firſt authentic Intelligence of your being in want of Troops to aſſiſt you; and as by the Words of Colonel Blair's Note, it appears that you had diſpatched Orders to me for ſending a Detachment of Troops down to Banaris; but theſe Orders never reached me, and I am now at a Loſs to know what Strength you wiſhed the Detachment. To-day, Part of the Detachment I ſend down to you under Command of Major Crabb will embark, and To-morrow the whole will ſet off: It conſiſts of a Party of Artillery under Captain Hill, the Two Flank Companies of the European Regiment, and Two Regiments

(a) Vide ſupra, Page 203.

of Sepoys, with Four 6 Pounders and One Howitz; Tumbrils, Ammunition, Draft and Carriage Cattle. All will proceed by Water, but no more Boats can be procured here.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

" Khaunpoor,
30th Auguſt 1781.

James Morgan, Colonel." (*a*)

" N. B. The Bearer is highly deſerving a good Reward."

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Appendix, beginning at Page 108 of the ſame.

" Num. 75.

" To the Nabob Vizier.

" I was made happy by the Receipt of your Excellency's Two Letters, accompanied by Mr. Middleton's, acquainting me that you have advanced ſome Days Journey from Lucknow, and arrived at Peepulpoor, and that you would proceed from thence towards this Place, where you would ſoon arrive. Before this I wrote to your Excellency, requeſting that you would lay aſide your Intention of coming here, and return to Lucknow, that you might not ſuffer any Inconvenience on the Road, from the rebellious Diſpoſition of Cheit Sing's People; and that I, having ſettled theſe Matters, would proceed to an Interview with your Excellency; and that you ought by no means to think of coming to this Quarter. But as I learn, that notwithſtanding this, your Excellency is reſolved on coming to my Aſſiſtance, I am filled with the higheſt Gratitude for ſo noble a Proof of your Friendſhip. It is now incumbent on your Prudence and Circumſpection that you advance with the greateſt Caution, to prevent any Inconvenience from the Treachery of Cheit Sing's People. As ſoon as I am informed of your Excellency's Approach to Chunar, I will croſs the River with as many Troops as I have with me, and will proceed to meet you. Three Days ago Major Popham, with a ſmall Part of his Detachment, attacked a large Force of Cheit Sing's entrenched near the Fort of Pateeta, defeated them completely, and took Four Guns, ſeveral Tumbrils of Ammunition, and a conſiderable Quantity of all Sorts of Military Stores. I beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on this ſignal Succeſs." (*b*)

" September 6th, 1781."

Read, alſo, a further Extract from the ſame Appendix, beginning at Page 109 of the ſame.

" Num. 77.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c.

" Honourable Sir,

" A Detachment of 100 Europeans, 30 Artillery Men under Captain Hill, 2 Regiments of Sepoys, 1 Howitz, &c. under the Command of Major Crabb, ſet off by Water on the 31ſt ult. for Chunargur. Your Order of the 25th ult. I received the 1ſt, and that of the 26th on the 2d. I ſent by Expreſs your Order to Colonel Cumming immediately. I am preparing to follow the Detachment with my whole Force as ſoon as poſſible. I have wrote to you Letters in Triplicate, to inform you of what I have done. I have given Major Crabb particular Orders to carry down Grain and Proviſions with him and gave him 25,000 Rupees to purchaſe it with, which was all the Caſh in the Treaſury here. I am now much diſtreſſed for Boats. Some of my Letters I ſent down by Water. Depend upon my uſing the utmoſt Expedition.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

" Khaunpoor,
4th September 1781.

" James Morgan, Colonel." (*c*)

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Appendix, beginning at Page 110 of the ſame.

" Num. 79.

" To Colonel Morgan.

" You have acted nobly; and with a Deciſion that does you Honour. I moſt heartily thank you. I have had a Letter from Major Crabb, dated the 2d, from Illahabad: He propoſed to march by Land from thence, and I expect him hourly, though I have not heard from him ſince. The Nabob is near; Major Moſes Crawford is alſo on the Way from Dynapoor, and is reported to be at Sukkerdeea, which is but 4 Coſs from Ramnagur. I have written to you the News of the 3d. On that Morning Captain Blair, with 5 Battalion Companies and 2 Companies of Major Popham's Grenadiers, with Two Six Pounders, attacked the Enemy, encamped in a Body of more

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(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 206. (*b*) Vide ſupra, Page 206. (*c*) Vide ſupra, ibid.

than

than 4000 Men, at Pateeta; and after a very ſevere and doubtful Conflict, in which we loſt 185 Men, killed and wounded, he obtained a moſt deciſive Victory, taking all their Guns and Ammunition, viz. 4 Guns, 4 Tumbrils, and of Ammunition an incredible Quantity, moſt of which he deſtroyed, ſpiked One Gun, and brought away the reſt. I hope that it will be unneceſſary for you yourſelf to proceed this Way; yet march, and uſe your own Diſcretion in advancing. If your Preſence ſhall be required, you will receive the ſureſt Proof of it by the Failure of my Letters. I leſs fear the actual Enemy than the Contagion of the Example. I am much pleaſed with the Nabob.

" Chunar, Warren Haſtings."
8th September 1781.

" Num. 80.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

" Dear Sir,

" Futteh Shah, Genoo Roy, and Ajeet Mull, with a large Body of armed Men, are come into Huſſeepoor. The Two laſt have, I underſtand, joined Futteh Shah, on a Promiſe of his Aſſiſtance in obtaining Poſſeſſion for them of their Zemeedaries in Gooruckpoor, which is to be the Second Object of this Confederacy. I have no Force to defend any Part of my Diſtricts, and have therefore been under the Neceſſity of calling on the Zemeedars of Sircar Sarun for their Aſſiſtance on this Occaſion, and ſome of the principal Men amongſt them are gone with their Dependants to Huſſeepoor; but I confeſs I have no great Confidence in them. Several of them are intimately connected with Cheit Sing; there are alſo ſome allied by Marriage to Doorgbijey Sing and to Owſan Sing. The Names of theſe laſt are Gopaul Narain, Serib Narain, Govind Narain, Hir-Govindſaw, Boniſſer Saw, and Ragonaut Saw. Letters to them from Doorgbijey Sing and Owſan Sing would be of infinite Service, and might in ſome Degree counteract the infamous Attempts of Cheit Sing. One Letter of his (and I have Reaſon to believe there are many in Circulation) addreſſed to Durjoo Sing, a Zemidar of the Diſtrict, at preſent employed in Huſſeepoor, was by him carried to the Aumil of that Place, who immediately ſent it to me. It is ſigned by Cheit Sing's own Hand, and has the large Seal of his Government affixed to it. He therein deſires Durjoo Sing to kill every European and Sepoy he can, and join him with all his People.

" In my Letter of the 25th ultimo I acquainted you with the Application I had made to Colonel Ahmuty for a Battalion of Sepoys, and with his Refuſal. He wrote me, that the whole Force at Dinapoor was Nine Companies; that they were lately incorporated, and the Arms they had unſerviceable.

" I have the Honour to be, &c.

" Chuprah,
4th Setember 1781. Charles Græme." *(a)*

Read, alſo, a further Extract from the ſame Appendix, beginning at Page 117 of the ſame.

" Num. 94.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

" Honourable Sir,

" It is with the greateſt Concern I ſend you the incloſed for Mr. Middleton, intercepted by the Rajah's People. There is another Letter from Major Hannay, dated Fyzabad, 10th inſtant; the Purport of which is nearly the ſame as that encloſed, to caution you againſt the ſecret Deſigns of the Nabob, and that he (Major Hannay) is much diſtreſſed and ill. The Rajah will not ſuffer me to ſend the Major's Letter to you, from ſome capricious Whim: I dare not now aſk him; but the Major ſays nothing more than I tell you. I was obliged, from ſad Neceſſity, to tell the Rajah ſome Part of the Contents of the encloſed; but I took care it ſhould be merely plauſible: I omitted ſuch Particulars as he might take the leaſt Advantage of. For Heaven's Sake, Sir, condeſcend to liſten to ſome Terms of Conciliation, while we can do it without leſſening our Dignity. Pardon me the Preſumption of adviſing you. I am, it is true, wanting in Wiſdom and the Knowledge of Politicks, but I ſee the Rajah is very (I fear too) formidable. I am greatly diſtreſſed at the Contents of the incloſed Letter. Heaven avert the impending Storm, and protect you ever!

" Lutteefpoor,
Tueſday Night, 11 o'Clock,
18th September 1781. " Jacob Barnet *(b)*."

(a) Vide ſupra, Page 207. *(b)* Vide ſupra, Page 210.

Read,

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Appendix, beginning at Page 140 of the ſame.

" Num. 120.

" To Colonel Morgan.

" Sir,

" In my Letter to you, dated the 24th inſtant, I acquainted you, that as the Nabob expected his Return to his Capital would put a Stop to the Diſturbances which have lately ariſen in his Country, it was unneceſſary for you to proceed to Lucknow with your Brigade, as I at firſt directed. From a ſubſequent Converſation with the Miniſter, I find there is a Probability that the Nabob may be deceived in his Expectations, and ſtill require your Aſſiſtance; I have therefore directed Mr. Middleton, on the Nabob's Application to him in Writing for that Purpoſe, to apply to you for the Aid of ſuch a Force as the Nabob may require; which I requeſt you will be pleaſed to furniſh on Mr. Middleton's Requiſition.

I am, Sir, &c.

" Ramnagur,
27th September 1781.

Warren Haſtings."

" Num. 121.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

" Honourable Sir,

" I was honoured laſt Night with your Letters of the 24th inſtant; and beg leave to aſſure you, it is the Summit of my Ambition to merit your Approbation of my Conduct; and the Compliment you paid the Troops which I ſent you, heightened my Satisfaction with additional Pleaſure. In conſequence of your Letter of the 19th, deſiring me to halt at this Place, I immediately ordered that Part of my Brigade that had croſſed over the Jooſy, to recroſs; but in order to loſe no Time, I ſhall directly march towards Lucknow, and, agreeable to your Directions, ſhall direct Colonel Sir John Cumming to croſs immediately at Khaunpoor, and proceed to Lucknow with Two Regiments, and Four Guns, and to comply with ſuch Requiſitions as the Nabob or the Reſident make to him for Aſſiſtance, to eſtabliſh Tranquillity in his Excellency's Dominions. But I have the Pleaſure to inform you, that I learn, both by Letters written by Gentlemen at Lucknow, and from my Intelligence Writer there, that the Commotions have ſubſided, and they entertained no Alarm, but from the Situation of Chunar; and I am ready to conclude, that the Brigade's halting here operated in ſome Meaſure to produce that good Effect; and I am now concerned I ſent to you that Extract from Mr. Blane's Letter, as I apprehend it was written without a right Conſideration of Circumſtances, and cauſed you ſome unneceſſary Alarm. Captain Law will croſs the River To-morrow Morning with all the Cavalry fit to ſerve on active Service, and I have given him Inſtructions to uſe all Expedition on his Way down to Chunar. I ſhall march on this Side the Water up to Khaunpoor. I will write to Mr. Middleton to let me know if the Aſſiſtance of my Troops is wanted, and ſhall be prepared to afford him any Aid, either with my whole Force, or any Part of it, ſhould the Detachment with Colonel Sir John Cumming not prove ſufficient for quelling any Diſturbances in the Nabob's Country; but in the preſent State of the Country I make no doubt of Colonel Cumming's Force being enough. As the Exigence of Affairs does not ſeem now to be preſſing, I have left it to Colonel Cumming's Option, either to proceed with the Detachment, or to go and command at the Station of Futteh Ghur, with the Two Regiments he has left there, till further Orders from me.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

" Camp near Illahabad,
27th September 1781.

J. Morgan." (*a*)

Read, alſo, the following Extract from the ſame Appendix, beginning at Page 143 of the ſame.

" Num. 124.

" Tranſlation of a Letter found in Lutteefpoor the 6th of October, and forwarded to the Governor General by Captain Thomas Blair.

" On Thurſday, after my Arrival at Banaris from Buxar, I went to Sewallah-Ghaut with a View of repreſenting to you ſeveral Circumſtances which I had learned concerning the oppoſite Party; but as they had got in before me, I was deprived of an Opportunity of ſeeing you. I was preſent at the Place where your Friends and People were ſitting, and where they aſſembled together; and when you went into the Boat, notwithſtanding it was my earneſt Deſire to have accompanied you, yet I had no Opportunity of doing it. The enſuing Day, the Paſſage of Boats to and fro was entirely obſtructed, and I was afraid to ſend you Intelligence from this Place, leſt the Letter ſhould have fallen into the Hands of the Enemy. They remained afterwards Four Days at this Place

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 223.

with

with a few Men, and if you had then attempted to retaliate on them, you would certainly have taken Two Pigeons in One Trap; but as all your Actions are accompanied with good Fortune, there is no Doubt but the Enemy will be ſoon overcome. For Two Days the Hircarrahs of the oppoſite Party came to my Houſe to make Enquiries; but, by the Bleſſing of God, no ill Conſequence enſued. Now that you have taken this heavy Burthen upon yourſelf, you muſt truſt entirely in God, and ſhew, on all Occaſions, the utmoſt Fortitude. The Alliance of ſeveral Chiefs, at a Time like this, is very neceſſary, and may be eaſily accompliſhed; yet you muſt avoid forming any Connection with a Chief of ſuch Conſequence as may afterwards himſelf attempt an Interference in your Affairs. Whatever Orders you give, muſt proceed from your own Deliberation. I am at preſent perfectly idle here, and I am very ſolicitous of an Interview with you, that I may in Perſon communicate to you my Opinions on ſeveral Points which have occurred to me. By a Letter from Bulwunt Row, I underſtand that you wiſh me to inform myſelf concerning the Arrival of Hyder Beg, and to write you on the Subject.

" I will aſſuredly make every neceſſary Enquiry, both about Hyder Beg and the Nabob Aſſof ud Dowlah, and communicate to you the Reſult. I have already ſent confidential Perſons to both, and whatever I may in conſequence learn, ſhall be communicated to you hereafter. Meanwhile the Matter is briefly this: You muſt never entertain Hopes of the Attachment of Hyder Beg; his whole Strength and Power depend on the oppoſite Party; yet it is proper you ſhould attempt to conciliate the Favour of the Vizeer, by telling him that you are deſirous of repreſenting ſeveral Circumſtances to him; that you wiſh to perſuade him to detach himſelf from the oppoſite Party, and to reſume his former Authority over you. Without knowing your Sentiments on this Subject, it is not in my Power to act ſo of myſelf.

" It is however at all Events adviſeable, that if the Vizeer ſhould entirely embrace the other Party, you ſhould nevertheleſs wait upon him perſonally, and repreſent to him whatever you may deem adviſeable. I beg you will believe me to be in every Reſpect firmly attached to you. Major Hannay with One Battalion has left Gooruckpoor, and Letters have been ſent to Khaunpoor for Troops from thence; you ſhould therefore retaliate on them as ſoon as poſſible. If Hyder Beg, without your Conſent, ſhould attempt to join the oppoſite Party, it is proper you ſhould ſtation a ſuitable Force on this Side of the Fort of Chunar, to prevent his croſſing the River. Yeſterday Rajah Gobind Ram and Lalla Bucheraje went and had an Interview with Hyder Beg. What more ſhall I ſay? The Object of Hyder Beg is certainly to manifeſt his Attachment to the oppoſite Party." (*a*)

Read, from Book C, already delivered in, the following Letter from Mr. Auriol to Mr. Middleton, dated the 23d May 1782.

" To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" I am directed by the Honourable the Governor General and Council, to acquaint you, that the Letter which you have written to the Governor General, encloſing the original Treaty concluded by him with the Vizier at Chunar, contained only that Part to which the Nabob had agreed and affixed his Seal; I am therefore to requeſt that you will alſo ſend down the Requiſitions made by the Vizier, to which the Governor General agreed, and affixed his Seal and Signature.

" I am,
" Sir,
" Fort William, Your moſt obedient Servant,
the 23d May 1782. (Signed) J. P. Auriol,
Secretary."

To ſhew the Time when Mr. Middleton received the firſt Notice of his Recall from Lucknow,

Read, from the ſame Book, the following Letter from the Board to Mr. Middleton, dated the 23d of September 1782.

" To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

" Sir,

" Having thought fit to recall you to the Preſidency, and appoint Mr. John Briſtow to ſucceed to your Station, we hereby direct, that on Mr. Briſtow's Arrival at Lucknow, you immediately deliver over Charge to him of the Office of the Reſident, with all the Treaſure, Accounts, Papers, Documents, and Dependencies thereunto belonging, and make the beſt of your Way to Calcutta; for which Place you will then ſet out without further Delay.

" We are, Sir,
" Fort William, Your moſt obedient humble Servants,
the 23d September 1782.
(Signed) { Edward Wheeler,
John Macpherſon."

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 225.

Then

Then the Counſel for the Defendant requeſted, that as it had been ſuggeſted Yeſterday, that the Letter of the 12th of December 1782 was ſuppreſſed, Mr. Robert Hudſon might be called in

Accordingly Mr. ROBERT HUDSON was again called in, and the following Queſtion was put to him:

Q. Can you turn to a Letter from Mr. Briſtow to the Board, dated the 1ſt December 1782?
A. Yes.

The Counſel for the Defendant requeſted, that before the Letter of the 1ſt of December 1782 was produced, an Extract of a Letter from the Board to Mr. Briſtow, dated the 3d of March 1783, might be read; from a Conſultation of the ſame Date.

The ſame was read from Book 85, already delivered in, beginning at Page 310 of the ſame Book:

§ (" Fort William, 3d March 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,

" The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident; Secret Dep. Monday. 3d. March.

" General Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief.

" Edward Wheler,
" John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.
" John Stables,

" We deſire you will inform us if any, and what Means, have been taken for recovering the " Balance due from the Begum at Fyzabad, and, if neceſſary, that you recommend it to the " Vizier to enforce the moſt effectual Means for that Purpoſe.

" We are, &c.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings,
(Signed) Eyre Coote,
(Signed) Edwd Wheler,
(Signed) John Macpherſon,
(Signed) John Stables.") (a) §

" Fort William,
3d March 1783.

Then the Counſel for the Defendant requeſted that an Extract of the Letter abovementioned from Mr. Briſtow to the Board, dated the 1ſt December 1782, might be read.

The ſame was accordingly read from the ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 253, of the ſame Book.

§ (" Major Gilpin, with One Battalion, has been ſtationed at Fyzabad, for the Purpoſe of ſupporting the Vizier's Claim againſt the Begum for the Recovery of his Patrimony depoſited in her " Charge. I applied to the Vizier immediately upon my Arrival, for his Conſent to withdraw this " Battalion, ſeeing little Probability that violent Meaſures would effect any further Payments. I " propoſed to him, to truſt to her Generoſity for the Liquidation of the Balance, which was about " Five Lacks. The Vizier would not at that Time acquieſce in my Propoſal, but determined on " making one more Effort previous to leaving it in her Diſcretion to prolong the Term of Payment; his Excellency accordingly addreſſed a Letter to the Begum, conveying his Senſe of her " evading the Performance of her Engagements, in very harſh Terms; and threatening in caſe of " Non-compliance with them, that her Eunuchs ſhould continue in Confinement, and Means be " taken to recover the Money from her, as the Company would never be ſatisfied without it: The " Begum in reply repreſented her Inability, having paid away all the Treaſure ever entruſted to her " Charge by the late Vizier; but if the Eunuchs were enlarged, ſhe might, with their Aſſiſtance, " be enabled to raiſe the Money upon Credit. On his Excellency's receiving this Anſwer, I renewed " my Solicitations for Permiſſion to withdraw the Battalion, reſting the Matter upon the Begum's " Promiſe of diſcharging the Balance when her Eunuchs ſhould be releaſed: I was induced to this " Meaſure by the Repreſentations of Major Gilpin, who had been employed in the Buſineſs from " the Commencement; his Opinion, aſſerting that every practicable coercive Exertion had been " uſed, I beg leave to ſubmit to you in the enclo[ſ]ed Copy of his Letter to me on the Subject. " The Vizier at length acquieſced in the Battalions being withdrawn; for which I was the more " anxious, as your Inſtructions to me diſapprove of Detachments, and the State of Affairs re" quires the Appearance of a formidable Force on the Frontiers.") (a) §

" Lucknow, (At the End) John Briſtow,
the 1ſt December 1782. Reſident at the Vizier's Court."

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

(a) Vide Appendix, N° LXXXVI.

Read,

Read, a further Extract of the Letter of the 3d March 1783, from the Board to Mr. Briſtow; from the ſame Book, and ſame Conſultation, beginning at Page 394 of the ſame.

§ (Agreed that the following Letter be written to Mr. Briſtow.

" To Mr. John Briſtow.

" Sir,

" Having received and taken into our Conſideration the following Letters from you, we ſhall now tranſmit you our Sentiments and Orders upon them.

23d November.
1ſt December.
11th Ditto.
19th Ditto. Two Letters.
20th Ditto.
30th Ditto.

(At the End)

" Fort William,
3d March 1783.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings,
(Signed) Eyre Coote,
(Signed) Edwd Wheler,
(Signed) John Macpherſon,
(Signed) John Stables.") (a) §

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired an Extract might be read from a Conſultation of the 12th of May 1783.

Read, the following Extract, from Book 80, beginning at Page 634 of the ſame Book,

" Fort William, the 12th May 1783.

" At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.
John Macpherſon, }

" The Governor General lays before the Board the following Letters from Mr. Briſtow to him, dated 12th December.

" To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General.

" Honourable Sir,

" Your Inſtructions of the 23d October have been the invariable Rule of my Conduct; and now I have held my Office a ſufficient Time to ſpeak with ſome Degree of Certainty to moſt Points, I ſhall enter upon an Explanation of the State of this Government.

Your Obſervation, that your new Meaſures will require a long Time to execute, is but too true. The total Want of Syſtem, and lawleſs Habits which prevail, muſt be corrected by progreſſive Means; the Peace and Security of the Country, and Regularity in the ſeveral Departments of the State, will be gradually eſtabliſhed. I beg leave to anſwer the ſeveral Heads of your Inſtructions in the ſame Order in which you have placed them.

First Head. Balance and Aſſignment.

" Immediately after my Arrival I urged the acting Miniſter to deviſe and recommend Arrangements for the complete Diſcharge of the Balance at the Concluſion of the Year. To relieve myſelf from Cenſure in caſe of Failure in this eſſential Point, it is neceſſary I ſhould explain the Tranſaction with the Bankers. The Balance at the End of laſt Year was not in fact paid, but transferred to the Bankers, and encreaſed by the Load of a very high Intereſt. There were Two diſtinct Engagements;

One for Bills immediately granted on the Preſidency for — — 26,50,000
Another for Teeps promiſing Bills, to be delivered by Inſtallments at the following Periods, and in the following Proportions, viz.

Bhaudun	—	—	1189	—	6,50,000
Cooaur	—	—	1190	—	6,50,000
Cautick	—	—	D°	—	6,50,000
Aughun	—	—	D°	—	6,50,000" (b)

Then the Managers for the Commons deſired Mr. Middleton might be called in.

(a) Vide Appendix, N° LXXXVI. (b) Vide Appendix, N° LVIII.

Then NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Eſquire, was again called in, and examined as follows.

Q. To whom did you deliver the Priſoners Bahar and Jewar Ali Kawn, at Fyzabad?
A. I believe, to Major Naylor, but I am not quite certain.

Q. Did you give any Written Orders to Lieutenant Rutledge upon that Occaſion?
A. Certainly, Written Orders were given when the Priſoners were delivered up.

Q. Do you recollect what thoſe Orders were?
A. I do not particularly.

Q. Try to recollect them; they are very ſhort; you have been reminded of them.

The Counſel for the Defendant objected, that as the Orders were ſtated to be in Writing, the Inquiry ſhould be what was become of that Writing, before the Witneſs was aſked as to his Memory of them.

The Witneſs was aſked;

Q. Where are thoſe Orders now, do you know where they are?
A. Not the Original Orders—a Copy of them is no doubt in the Office at Lucknow.

Q. Do you know whether they are in your Letter Book?
A. I do not know whether they are.

Q. Whether this is the Purport of the Order; "Sir, when this Note is delivered to you by Hoolas Roi,———

The Counſel for the Defendant objected to the Queſtion.

Q. Can you recollect what was the Purport of your Orders?
A. Upon this Queſtion, I muſt beg Leave to throw myſelf upon your Lordſhips Indulgence: My Conduct at Fyzabad ſeems to have met with the Diſapprobation, not only of the Honourable the Houſe of Commons, but of the Perſon from whom I was deputed to conduct that Buſineſs.—I do conceive I am more particularly charged, with reſpect to the Proceedings at Fyzabad, than even Mr. Haſtings himſelf.—I ſhall therefore hope, if it ſhall ſo appear to your Lordſhips, that I may be excuſed anſwering any Queſtions with reſpect to that Buſineſs, which may tend to criminate myſelf.

Q. Whether or no you did not aſſiſt Mr. Haſtings in his Firſt Defence in the Houſe of Commons, and give him Information with reſpect to the Tranſactions at Fyzabad?
A. I have already informed your Lordſhips, how far I did aſſiſt; I certainly did give him every Information that occurred to me reſpecting the Affairs of my Department.

Q. But particularly with reſpect to the Tranſactions at Fyzabad?
A. To the Affairs of Oude, in general.

Q. (*by a Lord.*) Did you, or not, give him Information particularly with reſpect to the Affairs of Fyzabad?
A. No Doubt, the Information reſpecting the Affairs of Fyzabad, was one Part of the Information.

Q. Did Mr. Haſtings, when you informed him reſpecting the Affairs of the Begums, and the Miniſters, at Fyzabad, expreſs his Diſapprobation to you at that Time?
A. I do not recollect ever making any particular Communication to Mr. Haſtings upon that Subject. With reſpect to the Begums Miniſters, the Eunuchs, it is under that Conſtruction, I conceive, that I am more particularly criminal in that than in any Thing elſe, becauſe it is One of the few Inſtances in which I uſed my own Diſcretion; if there is any Criminality in that Affair, I conceive that Criminality will attach to me more than to Mr. Haſtings.

Then the following Paſſage was read, from the Preface to the Defence of Mr. Haſtings at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons.

"Before I proceed to reply to the Charges reſpecting my Conduct to the Begums, and on the Affairs of Oude, I muſt obſerve, that they contain Particulars of which I was totally ignorant, till I read them in the Charges. I am therefore very much indebted to the Aſſiſtance of Mr. Middleton, and to the Information of Gentlemen who were in Oude when the Tranſactions alluded to happened (*a*)."

Then the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 413.

Q. Whether,

Q. Whether, among the Circumſtances which Mr. Haſtings gathered, and for which he here thanks you, you did not inform him of the Treatment of the Eunuchs, and of the Diſtreſſes of the Women in the Khourd Mahl, and of thoſe other Particulars to which Mr. Haſtings replies in his Anſwer to the Charges?

A. I really do not recollect the Particulars of my Information to Mr. Haſtings; they certainly contained every Thing that occurred to my Mind upon the Affairs in which I had been concerned.

Q. Mr. Haſtings alſo ſays, in his Defence, "My laſt Orders therefore for its Execution, is all that I am anſwerable for; the reſt depended upon the Inſtruments which were employed in it; and ſo little on myſelf, that I was ignorant of the whole Mode of its Execution, till it was done:" (*a*) Recollect whether you did, or did not, conceal from Mr. Haſtings all thoſe Circumſtances, or whether you communicated them to him?

Q. (*by Counſel.*) Whether the Communication was in Writing?

A. It was.

Q. (*by the Managers.*) Do you know whether you communicated all thoſe Circumſtances?

A. I believe I did, but I cannot be certain that I did; but all the Communications I made upon that Subject were certainly in Writing.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, that all your Communications to Mr. Haſtings upon this Subject ſince you came to England have been in Writing? Have you communicated to Mr. Haſtings otherwiſe than by Writing the Paſſages reſpecting Fyzabad?

A. I do not believe I have, but it is very poſſible that in Converſation I might mention thoſe Paſſages; but I do not recollect particularly that I communicated thoſe Circumſtances, but in Writing.

Q. Mr. Haſtings, in his Reply to the Charges of the Houſe of Commons, does ſay, that ſince he has been in England, you have communicated to him ſeveral Circumſtances upon this Subject, of which he was totally ignorant before. Do you recollect having made that Communication to Mr. Haſtings, ſince you came to England?

A. Nothing further than what I have already informed your Lordſhips of.

Q. What have you informed us of?

A. Of the Informations I gave Mr. Haſtings in Writing.

Q. Was there no verbal Communication?

A. I beg leave to refer to the Anſwer I have before given to that Queſtion; I cannot pretend to ſay, that I may not have converſed with Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject, though I declare, if I ever did, it is ſo ſlight, that it has entirely eſcaped my Memory: I do not recollect, ever profeſſedly converſing with Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject; if I ever had any Converſation with Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject, it has been in Company, as a general Converſation, and not any Thing in particular between him and myſelf.

Q. Whether you did or did not aſſiſt Mr. Haſtings, or his Agents, in drawing up his Anſwer to the Charges of the Houſe of Commons?

A. I have already confeſſed, I did furniſh Mr. Haſtings's Agent—as he is called—Major Scott, with all the Information in my Power, upon the Affairs of Oude.

Q. Then in furniſhing him with Materials upon that Subject, did you or did you not communicate the Circumſtances in Queſtion, with reſpect to the Treatment of the Eunuchs and of the Begums?

The Queſtion was objected to.

Then the preceding Queſtion and Anſwer were read by the Clerk, and the following Queſtion was put to the Witneſs:

Q. Whether the Treatment of the Begums and the Eunuchs at Fyzabad, and the Women in the Khourd Mahl, did not make a Part of that Information which you gave to Major Scott?

A. The Treatment of the Eunuchs, I am pretty ſure, did make a Part of the Information given to Major Scott.—With reſpect to the Treatment of the Women in the Khourd Mahl, I am not ſo certain, I do not believe it did.

Q. Therefore, when you ſaid you made no Communication to Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject, you did not mean to include in it his Agents?

A. I meant to ſay, I had no particular verbal Communication either with Mr. Haſtings or his Agents.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 417, 5th Line from the Bottom.

Q. Were

Q. Were the Communications made to Major Scott in Writing?
A. Yes.

Q. Do you mean to ſay you had no Converſation with the Agents?
A. I cannot ſay that I might not have had Converſation with them too, upon the ſame Subject; but my Communications to Major Scott were in Writing, and very full to every Point that I could give him Information upon.

Q. Whether you had not read the Charges of the Commons before you gave any Aſſiſtance to Mr. Haſtings in anſwering them?
A. No Doubt, I had.

Q. Did you omit to inform Mr. Haſtings, or his Agents, of any Tranſaction within your Knowledge, relative to the Matter of the Charge?
A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay whether my Informations to Major Scott were complete, or not. I gave him ſuch Informations as occurred to me at the Time relative to the Affairs of Oude.

Q. And not meaning to conceal any Thing?
A. Not meaning to conceal any Thing.

Q. Whether, upon the Communications made by you, Mr. Haſtings then expreſſed a Diſapprobation of any Part of thoſe Tranſactions?
A. I do not know he did; he did not to me.

Q. Then when was it you learned that you was ſo unfortunate as to have your Conduct, in that Tranſaction, diſapproved by Mr. Haſtings?
A. My Conduct at Fyzabad was One Article of the Charge, made againſt me by Mr. Haſtings and the Council at Calcutta.

Q. Whether any Part of that Charge made againſt you by Mr. Haſtings was, that you had uſed too much Severity; or, on the contrary, that you had uſed too much Lenity and Forbearance, upon that Occaſion?
A. I would wiſh to refer to the Charge itſelf, and to Mr. Haſtings's Letter upon the Subject.

Q. *(by a Lord.)* You are underſtood to have ſaid, you acted from yourſelf at Fyzabad, and that the Courſe of your Conduct was not communicated to Mr. Haſtings in Oude:—Do you remember particularly the Letter that you wrote to Mr. Haſtings upon the 5th of February 1782?

A. Not particularly.

Then a Paper was ſhewn to the Witneſs, who ſaid:

Yes; I recollect it certainly.

Q. Do you wiſh to correct your former Anſwer?
A. I perceive it does ſtate generally, that the Begums Miniſters had been impriſoned.

Q. You ſaid, you acted from your own Diſcretion; that your Conduct had been diſapproved, and that the Treatment of them had not been diſcloſed: Now the Information in this Letter is, that the Miniſters had been impriſoned, and in Irons?
A. The Obſervation I wiſh to make upon that Letter is, that it is a conſiderable Time after the Tranſactions, when I ſaid that I had uſed my own Diſcretion; it was at the Time of executing the Meaſures at Fyzabad. I recollect very well, writing ſeveral Letters to Mr. Haſtings on the Subject; and no Doubt, that ſome of them muſt generally have related to the Proceedings at Fyzabad.

Q. Whether, at any, and at what Time, Mr. Haſtings expreſſed his Diſapprobation of thoſe Tranſactions to you?
A. Not of the particular Tranſaction with reſpect to the Eunuchs, but of my Conduct and Proceedings in general at Fyzabad.

Q. You did not, in your Defence to that Accuſation, ſtate that "wherever Force could be uſed it had not been ſpared,"—that the Begum had been "reduced to the Mercy of the Nabob," and that "her Miniſters were in Irons." Do you remember the Tenor of your Defence to that Charge?
A. I certainly do remember that that is the Tenor; but for more Accuracy, I wiſh to refer to the Anſwer itſelf.

To ſhew that Mr. Haſtings approved of the Treatment of the Begums when it was communicated to him,

Read the following Extract from the Minutes of Major Scott's Evidence at the Bar.

"Q. After the Time of your having read that Introduction to Mr. Haſtings, do you recollect whether he added any Thing to the Defence?

" A. There is a particular Paſſage, which I am clear muſt have been added by Mr. Haſtings. The Paſſage I was going to read to your Lordſhips was added by Mr. Haſtings: 'I have conducted the Narration of the preceding Detail to its Cloſe, without chuſing to interrupt it, or to 'diſturb the Attention of my Honourable Hearers, by the concluding Obſervation which I now 'think it neceſſary to make upon it—becauſe I held the whole Series of the Acts thus connected 'ſtrictly reconcileable to Juſtice, Honour, and good Policy, whoever were the Parties concerned in 'them." (*a*)

Q. You ſtate you read the original Charges. Whether you gave any Authority to Major Scott to deny your having given this Order to Lieutenant Francis Rutledge:

" Sir,

" When this Note is delivered to you by Hoolas Roy, I have to deſire that you order the Two Priſoners to be put in Irons, keeping them from all Food, &c. agreeable to my Inſtructions of Yeſterday.

(Signed) " Nathaniel Middleton."

Did you give any Authority to Major Scott to deny your having iſſued any ſuch Orders?

A. I certainly gave no ſuch Authority to deny it; but I moſt humbly entreat your Lordſhips will conſider the Predicament in which I ſtand: Theſe do appear to me, to be leading Queſtions, of the ſame Tendency as the Firſt Queſtion; and I hope your Lordſhips will allow me Permiſſion to decline anſwering them.

Q. Whether Major Palmer, when he was at Lucknow, was not in conſtant Correſpondence with the Governor General?

A. I underſtood ſo.

Q. Did you know Major Davy?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Was he not at Lucknow, at the ſame Time, or the greateſt Part of the Time, Major Palmer was there?

A. He came with Major Palmer there: he ſtaid, I think, but a few Days; not many Days.

Q. In what Character did he come with Major Palmer?

A. By the Letter of Mr. Haſtings to me, or in Major Palmer's Inſtructions, he is mentioned as Major Palmer's Aſſiſtant; I knew him in no other Character at Lucknow: in one of thoſe Letters, or in Major Palmer's Inſtructions, I certainly have ſeen him mentioned as his Aſſiſtant.

Q. Did not Major Davy return again to Lucknow, after he had left it the Firſt Time?

A. I believe not, to the Beſt of my Recollection he did not.

Q. Do you think it poſſible, that any Matter of material Conſequence could have happened, reſpecting either the Begums, their Miniſters, or the Nabob's Government, without its being communicated either by you, Major Palmer, or Major Davy, to Mr. Haſtings?

A. I ſhould apprehend not; I ſhould think it moſt likely, that they would have been communicated.

Q. Was the Nabob in the City of Fyzabad, when the Kella was ſtormed, and the Eunuchs taken Priſoners?

A. He was not.

Q. Where was he at that Time?

A. He was near the Town of Fyzabad, encamped in a Place called the Rumna.

Q. To whoſe Cuſtody did Bahar Ali Khan, and Jewar Ali Khan deliver themſelves?

A. May I be permitted to aſk, if that is not a Queſtion of the ſame Tendency with the one that was firſt put to me; if not, I am ready to anſwer it.

Q. Do you know into whoſe Cuſtody they were delivered?

A. They either ſurrendered themſelves, or were delivered into the Cuſtody of the Nabob.

Q. How long did they remain in the Nabob's Cuſtody?

A. A very ſhort Time.

Q. Relate whoſe Cuſtody they came into afterwards, and by what Means?

A. I am ſorry to be obliged to recur to your Lordſhips Indulgence again upon this Subject; I beg that I may be informed, through your Lordſhips Indulgence, whether I am obliged to anſwer that Queſtion.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 376.

The

The Managers for the Commons ſtated, that they were confident the Houſe would not admit as a Reaſon for a Witneſs's declining to anſwer, his merely ſaying he conceived it would criminate himſelf.

The Witneſs ſaid,

I am juſtified in my own Opinion moſt clearly; I am clearly of Opinion, that the Eunuchs were certainly guilty of the Crime alleged againſt them: But my Conduct in another Place has not been conſidered in the ſame Light in which I conſidered it myſelf; and upon that Ground I conceive I am juſtified in making the Objection.

Q. What other Place do you allude to?
A. I mean by the Honourable Managers.

Q. Will you ſwear that, to your Knowledge and Belief, the Nabob had any Will of his own upon any Meaſure of Importance at that Period?
A. I cannot doubt but he had.

Q. Any Will that he could carry into Effect. Was he in a Situation to carry his own Purpoſes into Effect?
A. I have no Doubt but he was.

Q. Did you frequently directly contradict the Will and Inclination of the Nabob?
A. I have done it on certain Occaſions moſt undoubtedly; ſometimes with Succeſs, and ſometimes I have failed.

Q. Name an Inſtance in which you failed?
A. I could, with a very little Recollection, name a great Number of Inſtances; but in general I certainly did uſe all the Influence in my Power to prevent thoſe People, who have been diſtinguiſhed in this Houſe as the Orderlies, from having great Collections and great Commands about the Nabob, conceiving them to be very improper Perſons for ſuch a Truſt; but I never was able to ſucceed, in any One of the Inſtances in which I interfered with reſpect to thoſe People.

Q. Did you, upon any Occaſion, iſſue your own Perwannahs in the Nabob's Country?
A. In One Inſtance I did go ſome Length in iſſuing my own Perwannahs, which is in Evidence before your Lordſhips.

Q. Was that Inſtance againſt the Will of the Nabob, or with it?
A. It appeared to be againſt the Will of the Nabob.

Q. Did you think yourſelf authorized to place any Perſon upon the Nabob's Liſt, for Penſions or Gratuities after the Treaty of Chunar?
A. Upon my own Authority?

Q. Yes.
A. No; certainly not.

Q. Upon whoſe Authority did you do it?
A. Is the Fact eſtabliſhed that I did do it?

Q. Did you ever do it?
A. I do not know I did.—No; certainly I did not.

Q. It is in your own Evidence that you did do it. With reſpect to the Communication made with Mr. Haſtings reſpecting Perſons to be placed privately upon the Nabob's Penſion Liſt, you ſaid you had not received a written Order from Mr. Haſtings, but that it was a verbal Communication, that the Names were given to you verbally?
A. I recollect it; and I believe it will be found, by recurring to that Evidence, that it meant Perſons who were to ſtay at Lucknow. I do not recollect it mentions a ſingle Word about Penſions.

Q. Recollect whether you did or did not receive any Inſtruction, Direction, or Communication, from Mr. Haſtings, reſpecting any Perſons continuing to receive Penſions, or Gratuities, after the Treaty of Chunar?
A. I am very ſorry to have Occaſion to throw myſelf on your Lordſhips Indulgence again: This is a Queſtion which certainly muſt criminate myſelf; if I did receive ſuch Orders, or acted upon them; or without acting upon them, if I did not diſcloſe them to my Superiors, I was clearly criminal.

Q. The Queſtion now is, Whether you did receive any Orders to that Effect?
A. If I did receive them, and did not diſcloſe them, I believe it will be found I certainly was criminal in that reſpect.

Q. Whether you did not receive Inſtructions from the Board, whom you ſtate as your Superiors, and to whom you was bound to communicate every Thing, to obey Mr. Haſtings's Orders as clothed with the Authority of the whole Council?
A. Certainly, during his Continuance in the Upper Provinces.

Q. Then

Q. Then whether you did not receive ſuch Orders from Mr. Haſtings?
A. May I aſk what Orders?

Q. To continue any Perſons whatſoever upon Penſions, or Gratuities, after the Treaty of Chunar?
A. I really do not recollect that I received any Orders from Mr. Haſtings upon the Subject. I certainly have mentioned, that I received a Communication from Mr. Haſtings in Converſation, mentioning the Gentlemen that were to remain at Lucknow.

Q. Whether, according to the beſt of your Recollection, you have not received ſome Orders or Communications, reſpecting Perſons to continue upon Penſions or Gratuities after the Treaty of Chunar?

A. I really do not recollect I did; but I muſt again obſerve, that if I did receive them, and did not diſcloſe them, I was criminal in ſo doing; if I am not ſo, I wiſh to be informed by your Lordſhips. According to my own Conception, I am criminal in receiving ſuch Order without diſcloſing it.

Q. Did you receive the Orders or not?
A. I do not recollect I received any Orders, but I believe I have occaſionally received Recommendations from Mr. Haſtings.

Q. Whether you did not receive ſome of thoſe Recommendations before you parted with Mr. Haſtings at Chunar?
A. I rather think I did.

Q. Where was the Money, which was ſeized of the Begums Treaſure at Fyzabad, found; in what Houſes, or where dug out?
A. It was found in the Houſes of the Two Eunuchs.

Q. By whom was it found?
A. By the Nabob's Agents.

Q. Do you know who thoſe Agents were?
A. I cannot ſay at this Time that I recollect the Names of them: His principal Agent went with Major Naylor, when he went into the Town, and continued there as the Nabob's Manager or Governor of the Town for a Number of Days.

Q. To whom was the Money brought, when it was found?
A. It was brought to the Reſident.

Q. To you?
A. Yes; in conſequence of an Order from the Nabob.

Q. Whether Jewar Ali Khan had a fine Houſe and Garden at Fyzabad?
A. I do not recollect ever to have been in his Houſe, or in his Garden.

Q. Whether Bahar and Jewar Ali Khan were Men of Wealth, and great Property?
A. They were ſuppoſed to be ſo; I had no Opportunity of aſcertaining the Fact.

Q. By what Means did you know, that the Treaſures, dug out of the Miniſters Houſes, were not their Property, but the Property of the Begums?
A. I had certainly no Means of aſcertaining whoſe Property they were; I took it for granted they were the Begums Property, becauſe they ſaid ſo.

Q. To whom did they ſay ſo?
A. They pointed out the Places where the Begums Treaſures were lodged; ſuch as were under their Cuſtody, belonging to the Begums; they pointed out the Places where they were concealed.

Q. They pointed them out as the Begums Treaſures?
A. Yes.

Q. To whom did they point them out?
A. To the Nabob's Agents.

Q. Do you mean, while you were at Chunar; the Firſt Delivery of the Money?
A. No; while I was at Fyzabad.

Q. Do you mean, the Firſt Delivery of the Money?
A. It was while I was at Fyzabad.

Q. Was that the Time you are ſpeaking of, that they were pointed out as the Begums Treaſures, to the Nabob's Servants?
A. Yes.

Q. Were the Miniſters, frequently afterwards, preſſed and threatened, to oblige them to diſcover the Places where the Begums Treaſures were concealed?

A. I hope your Lordſhips will permit me to decline anſwering that Queſtion, as a Part of the former Examination.

Q. To whom was the Bond of the Begum's Miniſters for paying the Balance given. Do you know of any Bond given by the Begum's Miniſters?

A. It was given to the Nabob's Miniſters, in the Name of the Reſident, for ſo much Money to be paid to the Reſident on account of the Nabob. The Bond was taken from the Eunuchs for the Nabob's Miniſter.

Q. Who was the Obligee in the Bond; to whom did they ſtand bound by that Bond; was it in the Form of an Engliſh Bond, or any thing like it?

A. It was a Perſian Paper.

Q. To whom was the Contract made?

A. To the Reſident.

Q. To whom did you aſſign that Bond? Was it aſſigned?

A. It never was aſſigned to any Body that I know of.

Q. Was no Security received by you upon that Tranſaction, made over afterwards by you to Gopaul Doſs?

A. No, not that I recollect.

Q. Do you remember writing a Letter to Mr. Briſtow upon your leaving the Reſidentſhip?

A. Yes; I do.

Q. Do not you recollect ſtating, that Gopaul Doſs did hold ſome of the Securities you had of the Begums Miniſters?

A. I believe not; there were never any Securities given by the Begums Miniſters but what I have ſpoken of.—It might be poſſible that Gopaul Doſs might have had a Promiſe, that the Balance that remained due from Fyzabad ſhould be paid to him; I have ſome Recollection of that, and ſuppoſe that may be alluded to in my Letter, but I wiſh to refer your Lordſhips to the Letter itſelf.

Q. Was not the Balance or ſome Securities for it remaining, which the Begum made over to Gopaul Doſs. Do you remember whether the Balance, or ſome Security for it, was made over to Gopaul Doſs?

A. I have juſt ſaid, that I think the Balance due from Fyzabad was in ſome Manner or other made over as a Security to Gopaul Doſs, but that will appear more accurately by the Letter.

Q. Can you account in what Manner the Money had been advanced by Gopaul Doſs, for which he was to receive that Security?

A. That will alſo appear by the Letter.

Q. Whether any, and what Means, were taken by you, while the Miniſters were in Confinement, to inſtitute an Enquiry concerning their ſuppoſed treaſonable Practices?

A. There were none taken by me.

Q. Or any reſpecting Shumſhire Khan?

A. None. I muſt beg leave to notice, that I have been all along under a Miſtake with reſpect to the Continuance of Shumſhire Khan under Confinement at Fyzabad. When I was examined upon that Subject before the Honourable Committee of the Houſe of Commons, I expreſſed myſelf very doubtfully, but I rather thought that he had been releaſed. I was confirmed in that Idea, from never having ſeen his Name mentioned, from the Time he was put into Confinement at Fyzabad, until it was mentioned in the Houſe of Commons. It was neither mentioned in Major Gilpin's or Captain Jaques's Letters, or any other that I recollect. By never having his Name mentioned, from the Time of his being put into Confinement at Fyzabad, till it was mentioned in the Houſe of Commons, I did not find out my Miſtake till a few Days ago, on converſing with Major Gilpin, who informed me he had been releaſed by him at the ſame Time with the other Two Priſoners; and the ſame Evidence afterwards delivered by Major Gilpin at your Lordſhips Bar ſerved to confirm that I had been in that Miſtake.

Q. Whether you omitted any Means whatever to diſcover the Treaſures?

A. I apprehend not: That depended a great deal more upon the Nabob's Agents in that Buſineſs, than upon myſelf: I apprehend every Means were taken to diſcover the Treaſures.

Q. Whether you can account for ſome Leaves being torn out of your Letter Book D, exactly at the Time where that Order to Lieutenant Rutledge to take Charge of the Miniſters, and which has been read, ſhould have appeared in the Book?

A. I cannot.

Q. When you went to Fyzabad to aſſert the Nabob's pretended Right to the Treaſures in Poſſeſſion of the Begums, what Requiſition you made upon the Begums for Money?

A. I

A. I made none.

Q. What Requifition was made upon the Part of the Nabob:—Do you know?
A. I have heard that it was to a much larger Amount than was agreed for; but I have heard it only by Report: I cannot fay that I know exactly what Amount the Nabob did demand, but I have heard that it was much more than was afterwards agreed for.

Q. Do you recollect what Sum?
A. I think I have heard that the Nabob went there with a Determination to demand a Crore of Rupees; but I cannot pretend to fay that was the Fact.

Q. Do you know what Anfwer was made to that Requifition?
A. No; I do not.

Q. How came you to take fo little Concern in the Quantity of a Demand, the Whole of which, when recovered, was to be applied to the Ufe of the Company? Was the Whole of the Demand, when recovered, to be applied to the Ufe of the Company?
A. It was, unlefs it had exceeded the Amount of the Company's Claim on the Nabob.

Q. Then how came you to pay fo little Attention to the Amount of the Demand?
A. It was the Concern of the Nabob and of his Minifters more than mine certainly; I was to receive from them whatever they did recover from the Begums.

Q. Was not the Amount of that Sum a Matter of great Concern to you?
A. Not perfonally—to my Employers certainly.

Q. Recollect whether any Anfwer was made to that Requifition faid to be made by the Perfon called the Nabob?
A. I really do not recollect; if I have heard it, I certainly have forgot what the Anfwer was.

Q. If the Nabob's Demand was for a Million, as the Effects of his Father, do you know how he came to be fatisfied to receive a lefs Sum?
A. No, I do not.—It was a Matter of Agreement between the Nabob and the Begums themfelves, to which I was no Party. The Part of my Duty was only to receive from the Nabob, in behalf of the Company, whatever he fhould tender of the Begums Treafures.

Q. Was not the Begum's Bond, or that of her Eunuchs, in the Firft Inftance, given to the Refident, and not to the Nabob?
A. I have mentioned that it was given in the Name of the Refident: A fpecific Sum was agreed to be paid by the Begum to the Nabob, and the Nabob agreed that that Money fhould be paid over to the Company, in difcharge of his Debt to them.

Q. Whether the Begum's Bond was not, in the Firft Inftance, given to the Refident; and how foon after the Storming of the Kella?
A. Very foon; a few Days afterwards; I cannot fpeak to a Day; It was not a Bond of the Begums, but an Engagement of the Eunuchs, to pay fo much on account of the Begums.

Q. Where is that Bond?
A. I believe it was left in the Office at Lucknow; I am not certain.

Q. Who put it in the Office. Did you leave it in the Office?
A. I have no Doubt I did; or it might be left with the Nabob's Minifter; I cannot fay.

Q. Was that Bond ever completely difcharged?
A. Not while I ftaid there.

Q. How came you to be fo indifferent about the Difpofition of a Bond, a confiderable Balance on which was due, and which was for the Benefit of the Company?
A. Certainly, I was not; if it was left in the Office at Lucknow with my Succeffor, that was undoubtedly the proper Place for it. I take it for granted it was left there, or in the Hands of the Nabob's Minifter.

Q. Are you fure of that Alternative? Can you recollect certainly, whether it was left in one, or other, of thofe Cuftodies?
A. I cannot certainly.

Q. Then you know nothing of it with Certainty?
A. No.

Q. At what Time was the Money dug out of the Houfes of the Minifters Jewar and Bahar Ali Khan, and paid to you?
A. Very foon after they furrendered themfelves to the Nabob, a Part of it was. It was many Days in digging out, and bringing to the Rumna, where I was encamped with the Nabob.

Q. How

Q. How many Days?
A. I really cannot ſay to a Day, or even to Two Days, but ſeveral Days; poſſibly a Fortnight; I cannot ſay.

Q. Was the Bond given before the Delivery of the Treaſures, or afterwards?
A. Before, to the Beſt of my Recollection.

Q. Are you ſure of it?
A. I have no Doubt but it was: The Bond was for a certain Sum of Money; and they began paying immediately after they gave the Bond.

Q. As you received the Bond for a ſpecific Sum of Money; upon what Principle was that ſpecific Sum fixed, as the Limit of the Nabob's Demand; do you know?
A. No, I do not indeed.

Q. Whether you enquired, when the Begum's Treaſures were delivered, whether they were delivered as the Whole of the Treaſures of the late Nabob, or only as a Part?
A. I had no Means of enquiring, but from the Nabob and his Miniſters: They certainly affirmed, that the Begums declared they were the Whole of the Treaſures that they had; I know very well, that both the Nabob and his Miniſters thought otherwiſe.

Q. What Means were uſed, to make the Eunuchs deliver up this particular Treaſure?
A. With great Submiſſion, may I not treat that as a Queſtion of the former Tendency?

Q. Had you any thing to do with the Proceſs of recovering the Money?
A. Certainly, I had.

Q. Whether the Money was not paid and delivered in the Original Specie, in which it was found in the Houſes of the Miniſters?
A. It was.

Q. Was it received according to the Account of the ſeveral Years, the Value the Money ſtood at in the ſeveral Years, in which it was iſſued in Diſcharge of the Bond?—Do you underſtand the Nature of the Queſtion?
A. I believe I do. The Bond was given for a ſpecific Sum of a certain Species of Rupee, of Fyzabad Rupees, or Lucknow Sicca Rupees, I forget which, it was one of them; and the Money that was received was of a Coinage of ſeveral Years back; it could therefore only be received as Bullion, which is the uſual Way of receiving it. The new Coinage alters every Year, therefore the Batta upon the Rupees, as they were received, was calculated, and the Nabob credited for the actual Sum that they realized in the Diſcharge of the Bond.

Q. As the Treaſure was received as the ſpecific Property of the Nabob in Right of his Father, upon what Pretence did you make a Demand for ſhort Weight?—Did you make any Demand for ſhort Weight?
A. I have informed your Lordſhips what the Courſe of my Proceeding in that was, the Engagement of the Begum to the Nabob was for a ſpecific Sum of Money in a certain Rupee, either Fyzabad or Lucknow; therefore I could only give Credit for what I received according to that Rupee.

Q. How came you to take a Bond for a ſpecific Sum, to be paid according to the Shroffage of the Country, on account of the ſpecific Treaſures ſuppoſed to be lodged with them, and belonging to the Nabob?
A. I took what was given to me; the Negociation or Agreement, or whatever it was, was ſettled by the Nabob himſelf; I had nothing to do with it.

Q. Then you declare upon your Oath, that you knew nothing at all of the Tranſaction concerning this Bond, before it was put into your Hands, though made to yourſelf?—Did you or not know any Thing of the ſettling of the Quota of the Bond, before it was put into your Hands?
A. In all Probability I did; I was acquainted probably, from Time to Time, of the Progreſs of the Negociation; but I cannot be certain that I was.

Q. Recollect and ſay, whether you are not certain, that you was well acquainted with the previous Negociation which ended in giving this Bond?
A. I cannot be certain that I was.

Q. Are you certain you were not?
A. I have not a perfect Recollection about it, either one way or the other, but it is moſt likely that I was acquainted with it.

Q. What did you do with the Money which you thus received?
A. After being ſhroffed, it was appropriated to the publick Service.—Colonel Muir, who was in the Mahratta Country at that Time with the Britiſh Army, was very conſiderably in Arrears; and, as I underſtood at the Time, was ſtopped there for the Want of the Pay of his Troops:—

The Firſt Money that could be realized from this Negociation was ſent to him. There was alſo a conſiderable Sum of Money ſent to Colonel Morgan, who commanded the Britiſh Brigade at Cawnpore, which was alſo conſiderably in Arrears. There was alſo a further Sum ſent to Colonel Sir John Cumming, who commanded at Farruckabad, for the Payment of the Arrears due to his Troops.

Q. Did you ſend it to thoſe Officers as mere Bullion, upon the ſame Principle on which you received it; or did you ſend it in any other Manner of Computation?

A. I have no Doubt that ſome of it was ſent exactly in the Manner that I received it; For, as well as I recollect, it was diſpatched from Fyzabad almoſt as ſoon as it was received.

Q. Was it diſpatched, and the Paymaſters debited with it, as Money or Bullion?

A. The Rupees conſiſted of various Sorts; they were debited for the Rupees, with the Batta or Difference upon each ſpecific Rupee, to make it up equal to the Fyzabad Rupee, in which our Accounts were kept.

Q. Who was debited with the Batta?

A. The Rupee was rated in the Account with a Batta upon it.—The ſpecific Rupee was mentioned, and had the Batta aſcertained according to an Aſſay Table, which was lodged at my Office at Lucknow, for a Rule in my Tranſactions with the Vizier.

Q. Was the Officer debited with the Batta, as well as with the Bullion?

A. I am afraid I have not made myſelf perfectly underſtood:—The Mode of the Account was this; firſt of all, the ſpecific Rupee was ſtated, ſo many Rupees of ſuch a Sicca for ſuch a Year; and then the Batta according to the Aſſay was deducted, or added, and the Net Sum was then carried out into a Column: The Paymaſter of the Troops was debited for the Net Sum in Fyzabad Rupees.

Q. Was that Account kept in the ſame Manner that other Money Tranſactions, which happened in that Country, were?

A. Exactly.

Q. Whether you paid the Paymaſter and Officers of the Army in a particular Species of defective Coin, and then charged them with the Difference?

A. I paid them in ſuch Coin as I was able to get; I would rather have paid them in the beſt Coin, the Fyzabad Rupee, if I could have got it, becauſe it would have ſaved me a great deal of Diſpute, which I conſtantly had with the Officers, being obliged to ſend them Rupees of different Species.

Q. As you charge the Begums with the Difference between that Rupee, and the Rupee of the Year when you received it; Whom did you charge with the Difference when you paid it out?

A. The Nabob.

Q. Whether you did not tranſmit Part of this Money to Calcutta in Specie?

A. I believe ſo; but really I do not juſt now recollect whether it was immediately, or afterwards. I know that the Three Armies, I have mentioned, took a very large Sum of Money, poſſibly all that was immediately realized, from Fyzabad; but I do not ſpeak with any great Certainty.

Q. Whether, in fact, you did, or did not, ſend down a Part of this Money to Calcutta in Specie?

A. I really do not remember; but the Accounts upon Record, at the India Houſe, will aſcertain that.

Q. Whether you ſent any Part of it, in Specie, to Benares?

A. No; certainly not.

Q. When the Shroffage was made, according to the Aſſay Table, what Means were taken, if any were taken, to prove that it was fairly made, agreeable to that Table, to the Satisfaction of the Begums, who were charged with the Difference?

A. The Proceſs was very ſimple. The Shroffage was nothing more than to aſcertain the particular Species of Rupees: that done, the Batta was already fixed by the Aſſay Table: ſo that all the Shroffs had to do was, to aſcertain what the particular Species of the Rupees was.

Q. I am aſking, not, what Means were taken for ſatisfying the Shroffs; but, what Means were taken for ſatisfying the Begums?

A. I have no Doubt the Begums knew very well what Money was paid.—They knew the Species of Rupee that was paid by their Agents.

Q. By what Agents?

A. By the Eunuchs and their Shroffs.

Q. Where were the Eunuchs?

A. In their own Houſe, in Bahar Ali Khan's Houſe.

Q. Where was the Shroffage made?
A. I take it for granted in their Houſe too; they aſcertained the Species before they ſent them, and ſent a Liſt with them; then, of Courſe, when they were delivered over to me, they were compared with the Liſt, to ſee that they agreed.

Q. Do you ſay they were ſhroffed by Jewar and Bahar Ali Khan, before they were delivered to you?
A. I will not take upon me to ſay it was the Fact.—I have no Doubt it was.

Q. Why do you ſuppoſe it was?
A. I cannot ſuppoſe that they, who were employed to pay the Money, would deliver it without taking any Account of it.

Q. Were they not then in Irons?
A. I am pretty certain they were not.

Q. Whether there were any Means taken to produce any Treaſury Account, kept by Bahar Ali Khan, to aſcertain whether the Money delivered was the Whole of the Nabob's Treaſure, or not.—Were there any Accounts produced?
A. Not by me.

Q. Were there by any Body?
A. Not that I know of. I ſuppoſe, moſt likely, the Nabob's Miniſter would have taken Care of that; but I do not know any Thing of it.

Q. Was all that Money, which you ſtate firſt to have been ſhroffed at Fyzabad, afterwards ſhroffed over again at Lucknow, or ſome conſiderable Part of it?
A. All could not; becauſe ſome of it, as I ſtated before, a conſiderable Sum, was diſpatched to the Camps from Fyzabad; what was carried to Lucknow, in all Probability, was ſhroffed again.

Q. Why was it ſhroffed again?
A. I do not know that it was, but in all Probability it was.

Q. Do you know who was preſent at the ſhroffing Operation at Lucknow?
A. The Treaſurers, I take it for granted: it was their Buſineſs: The Treaſurers, no Doubt, were preſent.

Q. What Treaſurers?
A. The Company's Treaſurers.

Q. Were you not a Principal Company's Treaſurer? Who was the Principal Company's Treaſurer?
A. The Principal Treaſurer was the Agent of Gopaul Doſs.

Q. Were you not you yourſelf the Principal Treaſurer?
A. As far as being Reſident, and having a Controul over the Treaſury, moſt certainly; but the Management of the whole Buſineſs of the Treaſury was in the Hands of the Natives.

Q. Whether you was not, by your Office, Receiver of the Company's Aſſignments?
A. No Doubt, I was.

Q. Whether, when you received the Money originally, you received it on the Shroffage of Bahar and Jewar Ali Khan, or whether you had it ſhroffed yourſelf?
A. I certainly could not, I conceive, have received it upon the Shroffage of Bahar and Jewar Ali Cawn without examining that their Shroffage was juſt. I never heard any Complaint that my Shroffage did not agree with theirs. I have no Doubt it did agree.

Q. Did any Body ſhroff it at Fyzabad for you?
A. The Treaſurers were there.

Q. What Treaſurers?
A. I believe Gopaul Doſs's Agents.

Q. So the Whole of this Money was paid to Gopaul Doſs's Agents?
A. It is difficult for me to underſtand.

Q. Was the Money received from Jewar and Bahar Ali Khan, as the Nabob's Rights aſſigned over to you, delivered immediately to Gopaul Doſs, or his Agents?
A. Certainly it was: they were his Agents, and to them it was delivered; there were more than one Agent, there were Five or Six.

Q. Do you recollect the Names of any of them, beſides Gopaul Doſs?
A. I cannot at this Moment recollect the Names of any of them.

Q. Were there not conſiderable Effects and Jewels ſent, as Part of the Payment, to Lucknow?

A. A conſiderable Time afterwards, there were ſome Jewels, and Gold, and Effects of that Sort, ſent to Lucknow.

Q. How were they diſpoſed of?
A. They were ſold on the Begum's Account.

Q. By whom?
A. By the Company's Treaſurer, under the Direction of the Nabob's Miniſter; and at the ſame Time with the Concurrence of the Agents of the Begums themſelves, ſent from Fyzabad, accompanying thoſe Effects.

Q. Had the Reſident no Controul, Superintendance, or Inſpection, over the Sale?
A. I hardly know whether I can ſay, I had the Controul, or had not.—When theſe Effects arrived at Lucknow, the Courſe obſerved was, to get the principal Merchants of the Place, ſuch as ſhould be approved by the Nabob's Miniſter, and the Begum's own Agent, to appraiſe thoſe Effects.—They were ſo appraiſed, and ſold according to that Appraiſement.

Q. Where were they ſold?
A. At Lucknow.

Q. To whom?
A. I really do not know;—I apprehend to a great Number of Merchants, and other People.

Q. Have you not heard that Complaints were made, that they were ſold greatly under their Value?
A. I have, I think, heard Complaints, that they did not realize ſo much Money as was expected.

Q. Who was preſent at the Sale?
A. I cannot tell; I apprehend all the Treaſurers. The Five or Six I have mentioned were all employed conſtantly in the Treaſury, and I have no Doubt they were preſent at the Sale.

Q. When the Produce of this Sale was to be applied for the Uſe of the Company, how comes it that you, the Reſident, took no Concern in the Sale, in order that it might produce to the Utmoſt?
A. I took no further Concern than I have ſtated: It was the Propoſal, I apprehend, of the Begum's own Agents, that they ſhould be ſold to the different Merchants of Lucknow. After they were ſo appraiſed, they were taken by any Merchants, that choſe to purchaſe at that Appraiſement.

Q. (*Croſs examined.*) Whether, excluſive of your occaſional Interference, ſo far as related to Tunkaws, and Aſſignments upon the Revenue, the ordinary Adminiſtration of the civil Affairs of Oude, did not reſt with the Nabob and his Miniſters?
A. Certainly it did.

Q. Whether ſeveral of the Natives had not larger Farms, and more independant Authority, in the Province of Oude, than the Reſident would have allowed them, if it had reſted with him to have regulated that Matter?
A. I have ſtated before, that I certainly would, if I had had the Power, have prevented many People having large Emoluments, which they did get, and which I thought them unworthy of: One, in particular, I would mention to your Lordſhips, under the Name of an Orderly, who had no leſs a Collection than Forty Lacks of Rupees per Annum under his Charge—between Thirty and Forty—nearly Forty Lacks per Annum, under his Charge.

Q. Who was that?
A. His Name was Bowannee Sing; One of thoſe Perſons that had been raiſed from a menial Situation to a Rajah, upon the Nabob's Acceſſion to the Government.

Q. Did you make any Attempt to remove that Rajah from that Situation?
A. I have made many.

Q. And failed?
A. Yes, failed; as I did in every other Inſtance relative to that Claſs of People.

Q. Whether you ever attempted to controul, or in Fact did controul, the Nabob, either in the Number, Selection, or Pay, of his Houſehold Eſtabliſhment?
A. No, I did not.

Q. Did you ever, or in any Manner, interfere with, attempt to controul, or, in fact, controul, the Nabob in his private Expences?
A. No; certainly not.

Q. What Sum was appropriated for the Nabob's private Expences, or Eſtabliſhment, in virtue of the Treaty of Chunar?

A. I cannot exactly recollect; but Mr. Haſtings's Inſtructions will, I believe, aſcertain that Point.

Q. Did it not, in One Year, amount to Forty-nine Lacks, for his private Purſe, including an Allowance for the Reduction of the Jaghire?

A. I cannot recollect exactly; I wiſh to refer to the Paper itſelf.

Q. What were the Charges upon that Fund, that was ſet apart for the Nabob's particular Expences?

A. I apprehend, for all his Houſehold; his civil Expences; and ſome Part of his Military.

Q. Whether the Sum, which was ſo ſet apart for the perſonal Expences of the Vizier, if properly adminiſtered, was not ſufficient to ſuſtain him according to his Rank?

A. That is a good deal Matter of Opinion; it is a large Sum certainly, and I apprehend it might.

Q. Would it ſuſtain the Eſtabliſhment, in ſuch Manner as it had been ſuſtained from the Death of Sujah ul Dowlah?

A. I apprehend it would.

Q. Do you know upon what Subjects, beſides his Table and Dreſs, and his Eſtabliſhment of Horſes, this Sum was expended?

A. There were a Variety of Expences—the Expences of his Zenana were very conſiderable.

Q. What might the Amount of that Expence be?

A. I do not know.

Q. What Number of Servants had he about his Perſon?

A. It is impoſſible to aſcertain with any Accuracy; he had a very conſiderable Retinue of Servants, certainly.

Q. Whereabouts was the Number?

A. It is a difficult Queſtion to anſwer.

Q. Two or Three hundred, or Two or Three thouſand?

A. Two or Three thouſand, I have no doubt, of different Deſcriptions.

Q. Do you know the Number of his Horſes, or the Number of his Elephants; or do you know any of the Articles of Expence?

A. Not accurately—he had a thouſand Elephants, and perhaps twice as many Horſes.

Q. What muſt be the annual Expences of the Eſtabliſhment you have now deſcribed, of a thouſand Elephants?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. Would they amount to a Lack of Rupees?

A. They muſt be more than that, for I recollect one Elephant had a Jaghire of Twelve thouſand Rupees a Year.

Q. Whether you recollect with any Certainty, that the regular Cavalry, uſually retained by the Nabob, amounted to Two thouſand?

A. That was the Eſtabliſhment; it conſiſted of Two Regiments, that had originally been in the Britiſh Service, and upon ſome Reform had been diſmiſſed from the Company's Service, upon which the preſent Nabob's Father took them into his Pay. The Eſtabliſhment conſiſts of Two Regiments of 1,000 Men each.

Q. Was this Body of Cavalry in general well cloathed and well appointed?

A. I cannot ſay that they were ſo well cloathed and appointed, or any Thing like it, as the Troops in the Company's Service; but they were armed and cloathed after the European Manner.

Q. Were they as well cloathed and appointed as the Troops of other Native Princes in general?

A. Better than the Troops of any other Native Prince that I ever ſaw.

Q. Was the Whole of the Nabob's Cavalry collected, or ordered to attend him, when he went to Chunar; the 2,000 Cavalry?

A. The whole 2,000 were with him. I believe he ſeldom travelled any where without them.

Q. Had he any more Cavalry beſides the 2,000?

A. Yes; he had.

Q. What was the Number of them?

A. I cannot ſay; they were coming in every Day from the Country about, according to his Orders. He had a very large Eſtabliſhment with him upon his Arrival at Chunar.

Q. Were they all with him at that Point where he turned off in the Road to Lucknow, to go to Fyzabad?

A. The

A. The Two Regiments were with him, to the beſt of my Recollection, and ſome others of his Cavalry I believe a large Body of his Cavalry were left behind at Chunar, to aſſiſt in carrying on the War againſt Cheit Sing; the others were ſent back, I believe, to their different Stations.

Q. Do you mean that any of the regular Cavalry were left behind to aſſiſt in the War againſt Cheit Sing?

A. None, I believe.

Q. Then the whole regular Cavalry attended him to the Point of Separation, when he changed his Route to go to Fyzabad?

A. To the beſt of my Recollection they did, and accompanied him to Fyzabad.

Q. How far from Fyzabad was that Point of Separation?

A. I do not recollect the Place where he did turn off.

Q. Was it as far from Fyzabad, as Lucknow is from Fyzabad?

A. I ſhould apprehend not near the Diſtance.

Q. Whether the Nabob had any Bearers ſtationed on the Road to Fyzabad, to enable him to travel with greater Expedition from that Point of the Road where the Separation was?

A. I have no Knowledge of any, nor do I believe there were any.

Q. If there were no Bearers ſtationed, what ſhould hinder the regular Cavalry that were with the Nabob from getting to Fyzabad as ſoon as he?

A. I apprehend they did get to Fyzabad as ſoon as he did; that they attended his Perſon, and accompanied him through the Road to Fyzabad.

Q. Have you any Doubt about that Fact?

A. I have none.

Q. What was the particular Situation of Captain Edwards about the Perſon of the Nabob?

A. He was the Nabob's Aid de Camp.

Q. To whoſe Patronage did he owe his Appointment; who recommended him to the Nabob?

A. I cannot immediately ſay; I rather——

Q. Do you know whether it was not Mr. Haſtings?

A. I really do not know; I have heard it was Sir Elijah Impey, but I cannot ſay.

Q. Do you not know, that ſome ineffectual Applications were made by the Nabob to Mr. Haſtings, to have Captain Edwards ſent up the Country to him, which were reſiſted by Mr. Haſtings?

A. I do not.

Q. Whether there was any Drought of any conſiderable Magnitude in the Province of Oude, or its Dependencies, in 1779, 1780, 1781, or 1782?

A. In 1779 there was a very ſevere one.

Q. Whether you conceive it was owing to natural Cauſes, or to the bad Adminiſtration of the Nabob's Miniſters?

A. I mean the Failure of the Periodical Rains.

Q. Would that affect the Cultivation of the Country in a very conſiderable Degree?

A. No doubt it would.

Q. Was the impoveriſhed State of the Country, in 1779 or 1780, occaſioned by that natural Cauſe, in any, and what Degree?

A. In a conſiderable Degree, certainly; but I refer it alſo to other Cauſes; by which I mean the Miſmanagement of the Nabob's Government.

Q. In what reſpect?

A. The Appointment of improper People to the Truſts, ſuch as I have mentioned; and in general, a Supineneſs in the Nabob's Government.

Q. Whether you do not recollect to have mentioned, in a Letter to Mr. Haſtings, dated the 28th of December 1781, the heavy Remiſſions the Nabob had been obliged to allow on the preſent Year's Rents, for the Loſſes by Drought and Hail: (*a*) Do you remember the Fact of writing ſuch a Letter?

A. I do not at this Time.

Q. Do you recollect a Drought happening in the Years 1780 or 1781?

A. I was not in the Country in 1780 or 1781. I beg leave to correct myſelf; in 1781 I certainly was.

(*a*) Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII, Page 87, Line 30.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether you ever tranſmitted to Mr. Haſtings any Complaints againſt Colonel Hannay, while he remained in Command in the Country of Oude?

A. I do not recollect that I did: I believe not.

Q. What was the general Eſtimation and Character of Colonel Hannay, when he was firſt employed in that Command?

A. I believe he bore a very good Character; I have always underſtood ſo.

Q. Whether the Countries of Baraitch and Goruckpore were not always, prior to the Time of Colonel Hannay, in the Hands of ſeveral refractory Zemindars, who ſcarcely acknowledged the Authority of the Nabob?

A. The Country of Goruckpore does fall particularly under that Deſcription; I do not think that Baraitch does.

Q. Whether the Employment of a Military Force in thoſe Countries, was not abſolutely neceſſary, as well for the Purpoſes of enforcing the Civil Government, as for the Collection of the Revenues?

A. In Goruckpore certainly. The Diſtrict of Baraitch bordered upon it, but was in a very different Situation from what Goruckpore was. Goruckpore was bounded by the Mountains; it is a very rough uncultivated Country, and I believe generally, as long as I can remember any Thing about it, was very much ſubject to Diſorders, to Rebellions among the Zemindars, and People of the Country.

Q. Whether the Bamboo Cages were not uſual Places of Confinement in the Country of Oude?

A. I confeſs I never heard of the Bamboo Cages till I heard it at this Bar.

Q. Do you know whether that Sort of Impriſonment is in frequent Uſe in the Country?

A. I never heard of ſuch a Mode of Impriſonment: But of Priſons moſt certainly; the Priſons I have heard generally of, in the Country, were Mud Forts, where the Priſoners were kept.

Q. Whether from the Deſcription you have now heard of theſe Bamboo Cages, ſuch a Species of Confinement is more lenient, or more ſevere, than Confinement in Mud Forts?

A. I ſhould apprehend they muſt be much the ſame. I cannot in my own Mind make much Diſtinction.

Q. Whether you do not believe, that the Begums were always particularly jealous, and adverſe to the Britiſh Influence, in the Affairs of Oude?

A. I have heard that they were: I cannot aſſert it of my own Knowledge; I have no Fact that can lead me to give a poſitive Anſwer to that Queſtion. I certainly have heard that they were.

Q. Do you not, of your own Knowledge, know that the Jealouſy of the Begums, or either of them, was much inflamed towards us by the Ceſſion of Benares in 1775?

A. I have no poſitive Knowledge of it.

Q. Do you know, or believe, that the Begums were diſaffected? Do you know any Thing of the Conduct of the Begums in 1775, upon the Ceſſion of Benares?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Whether you do, or do not, believe that the Begums were diſaffected to the Britiſh Intereſt in 1780 or 1781?

A. In 1781 I certainly did believe them ſo.

Q. Are you ſtill of the ſame Opinion, that they were hoſtile to the Britiſh Intereſt?

A. Moſt undoubtedly I am.

Q. Whether, in keeping your private Letter Book, you did, or did not, uſually inſert in it the Incloſures contained in the Letters you received?

A. It was not my Uſe.

Q. Whether, if you have looked at your Letter Book lately, you do not know that there occur ſeveral Inſtances, Twenty or Thirty at leaſt, in your Letter Book A.? Have you looked at your Letter Book A lately?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. And have you obſerved that there are ſuch Omiſſions?

A. I do obſerve Marginal Notes referring to Incloſures, which Incloſures are not in the Book.

Q. Have you obſerved any Inſtances where Incloſures are inſerted?

A. In looking over the Book, I have not obſerved any Incloſures; probably there might be Incloſures, but I obſerved a great Number of marginal Notes of Incloſures, which are not in the Book. All I can venture to ſay is, that it was not the uſual Cuſtom to inſert Incloſures in that Book.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether you ever had any Communication with Mr. Haſtings, directly or indirectly, reſpecting your Letter Books, prior to your Diſcloſure of them at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons?

A. No; moſt certainly not.

Q. Whether you had any Communication, directly or indirectly, with Mr. Haſtings reſpecting this Book, prior to your Examination at this Bar?

A. No.

Q. Do you recollect with Certainty, whether the Originals of the Letters written by Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon to the Begums, or Originals accompanied with Copies, were delivered to you by Major Gilpin?

A. I have before informed your Lordſhips, that to the beſt of my Memory, only the original Letters themſelves were delivered to me by Major Gilpin. I have no Reaſon to alter that Belief; I have Reaſon to think, and I am confirmed in my Belief, that only the original Letters were delivered to me by Major Gilpin.

Q. Whether it was the Uſage of your Office to tranſmit to Calcutta all the Letters you received at Lucknow, or only ſuch of them as you conceived to be important to the Tranſactions you were managing for the Company?

A. It certainly was not the Practice of the Office during my Reſidence there; and I believe it will be found it was not the Practice of my Predeceſſor, or of my Succeſſor.

Q. Whether you do not know that the Begum, the Mother of the Nabob, uſed, at the Time he paid her Viſits, to expreſs particular Diſſatisfaction to him, on account of his Connexion with the Engliſh?

A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay on what Account it was—The Elder Begum generally did expreſs great Diſlike to the Nabob, and by Marks that were very uncommon; but I cannot pretend to ſay, that it was on account of his Connexion with the Engliſh, nor have I any Reaſon to think it was.

Q. What were the Marks of Diſſatisfaction?

A. The Nabob ſtood in very great Awe of the Elder Begum; and I do not know that he ever went to ſee her without inſiſting upon my accompanying him; he uſed to leave me in the outer Apartment, while he himſelf went in to the inner Apartment to viſit the Elder Begum; and I have been told (with what Truth I do not know) that as ſoon as he retired from the Apartment where he met the Elder Begum, it was her Practice to throw away the Muſnud on which he ſat, as a Mark of her Diſlike or Contempt; but what her Motives were for it, I cannot ſay.——Will your Lordſhips give me Leave, before I go from the Bar, to correct Two other ſmall Miſtakes in my Evidence. In my Examination at your Lordſhips Bar, I was aſked particularly as to a Letter from Captain Macdonald; the Impreſſion that was upon my Mind at that Time was, that the Letter had been ſent to me at Chunar; but, upon looking into Mr. Haſtings's Narrative, I find the Letter was incloſed by Mr. Barnet, the Jew I ſpoke of before, in a Letter to Mr. Haſtings himſelf;—I wiſh to correct that Part of my Evidence which ſays, it was ſent to me perſonally; I am clear it was ſent to Mr. Haſtings, and it is mentioned as an Incloſure in Mr. Barnet's Letter. There is another Miſtake, upon a long Examination, reſpecting the Part I had in the Affidavits, taken before Sir Elijah Impey at Lucknow. I mentioned that, to the Beſt of my Recollection and Belief, I never had any Communication with any Perſon but Colonel Hannay, or took any Meaſures with any Perſon but Colonel Hannay; but, on looking at my Correſpondence, I do find a Letter from myſelf to Mr. Shee at Furrackabad, written at the ſame Time, requeſting him to furniſh me with any Information that might have come to his Knowledge reſpecting the Inſurrection at Benares. The Letter to him is dated 14th of November; his Anſwer is the 18th of the ſame Month. If your Lordſhips will give Leave, I ſhould wiſh that to be altered.

Q. You have ſtated, that you ordered the Women of the Zenana to be kept confined and guarded. Since theſe Orders came from you, and not from the Nabob, was it not your Duty likewiſe to give Directions that the Women in the Zenana and Khourd Mahl ſhould be ſupplied with Neceſſaries?

A. I apprehend it is not exactly as it is ſtated; I do not recollect that there was any Order for confining the Women in the Khourd Mahl.

Q. Were there any Orders for confining the Women in any Place?

A. I do not recollect that there were.

Q. You have ſaid in your Examination, Page 604, in Anſwer to a good many Queſtions, that you took the Originals of the Treaty of Chunar with you to Lucknow, for which Place you ſet out the Day after the Treaty was executed, and that Mr. Haſtings had no Copy of that Treaty, till you, at ſome Diſtance of Time, ſent him down a Copy by a Dawk, or common Meſſenger; and at a further Period you ſent him, by Colonel Hannay, the Original; that is the Effect of the Evidence?

A. It is.

Q. Do you wiſh, upon Recollection, to correct that Evidence?

A. I believe the Evidence is correct; but I was inaccurate in one Part, reſpecting the Chunar Treaty. I mentioned having carried them both to Lucknow. I am very clear, that the Part that the Governor General himſelf ſigned was delivered to the Nabob at Chunar, the ſame, or the very next Day: As in a Letter from Mr. Auriol, Secretary to the Council at Calcutta, written by Direction of the Council, I was applied to for that Part of that Treaty; upon that I was induced to enquire where the Treaty was, and then I ſaw it in the Nabob's Poſſeſſion. I cannot be certain as to the Time when it was delivered to him; but I apprehend it was at Chunar, or the next Day, and my Anſwer to Mr. Auriol is dated the 16th of September, where I mention having ſeen it in the Nabob's Poſſeſſion.

Q. Then, from the Inſpection of that Letter of Mr. Auriol, you think you have made one Miſtake in that Account?

A. Yes. I do.

Q. You ſeem to be miſtaken, for the Effect of your Evidence is, that you took the Treaties with you. Both Parts, according to your Evidence, were taken from Chunar to Lucknow; and the firſt Account Mr. Haſtings received was a Copy ſent by you afterwards by a Dawk. You were aſked, How long was it before you ſent Mr. Haſtings a Copy of that Treaty? You ſaid, your Letter upon that Subject would aſcertain the Date; that you firſt ſent him Copies of the Treaties, and afterwards the Originals. Now, there is a Letter from Mr. Haſtings on the 23d of September 1781, which is only Three Days after you left Chunar, in which it is ſtated thus: "having on the 19th inſtant entered into certain Engagements with the Nabob Vizeer, tending to relieve his Finances of a Burthen they were no longer able to ſuſtain, with ſundry other Clauſes, the Execution of which is intruſted to you, I herewith incloſe an authentic Copy of the ſame, for your Guidance. The Nabob, on his Behalf, has ſubſcribed and ſealed an Agreement in your Preſence, and in the Preſence of Mr. Richard Johnſon and Hyder Beg Khan, reſpecting the better Adminiſtration of his Affairs; of which I alſo tranſmit you an authentic Copy." (*a*) Now, conſiſtently with this Letter, it is impoſſible that your Account can be correct?

A. That Letter was written and delivered to me, or I apprehend ſo, at the Time of ſigning the Treaty: It is my Inſtructions from Mr. Haſtings upon the Treaty.

Q. Attend to this Circumſtance. The Treaty was ſigned upon the 19th of October: You left Chunar upon the 20th; it might be a prior Date to the 20th, but could not be of a Date Three Days after the 20th?

A. That Letter, I am pretty certain, was delivered to me when I left Chunar. It is poſſible there may have been a Miſtake in the Date of it, or in the Date of the Treaty; but I am very poſitive that Letter was delivered to me with the Treaty itſelf.

Q. Do you wiſh that ſhould ſtand as a Solution between the Letter and the Evidence, that this Letter was delivered to you at the Time the Treaty was ſigned?

A. I am clear it was delivered to me at the Time of the Treaty, and I cannot pretend to ſay whether the Letter or the Treaty is miſdated.

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

The Managers for the Commons acquainted the Houſe, they here cloſed the Evidence upon the Second Article of Charge.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, Page 146.

Die Martis, 3° *Junij* 1788.

THE Lords being in their Places, the Houſe reſumed, the uſual Proclamations made, and the Defendant appearing at the Bar, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Managers for the Commons, they might proceed to make good their Charge.

Then Mr. Sheridan was heard to ſum up the Evidence, in Part, upon the Second Article of Charge.

Then the Houſe adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SECOND ARTICLE of CHARGE.

APPENDIX, N° I. (*a*)

Extract of a Letter from Warren Haſtings Eſquire, to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 18th May 1775.

Honourable Sirs,

YOU will be informed by the General Letter from the Secret Department, of the Decree paſſed by the Majority on the 9th inſtant, for diſmiſſing Munny Begum from her Office of Guardian to the Nabob, and from the Charge of his Houſehold; and conferring thoſe Truſts on Rajah Coordaſs, the Son of Mahraja Nundcomar.

A Revolution ſo ſudden, ſo extraordinary, and ſo important in all its Conſequences, required the moſt wary Circumſpection in thoſe who projected it, and the moſt aſſured Conviction, both of its Juſtice and Neceſſity, before they carried it into Execution. It will naturally be concluded, that they proceeded on ſome Proofs, or ſtrong Preſumption, that the Begum had diſſipated or embezzled the Nabob's Eſtate, groſsly neglected his Education, or engaged in Projects which might injure the Peace of the Country, the Company's Intereſts, or their Connection with the Nabob; or, at leaſt, that ſhe had been concerned in Diſputes with their Government, or Encroachments on their Dewanny Privileges. [* You will expect, that in the Proceedings againſt the Begum, the ſtricteſt Regard will have been paid to her Honour; and every ſcrupulous Attention obſerved which the Delicacy of the Oriental Manners preſcribed with reſpect to her Sex, and her Rank and Character particularly demand.

(Signed, at the End of the Letter)
Warren Haſtings.]

APPENDIX, N° II.

Extract of a Letter from Warren Haſtings Eſquire, to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 31ſt July 1775.

THE Begum, ſince her Diſgrace, has been added to the Liſt of my Accuſers. The Manner in which this extraordinary Manœuvre was effected will be too plainly ſuggeſted, even by the Facts which appear in the abrupt and myſterious Relation of it by Mr. Goring.

[† Mr. Goring was deputed by the Board to diveſt the Begum of her Authority, to place it in the Hands of the Son of Nund Comar, to receive from the Begum the Accounts of the Nabob's Expences, and to deliver them to the Gentlemen who were, at the ſame Time, appointed to examine and report them to the Board. What private Inſtructions he received I know not; but One of his firſt Acts of Authority, after having taken Care to impreſs the Begum with a proper Idea of the Extent of his Power over her own Perſon, by apprizing her of the Order of the Board for her Removal from the Palace to a remote Houſe in the City, and that the Execution of this Order depended ſolely on his Option, was to impriſon Etwar Ally Cawn, her chief Eunuch and confidential Servant, on the Complaint of One of the Servants of the Houſehold reſpecting a private Grievance, totally foreign from the declared Purpoſes of Mr. Goring's Commiſſion. By this Species of Torture, inflicted on the Mind of a weak Woman, who had hitherto been accuſtomed to the gentleſt Treatment, and moſt reſpectful Addreſs, from all Perſons of what Rank ſoever who approached her, ſhe was compelled to deliver a Paper to Mr. Goring, containing an Account of Two Sums charged to have been paid to Mr. Middleton and myſelf, each amounting to 150,000 Rupees.] Etwar Ally was in conſequence immediately releaſed from Impriſonment, and the Begum permitted to continue in Poſſeſſion of her own Apartments.

It is remarkable, that even the obvious Precaution of introducing this ſtrange Production, with ſome Circumſtances which might mark it as the voluntary Act of the Begum, was totally diſregarded;

(*a*) The Parts marked with the Hands pointing, and encloſed in this Bracket [ ], are the Parts actually read by the Managers for the Commons: The Parts marked with inverted Commas and incloſed thus §()§ are the Parts actually read by the Counſel for the Defendant.

* Vide ſupra, Page 419. † Vide ſupra, Page 420.

regarded; and the Begum, a Woman of the firſt Rank in the Province, made abruptly to preſent a formal Accuſation againſt the Firſt Member of the preſent, and the Two firſt Members of the laſt Adminiſtration, with the gloomy Silence of a common mercenary Informer.

The following Extracts will ſerve as a Specimen of the Oppreſſion exerciſed on the Begum and her Officers, the Mode choſen by Mr. Goring for eluding the Appeals which ſhe might be provoked to make to the Supreme Court of Juſtice, and the Deriſion with which this inſolent young Man has dared to treat her Feelings, even in a Letter written by him to the Council.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Goring to the Board, dated the 17th May 1775.

" On the Begum's hearing that Part of the Letter read relating to her being removed to Meer " Jaffier's Houſe, ſhe exclaimed againſt it; and ſaid, that if ſhe was to quit the Kella, ſhe would " go to Calcutta. I told her this was a diſcretionary Order and left to me, if I thought it neceſ- " ſary, explaining to her that Part of my Inſtructions, and aſſuring her ſhe ſhould be uſed with " the utmoſt Reſpect, according to your Orders. I beg to know, however, if you will admit of " her going to Calcutta, ſhould I find it neceſſary to remove her from the Kella, which I fear I " ſhall, from the Character of the People about her, particularly Etwar Ally Cawn, and Roy Ang- " ſing, the Head of the Hircarrahs, who have been the chief Managers ſince the Begum has had " Charge of the Nabob, and who have accumulated great Wealth, particularly the former, by " his Excellency's Account, who was raiſed from a menial Station to the One he now holds.

" As the Begum hinted that there were Courts of Juſtice at Calcutta, and that the Aggrieved " could there get Redreſs, if you think proper, all Orders for confining the Servants, who may be " or are faulty, ſhall be iſſued in the Nabob's Name, who, I apprehend, has an undoubted Right " over them."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Goring to the Board, dated the 5th of June.

" I have only to add, that, previous to ſending the above Papers, I waited on her (the Begum) " with the Nabob and Goordaſs. On mentioning the Matter, ſhe flew into a violent Paſſion, abuſed " Goordaſs, beat herſelf, and denied the Whole."

Extract of a Letter from Nonidroy, addreſſed to the General and the Gentlemen of the Council, and entered in Conſultation of the 24th July.

" On the Second of the ſame Month, between Seven and Eight in the Morning, Rajah " Goordaſs went to Ferralang, and was received very graciouſly by Mr. Goring, who ex- " preſſed his Pleaſure at the Kindneſs of the Rajah in this Viſit: After which, they entered into " Converſation with Chyton Durr, the Behla Treaſurer, concerning the Nezeranna given to the " Governor, amounting to Two Lacks of Rupees, which were ſent to Calcutta at the Time of the " Begum's being inveſted with the Adminiſtration. At laſt, the ſaid Treaſurer mentioned ſome- " thing contrary to the Orders of the ſaid Gentleman, and was therefore put under a Guard of " Sepoys for near Two Hours; after which, he agreed that he would relate, in the Evening, " whatever he might be able to diſcover from Yatebar Ally Cawn, and from an Examination into " the Papers: On this he was releaſed. Rajah Gourdaſs, and the ſaid Treaſurer, went, in the " Evening, to Ferralang, and remained there till near Eight at Night. I underſtand that no- " thing was ſettled. Victuals being ſent to Mr. Goring from the Nabob's Sircar, according to " our eſtabliſhed Cuſtom, he ſent it back again. The Papers of the Seriſhta of the Nizamut " Behla, &c. remained open from Nine o'Clock in the Morning till Seven in the Evening."

Mr. Goring ſtill continues at the City, notwithſtanding the oſtenſible Purpoſes of his Commiſſion are, or ought to have been long ago, concluded; retaining the Begums in the moſt abſolute State of Dependance, and perſiſting in his Endeavours to extort from her further Accuſations; ſometimes practiſing on her Fears by Threats, at others tempting her by Promiſes of reſtoring her former Authority. This I learn from private Information; but I do not think it ſafe to divulge my Authority. You will judge of the Probability of it, from the Facts avowed by Mr. Goring, in his Letters, and from the general Tenor of his Commiſſion. This Treatment of the Begum has hitherto produced no other Effect, than to irritate her to ſhort Guſts of Anger, and ineffectual Reſolutions to come down to Calcutta, for an Aſylum againſt a Tyranny which ſhe could no longer ſubmit to.

Such is the State of the Perſon, whom your former Adminiſtration thought worthy of being placed in the Firſt Office of Dignity in theſe Provinces, and whom your ſubſequent Commands have ſince confirmed in that Truſt, with Expreſſions of your fulleſt Approbation; and even the moſt honourable Teſtimonies of your Applauſe beſtowed on myſelf, for the Part which I had in the Plan and Conduct of this Tranſaction.

As your Curioſity may be excited to read at large the Proceedings on the Diſmiſſion, and ſubſequent Treatment of Munny Begum, and the other Matters produced from both, I beg Leave to recommend to your Peruſal the following Conſultations of the Secret Department in which they will be found, viz. 1ſt, 5th, 9th, 10th, and 25th May; 8th and 12th June, and 24th July.

APPENDIX, N° III.

Fort William, the 1st March 1776.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, and } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

READ, the following Letters and Encloſures from the Calcutta Committee of Revenue.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, and Council of Revenue at Fort William.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

We beg Leave to tranſmit you Copies of Five Arzees, which we have juſt received from Rajah Indenarrain of 7 Annas Tumlook, Ranee Janeckee of Myzadel, Goirn Deo Hiſhore Chund, Chowdries of Myhutty, the Zemindars of Chuckla Hidgelee, and the Zemindar of Pergunna Mahamud Ameenpore.

☞ [(a) The Arzees ſpeak ſo clearly for themſelves, they need little Comment thereon; but we muſt beg Leave to obſerve, that we think the Peons ſent by the Supreme Court to the Zemindars of 7 Annas Tumlook, have acted in a moſt unjuſtifiable Manner, not only in prohibiting his Women from Fire and Water, but particularly in entering their Apartments, which have hitherto, by all Governments, been held ſacred. We hope, Gentlemen, ſuch unwarrantable Behaviour will be taken Notice of by you in the Manner it deſerves; as ſuch Acts of Violence, and Violation of the Hindoo Laws, muſt tend not only to diſgrace us, as a national Body, with the Natives, but likewiſe to breed a Diſguſt in their Minds, that may tend to the moſt ſerious Conſequences;] ſetting aſide the inevitable Loſs it will be attended with in the Revenue, which we have Reaſon to think will be great, from the heavy Balances ſtill remaining to be collected. In ſhort, Gentlemen, what with the ſeizing the Servants of Government, and confining them in Gaol, and what with the Confuſion the Mofuſſil is thrown into, we have the moſt melancholy Proſpect before us. ☜

We have frequently troubled you on Subjects of the Nature, and we beg Leave again to repeat, that, from daily Experience, we find the Authority with which you have inveſted us is abſolutely, or very nearly, annihilated: Our Black Servants fear to do their Duty; and we know not how to compel them, from Reaſons abovementioned, and are almoſt tempted, from Deſpair of being able to conduct the Buſineſs of our Department, either to our own Credit or your Satisfaction, to requeſt your Permiſſion to reſign our ſeveral Employs in the Revenue Branch; but as we conſider ſuch a Step might ſubject us to the Cenſure of deſerting the Intereſts of our Employers, at a Time when our moſt ſtrenuous Services are required, we are determined to perſevere, in the beſt Manner we are able, in our Endeavours for their Service, relying on yours and their Juſtice not to hold us reſponſible for that Succeſs in their Affairs, which we have not Power to procure.

We are, &c.

Fort William,
the 26th January 1776.

C. Goring,
W. Marriott,
P. Moore.

Rajah Indenarrain, Zemindar of $\frac{7}{16}$ Pergunna Tumlock.

I never was in the Service of any Engliſh Gentleman, nor am I Pottah Holder in Calcutta, but one of the King's Zemindars; yet Gopy Nazir and Latta Perriſram have entered a Proſecution againſt me in the Supreme Court for an old Debt, and ſent after me a Warrant and Peons; they arrived while I was making a Tour of the Pergunnah, in order to look after the Buſineſs both of the Grain and Salt; the common Door was ſhut, but they climbed up the Poſt, and made their Way in; they paſſed through two Apartments, and ſeated themſelves in thoſe which contained the Women; they prohibited them Fire and Water, and began to be abuſive.

Coja Petroos had before proſecuted Perjenaut Doſs, the Naib Zemindar, for an old Debt, and ſent a Warrant; he was frightened, and abſconded, and all other Officers who tranſacted the Buſineſs of the Collections abſconded alſo: This was productive of prejudicial Conſequences to the Revenue and Salt. I am unacquainted with the Buſineſs and Nature of Courts, and ſhall not be able to ſupport my Cauſe in it. I am required to give a Pottah Holder of Calcutta for my Security. I live at a Diſtance from Calcutta, and have no one whom I can give for my Security there. An Huſtabood has been taken of my Zemindarry, and it is under Sequeſtration. I am diſtreſſed for the Means of Maintenance, much leſs can I ſupport an expenſive Suit in the Court.

(a) Vide ſupra, Page 421.

Should

Should this Suit be profecuted in the Supreme Court, neither my Life nor my Zemindarry will be fecure. I beg the Caufe may be fettled either in the Khalfa or in the Zella.

A true Copy.
Robert Holme, Affiftant Secretary. (Signed)

Rannee Jankee, Zemindar of Pergunna Myfaudil Goomgur, &c. in Chuckla Hidgelee.

I and my Officers have been profecuted for old Debts, and on various Accounts, in the Supreme Court, and Warrants have been iffued againft us, by which we are much diftreffed: One Warrant has been procured againft my Officer by Punchanand Gofe, a Refident of Midnapore, who, in the Year 1167 B. S. when Coffim Ally Khan was Nabob, was the Sherifhtadar of Meer Attah Oollah Ahdadar. At this Time he came to Myfaudil, and embezzled a confiderable Sum, after which he abfconded from the Pergunnah; but he has fince drawn out two or three Memorials, which were never compared by any of my Officers, which he has produced in the Supreme Court, and procured Warrants againft my Officers. I am required to give a Pottah Holder in Calcutta for my Security. I am poor, and all my Officers too are poor. How can I prevail upon a Pottah Holder in Calcutta to be my Security? If a Warrant is iffued upon every Complaint of this Kind, it will be Confufion to the Bufinefs of my Zemindarry: My Zemindarry has always been under your Care, and has never been fubject to the Jurifdiction of the Court. My Servants know not how to act in a Court. I therefore requeft you will order Matters, which concern my Zemindarry, to be fettled either by the Council, or the Committee, or the Gilla Adawlet.

A true Copy.
Robert Holme, Affiftant Secretary. (Signed)

Govind Deo and Kifhoer Chund, Chowdries of Pergunnah Myhutta, &c.

This Petition contains almoft the fame Words as that of the Zemindars of Pergunna Mahomed Aumeenpore; but fets forth, in Addition, that Shaum Chuccerverly has taken out a Warrant againft them, which they requeft may be ftopped.

A true Copy.
Robert Holme, Affiftant Secretary. (Signed)

Zemindars of Chuckla Hidgelee.

We are the King's Zemindars, and are neither in the Service of the Company or any Engliih Gentleman. We have never had any Practice in Engliih Courts, nor can we form any Idea of it: Whenever a Warrant is taken out, we are obliged to give a Pottah Holder in Calcutta for our Security. We are not Pottah Holders—why then fhould we expect a Pottah Holder will be our Security? Yet Buffunt Roy and Cundrip have entered Profecutions againft us, and procured Summonfes and Warrants, and diftreffed us beyond Meafure: We therefore requeft, that if any Man has a juft Claim againft us, he may prefer it either in the Khalfa or in the Adawlet. We will attend to anfwer it. We are terrified at the Thought of the Supreme Court.

A true Copy.
Robert Holme, Affiftant Refident. (Signed)

Zemindars of Pergunnah Mahomed Aumeenpore, &c. in Chuckla Houghly.

We are the King's Zemindars, and never have been either in the Service of the Engliih Company or of Engliih Gentlemen, nor are we Pottah Holders in Calcutta, but we attend here for the Purpofe of paying the Government's Revenue, yet Warrants have been iffued againft us by the Supreme Court, in Confequence of fome old Bonds produced, which were executed by our Fathers and Grandfathers. We are unacquainted with Engliih Courts. Whenever a Warrant is iffued, we are required to give a Pottah Holder in Calcutta for our Security. We are not Pottah Holders in Calcutta, and why fhould any Calcutta Pottah Holder be our Security? The Warrants iffued againft us put us under Apprehenfions, even with Regard to our Lives. Should any One have a juft Claim upon us, he may obtain Redrefs, either by complaining in the Khalfa or to the Gilla Adawlet. We are ready to anfwer any Complaint there.

A true Copy.
Robert Holme, Affiftant Secretary. (Signed)

APPENDIX, N° IV.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 21ſt December 1775, from Book 78, beginning at Page 431 of the ſame Book.

Secret Dept. Thurſday.

Fort William, the 21ſt December 1775.

At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering.
The Honourable George Monſon.
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

THE Governor General lays before the Board the following Letter from Bow Begum, Mother of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla, received by her Servant Coja Shagoon Ally Cawn.

From the Baboo Begham, Mother of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla: Received the 20th December 1775.

A long Space of Time has elapſed ſince I have had the Pleaſure of a Letter from you, during which I have been continually on the Rack of Expectation. I formerly ſent you a Letter expreſſive of my Friendſhip, through the Channel of Mr. Briſtow, to which I have not yet been favoured with an Anſwer: I do not impute this to Unkindneſs, but ſuppoſe that you never received that Letter. How ſhall I repreſent you my diſtreſsful Situation! My Grief is without Bounds, and my Life a Burthen to me. Since the Deceaſe of the late bleſſed Nabob, I have bid adieu to all worldly Affairs, and with a broken Heart given myſelf up to Sorrow. I cannot bear the Reflection of my own melancholy Situation—how can I repreſent it to others? My wounded Heart is made to bleed afreſh every Inſtant, and Fortune ſeems to take Delight in tormenting me.

As my Son the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla is entirely unexperienced in the Affairs of the World, and ignorant of what is good or bad, Murtezza Cawn has taken Advantage of his Inexperience, and turned his Thoughts to frivolous Amuſements, and has taken on himſelf the entire Management of all the Affairs of the Government, appointing his Brethren Foujedars in all the different Soubahs. My Son the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah took from me, the Firſt Time, Thirteen Lacks of Rupees for the Diſcharge of the Dues to the Engliſh Chiefs, giving me a written Engagement to repay this Sum in the Space of a Month. The Second Time he ſent Salar Jung and Murtezza Cawn to me with a Meſſage, importing, that he was in Want of Money to diſcharge his Debts to the Engliſh Chiefs. I then delivered Seven Lacks of Rupees, with Jewels. The Third Time he came to me himſelf, and informed me of the Importunity of the Engliſh Chiefs. Though I was convinced that this was a Leſſon taught him by Murtezza Cawn, I nevertheleſs delivered him Six Lacks of Rupees in Specie, together with Jewels. He gave me a written Engagement, and promiſed on Oath, that all theſe Sums ſhould be repaid me. Some Time afterwards my Son ſent Mr. Briſtow to me for further Sums. Mr. Briſtow wrote me many Letters, deſiring that I would furniſh Money, or the Nabob's Affairs would be ruined. After a long Correſpondence, Mr. Briſtow went to the Nabob, and ſoon afterwards came to my Houſe, accompanied by Sallar Jung and Murtezza Cawn, and ſent a Meſſage to me, that if I would furniſh the Sums wanted quietly, it was well; if not, he would withhold Proviſions from me, and take the Money; that he would even beat my People, and ſend Men into my Houſe to plunder whatever they found there. I returned for Anſwer, 'Do whatever is in your Power.' As Mr. Briſtow was concerned in this Affair, it was at laſt ſettled by an Agreement under that Gentleman's Seal, on the Payment of the Sum of Thirty Lacks of Rupees: Out of theſe Thirty Lacks it was agreed that Eleven Lacks ſhould be in Goods, Elephants, and Camels, and the Remainder in Specie and Jewels. I aſſented, concluding that, as Mr. Briſtow was a Party in the Affair, it would be conducted in a proper Manner; but they valued the Goods which they took at a Fourth Part of their intrinſic Worth—how then could I make good the Sum? The Amount of the ſeveral Sums taken from me by the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, in Specie, Jewels, and Goods, is Fifty-ſix Lacks of Rupees.

He formerly gave into my Poſſeſſion for the Diſcharge of the Monies due to me, the Mahals of Acberpore, &c. but after a few Days took them from me again.

My Son and Murtezza Cawn ſent me Word, that I had written to, and received many Letters from, Mr. Haſtings; that I now ſaw of what Effect they were—ſuch ironical Anſwers did they ſend me. I did ſome Time ago write you a Letter, but mentioned therein nothing to the Diſadvantage of my Son—this you well know. Let me have a Letter in Anſwer from you, and write

to the Engliſh Chiefs to afford me their Aſſiſtance and Support, and communicate to me the Subſtance of ſuch Letters, that I may apply to them in Conſequence.

Murtezza Cawn is ſtriving with all his Might for the Ruin of this antient Family, which he wiſhes utterly to deſtroy. If it is your Pleaſure that the Mother of the late bleſſed Nabob, myſelf, and his other Women, and Infant Children, ſhould be reduced to a State of Diſhonour and Diſtreſs, we muſt ſubmit; but if, on the contrary, you call to Mind the Friendſhip of the late bleſſed Nabob, you will exert yourſelf ſo effectually in Favour of us, who are helpleſs, as to remove Murtezza Cawn. He is the Author of all the Evil. I have no Diſpleaſure againſt the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah—let him be Maſter of his own Affairs. If you do not approve of my remaining at Fyzabad, ſend a Perſon here in your Name, to remove the Mother of the late Nabob, myſelf, and about Two thouſand other Women and Children of the ſaid bleſſed Nabob's, together with the Women of the Nabob Burhan ul Mulck, and thoſe of Suſdar Jung, from this City, that we may reſide with Honour and Reputation in ſome other Place—we cannot even exiſt here. Whatever Remedy occurs to your Wiſdom, let it be applied without Delay, for we are now brought to the very Brink of Diſhonour. In the Nabob's Life-time he was poſſeſſed of no more than the ſingle Soubah, and the Dues of the Engliſh Chiefs were paid out of the Revenues of it, as alſo the Expences of his Army and his own. At preſent, that the Soubah is increaſed to Three Times its former Extent, what becomes of the Revenue? No one thinks of making this Inquiry; but Sums are continually taken from us helpleſs Women. Murtezza Cawn poſſeſſes the Sole Authority in the Nabob's Family, and his Brethren are Fougedars over all the Provinces, the Revenues of which they embezzle and diſſipate.

Murtezza Cawn and Mr. Briſtow, as ſoon as they had taken 30 Lacks of Rupees from me, went to Lucknow, from whence Murtezza Cawn ſent Word, that my People were not to be admitted into the Kellah; in conſequence of which they have been prohibited going there, nor are any of my Things ſuffered to be brought out. Murtezza Cawn has alſo ſent Word, that the Things which his People took from me are the Property of the Sirkar; that they muſt not be conſidered as Part of the 30 Lacks of Rupees, but ſent to the Nabob.—A Guard has been placed on my Goods.

I one Day ſent ſome Copper Furniture to be ſold in the Buzar, but the Guard would not ſuffer them to paſs. I ſay frequently, Take the Copper Utenſils at their Value, as a Part of the Eleven Lacks of Rupees; but no one will attend to me: In a Word, I am reduced to the moſt aſtoniſhing Diſtreſs. For the Sake of God, and of your Prophet, relieve me from my Misfortunes. It is written in the Coulnama, "I have taken 56 Lacks of Rupees on Account of my "Inheritance." I ſent Word, that others had a Right to Part of the Inheritance. Murtezza Cawn replied, I have taken the Inheritance of all.—I have now given you a Detail of every Circumſtance. I ſend to your Preſence Mahomed Shagoon Ally Cawn an Eunuch, who is poſſeſſed of my Confidence. For further Particulars I muſt refer you to him.

I incloſe for your Inſpection Copies of the Coulnamas in my Poſſeſſion, under the Seals of Mr. Briſtow, the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, and Murtezza Cawn.

☞ [(*a*) I went to the Nabob, when the Hour of his Death approached, and aſked him to whoſe Charge he left me? He replied, "Apply to Mr. Haſtings whenever you have Occaſion for Aſſiſt-"ance; he will befriend you when I am no more, and will comply with whatever you may deſire "of him."] The Recollection of the long Friendſhip which ſubſiſted between you has induced me ☜ to write you ſo particularly.

In the Coulnama given by Mr. Briſtow and the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, it is written, that it is agreed 19 Lacks of Rupees out of the 30 ſhall be in Specie, and 11 Lacks in Goods, Elephants, and Camels. I accordingly paid the 19 Lacks in Specie and Jewels; and, with reſpect to the Goods, Elephants, and Camels, which I delivered on Account of the 11 Lacks of Rupees, the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah and Murtezzah Cawn have ſent Word that they are the Property of the Sirkar, and will not be allowed a Part of the 11 Lacks of Rupees. I wrote a full Account of theſe Circumſtances to Mr. Briſtow; who returned me for Anſwer, at the Deſire of Murtezza Cawn, that thoſe Goods, Elephants, and Camels, are the Property of the Sirkar. I returned an Anſwer to Mr. Briſtow, in which I ſaid, "From whence ſhould I procure them? all that I poſſeſs is by the Bounty of the late bleſſed Nabob:" Nobody will pay Attention to this, but they are bent at all Events to diſhonour me; they have again ſent People to diſgrace and force Money from me. I have all along placed my Reliance on you. Should the Anſwer to this Letter be delayed, my Affairs will be ruined, and I ſhall ſuffer the greateſt Diſgrace: Let me be ſpeedily favoured with a ſatisfactory Anſwer, for which I am very anxious. The Affair before mentioned was ſettled on Condition of my paying 30 Lacks of Rupees: I accordingly paid 19 Lacks in Specie and Jewels, and gave Goods, Elephants, and Camels, to the Value of 11 Lacks. When an Account of the Price of the ſeveral Goods was making, Murtezza Cawn ſent Word to have them brought without Valuation, which was accordingly done: I ſent Word of this to Mr. Briſtow, ſaying, "Is this the "Method of obſerving Engagements?" He replied, "I am told by the Nabob and others, that "the Goods you have delivered are the Property of the Sirkar." No one will pay Attention to what I ſay. Aſoph ul Dowlah and Murtezza Cawn have again ſent People to me to demand 11

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 422.

Lacks

Lacks of Rupees—where ſhall I procure this Money? I am oppreſſed beyond Meaſure. Favour me with a Letter to Mr. Briſtow to the following Purport, that One Company may be ſtationed as a Guard at my Houſe to prevent my being oppreſſed; write alſo to the Engliſh Chiefs here, that whenever I have a Mind I may begin my Journey to Kerbelah, and that no One is to obſtruct or hinder me. When I am delivered from the Burthen of theſe Misfortunes, I will proceed to you. Should I be tired with remaining here, I will go to Benares or Azimabad, and ſtay there for ſome Time, or will proceed to you: Be ſo kind as to write on this Subject to the Engliſh Chiefs here, and direct, that whenever I chuſe to ſet off for Benares or Azimabad, they are to ſupply me with an Eſcort to conduct me thither in Safety. The late bleſſed Nabob called you his Brother and mine too. Exert yourſelf ſo effectually in Favour of us helpleſs Women, that Murtezza Cawn may be diſplaced, and Mahomed Elich Cawn and Mahomed Buſheer Cawn be reſtored to the Offices they held in this Soubah in the Life-time of the late bleſſed Nabob, by them the Revenues will be collected; and whatever Sums are due to the Engliſh Chiefs, I will cauſe to be paid out of the Revenues: This I will ſtrictly perform. I am induced to repreſent all theſe Matters to you, ☞ ſolely from my Regard to the Proſperity of this Family. [(a) Do you act in ſuch a Manner as to ſecure the Proſperity of this Family, by which your Name will be tranſmitted with Honour to the lateſt Poſterity, for having preſerved your Friendſhip to the late Nabob beyond the Grave.] Murtezza ☞ Cawn is ſo far from wiſhing well to this Family, that he is deſirous of its Deſtruction, that he may raiſe himſelf on its Ruin: He is in Fact at preſent poſſeſſed of abſolute Dominion.

You have doubtleſs learnt the Tranſactions of this Part from the Newſpapers. I have written nothing but the Truth: For the Reſt, you are the Maſter, to act as you think moſt proper. Favour me with an immediate Anſwer to this Letter.

The Encloſures mentioned above are the ſame as thoſe tranſmitted by Mr. Briſtow, and have been already tranſlated, and ſent in to the Council.

Agreed, that it lie for Conſideration.

Warren Haſtings.
John Clavering.
George Monſon.
Rich[d] Barwell.
P. Francis.

APPENDIX, N° V.

Book 90.

Letter from the Governor General to the Nabob Vizier. Written 3d April 1778.

I Have received Information through a Variety of Channels of ſeveral Meaſures adopted by your Excellency reſpecting the Two Bhegums, and others of a Nature which have a Tendency to draw Reproach on your Government, and to leſſen your Credit in the Eyes of the World: Theſe have likewiſe been confirmed by Letters from Mr. Middleton, and by the general Voice of thoſe who have been in your Excellency's Dominions, who concur in reporting that the Family of the late Nabob are reduced to ſo great Diſtreſs, as to be even in Want of the common Neceſſaries of Life.

It is not without the deepeſt Regret that I find myſelf under the Neceſſity of interfering in Matters of ſo delicate a Nature; yet the Friendſhip I bear to your Excellency, and the Honour of my Employers, whoſe Connection with you is ſuch, that every Act of your Government, which either encreaſes or diminiſhes your Reputation, affects theirs in the ſame Manner, obliges me to point them out to you, and to give you my Sentiments thereon, without the leaſt Reſerve.

In the firſt Place, the Bhegum your Grandmother complains, that your Excellency has deprived her of the Allowance eſtabliſhed by the late Nabob for the Maintenance of the Family he left behind him, and have reſumed the Jaghiers and Emoluments of all her Servants and immediate Dependents: That you have made no ſuitable Proviſion for the late Nabob's Women and Children, and entirly neglected their Education: That you ſuffer your Favourites to infringe her Rights, and to inſult your Relations; and, inſtead of giving her and them Redreſs, that you appear to connive at and ſecretly encourage them in ſuch Conduct, by which Means ſhe is ſubjected to the greateſt Mortifications and Indignities.—Theſe are the Grievances complained of by the Alleah Bhegum, your Grandmother—thoſe alledged by Bow Bhegum, your Mother, are of a ſimilar Nature; of unkind Treatment from you, and of your withholding from her certain Jaghiers and Rights which ſhe is entitled to by the Gift of the late Nabob.—Another Inſtance, which I cannot omit, is what is alledged of your Conduct relative to the late Nabob Sheer Jung, who being related to your Family, and having, from his Attachment to the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, been liberally ſupported by him, ſeems to have deſerved better Treatment at your Hands; yet I am informed, that, not contented with reſuming, in his Life-time, the Grants made to him by your late Father, you,

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(a) Vide ſupra, P. 422.

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on his Deceaſe, ordered his Property and private Eſtate to be ſeized, and appropriating it to your own Uſe, deprived his Family of Support; and did not even leave to his Friends the Means of conveying the Corpſe of the Deceaſed to Lucknow.

Although, from the Knowledge I have of the Humanity of your Excellency's Diſpoſition, I am convinced that theſe Reports have been exaggerated, yet they are of ſuch a Nature as to affect your
* Sic in Orig. Highneſs too tenderly to be ſuffered * exiſt. While Appearances remain, the World, who are guided by them, will exclaim againſt theſe as real Facts, and cenſure your Conduct.—As the Dictates of Nature are ſuppoſed to influence Relations to ſeek Support from each other in preference to Strangers, and as Women particularly look for Protection from their Relations of the other Sex, who poſſeſs the Power, it will be conceived, that no Conſideration but the Experience of the moſt unkind and mortifying Treatment could induce them to form the Reſolution of withdrawing themſelves from your Excellency's Dominions.

☞ [(a) The Duty of Children towards Parents is enjoined by all Laws, and the Breach of it condemned by all Nations; this is a general Obligation, which is binding on all Mankind; but the Bhow Bhegum, excluſive of her maternal Right, has a particular Claim to your Excellency's Affection and Kindneſs, as you owe to her Interceſſions with the late Nabob, not only your Elevation to your preſent Greatneſs, but a ſtill more valuable Bleſſing.

I need not point out to your Excellency the Example of your Father, whoſe whole Conduct to the Bhegums was not only marked with Kindneſs and Reſpect, but with Bounty, in the Eſtabliſhment of a handſome Proviſion for them. It is incumbent on your Excellency to imitate him; and by the Obſervation of ſuch a Conduct, as your Duty requires, to remove every unfavourable Imputation; to conciliate the good Opinion of the World; and, in ſhort, to conſtitute yourſelf a Pattern to others.

The Bow Bhegum has a publick Title to my Interpoſition, for the due Maintenance of all the Rights which ſhe poſſeſſes, in virtue of the Treaty executed between your Excellency and her; as Mr. Briſtow, at your Requeſt, pledged the Honour of the Company for the Performance of it. I am compelled not only to ſolicit, but to require, by Right of the Guaranty, that you do not, either directly or indirectly, deviate from the Treaty, but fulfil it in every Inſtance.] ☜

Before I conclude this Subject, permit me to ſuggeſt ſome Obſervations on the Affairs of the late Nabob Sheer Jung, which, although of a more private Nature than the preceding, yet, as the Stability of every Government depends greatly on the Attachment and Confidence impreſſed on the Subjects by the Equity and Moderation of the Ruler, I muſt recommend to your Excellency, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, to reverſe the Reſolution you have taken to the Prejudice of this Family; and to abſtain from every Act in future by which Individuals may be aggrieved, and the Affections of your Subjects alienated. I have explained myſelf more fully on theſe ſeveral Subjects to Mr. Middleton, to whom I beg Leave to refer you.

I muſt add, on my own Part, that I do expect your Compliance on all theſe Points. When I addreſs you in my own Character, I know that, conſidering me as the Friend of your Confidence, you will reply with the Frankneſs and Unreſerve of a Friend; nor ought I to be offended, if my Advice ſhall fail of its entire Effect. But the Sentiments which I now offer are not only my own; it is the collective Body of this Government which ſpeaks you through me; and your own Prudence will ſuggeſt to you, that ſuch a Voice ought not to be heard in vain.

APPENDIX, N° V. A. (b)

Book 84. Page 118.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 29th September 1783.

Fort William, the 29th September 1783.

At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.

John Macpherſon, and John Stables, } Eſquires.

Edward Wheler Eſquire, abſent up the Country.

READ, and approved, the Proceedings of the 22d inſtant.

Read, the following Letters from Mr. Briſtow.

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

Encloſed, I have the Honour to tranſmit you a Copy of my Correſpondence with Major Brown, and hope the Anſwer I returned at the Requiſition of the Miniſter, in his Highneſs' Behalf, will meet with your Approbation.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 422.

(b) The Reference to this Appendix is omitted in the Text by Miſtake: It ought to have been affixed to Major Brown's Letter of the 9th Aug. 1783, beginning in Page 422.

His Highneſs, previous to his Departure for Fyzabad, having told me that his Journey had no other Object than merely a Viſit of Ceremony, upon receiving Major Brown's Letter, I applied to the acting Miniſter to furniſh me with Copies of his Correſpondence, and ſuch Information of his Highneſs's Tranſactions as had come to his Knowledge. He aſſured me that the Reports of his Highneſs's having the leaſt Idea of ill treating the Begums were falſe and ſcandalous, and that the moſt perfect Reconciliation had taken place between them.

The Miniſter has informed me, that the Vizier was importuned to reſtore their Jagheers; but that he has no Intention of complying with ſuch Solicitations, purpoſing to grant them ſuch Allowances in Money as the State of his Finances may admit of.

I have the Honour, &c.

Lucknow,
23d Auguſt 1783.

(Signed) John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

☞ * [Sir,

I have juſt received your Letter of the 5th Inſtant with its Incloſures.

The Evening of the 7th, at a Conference I had with Mirza Shuffee Cawn, he introduced a Subject reſpecting the Nabob Vizier, which, however diſagreeable it may be to you to know, and conſequently to me to communicate, I am under the Neceſſity of laying before you.

He told me that he had received Information from Lucknow, that, by the Advice of Hyder Beg Cawn, the Vizier had determined to bring his Grandmother, the Widow of Sufdar Jung, from Fyzabad to Lucknow, with a View of getting a further Sum of Money from her, by ſeizing on her Eunuchs, digging up the Apartments of her Houſe at Fyzabad, and putting her own Perſon under Reſtraint. This he ſaid he knew was not an Act of our Government, but the mere Advice of Hyder Beg Cawn, to which the Vizier has been induced to attend. He added, that the old Begum had reſolved rather to put herſelf to Death than ſubmit to the Diſgrace intended to be inflicted on her; that if ſuch a Circumſtance ſhould happen, there is not a Man in Hindoſtan who will attribute the Act to the Vizier, but every one will fix the Odium on the Engliſh, who might eaſily, by the Influence they ſo largely exerciſe in their own Concerns there, have prevented ſuch unnatural Conduct in the Vizier.—He therefore called on me, as the Engliſh Repreſentative in this Quarter, to inform you of this, that you may prevent a Step which will deſtroy all Confidence in the Engliſh Nation throughout Hindoſtan, and excite the bittereſt Reſentment in all thoſe who by Blood are connected with the Houſe of Sufdar Jung. He concluded by ſaying, that "if the Vizier ſo little regarded his Family and perſonal Honour, or his natural "Duty, as to wiſh to diſgrace his Father's Mother for a Sum of Money, let him plunder her of "all ſhe has, but let him ſend her ſafe up to Delhi or Agra, and, poor as I am, I will furniſh a "Subſiſtence for her, which ſhe ſhall poſſeſs with Safety and Honour, though it cannot be ade-"quate to her Rank."

This, Sir, is a moſt exact Detail of the Converſation, as far as related to that Affair, on the Part of Mirza Shuffee Cawn; on my Part I could only ſay, that I imagined the Affair was miſrepreſented, and that I ſhould write as he requeſted. Let me therefore requeſt that you will enable me to anſwer in a more effectual Manner any further Queſtions on this Subject.

As Mirza Shuffee's Grandfather was Brother to Sufdar Jung, there can be no Doubt of what his Declaration means; and if this Meaſure of diſtreſſing the old Begum ſhould be perſiſted in, I ſhould not, from the State of Affairs, and the Character of Amir ul Omrah, be ſurpriſed at ſome immediate and violent Reſolution being adopted by him.

I am, &c.

Deig,
9th Auguſt 1783.

(Signed) James Browne.

A true Copy,
(Signed) J. Hill,
Aſſiſtant to the Reſident.]

☞

To Major James Brown.

Sir,

I have received your Letter of the 9th, and, in the Abſence of the Vizier, am requeſted by his Highneſs's Miniſter, Hyder Beg Cawn, who is inveſted with full Power to act in his Behalf, to inform you, that the Report concerning the Object of the Nabob's Viſit to the Begums is entirely void of Foundation.—The Miniſter likewiſe deſires I would communicate his Maſter's Sentiments to you;—"That he conſiders the Amur ul Omrah's Declarations as an Inſult; that "his Interference in his Highneſs's internal Governmnnt is inadmiſſible; and that he has been "highly wanting in the Reſpect due to the Nawaub Vizier; in the firſt Place, in ſuppoſing him "capable of ill-treating the Begums; and in the next, admitting the Fact as ſtated by Mirza "Shuffee, his Threats were unbecoming, and would in all Situations be diſregarded."

If Mirza Shuffee ſhould repeat his Applications to you, I muſt requeſt you will give this Anſwer, either verbally or in Writing, as expreſſive of his Highneſs's Sentiments, which now be-

* Vide ſupra, P. 422.

comes the more neceſſary in conſequence of the threatening Language held by the Amur ul Omrah in public, and which has been reported both in the Vizier's and Engliſh Newſpapers, as you will ſee by the encloſed Extract.

I am, &c.

Lucknow, the 21ſt Auguſt 1783. (Signed) John Briſtow, Reſ[t] at the Vizier's Court.

A true Copy,
(Signed) J. Hill,
Aſſiſ[t] to the Reſ[t].

APPENDIX, N° VI.

Book 75. Page 824.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 8th November 1775.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering.
The Honourable George Monſon.
Philip Francis, Eſq.

RECEIVED the following Letter from Mr. Briſtow.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſq. Governor General, and the Members of the Honourable Supreme Council at Fort William.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I had the Honour to write laſt on the 6th Inſtant.

The Honourable Board are already fully convinced of the diſtracted State of the Nabob's Government, in the guaranteed Provinces; though the Brigade is upon the Spot, yet he is exceedingly ill obeyed, and in many Parts his Troops have been defeated, and only Seven or Eight Days * he was obliged to diſpatch Six Battalions to reinforce thoſe on Command.

* Sic in Orig.

A great Part of this Country is poſſeſſed by Zemindars, who having held their Lands in their Families for a long Period of Time, ſupport a perſonal Influence with their Reiats, and can at all Times induce them to reſiſt the Aumils. The Zemindars ever evade the Payment of their Rents, frequently from a Spirit of Litigiouſneſs alone, and as frequently from the Demands of the Aumils exceeding the eſtabliſhed Cuſtom.—Military Men are generally appointed to this Station. They have been accuſtomed to exerciſe almoſt unlimited Authority; for if the late Vizier obtained the Money he little regarded the Means, and when Balances accrued he compelled the Aumils to make good the Sums out of their private Fortunes, imagining that they muſt have embezzled the Deficiency or cauſed it by their Negligence. This was the Conſequence of Oppreſſions, for the Complaints of the People were only a Pretence for him to make Exactions from the Aumils; and the Man, who, but a Month ago, refunded the Fruits of his Extortions, was frequently entruſted with the Management of an extenſive Department.

We may judge from what is above recited, that neither the Aumils nor the People will ever pay their Rents regularly, but when compelled; and without the Nabob is punctual in demanding them, numberleſs Evaſions will be made. This indeed is the Caſe, for he himſelf confeſſed to me that inſtead of Twenty Lacks, which ought to have been collected on the new Year, he had received hardly Ten. He ſaid it was much owing to the Drought, though I believe we may impute the principal Cauſes to be the Want of Vigour and Regularity on his Part in not obliging his Aumils to the Diſcharge of their Duty, for at this early Period the Dearneſs cannot well be materially felt. At all Events I fear what has paſſed cannot be retrieved for the Seaſon, for the Collections once ſuffered to elapſe without enforcing Payment, the Balances are rarely recovered, and if at all, with the greateſt Difficulty.

To add to this unfortunate Circumſtance, the Nabob has not yet been able to procure any Money from the Begum.

☞ (a) [Immediately on his Return from Fyzabad he ſtated his Diſtreſſes to me, and begged of me to uſe my Endeavours to perſuade the Begum to aſſiſt him. I wiſhed to have declined complying with his Excellency's Requeſt, eſpecially after he had indirectly objected to my having any Correſpondence with her; but being ſenſible of his Neceſſities, I conſented, upon the Condition of his not expecting of * me to uſe violent Meaſures. I accordingly went to Fyzabad, and explained particularly in Writing to the Begum, how impoſſible it was for the Nabob to conduct his Go-

* Sic in Orig.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 439.

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vernment without her Aſſiſtance; and likewiſe inſinuated to her that ſhe could not complain of him, for he had granted her an additional Jaghyr of Four Lacks a Year for the Sums he had already borrowed of her, and treated her with great Reſpect. I further inſinuated to her, that the Treaſures ſhe poſſeſſed were the Treaſures of the State, as ſhe had not ſucceeded to them by any legal Right, and they had been hoarded up to provide againſt an Emergency: That that Emergency was arrived; and I recommended it to her to ſpare his Excellency the Sum of Fifty Lacks as a Donation: If this did not pleaſe her, to let the Treaſure be divided according to the Laws of the Koran, or elſe grant him a Loan, and that I could engage for the Repayment of it.

After much Perſuaſion the Begum agreed to pay the Nabob Twelve Lacks, and this ſhe declared was wholly to oblige me, and upon the Conditions of the Company's being to ſecure her the Poſſeſſion of her Jaghyrs for Life; and that the Nabob ſhould not interfere with her upon any Account. I excuſed myſelf, becauſe of the Inſignificancy of the Sum, but offered to comply with her Terms in caſe of her granting Fifty Lacks. This I had Authority for from the Nabob, who, on deſiring me to undertake the Negociation, repeatedly and earneſtly expreſſed his Deſire not to uſe any Violence; and in order to prove it, he ſaid he would ſubmit to the Company's being Mediators of all Differences between him and the Begum. But it was hard, when reduced to ſuch Diſtreſs, that his Mother ſhould uſeleſsly keep up immenſe Treaſures.

On my Return his Excellency approved of my Conduct, and deſired of me to write to the Begum very fully, again explaining his Situation to her; that I had interfered merely to prevent any Differences or Doubts ſubſiſting between them, which I thought the Part of a mutual Friend.

That I had always diſſuaded the Nabob from violent Meaſures, and would continue my Endeavours; but the Point in queſtion was a domeſtic Matter, in which I could not inſiſt on his Excellency's following my Advice.

The Begum, in her Anſwer, complained much of the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and told me, in plain Terms, that what ſhe would do ſhould be for the ſake of the Engliſh, and, as for the Nabob, ſhe would not advance him a ſingle Rupee upon his Word; but ſooner throw her Jewels and Money into the River. On my preſenting the Letter to his Excellency, he again deſired of me to go to Fyzabad, and as there were great Doubts entertained of the Eunuch employed between the Begum and me not having explained my Repreſentations fully to her, but concealed ſuch Part as did not conform to his Views; the Nabob ordered Sellar Jung and Buſſant Ally Cawn to go to Fyzabad alſo, and follow Murtehzeh Cawn's and my Advice in making any additional Repreſentations which might be found neceſſary. It is generally believed the Begum has Four Crores in her Poſſeſſion; but I fancy I may venture to ſay ſhe has One Crore and Seventy Lacks.—Conſidering this immenſe Sum, I hope, now we are all here, and when Circumſtances are impartially ſtated, that ſhe will yield to our Perſuaſions.]

[Signed at the End]

John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Court of the Nabob of Oude.

APPENDIX, N° VII.

Book 75, Page 838.—Vide ſupra, Page 440.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 8th November 1775.

Fort William, the 8th November 1775. Secret Dep. Wedneſday.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Philip Francis Eſquire.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, and the Members of the Honourable Supreme Council at Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

SINCE my laſt of the 11th Inſtant, I have received the Honourable Board's Letter of the 25th ult. (a) [I have already fully explained to the Honourable Board the Part I took in the Negociation between the Nabob and the Begum. My Repreſentations ſince my Arrival this laſt Time have tended to prove to her Excellency, that the Nabob's Situation was deſperate; and ſhe might have determined on what raſh Reſolutions ſhe pleaſed in her own Mind, ſtill it was now a Queſtion, whether the Nabob ſhould ſeize his Right, or ſuffer a Lack of Souls to periſh, and the Sovereignty of theſe Soubahs, now in the Fourth Generation, to be transferred to another Family? I afterwards uſed many mild Arguments. I alſo met Sellar Jung, Myrza Ally, and Murtehzeh

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 440.

Cawn,

Cawn, and we conſulted together; and after many Meſſages to the Begum, and many Alternatives propoſed by both Parties, Thirty Lacks were conſented to. I am ſure I could have obtained Fifty, the Sum I aſked, if Murtehzeh Cawn had not been impatient to return, and unguardedly mentioned, that the Nabob would be ſatisfied with Thirty. When I preſſed him to adhere to our firſt Requeſt, he ſeemed to be apprehenſive of the Begum's Temper hurrying her into ſome violent Act, diſgraceful to the Nabob's Government; and as the bare Probability of forcing her to Extremities was enough to determine me from aſking ever ſo ſmall a Sum, I at once gave up the Point.

The Begum not only grants the Nabob this Sum, but gives up to him Twenty-ſix Lacks, for the Repayment of which ſhe had Security in Land. In lieu of this, ſhe aſked of the Nabob never to interfere with her again, upon any Pretence whatſoever; and for her entire Satisfaction, ſhe inſiſted on having the Company the Guarantees of a Treaty to be entered into betwixt her and the Nabob, and that I likewiſe ſhould execute another directly with her, on the Part of the Company; with which having complied, I have the Honour to incloſe Copies of both Treaties, N° 1 and 2.

I now ſubmit my Conduct in this Negociation to the Conſideration of the Honourable Board. It is Neceſſity alone which has obliged me to act the Part I have done; for without the Company as Guarantees of the Treaty, the Begum would not have given a ſingle Cowry. The Nabob wholly of himſelf aſked me to interfere, contrary to my Inclination; and I therefore hope the Honourable Board will approve of my Conduct, eſpecially as it was the only Means of realizing a conſiderable Sum at this Juncture. Half of the Money procured from the Begum is to be paid to the Company; which, with Five Lacks now receiving, making all together Twenty Lacks, is a conſiderable Sum in the preſent State of the Nabob's Affairs.

I have written Powers, and the Teſtimony of the Perſons concerned in this Negociation, of my having had the Nabob's Sanction: However, I think it neceſſary to provide againſt any future Doubts, and ſhall therefore forward the Honourable Board a Treaty on the Part of the Nabob with the Company, acceding to the Terms with the Begum, which the Miniſter promiſes to get executed with all Expedition. The Begum having at firſt inſerted the Word "Heirs," we had very near broke off the Negociation; for I poſitively refuſed, and told her Excellency, the Company were in Alliance with the Nabob Auſſuf ul Dowla alone, and during his Life knew of no Heirs, or any other Sovereign in this Country.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

(Signed) John Briſtow,

Fyzabad, the 16th Oct. 1775. Reſt at the Court of the N^b of Owd.]

Encloſures in Mr. Briſtow's Letter to the Board of the 16th of October.

(a) [NUM. 1.

Copy of a Draft of a Coulnâmâ under the Seal of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, dated the 19th of Shabaun, in the Year 1189 of the Hegyra, (15th of October 1775).

I Aſoph ul Dowlah Bahadre engage and give this written Agreement, viz.

I have now taken from my Mother 30 Lacks of Rupees on Account of the preſent, and 26 Lacks on Account of former Debts, in Specie, Goods, Jewels, Elephants, Camels, &c. from the Patrimony of my Father, and have no further Claim on her. Having received this through the Engliſh Chiefs, I renounce all further Demands on her. I alſo engage that I will never moleſt my Mother in the Enjoyment of the Jaghiers, Gunges, Culladarries, Gardens, or the Mints of Oude, Fyzabad, &c. conferred on her by the late bleſſed Nabob, but will leave her in the full Poſſeſſion of them, during her Lifetime.—As long as my Mother lives, I will give her no Trouble on account of them.—She ſhall collect whatever appears to be due from the ſaid Jaghiers, by her own People; I will not obſtruct it.

When my Mother goes on her Pilgrimage ſhe is at Liberty to leave the Jagheers, &c. under the Charge of whomſoever ſhe pleaſes.—It is entirely at her Option: I will not oppoſe it.

Whether ſhe reſides here or goes on her Pilgrimage, the Jagheers, &c. ſhall remain in her Poſſeſſion; and no Perſon ſhall on any Occaſion obſtruct or moleſt her therein. To whomſoever my Mother ſhall give Charge of the Jagheirs, &c. I will on every Occaſion protect and aſſiſt him; and when ſhe goes on her Pilgrimage ſhe is at Liberty to take with her ſuch of her Slaves, Women, and Goods as ſhe thinks proper; I will not moleſt her; nor will I give any Trouble to Johur Ally Khawn, Bahadre Ally Khawn, Nuhaut Ally Khawn, Shegoon Ally Khawn, or to the Taveldarries, by any Demand on them. My Mother is at Liberty to act as ſhe pleaſes therein; ſhe is the Miſtreſs. For the Obſervance of theſe Articles I give God and his Prophet, the Twelve Imaums, the Fourteen Mauſſooms, and the Engliſh Chiefs are joined in this Engagement. Further I will not in future demand any Loan from my Mother. I have no Claim on her; nor will I ever deviate from this Engagement. Should I act contrary thereto, it may be ſuppoſed that I am eſtranged from the Engliſh Chiefs and the Company.—I have accordingly given this as a Coulnâmâ to remain as a Voucher.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 442.

List of the Jaghiers, &c.

Sullow, One Mahal
Dawa, D°,
Purseddipore, One Mahal,
Rataha, D°,
Sumrootah,
At Gourkpore, One House,
Taloe, One Mahal,
Jais, with the Adawlut,
Sair, One Mahal,
Cora, D°,
Tanda, D°,
Nabob Gunge, with the Villages on the other Side of Khahrah, One Mahal,
Ismael Gunge, with the Villages, is at the Distance of Three Cos from Lucknow,
Ismael Gunge, at Lucknow,
Cullahdarry of all the Soubahs,
Mints of Owde and Fysabad,
Bhegum Gunge and Gola Ghaut,
Vizier Gunge,
The Garden of Thirry Sing at Owde, with Ground for Three Gardens,
Eishbaug at Lucknow,
Rozah Gaut at Lucknow,
Bhegum Barree with the Bazar,
Garden of Bahara Mull.

Copy of a Draught of a Coulnâmâ, under the Seal of Mr. John Bristow, on the Part of the Company and English Chiefs, dated as above.

The Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah Yaty a Khan Bahadre Huzzuber Jung has received from his Mother, on Account of the Patrimony of his Father, and appropriated to his own Use the Sum of Thirty Lacks of Rupees on Account * the present, and Twenty-six Lacks on Account of former Debts, in Specie, Goods, Elephants, Camels, &c.; and the Fara Khutty (full Acquittal) which the Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah gives to his Mother, is a Voucher. My Seal is affixed thereto, so that it may be considered as an Act of the Company and English Chiefs with respect to the Jaghiers, Gunges, Culladarries, Gardens, the Mints of Owde and Fysabad, which the late blessed Nabob gave to the Bhegum; the Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah will not molest her in the Possession of them, but leave her in the free Enjoyment of them during her Lifetime, and she is to collect whatever may appear due from the Jaghiers, through her own People. The English Chiefs are Guarantees for the Observance of these Articles: No one shall molest her when the Bhegum goes on a Pilgrimage: No Person shall obstruct or hinder her; and the Bhegum is sole Mistress of her own People: No one shall make any Demand on her Eunuchs or Women; she is at Liberty to act as she pleases with respect to them.

When the Bhegum goes on her Pilgrimage she may leave the Charge of the Jaghiers, &c. to whomsoever she pleases; the English Chiefs are Guarantees of this.

* Sic in Orig.

List of the Jaghiers, &c. exactly the same as that in N° 1.]

APPENDIX, N° VIII.

Book 75. Page 850.

Extract of a Consultation of 8th November 1775.

Fort William, the 8th November 1775. Secret Dep. Wednesday.

At a Council; Present,
The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President.
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monson,
Philip Francis Esquire.

(a) [Resolved, That the following Reply be sent to Mr. Bristow.

To Mr. John Bristow, Resident at the Court of Oude.

Sir,

We have received your Letters of the 11th, 16th, 20th, and 26th of October. We think that the Circumstances of the Nabob's Affairs, and the unfavourable Disposition which his Mother, the Begum, shewed towards him, made it necessary for you to comply with his Request, for affording your Assistance to persuade her to supply him with a Sum of Money; and we therefore approve and confirm your Guarantee of the Treaty which has been entered into between them.]

We wait with great Impatience for the Account which you have promised to send us of the Regulation proposed for re-establishing the State of the Nabob's Affairs, and as the Reports

(a) Vide supra, P. 441.

which we have already received from you are very alarming, we desire you will not fail to take every Occasion to advise us of any Alterations which may happen.

Fort William,
8th November 1775. We are, &c.

APPENDIX, N° IX.

Book 6.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor General and Council, to the Court of Directors; dated Fort William, 20th November 1775.

Par. 8. WE informed you in our Letter of the 3d August, that we had rejected the Proposal of Mr. Bristow to take Assignments from the Nabob on certain Districts for the Payment of the Subsidy to the Brigade. Whilst there remained the least Probability of obtaining ready Money we thought it to be preferred to the precarious Receipts of Money, arising from the Revenues of Lands; but when we perceived the distressed State of the Nabob's Finances, and that there could be no other Means of securing a Fund for the Brigade, we authorised Mr. Bristow to accept them on Lands contiguous to the Situation of the Brigade, or to Chunar; but to be particular in his Choice of them, and to take care to free them from prior Mortgages. We are informed that he had received Tuncaws on Districts valued at 30 Lacks per Annum, the Aumils of which were ordered to account for the Rents only to the Company; but understanding the Collections would fall considerably short of that Amount, he has obtained a further Assignment to the Value of about 15 Lacks. We expect from him soon a particular Account of the Situation and net Amount of the Collections on those Lands.

☞ * Sic in Orig. [(a) 9. The Nabob's Mother, Buboo * Begum, retaining Possession of all the late Vizier's Treasure, to a very considerable Amount, the Nabob, when he found all his other Means were exhausted, had recourse to her for a pecuniary Aid, but she was immoveable on his first Applications; he at length found it necessary to press Mr. Bristow to use the Influence of his Mediation, which, after some Solicitation, he complied with. By the Assistance of many of the Nabob's Friends, and the most earnest Entreaties to the Begum, they prevailed on her to give the Nabob Thirty Lacks in ready Money, and a Release for a Sum of Twenty-six Lacks, which she had formerly lent him; but her Conditions were positive, that he should enter into a Treaty with her, under the Ratification of the Company, never to molest her more with Demands for Money, as she would not grant the present Relief on any other Terms. The Nabob signed the Treaty, and Mr. Bristow ratified it: Which Ratification, as the Urgency of the Case rendered necessary, we have approved. The Company were to receive Fifteen Lacks of this Sum, which, together with Five Lacks before in Course of Payment, we expect Mr. Bristow will shortly dispatch to us.] With the remaining Fifteen Lacks obtained from the Begum, and some small Collections made from the Country, we just learn that the Nabob has for the present satisfied his Troops; but when these temporary Supplies are expended it is hard to say how far their refractory Spirit may carry them, as they had even got to such a Height of Disobedience as to form Schemes for seizing the Nabob's Person. We hope, therefore, no Time will be lost in adopting some effectual Measures for securing his Collections and extricating him from the Scene of Confusion and Distress in which he is now involved, and we wait with great Impatience for a Copy of those Regulations mentioned by Mr. Bristow.

[Signed at the End]

Warren Hastings.
J. Clavering.
Geo. Monson.
Rich. Barwell.
P. Francis.

Fort William,
20th Nov. 1775.

APPENDIX, N° X.

Vide supra, Appendix, N° VII.

(a) Vide supra, P. 441.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, N° XI.

Book 101. Page 63.

Extract of a Consultation of the 25th January 1775.

Fort William, the 25th January 1776. Secret Dep.

At a Council; Present,

The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President,
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monson,
Richard Barwell, } Esqrs.
Philip Francis, }

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Bristow to Mr. Hastings and Council, &c.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings Governor General, and Council, &c.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

THE repeated Applications I receive from the Begum, of the Ill-Treatment she meets with, induce me to trouble the Honourable Board on this very disagreeable Subject. I find all my Endeavours to reconcile her and the Nabob in vain; but as the Facts have happened, so shall I state them and intreat the particular Instructions of the Honourable Board.

The Heads of the Begum's Complaints are as follows:

Article 1st. That the Nabob's Agents at Fyzabad treat her Servants in a Manner unbecoming her Rank and Character, so that they have not the same Liberty as the other Inhabitants of the Place.

2d. That Murteza Khan, when at Fyzabad, threatened to prevent her Servants from bringing the Necessaries of Life into the Zenana, and did actually, by having a Number of Military with him when he waited upon her, terrify her, and sent her a Message that he would order Sepoys to force Money from her, if she did not willingly give it.

3d. That the Nabob encourages his Agents to make Difficulties about the Receipt of Goods in Part Payment of the stipulated Sum, by objecting to the Identity of her Property, and claiming Effects as his Excellency's which belong to her.

4th. That in Matters relative to her Treaty with the Nabob, I have not backed her Application in the Style I ought to have done, as the Inducement she had for stipulating to pay any Sum of Money was the Confidence she placed in the Company's Guarantee of the Treaty, and the Justice she expected to have rendered to her on all Occasions. She therefore makes the Company Principals in the Violences committed against her.

Most of these Heads I have already troubled the Honourable Board with in my Address of the 30th November.

The Violence complained of in the First Article, I really, from the Evidence of any Individuals I ever met with, do not understand to have been committed; I before informed the Honourable Board that I obtained positive Orders from the Nabob not to have any Disrespect shewn to the Begum or her Servants, and indeed it is improbable any Thing of the Kind could have happened, for Myrsa Ally Cawn and Sellar Jung her Brothers, were both at Fyzabad a long Time after Murteza Cawn and I left it, and were the Governors of the Town. They are under many Obligations to the Begum, and pay more Attention to her than to the Nabob himself. Sellar Jung in particular always backed her Assertions relative to her Poverty, and was even with Difficulty persuaded to undertake the Negotiation, and throughout the whole of it did not promote the Nabob's Interests so much as he might have done; he joined the Nabob since we left Lucknow, but Mirza Ally still remains with the Charge of Fyzabad. In making this Complaint, the Begum forgets the improper Conduct of her own Servants, who have hitherto preserved a total Independence of the Nabob's Authority, beat the Officers of his Government, and refused Obedience to his Perwannahs.

I humbly conceive the 2d Article to be erroneous also; for on the First Visit to the Begum, Mirza Ally, Sellar Jung, Murteza Cawn, and I, went together; Sellar Jung had Two Companies of Sepoys as his Guard, being the Number he generally appears abroad with, and for the Reasons given in my First Answer, he could hardly be suspected of agreeing to any violent Measures.

Murteza Cawn had perhaps Twenty Troopers and some orderly Sepoys, but in other Respects he did not go with Half his usual Retinue. The Begum's Eunuchs did industriously spread Reports of Murteza Cawn's ill Intentions to break into the Zenana and seize all the Effects and Money that could be found; on the other hand Murteza Cawn pretended to be afraid of

Attempts

Attempts on his Life, and kept a Body of Sepoys conſtantly under Arms at his Houſe. I conſidered the Reports ſpread by both Parties, intended to ſerve the Purpoſe of diſcrediting each other's as much as poſſible, and which I did not believe to have any Foundation in Truth.

Murteza Cawn, when he went from Myndigaut to Fyzabad in April laſt, was ſaid to have ſent a harſh Meſſage to the Begum; but this Inſtance being previous to the Solicitation for the Engliſh to interfere, of courſe no Blame, I humbly conceive, could fall on me for any Tranſactions at that Period. When I was at Fyzabad, I am perſuaded none but reſpectful Language was uſed to the Begum; one Thing only that I remember could be taken amiſs, and that was my telling her, that unleſs ſhe paid the Money the Treaty became null. Whether ſuch a Hint was neceſſary, I ſubmit to the Conſideration of the Honourable Board; for the Eunuchs practiſed every Art to delay the Payment, proteſting in poſitive Terms that the Begum had neither Money nor Effects, though, upon my one Day repreſenting to her that I ſhould immediately leave Fyzabad unleſs the Conditions were fulfilled on her Part, ſhe found Means to ſend Six Lacks in Specie in leſs than Three Hours after; and it was hardly a Month before that ſhe aſſerted her Inability to pay a ſingle Rupee. The Copy of the Begum's Letter to me making this Aſſertion I troubled the Honourable Board with in my Addreſs of the 9th September laſt.

The Third Complaint I am perſuaded is partly erroneous, from the Begum's claiming every Article of the late Vizier's Property, even to his Military Stores.

The Nabob would be very glad to receive any Thing, but the Appraiſer appointed by the mutual Conſent of both Parties, remains at Fyzabad without having any Goods offered him, but ſuch as are already in the Poſſeſſion of the Nabob's own Officers.

I underſtand the late Vizier depoſited the Surplus of his Revenues with the Begum; and having died Inteſtate (or at leaſt a Will was never produced, though one is ſaid to be ſecreted by the Begum), it left a Door open to the Diſputes which have happened; for, according to the Koran, and the Uſages of the Country, the Nabob could claim an infinitely greater Share than he has got. It is beyond a Doubt that ſhe has Money; for her principal Eunuch brought me a Meſſage one Day, not as a Matter of any Secrecy or Confidence, that the Wealth the late Vizier had amaſſed was intended to ſupply an Emergency. I anſwered, the Nabob could not well want it at a greater one; and preſſed her very earneſtly to ſupply his neceſſary Wants.

That ſhe has Jaghires equal to her Rank in every Reſpect, is evident from her own Confeſſion to me, in One of her Letters, wherein ſhe ſays her own Charge amounts to 12,000 Rupees a Month; and her Income is known to be Seven Lacks a Year. If the Complaints contained in the Three Firſt Articles are groundleſs, I humbly conceive the Fourth is not much better founded. The Begum can make no great Claim on the Company for Protection, when ſhe herſelf has infringed the Conditions of the Treaty of which they were Guarantees. Let her pay the Nabob the ſtipulated Sum, and he not only conſents, but is deſirous that the Treaty ſhould remain in force. He has obſerved that Conduct to the Begum which Nature dictates; and ſo far from harſh Uſage, he has on all Occaſions treated her with the greateſt Delicacy.

Murteza Cawn is afraid to uſe her ill, for he knows the Influence ſhe has over the Nabob; and beſides this, a Contract of Marriage is to take place between his and Sellar Jung's Children.

The Begum had great Influence in the late Vizier's Time. On the Nabob Auſuph ul Dowlah's Acceſſion, he at once placed the ſole Management in the Hands of Murteza Cawn, which diſguſted both her and her Adherents, particularly her Eunuchs, who have their Views in keeping the Wealth in the Begum's Poſſeſſion. The Principal, Bahar Ally Cawn, enjoys her entire Confidence; and how far ſhe may be better affected to the Engliſh than the Nabob, I leave to the Conſideration of the Honourable Board from the following Fact:—On the Concluſion of the Treaty between the Company and the Nabob, the Begum blamed his Excellency very highly, and inſiſted on his not ceding Benares, offering of herſelf a Sum of Money in lieu of it. The Propoſal was afterwards made to me by the Nabob; but I anſwered, I was not authorized to accept an Alternative; and that if he intended to have me repreſent the Matter to the Honourable Board, he ſhould give me his Inſtructions in Writing, and explain his Sentiments himſelf to the Governor General—which he did not do.

As the Begum's Sentiments, at the preſent Juncture, will be beſt explained in her own Words, I trouble the Honourable Board with a Copy of the laſt Letter I received from her, as alſo my Anſwer to it.

I have, &c.

Camp, near Etawa, 3d January 1776. (Signed) John Briſtow, Reſid[t] at the Co[t] of Owde.

☞ (a) [Copy of a Letter from the Begum, Mother of the Nabob Aſuf ul Dowlah, addreſſed to Mr. Briſtow.

Encloſure in Mr. Briſtow's Letter.

I have received your agreeable Letter, and perfectly underſtand the Contents. Some Time ago the Affair in queſtion was ſettled in your Preſence for 30 Lacks of Rupees. The Goods

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 444.

which

which I delivered for Appraiſement were taken poſſeſſion of and carried away. It is not I who interrupt this Buſineſs, but Aſuf ul Dowlah and Murteza Cawn. I am ſo far from wiſhing the Continuance of this Diſpute, that I am very deſirous it ſhould be ſpeedily accommodated; but Aſoph ul Dowlah and Murteza Cawn do not deſire to have it adjuſted. I now encloſe you an Inventory of the Prices of the Broad Cloth, Elephants, and Camels, which I delivered in your Preſence, by which you will be made acquainted with the Value of the ſeveral Articles; whatever Balance remains ſhall be paid. You aſk me, ſince the Acceſſion of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla, what ill Treatment or Diſgrace I have experienced from him. Alas, that you ſhould be ſtill ignorant of it! God forbid that even my Enemy ſhould ſuffer ſo much Diſgrace. Murteza Cawn ſtationed a Battalion of Sepoys at my Door, and ſent me Word, that if I would quietly deliver the Sum, it was well, otherwiſe he would prevent any Proviſions being brought me, and take it. This is not all the Diſgrace I have ſuffered. Whatever he ſays is a Law. You were not a Witneſs of the late bleſſed Nabob's Muſnud, and without having ſeen it, you can form no Idea of what Kind of a Ruler he was. You came at an unſeaſonable Time and ſaw it. ‡ *Aſoph ul Dowla on the Muſnud the late bleſſed Nabob went with him.*

‡This Paſſage is very obſcure in the Original;—I imagine ſome Words are omitted.—The Tranſlation I have made of it is quite literal.

There never was an Inſtance in the World of a Son exerciſing ſuch Oppreſſion on his own Mother, as to ſend his Servants to diſtreſs and afflict her. Reflect maturely that no ſuch Inſtance ever occurred in former Times. I have already written you what Aſoph ul Dowla has done to his own Mother, and that I am ready to give up my Life without Fear. Whatever he wiſhes let him do.

I have written the real Value of the ſeveral Articles, in the Liſt which I have ſent you, without the leaſt Variation. Did I wiſh to procraſtinate this Affair, I ſhould have written that the Goods which were ſeized and carried off amounted to Eleven Lacks of Rupees; but I do not wiſh to delay it, and have therefore written down the real Value I ſent it to you. Deduct this, and whatever Balance appears ſhall be made good in other Goods, China Ware, and Bullocks. Guards are ſtationed over my Goods; cauſe theſe to be removed, that a Price may be ſet on them, and the Balance made good. You have repeatedly written me that the Coulnama is inefficacious.

You were a Party in this Affair, and took from me the Sum of Fifty-ſix Lacks of Rupees. If you will cauſe the Fifty-ſix Lacks to be reſtored to me, then the Coulnama will not be binding. And do not you then take any Part in the Affair; and then let Aſoph ul Dowla and Murteza Cawn, in whatever Manner they are able, take Sums of Money from me; they will then ſee the Conſequences.]

Contents of the Three Furds.

Inventory of the Pieces of the Goods; viz.

1 Furd.	Broad Cloth —— —— ——	400,000 0 0
	Broad Cloth, Tents with Raaties, Thennauts, and Broad Cloth Radus Turroſhes, 2 Muſnuds, Broad Cloth Nungeras, and 4 White Pulta Pulte Seraeches —— ——	20,000 0 0
	Linen Cloths —— ——	54,393 8 3
	35 Elephants, each at 3,000 Rupees ——	105,000 0 0
	176 Camels, each at 100 Rupees —— ——	17,600 0 0
2 Furd.	26 Ruths, 44 Chukras: viz. 4 for the Tranſportation of Boats, and 40 for that of Baggage, under Shabar Ally Cawn, for the Service of the Army, 2 Ghambhals, and 2 Gubhuls.	
3 Furd.	Ruths, &c. belonging to the Government Houſhold, under the Charge of Joakin Ally Khan; viz.	
	22 Ruths, at 100 Rupees each.	
	44 Chuckras, at 50 ditto	
	50 Nagourhas, 150 ditto	
	198 Bullocks of this Country, at 25 ditto.	
	5 War Ditto, 150 ditto.	
	4 Bullocks of this Country, 100 ditto.	
	13 Ditto, 400 ditto.	

Copy of Mr. Briſtow's Anſwer to the Begum.

I have been honoured with your friendly Letter, accompanying an Inventory of Bullocks, &c. with their Prices, and underſtand the Contents. The Nabob conſents to take the Ruths, Bullocks, Elephants, and Camels, at their real Value. I repreſented to the Nabob, and Mokter ul Dowlah, what you wrote me concerning the Broad Cloth, at the Price of 4 Lacks of Rupees. The Nabob replied, I have not received the Broad Cloth and Linens; ſuch of thoſe Articles as were out, her Highneſs carried within the Mohal. As the Nabob is deſirous of paying your Highneſs the greateſt Reſpect, and has agreed to take the Broad Cloth and Linens; if your Highneſs will deliver them, and let them be appraiſed by a creditable Ameen; Auka Heem has been here a long Time in Expectation of ſuch Employ. Your Attendants, who related to you the

 Circumſtance

Circumſtance concerning the ſtopping your Proviſions, were undoubtedly the Inventors of it themſelves; it never proceeded from the Nabob, for he never acted in this Manner, and it is contrary to the Diſpoſition, as well as to the Inclination, of the Nabob Azoph ul Dowlah. Some evil diſpoſed and malicious Perſons have miſrepreſented Matters to your Highneſs, and ſown the Seeds of Diſſenſion. It is incumbent on your Highneſs to give no Heed to the Repreſentations of inſidious Men, but to regard the Advice of well-diſpoſed Perſons, and ſettle this Affair on an eligible Footing. With regard to what you write me, concerning the Compenſation for the Houſe at Garukpore, I ſhall undoubtedly take the neceſſary Meaſures in this Affair, if you comply with the Terms of the Coulnâmâ. It would not be proper or becoming, that your Highneſs ſhould not give your Aſſent to my Repreſentations, as, by denying it, Diſgrace is brought on the Engliſh Chiefs. I have therefore given a full and particular Account of every Tranſaction to the Governor and Council, and whatever Directions I may receive from them, I ſhall carry into Execution. With reſpect to your Highneſs's Jaghiers, the Nabob agrees to one Method, which is, that you give them up entirely, and inſtead thereof, receive a Monthly Stipend, through the Channel of any Perſon you chuſe to fix on; for the Nabob obſerved to me, that Two Rulers were too much for one Country. By this Propoſal, the Nabob is deſirous of promoting your Highneſs's Quiet, Tranquillity, and Satisfaction. The Nabob ſays, that in this Caſe, you will have no Vexation, and will conſtantly receive your Stipend without Trouble.

The Members of the Board having returned their Opinions on the laſt Letters, as follow, reſpecting the Begum, a Copy of it was accordingly ſent a Number in the Packet by the Hillſborough.

I am of Opinion, that Mr. Briſtow's Letter of the 3d January ought to be tranſmitted a ſeparate Number in the Packet.

(Signed) J. C.
G. M.
P. F.

Mr. Briſtow's Explanation of the Subject of the Begum's Complaints correſponds exactly with the Opinion I had formed of them upon the Receipt of her Letter, expreſſed in my Minute of the
I think Mr. Briſtow's Letter ſhould by all means go a Number in the preſent Packet, together with Tranſlations of the Papers referred to in it.

(Signed) P. F.

Ordered, That a Copy of the Tranſlation of the Begum's Letter be ſent to the Court of Directors by the Secretary.

APPENDIX, N° XII.

Book 78. Page 466.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 3d of January 1776.

Fort William, the 3d of January 1776.

Secret Dep. Wedneſday.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Philip Francis Eſquire.

☞ (a) [RE-conſidered the Letter from Bow Begum, Mother of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, recorded in Conſultation the 21ſt of laſt Month.

This Letter having been circulated with the following Note, the Opinions entered after the Note were returned.

Minutes on Baboo Begum's Letter.

The Governor General requeſts, that the Members of the Board will be pleaſed to conſider this Letter, and to deliver their Sentiments upon it, to enable him to write an Anſwer; the Perſon who brought it being very impatient to obtain one, and having refuſed a Houſe which the Governor had offered him to live in, preferring to remain in his Budjerow, that he might be in Readineſs to return with the Anſwer.

(Signed) J. P. Auriol, Secy.

I ſhould be glad to know the Governor General's Sentiments on it.

(Signed) John Clavering,
Dº Dº George Monſon,
Dº Dº P. Francis.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 447.

I ſhould

I ſhould have been better pleaſed on ſuch a Subject to have concurred in the Reſolution * with the other Members of the Board might have thought it proper to paſs, in conſequence of the preſent Remonſtrance, than to offer my ſeparate Opinion upon it, in the Uncertainty whether it would be adopted. All my preſent Wiſh is, that the Orders of the Board may be ſuch as may obviate or remove the Diſcredit which the Engliſh Name may ſuffer, by the Exerciſe or even the public Appearance of Oppreſſion, on a Perſon of the Beghum's Rank, Character, and Sex. Had the Nabob choſen to have made uſe of the Means with which his own Power alone ſupplied him, to exact Money from the Beghum his Mother, this Government would have wanted a Pretext to interfere in her Behalf; but as the Repreſentative of our Government has become an Agent in this Buſineſs, and has pledged the Honour and Faith of the Company for the punctual Obſervance of the Conditions under which it was concluded, we have a Right to interfere, and Juſtice demands it, if it ſhall appear that theſe Engagements have been violated, and an Injury offered to the Beghum under the Cover of the Authority by which they were contracted.

* Sic in Orig.

I am therefore of Opinion, and I recommend that a Letter be written by the Board to Mr. Briſtow, commanding him to remonſtrate to the Nabob againſt the Seizure of the Goods as his own original Property, which he received from his Mother in Payment of the Eleven Lacks ſtipulated to be ſo made; to inſiſt on the Nabob's receiving them in Payment; and that he either admit of the Valuation which ſhe has put upon them, or that he allow them to be appraiſed by Perſons appointed for that Purpoſe by both Parties. And that Mr. Briſtow be further ordered to requeſt, and, if neceſſary, to inſiſt, in the Name of this Government, that the Nabob do grant Permiſſion to the Beghum to repair to, and reſide within, any Part which ſhe may chuſe of the Company's Territories.

If theſe Propoſitions are approved, it will be neceſſary to give other Orders for the Accommodation of the Beghum in any Place which ſhe may chuſe for her future Reſidence; and theſe may be conveyed in the Name of the Board, by Mr. Briſtow, either to Mr. Francis Fowke, or to the Chief of Patna, as it would be improper to notify to either the Intentions of the Board, on a Point of ſuch Delicacy, until it was finally determined.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.]

§ ("I think the Nabob ſhould be informed of the Repreſentation which the Beghum has made to "this Government, and a Copy of her Letter ſent to him. I join with the Governor General in "thinking that the Goods which the Beghum has delivered ſhould be appraiſed, and whatever "their Value may appear to be, under Eleven Lacks, which the Beghum engaged to pay, ſhe "ought to be made acquainted with the Difference; for it was on the full Accompliſhment of her "Promiſe that Mr. Briſtow's Guarantee was to have its Effect. Provided that the Beghum be de-"ſirous of withdrawing her Perſon within theſe Provinces, and the Nabob do conſent to it, I think "every Aſſurance of Protection ſhould be granted to her, and a proper Place provided for her "Reſidence; but I cannot conſent that the Company's Authority ſhould be employed in placing "both Elich Cawn and Buſheer Cawn in their former Offices, agreeably to the Beghum's Requeſt; "becauſe the Nabob, conſidering them as his mortal Enemies, would never be prevailed on to "acquieſce in their Return, from the Certainty that his Removal from the Muſnud, and probably "his Death, would be the certain Conſequence of ſuch an Event.

"(Signed) John Clavering."

"The Beghum's Letter ſhould be ſent to the Nabob and Mr. Briſtow, as it contains a Charge "againſt them, and a Breach of Faith in this Government, in the Conduct of the Reſident, which "it will be neceſſary for him to obviate. She ſhould be informed of the Sums of Money the late "Nabob owed this Government by Treaty, for Services performed, and which were not liquidated "at his Death; that ſhe received the Advantages of the Rohillah Conqueſt, the Plunder of thoſe "Countries being depoſited with her; as ſhe ſucceeded, therefore, to all the Nabob's Wealth, it "is juſt ſhe ſhould diſcharge the Demands due for thoſe Services by which ſhe is the principal "Gainer.

"The Vizier's Eſtate has not been divided according to the uſual Cuſtom of Mahomedan "Princes. The preſent Diſpute turns upon the Value of Goods, Elephants, and Camels: I do not "conceive, according to ſtrict Juſtice, theſe Effects to be the Beghum's Property, as I underſtand "Women can only claim a Right only to what is within the Zenana; but if it be a Condition "made by the Nabob with his Mother, that he ſhould take theſe Things in Part of Payment of "the Thirty Lacks, the Value of them ſhould be aſcertained by Arbitration.

"If the Beghum has an Inclination to retire within theſe Provinces, ſhe may be received, the "Nabob's Conſent being obtained, and it being underſtood that ſhe is not to expect any Support "from Government. We have no Right to inſiſt that the Nabob ſhould reſtore Elich Cawn and "Buſheer Cawn: Such an Application from us would be juſtly offenſive to him.

"(Signed) Geo. Monſon."

"The Board have already approved of Mr. Briſtow's Conduct in negociating the late Agree-"ment between the Begum and the Nabob. Until ſhe has fulfilled her Part of it ſhe has no Claim "to the Company's Protection. Before we determine whether ſhe has been ill-treated or not, we "ought to hear the Nabob's Reply to the Charges contained in her Letter; for this Purpoſe, and

"that

" that he may be able to judge from whoſe Advice they originate, a Copy of it ſhould be communi-
" cated to him. With reſpect to the Property of the Effects in queſtion, I am inclined to think,
" with Colonel Monſon, that Women can claim a Right only to what is within the Zenana. The
" Property being determined, the Value, if diſputed, may be ſettled by Arbitration or public Sale
" I cannot conceive that ſhe has the leaſt Right to interfere in the Nabob's Government: In a
" Country where Women are not allowed a free Agency in the moſt trifling domeſtic Affairs, it
" ſeems extraordinary that this Lady ſhould preſume to talk of appointing Miniſters and govern-
" ing Kingdoms. Upon the whole, I look upon the Letter before us not as of her writing,
" who probably cannot read, but as the Compoſition of ſome of her Servants, perhaps of the
" Eunuch who brings it. With reſpect to receiving her into the Provinces, I ſhall have no
" Objection to it, provided ſhe can obtain the Nabob's Conſent, without that ſhe can have no
" Right to remove the immenſe Wealth ſhe poſſeſſes, or even her own Perſon, out of his Do-
" minions.

" (Signed) P. Francis."

" Agreed, That Mr. Briſtow be deſired to recommend it to the Nabob, that the Goods taken
" by him from the Begum be appraiſed, by ſuch Perſons appointed to value them as ſhall be
" agreeable to both Parties.

" And reſolved, That a Retreat ſhall be granted by this Government to the Begum, if ſhe
" can obtain the Conſent of the Nabob to her retiring into theſe Provinces.

" Reſolved alſo, That as ſoon as her Engagements with the Nabob, to which Mr. Briſtow is a
" Party, ſhall be fulfilled on her Part, this Government * this Government will think themſelves
" bound to protect her againſt any further Demand or Moleſtation.

* Sic in Orig.

" The Governor General. I diſſent to the Second Reſolution; becauſe I think, by being made
" Guarantees to the Engagements between the Nabob and the Begum, we have a Right to require
" his Conſent to her Removal from his Dominions; as we can have no other Security for the
" faithful Performance of thoſe Engagements, and it may not be in the Power of the Begum to
" make a Second Application to this Board, after the Notification of this to the Nabob; in
" which Caſe, we ſhall not have it in our Power to afford her Protection, not knowing that ſhe
" is injured."

" Mr. Francis. I think that Mr. Briſtow ſhould be ordered to obſerve the Conduct of the Na-
" bob and his Miniſter to the Beghum, and to aſſure her of his Readineſs to interpoſe in her Be-
" half, if ſhe ſhould at any Time hereafter have Reaſon to complain of ill Treatment; we have
" no Right to ſuppoſe, that the Nabob will violate an Engagement guaranteed by this Government,
" as long as our preſent Influence at his Court continues; at preſent there is no Appearance or
" Likelihood of its diminiſhing; if, however, any injurious Attempt ſhould be made againſt the
" Beghum, after ſhe has fulfilled her Part of the Agreement, I ſhall be inclined to give her a Re-
" treat in the Provinces at all Events. I do not think that, in the preſent Circumſtances, we
" ſhould be juſtified in doing it now."

" Agreed, That Orders be ſent to Mr. Briſtow agreeable to the Terms of the above Minute.

" Reſolved, That a Copy of the Beghum's Letter be ſent to Mr. Briſtow, with Orders for him
" to communicate the Contents of it perſonally to the Nabob only.

" The Governor General. It appears ſo conſonant to the Principles of ſtrict Juſtice, to afford
" thoſe who are accuſed, the Means of vindicating themſelves, that I ſhall requeſt the Board's Per-
" miſſion to wave, at this Time, entering the Objection which I have to this Reſolution, as it will
" be neceſſary to explain my Sentiments very fully upon it. I approve of the Reſolution, and
" ſhould recommend it for communicating the Beghum's Letter to Mr. Briſtow. I diſapprove of
" its being made known, either to the Nabob or to Murtezza Cawn."

" Mr. Francis. Having obſerved, in the Begum's Letter, a Paſſage apparently reflecting on
" Mr. Briſtow's Character and Conduct, and charging him directly with having ſent a Meſſage
" to her in his own Name, that he would ſtop her Proviſions, beat her Servants, and ſend People
" to plunder the Zenana, I beg leave to lay before the Board a literal Tranſlation of the whole
" Paſſage, as I think it differs materially from the firſt.)" §

Tranſlation (viz.)

" After a great deal of writing and reading Mr. John Briſtow went to the Light of my Eyes
" (an Expreſſion applied to a Son); afterwards Mr. John Briſtow and Sallar Jung Bahaudre and
" Murtezza Cawn came to my Door, and ſent Word, if you eaſily deliver Sums it is well, other-
" wiſe, having ſtopped Water and Grain (meaning Proviſions of all Kinds), I will take Monies,
" even your People (literally Men) I will beat, and having ſent People into the Mahal, what-
" ever Goods ſhall be there I will plunder."

The Board will obſerve that in the Conſtruction of this Sentence there is a ſudden and irregular Change of the Perſons, which makes it uncertain who it is that ſpeaks in the Firſt Perſon, or who it is ſhe means to charge with having ſent the Meſſage. I ſubmit my Opinion to the Board, that Mr. Briſtow ſhould be required to explain this Part of his Conduct, and that the Beghum ſhould be aſked whether ſhe received the Meſſage in queſtion directly from him, or by the Channel of any of his Servants.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, That Mr. Briſtow be required to explain this Part of his Conduct, and relate very circumſtantially all the Converſation and Meſſages that paſſed on that Occaſion.

And agreed, That in Reply to the Beghum, ſhe be aſked whether this Meſſage was delivered to her directly by Mr. Briſtow, or through the Channel of any of his Servants.

Reſolved, That with reſpect to her Recommendation of recalling and replacing in their former Offices Mahomed Elich Cawn and Buſheer Cawn, the Nabob is the Maſter of his own Government; and this Board cannot with Propriety interfere.

Reſolved, That Mr. Briſtow be addreſſed as follows:

To Mr. Briſtow.

Sir,

Baboo Begum has addreſſed a Letter to this Government by One of her Eunuchs; a Copy of which we think it neceſſary to tranſmit you encloſed, that you may perſonally communicate the Contents to the Nabob, but to him only, acquainting him at the ſame Time, if he ſhould demand a Copy of it, that you are not authoriſed to grant him one.

As ſome Parts of the Letter contain direct Charges againſt you, we expect a full Explanation of that Part of your Conduct, and deſire you will relate very circumſtantially all the Converſation and Meſſages that paſſed on the Occaſion referred to by the Begum.

With reſpect to the Articles taken by the Nabob from the Beghum, we think that they ſhould be appraiſed by ſuch Perſons appointed for that Purpoſe, as may be agreeable to both Parties, and received by him at the Amount of their Valuation in Part Payment of the Thirty Lacks which ſhe had engaged to ſupply. We therefore deſire that you will recommend this Mode of Adjuſtment to the Nabob.

If the Beghum can obtain the Nabob's Conſent to her retiring into the Company's Provinces, to fix her Reſidence there, we ſhall agree to grant her a ſuitable Retreat. We have appriſed her of this Circumſtance in Reply to her Letter, and have alſo informed her, that as ſoon as ſhe ſhall have fulfilled her Engagements to the Nabob, to which you became a Guarantee on behalf of the Company, we ſhall think ourſelves bound to protect her from any further Demands or Moleſtations of the Nabob her Son.

We have alſo told her in Reply to her Recommendation of Mahomed Elich Cawn and Buſheer Cawn, to be replaced in their former Offices, that the Nabob is Maſter in his own Government, and that we cannot with Propriety interfere.

(At the End)

We are, &c. &c.

(Signed at the End of the Conſultation)

Warren Haſtings.
J. Clavering.
Geo. Monſon.
Rich. Barwell.
P. Francis.

APPENDIX, N° XIII.

Book 100. Page 564.

Extract of a Conſultation of 13th May 1776.

Fort William, 13th May 1776.

At a Council; preſent

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering.
The Honourable George Monſon.
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

RECEIVED the following Letters from Mr. Briſtow.

Camp near Etawa, 30th April 1775.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I had the Pleaſure of addreſſing the Honourable Board on the 24th Inſtant. The Nabob, in order to put a ſtop to all further Diſputes with the Begum, had transferred the Share of the Balance due to him, to the Company. In conſequence of which I did myſelf the Honour to write to her, and requeſt the Payment of the Money. The Begum refuſes to admit the whole of the Vizier's Demand, and I therefore for the Information of the Honourable Board incloſe the Copies of my Letter and her Anſwer.

As

As I ſuppoſe it will be impoſſible to ſettle the Account to the Begum's Satisfaction, without attending to every minute Circumſtance, I informed her that I ſhould not trouble her on the Subject any more by Letter, but ſend Mr. Chandler to examine into every Particular, ſoon after my Arrival at Lucknow, of which I hope the Honourable Board will approve.

[Signed at the End] John Briſtow.

☞ (*a*) [Reſolved, That the following Reply be written to Mr. Briſtow.

To Mr. Briſtow.

Sir,

We have received your Letters of the 30th paſt and 1ſt Inſtant.

We conclude that you will be appriſed of the Begum's ultimate Reſolution with reſpect to the Payment of the Balance of her Account with the Vizier, before this Letter reaches you; and that you will either have recovered the Amount, or received her peremptory Refuſal to pay it. We do not diſapprove of your accepting of the Vizier's Transfer of that Debt to the Company; but as it is highly improper to make them the Inſtrument of aſſerting his Pretenſions on any his Subjects, not in open Rebellion againſt him, and more particularly in enforcing diſputed Claims on his Mother, we direct, that if ſhe ſhall not have diſcharged the Aſſignment, or freely conſented to pay it, when you receive this Letter, you will immediately return it to the Vizier, and leave it to him to adjuſt the Account with the Begum, accepting at the ſame Time any Part that ſhe may be willing to pay you on Account.

(At the End)

Fort William, 13th May 1776. We are, &c.] ☜

APPENDIX, N° XIV.

Book 38. Page 446.

Extract of a Conſultation of 12th Auguſt 1776.

Secret Dep. Monday. ☞

Fort William, 12th Auguſt 1776.

(*b*) [At a Council; preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }
Colonel Monſon indiſpoſed.

READ the following Letter from Mr. Briſtow.

Mr. Briſtow. Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

In conſequence of the Information I gave the Honourable Board, I attended his Excellency to this Place, to obtain Payment of the Money due from the Begum, and a final Adjuſtment of her Accounts. The Vizier claimed Nine Lacks Sixty-three thouſand Nine hundred and Sixty-ſix Rupees; but the Begum admitted only of Three Lacks Sixty-ſix thouſand Six hundred and Seventy-ſix Rupees, Seven Annas, and Nine Pies; the Particulars of which are explained in the encloſed Account (N° 1.). Neither Party would at firſt relinquiſh their Claim, and I apprehended a Settlement would not have been effected; but his Excellency, after Two or Three Interviews with the Begum, ſhewed a great Inclination to come to an Adjuſtment upon almoſt any Terms; and I, the Day before Yeſterday, attended him to her Palace, when he agreed to take the ſpecific Sum of Five Lacks. He ſet off immediately after for Lucknow, and left with me an Acquittance, of which the encloſed is a Copy (N° 2.). On the Vizier's Departure, the Begum objected to the Payment of the whole in Money, and wanted me to accept three Lacks in Goods, which I declined; and informed her, if it was not perfectly agreeable to her to comply with the Vizier's Draft, I ſhould not urge her to it, contrary to her Inclination. She afterwards gave up the Point of the Goods, upon Condition that ſhe had Time granted her to provide the Money in.

The Periods ſhe fixed were as follows, viz.

In Two Days — — —	100,000
In Twelve Days — — —	100,000
In Six Monthly Kiſts, at 50,000 Rupees per Kiſt	300,000
Owd Sicca Rupees — — —	500,000

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 450.

(*b*) Vide ſupra, P. 452.

I ſaid,

I ſaid, I could not agree to theſe Terms without the Sanction of the Honourable Board; but offered to receive whatever Sums ſhe would pay me, until their Approbation ſhould arrive. To afford the Honourable Board further Information on this Subject, I herewith do myſelf the Pleaſure to encloſe the Copy of the Begum's laſt Letter to me (N° 3.) Lieutenant Grant will ſtay at this Place to receive the Two firſt Payments, all together amounting to Two Lacks of Rupees.

The Cloth was the only Article in the Account on which the Begum laid any great Streſs; but by her own Confeſſion it was much worm-eaten and damaged, ſo that by what I underſtood it could not be ſold at a Fifth of what it was valued*.

The Begum in her Arguments principally urged the late Miniſter's having agreed to accept Eleven Lacks of the ſtipulated Sum in Goods, a Circumſtance I well remember, though not mentioned in the Treaty; and under this Pretence ſhe offered all the Cloths and Plunder taken in the Rohilla Campaign in Part Payment, at a moſt exorbitant Rate. I, for my Part, have been very cautious in ſaying any Thing to induce either the Vizier or Begum to adopt my Opinions in the Settlement that has taken place, but to let them act entirely from themſelves.

* Sic in Orig.

Fyzabad,
17th July 1776.

I have the Honour, &c.
(Signed) John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.]

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

In my Addreſs of the 17th Inſtant, I informed the Honourable Board of the final Adjuſtment, which with their Approbation was to take place with the Begum. Lieutenant Grant has ſince received One Lack of Rupees from her, and is promiſed the Payment of another immediately.

Lucknow,
July 29th, 1776.

(Signed) (At the End)
John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Ordered, That the Perſian Papers encloſed in Mr. Briſtow's Letter of the 17th July, be ſent to the Perſian Tranſlator, and entered in the Records of his Office, and that the Begum's Account with the Vizier, be entered after the Conſultation.

(a) [Reſolved that the following Letter be written to Mr. Briſtow.

To Mr. John Briſtow, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

To Mr. Briſtow.

Sir,

We have received the Lette you addreſſed to us on the 17th and 29th ultimo.

We conſent to your accepting the Offers which you acquaint us the Begum has made to you for the Payment of the Five Lacks of Rupees aſſigned by the Nabob to the Company; but with this expreſs Reſervation, that the Company's Right to reclaim from the Nabob himſelf the Amount of ſuch Part as ſhe may refuſe to diſcharge ſhall not be impaired thereby. And we ſtrictly caution you to avoid interfering or becoming a Party in any Differences which may ariſe between the Nabob and his Mother.

Fort William,
12th Auguſt 1776.

We are, &c.
(Signed) *]

* No Signature.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 451.

Fort William, the 12th Auguſt 1776.

STATEMENT made by the Begum of her Account with the Vizier.

Paid in Money and Jewels.

In Gold Mohrs and Rupees,			15,30,704	—	—
Jewels,	—	—	3,31,129	8	—
Gold Bullion,	—	—	38,166	8	—
				19,00,000	— —
Thirty-five Elephants,	—		1,05,000	—	—
One hundred and Seventy-ſix Camels,			17,600	—	—
				1,22,600	— —
Cloths of various Kinds, Tents, &c.					
Broad Cloth,	—		4,00,000	—	—
Tents,	—	—	20,000	8	3
Cloths,	—	—	54,393	—	—
				4,74,393	8 3
Hackeries, &c.	—	—	—	42,330	— —
Revenues of Gorrockpoor,	—	—	—	85,000	— —
D° Vizier Gunge,	—		5,000	—	—
D° Iſmael Gung,	—		4,000	—	—
				9,000	— —
Total paid,	—			26,33,323	8 3
Balance due,	—			3,66,676	7 9
Amount agreed to by the Treaty,				30,00,000	— —

Fort William, the 12th Auguſt 1776.

STATEMENT made by the Vizier of his Account with the Begum.

Received in Money and Jewels.

Gold Mohrs,	—	—	2,15,343	3	6
Rupees,	—	—	13,53,527	4	6
Jewels,	—	—	3,31,129	8	—
				19,00,000	— —
Thirty-five Elephants,	—		1,05,000	—	—
One hundred and Seventy-one Camels,			17,100	—	—
				1,22,000	— —
Hackeries, &c.	—	—	—	13,934	— —
Total received,	—			20,36,034	— —
Balance due,	—			9,63,966	— —
Amount agreed to by Treaty,				30,00,000	— —

The Vizier claimed	—		9,63,966	—	—
The Begum admitted	—		3,66,676	7	9
Difference,			5,97,289	8	3

Fyzabad, the 17th July 1776.

Errors excepted.

(Signed) John Briſtow,

Reſid[t] at the Vizier's Court.

APPENDIX, N° XV.

Book 101. Page 209.

Extract of a Consultation of 7th February 1776.

Fort William, the 7th February 1776.

At a Council; Present,
The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President.
Lieutenant General John Clavering.
The Honourable George Monson.
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Esquires.

READ and approved the Consultation of the 5th Instant.

Received the following Letters from Mr. Bristow.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs.

I wrote last on the 21st, and am favoured with the Honourable Board's Letter of the 3d Instant: Agreeable to the Directions therein contained, I presented to the Nabob Buboo Begum's Address to the Governor General; at the same Time for fear of any Omission in my verbally explaining the Board's Sentiments, I troubled him with a written Representation, of which the enclosed is a Copy. As his Excellency did not request either this or the Letter to be left with him, I had no Occasion to excuse myself from it. He informs me has fully answered every Article of the Begum's Complaints in a Letter to the Governor General, which renders it unnecessary for me to relate any of his Observations.

In respect to the particular Charge against myself, of having, in Conjunction with Mirza Ally, Sellar Jung, and Murteza Cawn, threatened to stop the Necessaries of Life from being brought into the Zenana; in my Address of the 3d Instant, I was particular on this Subject, and I can further safely assert, if any such Message was carried to the Begum, that it was wholly without my Knowledge or Acquiescence. I think it very probable she might have been told this by her Eunuchs in order to irritate her against the Nabob. I know the difficult Part I had to act, and avoided as much as possible all verbal Messages, as Misinterpretations might be given to them. The only Menace I ever used was, to threaten to set off from Fyzabad and leave the Nabob and Begum to settle their Differences without the Mediation of the Company, for that it was unnecessary for me to stay unless my Representations were attended to. It is astonishing that the Begum does not produce any of my Letters, which were numerous; and upon this Evidence the Honourable Board might at once acquit or condemn my Conduct.

In regard to the Begum's "Insinuation of her having sent many Letters to the Governor "General, without receiving Answers," I am persuaded all that were transmitted to me I regularly forwarded; but this Matter may be easily settled by her dispatching Copies of any which may have miscarried.

For further Particulars relative to the Begum's Charges, I had, previous to the Receipt of the Honourable Board's Commands, been explicit in my Address of the 3d Instant, to which I refer.

In my Negociations between the Begum and the Nabob, I have been very disagreeably situated, as I never could give entire Satisfaction to either. My Motives for entering into them were, for procuring Money at a Time that the Nabob could not have taken the Field without it, and his Affairs must have materially suffered.

I have, &c.
(Signed) John Bristow,
Resident at the Court of Oude.

Camp near Etawa.
25th January 1776.

☞ (*a*) [Representation made by Mr. Bristow to the Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah.

I have already presented for your Excellency's Inspection* Copy of a Letter addressed to the Governor, by her Excellency the Begum; the Contents of which you doubtless retain in your Remembrance. As you regard the Payment of Respect and Duty to the Begum in Preference to every other Consideration, it is incumbent on me to give you, in Writing, the Particulars of the Orders which I have received from the Governor and Council, on this Subject, that you may clearly comprehend them, and that there may be no Possibility of your losing the Memory of them.

* Sic in Orig.

(*a*) Vide supra, P. 451.

1ſt, Reſpecting the Goods and Effects which the Begum may have given, or may give, on Account of Part of the Thirty Lacks of Rupees, ſtipulated in the Coulnâmâ, that they be received on an Appraiſement made by a Perſon mutually choſen for that Purpoſe. I recommend this Method of accommodating the Matter to your Excellency.

2d, Regarding the Begum's coming to reſide in the Company's Territories, ſhould this meet with your Approbation and Conſent, the Governor and Council will undoubtedly agree thereto, and will treat her with that Reſpect and Honour which is due to her Rank. This the Governor has communicated to the Begum. Moreover, when the Begum has fulfilled the Conditions of the Coulnâmâ, ſhe will not be liable to further Demands, or Trouble, on account of Money, and no one, agreeable to the Terms of the Coulnâmâ, will, in any Manner, obſtruct or moleſt her. The Engliſh Company are the Guarantees of this.

3d, To the Begum's Requeſt to recommend the Re-eſtabliſhment of Mahomed Ellich Khan, and Mahomed Buſhee Khan, in their former Appointments, the Governor and Council have anſwered, that your Excellency is the Maſter of your own Government, and that it does not become them to make ſuch a Recommendation to you.]

☞ (*a*) [Agreed, That the following Reply be written to Mr. Briſtow.

Sir,

We have received your Letters of the 25th and 26th ult.

It was not from any Impreſſion which the Complaints contained in the Begum's Letter had made upon our Sentiments, that we took Notice of that particular Part which might be conſtrued to relate to you, but merely to obtain from you a particular Explanation of the Circumſtances alluded to, which we have now received.

We are, &c.]

APPENDIX, N° XVI.

Vide Appendix, N° XIV.

APPENDIX, N° XVII.

Book 38. Page 251.

Extract of a Conſultation of 22d July 1776.

Secret Dep. Monday.

Fort William, the 22d July 1776.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
Philip Francis Eſquire.
Colonel Monſon and Mr. Barwell indiſpoſed.

READ and approved the Proceedings of the 15th Inſtant.

Received the following Letter from Mr. Briſtow.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſq. Governor General, and the Members of the Supreme Council, Fort William.

Mr. Briſtow. Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Agreeable to the Inſtructions of the Honourable Board, I wrote to the Begum, endeavouring to perſuade her to the Payment of the Balance ſtill due to his Excellency the Vizier comformable to Treaty. The Begum's Anſwer thereto being wrote in an evaſive Stile, I am preparing to proceed to Fyzabad to procure an Interview with her, when I ſhall uſe my utmoſt Endeavours to obtain her Conſent to the immediate Payment of the Monies due, and to the ſettling finally the Value of the Goods which have been delivered to his Excellency, or he may have poſſeſſed himſelf of, by reputable Aumins, appointed for that Purpoſe, As I can only uſe Perſuaſives with the

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 453.

Begum in this Matter, ſhould I find theſe of no Effect, I ſhall, without protracting a uſeleſs Negociation, agreeable to the Board's Inſtructions, decline any further Interference.

Lucknow,
July 7th, 1776.

Signed [At the End]
John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

☞ *(a)* [Reſolved, That the following Reply be ſent to Mr. Briſtow.

To Mr. John Briſtow, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Sir,

We have received your Letter of the 7th Inſtant. You inform us, that you are preparing to proceed to Fyzabad to procure an Interview with the Begum, to perſuade her to the Payment of the Balance due to the Nabob. Mr. Briſtow.

By going to Fyzabad to viſit the Begum, you have exceeded our Intentions: However, as we ſuppoſe that Step is now taken, we can only expreſs our Hopes that your Conference with her was conducted in Terms of Amity and Reſpect to her. If your Propoſal to the Begum for liquidating her Accounts with the Nabob ſhould not have ſucceeded, we direct you to deſiſt from any further Application to her on that Account.

Fort William,
the 22d July 1776.

We are, &c.] ☞

APPENDIX, N° XVIII.

Vide Appendix, N° XV.

APPENDIX, N° XIX.

Book 39. Page 782.

Extract of a Conſultation of 30th December 1776.

Fort William, the 30th December 1776. Secret Dep. Monday.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Lieutenant General John Clavering.
Richard Barwell, } Eſqrs.
Philip Francis, }

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

IT is with much Concern I obſerve the Want of Diſcipline which ſtill reigns in that Part of the Vizir's Army not under Britiſh Officers. Two Battalions marched, a ſhort Time ago, from their Stations to this Place, and demanded their Pay, which if they were not granted, they threatened to plunder the Town. The Vizir was obliged to comply with their Demand, and when he wanted to diſmiſs them for their mutinous Behaviour, they refuſed to give up their Arms unleſs his Excellency would promiſe, through me, not to uſe any Violence towards them. The Night of the Mutiny I was ſent for at 10 o'Clock, by the Vizir, to be the Arbitrator between him and the Mutineers, which Office I however unwillingly took upon me, in order to prevent a Diſturbance at Fyzabad. The Troops have gone to great Extremities, and compelled the Begum to pay them a conſiderable Sum of Money. The Particulars of this Diſturbance the Honourable Board will underſtand from her Letters to me on this Subject, Copies of which I have herewith the Honour to encloſe, N° 1. The Vizir, the Night before laſt, received Intelligence, that after the Mutineers diſperſed, the Begum had thought proper to put her own People into all the Offices in the Town, and diſplaced his: That ſhe had confined a Soubadar and ſome Seapoys who were Guards on the Store Houſes, ſeized the Gates, and publiſhed to the World that ſhe had bought the Town for the Money the Troops had exacted from her. The Vizir was extremely mortified at this Intelligence, and ſent, at Half paſt 11 o'Clock at Night, to let me know, that he had ſome very particular Buſineſs to ſpeak to me about; and before I could return him an Anſwer to his Meſſage, he did me the Honor to call on me. He complained heavily of

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 452.

the

the Begum's Behaviour, and declared, that if it was not for the Treaty he had made with her through the Engliſh, he would immediately order her two principal Eunuchs to be capitally puniſhed. He at firſt determined to ſend the Body Guard to Fyzabad, and retake Poſſeſſion of the Town; but changed his Mind on my aſking him, whether there was a Probability of any further Diſturbance? He anſwered, there was not the leaſt, as the Troops concerned in the Mutiny were all diſperſed, and another Battalion had been ordered to Fyzabad, which would be arrived there by that Time. After many Propoſitions, he at laſt reſolved on ſending the Miniſter Huſſein Reza Cawn, to which I adviſed him, knowing the Begum was well affected towards him, and that he would act with Moderation. The Vizir inſiſted on my immediately writing her a Letter, that Huſſein Reza Cawn might ſet off with it before Day-break. I incloſe a Copy of it, N° 2. I am inclined to think the Begum's Conduct has been exaggerated, in order to cauſe Ill-will between her and his Excellency; but I hope the Honourable Board will approve the Part I was obliged to take to moderate Matters.

I have the Honour, &c.

Lucknow, 25th November 1776. (Signed) John Briſtow, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

☞ *(a)* [The Board approve of Mr. Briſtow's Conduct on Occaſion of the Difference between the Nabob and the Bhegum his Mother.]

Ordered, That this be ſignified to him by the Secretary.

Copy of a Letter from the Bhegum to Mr. Briſtow, received the 7th Shawaul, 18th Sun (19th November 1776).

You were ſo kind ſome Time ago to ſend Perwannahs for the Battalion and Artillery-men, forbidding them to offer any Diſturbance to me. Theſe Perwannahs were delivered to them. They are notwithſtanding beginning to be riotous; and the two Battalions and Artillery-men have ſworn in a Confederacy together, with a Determination to ſeize upon the Amount of their Aſſignments. Conſider what Concern theſe Men can have with me. They without any Right raiſe Diſturbances. It is highly neceſſary to conſider of ſome Expedient, for they will be troubleſome ſoon.

Copy of a Letter from the ſame to the ſame. Dated 11th Shawaul (23d November 1776).

I have before adviſed you of the Diſturbances which have been raiſed by the Sepoys and Artillery-men through Sub ul Mahlee. They were aſſembled in a tumultuous Manner at my Door, a Day, the Night, and the preceding Day, in a Manner exceeding Deſcription. They broke open Two Doors, brought their Cannon within, and diſregarded every Argument which was uſed to diſſuade them from it. They were near coming into the inner Apartment, and firing the Cannon. Under ſuch a Neceſſity I paid them the Sum of 82,669 Rupees, partly from the Sum which I intended to apply to the Payment of your Kiſt, and partly from Money which I borrowed, which completes the Amount of the Aſſignments. They have received this Money To-day, being the 8th Shawaul, and are gone without the Town. They carried the Cutwaul with them, for the Purpoſe of delivering to him their Muſkets, Cannon, and Cartouch Boxes. The Sepoys abuſed all the Sirdars and others, and made a Diſturbance to a Degree which cannot be deſcribed. I never before experienced ſuch diſgraceful Treatment as on the preſent Occaſion. The Sepoys and Artillery-men declared, when they received the Amount of the Aſſignments, that they had ſold their Cannon Markets to me in Return for that Money. The Cutwaul is gone with them to receive their Guns; but I have been informed that they refuſe to deliver them up. Holaſs Roy your Mutſeddy was preſent at my Door when this Diſturbance happened. I had before written to my Brother Muktar ul Dowla, deſiring that he would prevent the ſtationing Sepoys round my Houſe; but no one attended to me; but Affairs have ſince arrived at this Criſis: The Sepoys have deſerted from the Fort and Town, in which I have ſtationed Men of my own. Grant them Aſſignments on Almaus Ally Khan, and let no one be admitted into the Fort, or the ſame Kind of Diſturbance will recur; the Apprehenſion of which induces me to requeſt that you will ſend Guards for the Protection of my Houſe. If I had been furniſhed with Guards, the Diſturbances would not have happened. I have written a very particular Account of what has paſſed. Round the Fort of Fyzeabad there is a fine open Country, but the Fortifications are in Ruin, and there are many Avenues into the Fort. I write this for your Information.

Mr. Briſtow's Anſwer to the Bhegum.

I am very much concerned to hear of the Diſturbances of the Sepoys and young Moguls who were ſtationed at Fyzeabad. I have been informed by his Excellency the Nabob that Juaker Ally Khan has placed the Fougedar, who was ſtationed in the ſmall outer Apartment, in the Guard. I am aſſured that you have conſiderately ordered this Meaſure for the Security of the Property of the Nabob, which is in fact as your own. His Excellency has deputed Hoſſein

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 453.

Reza

Reza Khan, who has long borne the moſt ſteady Attachment, and being devoted to you and the Service of you and the Nabob, to ſettle the Affairs of Fyzabad; that he may diſpoſe every Matter ſo judiciouſly as to prevent any of the Sepoys or Military from raiſing Diſturbances in future, and ſecure you againſt any vexatious Treatment. The Nabob is willing from his Heart to repay to you the Sum of 70,000 Rupees, which you have paid from your own Caſh to the Sepoys and young Moguls. Myrza Hoſſein Reza Khan has been deputed to ſatisfy you on this Subject. I requeſt that you will conſider, both preſent and abſent, your undoubted Well-wiſher, and favour me with frequent Letters.

APPENDIX, N° XX.

Book 26. Page 490.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 22d June 1780, and Appendix to the ſame.

Fort William, the 22d June 1780.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,
Philip Francis, } Eſquires.
Edward Wheler, }

READ the following Letter from the Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

§ (a) (" Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

" I have been duly honoured with your Letter of the 3d Inſtant, requiring an additional Grant " of 30,00,18,812 Rupees, in Tunkaws, from his Excellency the Vizier, and declaring your Diſ- " approval of the Remiſſion of any Part of the Aſſignments already granted; on the contrary, " that if any of the Jagheers were reſtored, other Aſſignments of equal Value and Security are to " be taken in their Stead. Likewiſe deſiring every Information relative to the Jagheers.") §

☞ " [The Account, Particulars of the Jagheers, I have the Honour to encloſe, with ſuch Remarks and Papers annexed to them, as, I hope, will prove fully explanatory on the Points you require Information on. I have nothing to add, but that no one has advanced a Claim to an Exemption, but thoſe obſerved upon in the Account. The Nabob certainly exerts an abſolute Authority, as to the continuing or reſuming of every private Jagheer.] ☜

§ (" Immediately after the Arrival of the Board's abovementioned Orders, I addreſſed his Excel- " lency in the encloſed Letter marked A, which is a Tranſlate, and received an Anſwer, of which " I forward Copy of the Perſian and Tranſlate B. In conſequence of his Excellency's Orders, the " encloſed Abſtract of the whole Amount of his Finances and Diſburſements was prepared, and " would have been forwarded to you long ere this; but the Time it has unavoidably taken to " arrange it for your Inſpection will, I hope, prove a ſatisfactory Apology for the Delay. Such " Remarks as are explanatory of the Account I have annexed to it.

" It is hardly neceſſary to obſerve, that the Deductions allowed on account of the Drought are " the chief Cauſe of the Nabob's preſent Diſtreſs, as will be plainly ſeen by the Second Head of " the Abſtract.

" The Board will perceive in my Letter to his Excellency the Vizier, that I have deſired he will " prohibit the ſeveral Aumils from paying any further Sums to the private Tuncawdars, whoſe " Claims, according to the Abſtract, amount to R$ 26,04,671:9. This Sum, which I regarded " as the only Source capable of furniſhing new Aſſignments, includes many of the Nabob's public " Eſtabliſhments, ſome Tuncaws granted for the Pay of his private Debts, and others for the Ar- " rears due to his Servants. The greater Part of this Sum has been paid, and ſome Part will un- " avoidably remain in Balance; nor do I think, that in caſe a Stop was put to the further Receipts " of theſe Tuncawdars, there would be obtained Three Lacks of Rupees.—In ſhort, as I believe " this Account contains a true Repreſentation of the State of the Nabob's Finances; and as his " private Expences are much circumſcribed, in compariſon with former Periods, it does not ap- " pear to me poſſible that any further Expectations can be anſwered in the preſent Year.

" Having given my Opinion upon the Honourable Board's Requiſition for further Tunkaws, as " far as I could judge from the Abſtract, and the beſt Information I could obtain, I beg your In- " dulgence while I lay before you the following Obſervations.

" Under the Head of Mootina, or Expences of Troops ſtationed with the Aumils for the Pur- " poſe of enforcing the Payment of the Revenues, there appears a Sum of 53 Lacks of Rupees. " Tho' from the natural State of this Country, where the Zemindars take immediate Advantage " of every Relaxation in the Government, and continually avail themſelves of the Removal of " the Forces from their Diſtricts, by raiſing Troops of their own, building Forts, and withholding " their Rents, ſuch a Charge is always neceſſary, yet the Amount of it here ſeems very exorbitant; " and the Purpoſe for which theſe Sums are allowed appears not to be anſwered, becauſe when- " ever the Aumils are preſſed, they have always Recourſe to the Honourable Company's Battalions.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 480.

" Some Regulations might be made to put theſe Forces on a reſpectable Footing, anſwer all the " Ends of this Government, and ſave a conſiderable Sum of Money. This, I imagine, might be " accompliſhed in the enſuing Year; the preſent is too far advanced to admit of a new Regulation.

" As the Firſt Object muſt ever be, to ſecure ſufficient Sums in the Beginning to anſwer the " Exigencies of the whole Year, it appears neceſſary, that the Eſtimate, having been ſubmitted to " the Honourable Board, ſhould be returned with ſuch a Letter through him to his Excellency, " as to ſhew him that the Reſident has no Authority to diſpenſe with any Part of it, and that he acts " in ſuch Demands agreeable to their Injunctions. This Letter ſhould at leaſt be written a Month " before the Concluſion of the old Year, that private Tunkawdars may be totally excluded till the " Honourable Company's Claims are ſatisfied. This has occurred to me from the Conviction, " which the Nabob in all his Converſations appeared to have, that the Honourable Board would, " upon his Repreſentation, diſmiſs the Eſtabliſhments paid by Mr. Wombwell. In this Idea, his " Excellency would not hear of another Demand, until he ſhould receive the Honourable Board's " Anſwer to his Refuſal. The Change in the Reſident was a Delay of a Month and a Half in ob- " taining the additional Tuncaws. The Reference afterwards to your Honourable Board, waiting " the Reply, and then ſettling the Agreements and Accounts with the Aumils, loſt full Five " Months of the Year. The Kerreef Harveſt, ſmall as it was, owing to the Drought, was loſt; " and the realizing of the Company's Tuncaws upon a Collection of Eight Months depended " on a Six Months Source, the Rubbee Harveſt. Another peculiar though unavoidable Circum- " ſtance has occurred to oppoſe my ſtanding in ſo fair a Light in my Collections as my Prede- " ceſſors, and that is, that my Predeceſſors were allowed to keep their Accounts till the Collec- " tions of the Month were cloſed, which did not happen till a Month after: They did not cloſe " their Collections and ſend away their Accounts at the End of the Month; this makes their " Collections in the Accounts appear uniform, while mine, under the late Regulation, are ſent " away at the End of each Month, and the Kiſts having, from invariable Cuſtom, never been paid " till near the End of the enſuing, my Accounts muſt always have a Balance of a whole Kiſt.

" I have the Honour to ſubmit to your Honourable Board an Eſtimate of the Receipts and Diſ- " burſements of my Treaſury for the paſt Seven Months of the Year. The Troops are all paid " up to the preſent Time, and I calculate, that the Amount required for the neceſſary Diſburſe- " ments of the Remainder of the Year, excluſive of all Contingencies, will be about 30 Lacks " of Rupees.—This is about the Sum I expect will be realized in the Courſe of the abovementioned " Period, after deducting the Batta between Fyzabad 16 Sun Sicca Rupees and the ſeveral " Species, which are collected from the Country. The Eſtimate of 30 Lacks I cannot declare to " be juſt, becauſe the Paymaſters have not furniſhed me with their Accounts Current with the " Military Paymaſter General, to the preſent Period, which alone could ſerve me in my Calcula- " tion. The Want of theſe Accounts prevents my keeping my own with the Regularity I could " wiſh.

" Lucknow, I have the Honour, &c. &c.
" 30th April 1780. (Signed) C. Purling."

" Ordered, That the Incloſures in the above Letter be entered after the Conſultation.") §

☞ ["Agreed, That the following Letter be written to Mr. Purling.

" Sir,

" We have received your Letters of the 31ſt of April and 22d of May, with their ſeveral Incloſures.

" At this late Period of the Year, and in conſequence of the ſtrong Objections made by his Excellency the Vizier, added to the Teſtimony which you bear to the Truth of the Account given of the State of his Finances, we are compelled for the preſent to wave our Claim to the addi- tional Aſſignments, which in our Letter of the 3d of April, we required you to obtain for the whole Amount of the Company's Demand upon him; but we hope, that at the Commencement of the Year enſuing, your Efforts, not only to provide for the Exigencies of that Year, but to ſecure the Payment of the Balance due from his Excellency at the Concluſion of the preſent, will be more ſucceſsful."] ☞

§ (" The Expence attending the Collection of the Nabob's Revenues, ſtated in the Account " accompanying your Letter under the Heads Mootaina and Aerajaut and Mahl Charges, " amounting in all to the Sum of Rupees 57,92,954 : 6. is ſo enormous and unreaſonable, that " we know not in what Manner to account for it, without ſuppoſing ſuch unlimited Abuſes to be " committed by the Perſons in Charge of the Collection as require the moſt deciſive Exertion of " his Excellency to put an End to them. We direct, that you furniſh us as ſoon as poſſible with " the Particulars of theſe Articles of Expence; and we deſire that, at the approaching Settlement " of the Revenues for the Year 1188, your Attention may be particularly directed to the Dimi- " nution of it, and that you recommend in the ſtrongeſt Manner to the Vizier the Neceſſity of " his applying the moſt effectual Remedy to the Abuſe, and a principal Means of effecting it, " the total Reduction of the Mutaina Troops.

" We have attended to the Explanation and Particulars which you have tranſmitted to us of " the private Jaghires, and authorize you to reſtore the Aſſignments on them to the Proprietors.

" Fort William, We are, &c.)" §
" 22d June 1780.

☞ *(a)* [ACCOUNT Particulars of the Jagheers in the Vizier's Dominions, exclusive of the Maulguzarry Lands.

Names of the Places granted as Jagheers.	Names of the Jagheerdars.	Time when granted.	Amount Jumma of each Place.	Jumma of the Grant of each Jagheerdar.	Jagheers resumed and concluded in the Cabooleats of the Aumils.	Amount of Jagheers assigned by the Nabob for the Honourable Company's Claims.	Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have not passed their Bonds and Kistibunds.	Balance or Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have passed their Bonds and Kistibunds.	REMARKS.
Deveey Jangheerabad —	Nabob Salar Jung, and Nabob Mirza Ally Cawn —	Old Grant	72,212 10 —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	Nabob Salar Jung.—This and the Four following Heads are the Jagheers of his Excellency the Vizier's Family, who consider themselves exempt from the Tax to be paid in the present Year, of One Half of the Jumma which his Excellency put upon them; for he urged the doing of it at the Time he made out the last Tuncaw for 38 Lacks of Rupees. The Nabob Mirza Ally Khaun is dead; but the Share of the Jagheer for 6,87,251. 10. which the Nabob had, is continued to his Widow and Family.
Russoolabad — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	64,284 — —						
Beejnor — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	1,20,753 — —						
Sehdowr — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	1,05,000 — —						
Jullolur Hasimun —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	1,05,000 — —						
Summuspore — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	20,082 — —						
Futtypore, Hussoowah, &c. of Chucklah Coorah —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	4,00,000 — —						
Dehaud Syheeb —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	40,000 — —						
Sustrah — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	887 — —						
Mobarraze Nuggur —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	6,132 — —						
Bullia Govind — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	1,201 — —						
Toffeer Orangabad —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	1,700 — —						
			9,37,251 10 —						
Deduct what has been attached by the present Nabob Assoph ul Dowlah in 1186 —		—	2,50,000 — —						
				6,87,251 10 —	— —	3,43,625 13 —	3,43,625 13 —	— —	Ahmed Ally Cawn and Ally Korly Khaun are two Sons of the Nabob Mirza Ally Khaun, and claim an Exemption from this Tax of Half Amount of the Jumma, under the Strength of the abovementioned Letter to their Father and Uncle.
Mugglasee — —	Ahmed Ally Cawn, and Ally Cooley Cawn — —	in 1182 —	24,225 — —						
Jullot Gunge — —	Ditto — Ditto —	1183 —	23,992 — —						
Tuppeh Cumyaur —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	12,000 — —						
Tuppeh Mugglasee —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	3,743 — —						
				63,960 — —	— —	31,980 — —	31,980 — —	— —	The Bunee Begum, or Mother of the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, possesses two Engagements; one of the Nabob Assoph ul Dowlah, and the other of Mr. Middleton, that the Jagheers shall remain to her unmolested;—and declare, that nothing but absolute Force shall make her give up any Part of the Jumma, since some of the Terms of her Engagements are uncomplied with.—Translates of these come inclosed N° 3 and 4.
Ally Gunge — —	Nabob Sujah ul Dowla's Mother — —	Old Grant	90,000 — —						
Dunghouse — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	92,000 — —						
Rehimnagur — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	3,822 — —						
Dehand of Jaffier Jaur Cawn's Jagheer — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	5,400 — —						
				1,91,222 — —	— —	95,611 — —	95,611 — —	— —	The Bow Begum, or Wife of the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, has exhibited two Engagements; one under the Seal of his Excellency the Vizier Assoph ul Dowlah, and the other signed by Mr. Bristow;—wherein they promise an unmolested Possession to the Begum of her Jagheers and Gunges;—And therefore refuses to allow of the Taxation.—She also has a full Acquittance from his Excellency the Nabob Assoph ul Dowlah, from which it appears, that his Excellency had made a Demand upon his Mother for his Inheritance.—These are contained in N° 5, 6, 7.
Joyyes, &c. — —	Nabob Assoph ul Dowla's Mother — —	Ditto —	4,47,200 — —						
Tundah — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	47,616 — —						
Sehudgur — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	14,000 — —						
Ismail Gunge — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	10,000 — —						
Benny Gunge — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	6,000 — —						
Nabob Gunge and Syher —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto —	60,000 — —						
				5,84,816 — —	— —	2,92,408 — —	2,92,408 — —		
Carried forward —			— —	15,27,249 10 —	— —	7,63,624 13 —	7,63,624 13 —		

(a) Vide supra, P. 482.

Names of the Places granted as Jagheers.	Names of the Jagheerdars.	Time when granted.	Amount of each Place.	Jumma of the Grant of each Jagheerdar.	Jagheers resumed, and included in the Cabooleats of the Aumils.	Amount of Jagheers assigned by the Nabob for the Honourable Company's Claims.	Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have not passed their Bonds and Kistibunds.	Balance, or Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have passed their Bonds and Kistibunds.	REMARKS.
	Brought forward —	—	— —	15,27,249 10 —	— —	7,63,624 13 —	7,63,624 13 —		
Dehand Inhunna — —	Khahun Cawn, and Hungun Cawn — —	Old Grant	1,700 2 —						
Ditto — — —	Ditto — Ditto —	in 1184	11,000 — —						
Kawrid Puchrumrot — —	Ditto — Ditto —	in 1183	14,055 — —						
Mujgong — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	7,000 — —						
Dehaud Barelly — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	4,963 — —						
Dincurpore Sunha — —	Ditto — Ditto —	in 1184	983 12 6						
Rampore, &c. — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	14,437 — —						
				54,138 14 6	— —	36,862 5 6	— —	36,862 5 6	Mirza Huffein Reza Khan.—This and all the following Jagheerdars included under the laft Head, as having paffed their Bonds and Kiftbundees, have been taxed Two Thirds of the Amount Jumma of their Jagheers.
Dehaud Kaucory — —	Mirza Huffein Reza Cawn —	Old Grant	700 — —						
Burtipore — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	19,992 13 6						
Dehaud Tootch Hurry —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	4,007 — —						
				24,699 13 6	— —	16,466 9 —	— —	16,466 9 —	
Dehaund Manickpore —	Iffope Cawn Kandarree —	Old Grant	— —	4,015 — —	— —	2,061 5 6	— —	2,061 5 6	
Dehand Mohaun — —	Cauzeh Nehama Tulla —	in 1183	— —	4,031 13 —	— —	2,000 — —	— —	2,000 — —	
Jummoo — —	Rajah Bowanny Sing —	Ditto	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Pertaub Gunge — —	Rajah Micoo Sing —	in 1184	13,202 — —						
Mohun Gudge Feel Putchrumrot	Ditto — Ditto —	in 1187	14,000 — —						
Toffeer, an Increafe found by the Aumil — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	2,138 5 6						
Movlara — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	48,450 — —						
				77,790 5 6	— —	51,091 8 —	— —	51,091 8 —	
Hurdohee Cutwarra —	Rajah Mootee Sing —	in 1183	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Hurdohiz — —	Rajah Nawauz Sing —	Ditto	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Buffory — —	Rajah Suba Sing — —	Ditto	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Surazepore — —	Rajah Ullah Sing — —	Ditto	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Bedlong — —	Rajah Nuddee Sing —	Ditto	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Chucklah Ittawa Dehand —	Huffein Attah Cawn —	Ditto	— —	5,668 — —	— —	3,778 11 —	— —	3,778 11 —	
Dehand Mona — —	Roy Hoolaus Roy —	in 1184	9,000 — —						
Corah — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	3,500 — —						
				12,500 — —	— —	8,333 5 —	— —	8,333 5 —	
Dehand Lucknow — —	Moonfhee Bauffid — —	in 1183	— —	400 — —	— —	266 11 —	— —	266 11 —	
Kheway — —	Khaunneh Allum — —	Old Grant	72,000 — —						
Allahabad — —	Ditto — Ditto —	in 1183	3,000 — —						
				75,000 — —	— —	50,000 — —	— —	50,000 — —	
Anuroyah — —	Aukbaul ul Dowlah —	in 1184	— —	1,00,000 — —	— —	66,666 11 —	— —	66,666 11 —	Bundeh Ally Khaun, being a Relation of the Nabob's, he would have him exempted from the Tax —He is therefore omitted.
Baffimugger — —	Bundeh Ally Cawn —	Old Grant	10,000 — —						
Ametty — —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	3,000 — —						Mahaboob Ally Khaun.—The Diftrict in which this Jagheerdar's Lands were included, has been thrown into much Confufion by the Mifmanagement of New Aumils, whom his Excellency chofe to
				13,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	
	Carried forward —	—	— —	20,78,493 8 6	— —	11,21,151 15 —	7,63,624 13 —	3,57,527 2 —	

Names of the Places granted as Jagheers.	Names of the Jagheerdars.	Time when granted.	Amount of each Place.	Jumma of the Grant of each Jagheerdar.	Jagheers resumed, included in the Cabooleats of the Aumils.	Amount of Jagheers assigned by the Nabob for the Honourable Company's Claims.	Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have not passed their Bonds and Kistibunds.	Balance or Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have passed their Bonds and Kistibunds.	REMARKS.
	Brought forward —	—	— —	20,78,493 8 6	— —	11,21,151 15 —	7,63,624 13 —	3,57,527 2 —	to appoint in the Beginning of this Year, and afterwards removed, upon those Lands being made over in Assignment to the Honourable Company in the Month of Maug; and the New Aumil, aware of the Difficulties he had to encounter, refused to take upon him the Responsibility of the Collections for the remaining 8 Months of the Year, unless this Jagheer was included in his Cabooleat, as well as two others mentioned hereafter.
Russoolpore Gosse —	Mahaboob Ally Cawn —	Old Grant	60,000 — —						
		in 1183	37,000 — —						
				97,000 — —	97,000 — —				
Dehand Allahabad —	Mahmud Ally Commandant —	in 1183	— —	2,134 — —	— —	1,422 11 —	— —	1,422 11 —	Rajah Govindram, the Nabob's Vakeel in Calcutta.—The Nabob would not include this among the other taxed Jagheers.—It is therefore exempt.
Dehand Barry —	Koose Muzzer Ally Cawn —	Ditto	— —	12,000 — —	— —	8,000 — —	— —	8,000 — —	
Dehand Allahabad —	Meer Suddeek — —	Ditto	— —	10,000 — —	— —	6,666 11 —	— —	6,666 11 —	
Mirzapore —	Rajah Govindram — —	Ditto	— —	17,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	
Dehand Lucknow —	Mahmud Wuzzee Coja — —	Ditto	— —	600 — —	— —	400 — —	— —	400 — —	Nabob Mirza Nudjeef Khaun.—The Nabob would not tax his Jagheers.
Muzsahbad —	Nudjeef Cawn Badre — —	Old Grant	— —	14,500 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	
Dehand Ackburpore —	Ekmut Hussein Cawn — —	Ditto	— —	6,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	
Dehand Nugram —	Rajah Teppoor Chund —	in 1183	— —	10,000 — —	— —	6,666 11 —	— —	6,666 11 —	
Dehand Angetty —	Cauzee Mahmud Tuckey —	Ditto	1,128 12 —						
Dehand Nugram —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	871 — —						
Dehand Lucknow —	Ditto — Ditto —	in 1184	1,500 — —						
Mugglasee —	Ditto — Ditto —	Ditto	1,847 3 —						
				5,346 15 —	— —	3,564 10 —	— —	3,564 10 —	
Dehand Malliabad, and Mohaun	Umber Ally Cawn — —	in 1183	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Dehand Wauraze —	Nabob Immaum Udeen Cawn —	in 1184	— —	12,000 — —	— —	8,000 — —	— —	8,000 — —	
Dehand Russoolpore Gosse —	Mahmud Fauzale — —	Old Grant	— —	400 — —	— —	266 11 —	— —	266 11 —	
Dehand Cuckcorry —	Mahmud Shuffee Ajam —	Ditto	— —	500 — —	— —	333 6 —	— —	333 6 —	
Kootia Gooneer —	Almas Ally Cawn — —	in 1184	— —	30,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	— —	20,000 — —	
Dehand Cuckcorry —	Syfulla Bearer — —	in 1183	— —	6,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	
Dehand Mohaun —	Ally Ekbur Beg — —	in 1183	1,500 — —						
Dehand Cuckcorry —	Ditto — Ditto — —	Ditto	1,130 — —						
Dehand Sandilla —	Ditto — Ditto — —	in 1187	6,000 — —						
				8,630 — —	— —	5,753 6 —	— —	5,753 6 —	
Dehand Roodowlee —	Ram Tulla — —	Old Grant	— —	1,808 15 —	— —	1,206 — —	— —	1,206 — —	Madaur Bux Churkaheet.—He was exempted on Account of his Poverty.
Dehand Hurdohee —	Madaur Bux Curkaheet —	in 1183	— —	314 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	
Dehand Mohaun —	Susdur Ally Cawn — —	in 1184	— —	3,451 — —	— —	2,300 10 —	— —	2,300 10 —	
Bissoolee —	Fuyzoolah Cawn Rohilla —	Old Grant	— —	15,00,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	Nabob Fyzoollah Khaun—was not taxed because of his Treaty with his Excellency the Vizier, to which the Honourable Company are Guarantees.
Dehand Futtypore —	Mahmud Bussеer Cawn —	in 1185	— —	1,00,000 — —	— —	66,666 11 —	— —	66,666 11 —	
Dehand Mohona —	Rajah Bussein Sing, Moonshee —	in 1183	— —	10,000 — —	— —	6,666 11 —	— —	6,666 11 —	
Dehand Mugglasee —	Meer Fauzale Ally — —	in 1182	— —	13,100 13 —	— —	8,333 7 —	— —	8,333 7 —	
Dehand Coorley —	Meer Mauwah — —	in 1183	— —	1,200 11 —	— —	807 6 —	— —	807 6 —	
Dehand Futtypore —	Mirza Hussein Ally, and Bar Ally	Ditto	— —	2,263 — —	— —	1,508 12 —	— —	1,508 12 —	
Talook Selimabad —	Furkand Ally Cawn — —	in 1185	— —	10,000 — —	— —	6,666 11 —	— —	6,666 11 —	
Tallook Karah —	Meer Khuyr Ulla — —	in 1184	— —	14,000 — —	— —	9,333 6 —	— —	9,333 6 —	
	Carried forward —	—	— —	39,96,742 14 6	97,000 — —	13,13,715 15 —	7,63,624 13 —	5,50,090 14 —	

Names of the Places granted as Jagheers.	Names of the Jagheerdars.	Time when granted.	Amount Jumma of each Place.	Jumma of the Grant of each Jagheerdar.	Jagheers resumed, and included in the Cabooleats of the Aumils.	Amount of Jagheers, assigned by the Nabob for the Honourable Company's Claims.	Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have not passed their Bonds and Kistibundees.	Balance or Amount of Jagheers, the Jagheerdars of which have passed their Bonds and Kistibundees.	REMARKS.
	Brought forward —	—	—	39,96,742 14 6	97,000 — —	13,13,715 15 —	7,63,624 13 —	5,50,090 14 —	
Dehand Baffey — —	Mahmud Yaur Cawn —	Old Grant	— —	6,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	
Dehand Cuckcorry — —	Buffunt Ally Cawn —	Ditto	— —	2,637 — —	— —	1,500 — —	— —	1,500 — —	
Zellah Pepergong, in Mahabad	Nabob Maudar ul Dowla —	in 1187	— —	60,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	Nabob Madaur ul Dowlah, one of the Nabob Vizier's Family; and the Vizier would not tax him.
Dehand Sandilla — —	Afhurruf Ally Cawn, &c.	—	— —	17,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	— —	Afhurruff Ally Khaun, alfo one of his Excellency's Family.
Zelleh Ramnagur, in Syluck	Rajah Jowlott — —	in 1187	— —	48,000 — —	— —	32,000 — —	— —	32,000 — —	
Dehand Lucknow — —	Mirza Ruffee and Sowdah —	Ditto	— —	2,370 — —	— —	1,580 — —	— —	1,580 — —	
Dehand Syluck — —	Mirza Boo Ally Cawn —	Ditto	— —	2,000 — —	— —	1,333 10 4	— —	1,333 10 4	
Dehand Syluck — —	Mirzahee — —	Ditto	— —	6,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	— —	4,000 — —	
Sehaulee — — —	Mirza Mahmud Huffein —	Ditto	— —	21,000 — —	— —	14,000 — —	— —	14,000 — —	
Dehand Baharoys — —	Muzzuffer Huffein Cawn —	Ditto	— —	25,000 — —	— —	16,666 11 —	— —	16,666 11 —	
Nuggur, Amlahs of Muggarbuftee — —	Affrin Ally Cawn — —	Ditto	— —	30,000 — —	30,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	Affreen Ally Khaun, his Jagheer is in the fame Predicament as that of Mahaboob Ally Khaun, being in the fame Diftrict.
Dehand Syluck — —	Nabob Badre — —	Ditto	— —	20,000 — —	— —	13,333 5 —	— —	13,333 5 —	
Dehand Syluck — —	Mirza Ekbur Beg — —	Ditto	— —	1,000 — —	— —	666 10 8	— —	666 10 8	
Dehand Baunfee — —	Saduck Beg Cawn — —	Ditto	— —	5,000 — —	5,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	Sadduck Beg Khaun, in the fame Diftrict as that of Mahabood Ally Khaun and Affreen Ally Khaun, and refumed.
Chucklah Barrelly —	Lautaful Ally Cawn — —	Old Grant	— —	1,15,805 12 —	— —	77,204 — —	— —	77,204 — —	
		Total —	—	43,58,555 10 6	1,32,000 — —	14,80,000 — —	7,63,624 13 —	7,16,375 3 —	

N. B. The Nabob Vizier, by including the Country of Fyzullah Khaun among his Jagheers, makes their Amount appear to be 43½ Lacks of Rupees; but if the 15 Lacks are deducted, the whole Amount of the Jagheers will not be more than 28½ Lacks; Half of which is about the Amount of the Tuncaws granted by the Nabob.

Lucknow, the 30th of April 1780.

Errors excepted.

per C. Purling.]

TRANSLATE.

Copy of a Letter under the Seal and Signature in Engliſh of Mr. Middleton, dated 17th Shahbaun, in the Year of the Hidgree 1191, to the Nabobs Mirza Ally Khaun and Sallar Jung.

There having been great Neceſſity for Money to the Sircar, the Nabob Vizier was obliged to take from you the Sum of 1½ Lack of Rupees; this will not be done again, but when the Nabob ſhall be relieved from his Diſtreſſes he will return it, to which he has agreed before me. And do you not any way doubt or diſcredit this.—In caſe you are deſirous of my Teſtimony, I am acquainted with this; and I will be ready to ſupport with my Endeavours and Influence the fulfilling of the Engagement on the Part of his Excellency the Vizier, and be you perfectly ſatisfied of this.

TRANSLATE.

Copy of a Letter of the Nabob Vizier to the Nabobs Mirza Ally Khaun Behadre, and Sallar Jung Behadre, his Uncles.

I have taken from you, in the Fuſſulee Year 1185, 1½ Lack of Rupees to relieve my Diſtreſſes; this ſhall not be done in future, and it ſhall be returned when my Affairs will admit of it.

TRANSLATE.

Copy of an Engagement, under the Seal and Signature in Engliſh of Mr. John Briſtow, dated 19th Shahbaun in the Year 1189 of the Hidgree, as follows.

I write theſe Lines by way of an Engagement on the Part of the Engliſh Company, and the Engliſh Heads or Chiefs; on this Account that the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah Behadre, having received from his Mother the Sum of 30 Lacks of Rupees for the preſent Year, and 26 Lacks for his old Debt, conſiſting of the following Articles, Ready Money and Goods, Jewelry, Elephants and Camels, &c. has paſſed a Farcuttee or Acquaintance, which is binding (or Sunnud); and upon this Acquittance I have placed my Seal, that is to ſay, on the Part of the Company and Chiefs of the Engliſh; and the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah ſhall not oppoſe the Begum's Poſſeſſion of the Jagheers and Gunges, and Kulledaugs (or Meat Markets) and Gardens and Mints of Owd and Fyzabad, &c. which the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah gave to her in his Lifetime; and the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah ſhall not obſtruct her Poſſeſſion during her Life; and the Begum ſhall ſettle the Accounts of her own Jagheers with her own People. In this the Heads or Chiefs of the Engliſh are engaged.—No one ſhall oppoſe it; and whenever the Begum ſhall deſire to go to Mecca, no one ſhall oppoſe it. And the Nabob ſhall have no Demand upon any of the Ladies or Attendants of the Zunana; the Begum has the Authority over her own People; whatever ſhe pleaſes ſhe ſhall do with them; and whenever the Begum ſhall go to Mecca, ſhe ſhall deliver the Jagheers to the Charge of whomſoever ſhe pleaſes; no one ſhall oppoſe this.—In this the Heads or Chiefs of the Engliſh are engaged.

Particulars of the ancient Jagheers and Gunges, &c. Dependencies with Mahel and Syher, and Villages belonging to the Begum.

Sallooon,
Dewah,
Perſuddehpore,
Anteh,
Sumrotah,
Havelly Goruchpore,
Tellooy,
Jauis, with Audulet and Syher,
Gowrah,
Taundah,
Nawabjunge, and Villages on the other Side of the Gograh,
Iſhmael Gunge, with the Villages Three Coſs from Lucknow,
Culladaugs or Meat Markets of the whole Subah,
Mints of Owd and Fyzabad,
Begum Gunge and Golah Gaut,
Vizier Gunge,
Baug Hurry Sing in Owd, with Lands,
Aſh Baug in Lucknow,
Roza Gaut in Lucknow,
Begum Barry, with the Bazar,
Baug Burranuett,
Iſhmael Gunge in Lucknow.

TRANSLATE.

Copy of an Agreement under the Seal of the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah, and under the Seals of Mr. John Briſtow, and Mortuza Khaun, and the Engliſh Signature, dated the 19th of Shahbaun, in the Year 1189 of the Hygree.

I, Aſſuph ul Dowlah Behadre, paſs my Agreement and Writing that I have received from my Mother 30 Lacks of Rupees for the preſent Year, and 26 Lacks for my old Debt, conſiſting of the following Articles: In ready Money and Goods, and Jewelry, and Elephants, and Camels, &c. and I have now no Demand whatever. I have received this Money through the Mediation of the Engliſh; and I have no further Claim, and I agree to have unmoleſted the Jagheers, and Gunges, and Heelleedarys (or Meat Markets), and Gardens and Mints of Owd and Fyzabad, &c. which my Father, in his Lifetime, gave to my Mother, and will not oppoſe her Poſſeſſion of them as long as ſhe ſhall live; and ſhe ſhall ſettle the Accounts of her own Jagheers, &c. with her

her own People; and whenever the Bow Begum (the Wife of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah) ſhall chuſe to go to Mecca, ſhe has Authority to give them to whomever ſhe may pleaſe; I will not oppoſe this; whether ſhe ſhall ſtay here or go to Mecca, the Jagheers, &c. ſhall be in the Poſſeſſion of my Mother; I will on no Account oppoſe it; and to whomſoever ſhe may be pleaſed to deliver the Charge of them, I will give my Support and Aſſiſtance; and whenever ſhe ſhall pleaſe to go to Mecca, ſhe ſhall take what Attendants ſhe pleaſes, together with her Money and Effects, and I will not oppoſe it; and I will not demand any Thing whatever from the Coja's Jewam Ally Khaun, Shagoon Ally Khaun, and the Women Javildars, or Caſh Keepers. Whatever the Begum ſhall pleaſe to do, let her do, ſhe is her own Miſtreſs; and I call upon God, and Mahmud, and the Twelve Saints, and the Fourteen Angels, and the Heads or Chiefs of the Engliſh, as Witneſſes; and in future I will not demand any Loans from the Begum my Mother. I have no Claim whatever, and will not deviate from this Agreement; and if I deviate from it, I ſhall forfeit my Engagement to the Heads or Chiefs of the Engliſh and the Company. On this Account I have written the above Lines as an Engagement, which is at preſent binding.

Particulars of the Jagheers, Mahl, and Syher, and Dehauts or Villages belonging to the Jagheers and Gunges.

Salloon,
Haut Dewah,
Perſuddepore,
Auteh,
Sumrotah,
Havelly Gooruckpore,
Tellooy,
Jauis, with Audaulet and Syher,
Toundah,
Iſhmael Gunge in Lucknow,
Oulladary, or Meat Markets of the whole Subah,
Mints of Oud and Fyzabad,
Begum Gunge and Golah Gaut,
Vizier Gunge,
Baug Hurry Sing,
Nawab Gunge and Villages on the other Side of the Gogra,
Iſhmael Gunge and Dehauts Three Coſs from Lucknow,
In Owd, Three Gardens,
Aſh Baug in Lucknow,
Cuſba Gaut in Lucknow,
Begum Barry, with the Bazar,
Baug Burramull,
Gourah.

☞ (a) [TRANSLATE.

Copy of an Engagement under the Seal of the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah Behadre, and of Mr. John Briſtow, with his Signature in Engliſh, dated the 28th of Jemmadal Owal in the Year of the Hidgree 1190.

I Aſſuph ul Dowlah Behadre have, on the 19th of Shabaun, in the Year 1189 Hidgree, according to my Agreement, received the Sum of Thirty Lacks of Rupees for the preſent Year, Twenty-ſix Lacks of Rupees, on account of my old Debt, conſiſting of the following Articles; Ready Money and Goods, Jewels, Elephants, and Camels, &c. which have been ſettled with the Begum my Mother, through the Mediation of the Heads of the Chiefs of the Engliſh, as my Inheritance from the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, my Father, and have paſſed an Acquittance, in full of all Demands, to the Begum my Mother, on account of her Jagheers, Gunges, Kulledarrys (or Meat Markets), Gardens, Mints of Owd and Fyzabad, &c. which the late Nabob in his Life gave to her. According to this, I agree and give in Writing, that agreeable to the aforementioned Engagement, I have myſelf received the full Amount of this Claim in ready Money and Goods from the Begum my Mother. I have now no Demand whatever upon my Mother; and on no Account will I oppoſe the Begum's Poſſeſſion of the Jagheers, &c. belonging to her, which are included in the Engagement, and ſpecified in the particular Liſt; and I engage in this God, Mohamud, and the Engliſh Chiefs. I have wrote theſe Lines as a Receipt and Acquittance, which ſhall be in force now, and if Occaſion requires, be made uſe of.]

Particulars of the Jagheers, with the Mahl and Syher, and dependent Villlages and Gunges, &c.

Salloon,
Dewah,
Perſuddepore,
Antah,
Sumrotah,
Havelly Goruckpore,
Tillooy,
Jauis, with the Audaulut and Syher,
Gowrah,
Taundah,
Nawab Gunge, with the Villages on the other Side of the Gograh,
Iſhmael Gunge, with the Villages 3 Coſs from Lucknow,
Iſhmael Gunge, in Lucknow,
Culleh Daug, or Meat Markets of the whole Subah,
Mints of Owd and Fyzabad,
Begum Gunge and Golah Gaut,
Vizier Gunge,
Baug Hurry Sing, in Owd,
Aſh Baug, in Lucknow,
Rozah Gaut, in Lucknow,
Begum Barry, with the Bazar,
Baug Baramul.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 454.

[TRANS-

☞ (a) [TRANSLATE.

Copy of an Agreement under the Seal and Signature of Mr. Middleton, to all the Particulars of which he engages to procure a Treaty from the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah, after his Arrival; and that he will alſo ſign it, as follows:

1ſt. That whenever the Begum ſhall chuſe to go to Mecca, ſhe ſhall be permitted to go.

2d. That when the Nabob ſhall arrive, I (Mr. Middleton) will procure ſuitable Allowances to be made to the Ladies of the Zunna *, and the Children of the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, and take care that they are paid. * Sic in Orig.

3d. That the Feſtivals (Shaddee), and Marriages of the Children of the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah ſhall be at the Diſpoſal of the Begum; whenever ſhe thinks proper ſhe ſhall marry them; and if the Begum ſhall go, ſhe ſhall have the Authority to appoint and ſettle their Marriages; and whatever Money ſhall be neceſſary for theſe Expences ſhall be paid by the Nabob.

4th. That the Syer of Coda Gunge and Ally Gunge ſhall be retained by the Begum as heretofore.

5th. That I (Mr. Middleton) will, upon the Arrival of the Nabob, procure Vizier Gunge, and the Garden of Sepoydaud Khaun, or their Equivalent, for the Begum.

6th. That I (Mr. Middleton) will endeavour to obtain from the Nabob the Sum of 1,15,000 Rupees, on Account of the Purchaſe of Metchee Bohaun, and the Houſe of Sahebjee, and the Fort of the Goſſein, with the Land and Garden, and the Barraderry on the Banks of the Goompty, and Bazar and Garden of the Houſe of Mahnarain, and the Houſe of Beny Perſaud at Lucknow; all of which the Nabob Aſoph al Dowlah has aſſumed Poſſeſſion of.

7th. That I will ſettle with the Nabob, the Allowances to be made in ready Money to the Ladies of the Zunana, and others, ſpecified in the following Account:

	Per Month.
To the Ladies of the Zunna — — —	13,650
To Meer Huſſein Ally Khaun Behadre — — —	2,000
To Ahmed Ally Khaun — — — —	400
To the Doctors — — — — —	1,000
To Mahmud Javaid — — — —	140
To Molavie Madjeed — — — —	60
	17,250

8th. Upon the Arrival of the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah Bahadre, I will endeavour, with all my Influence, to ſettle the Monthly Allowances of Mohrum Ally Khaun and Mahmud Eltafaut Khaun, &c. the Attendants of the Begum.

9th. If the Begum ſhall go to Mecca, ſhe ſhall leave her Mahls and Jaghires to the Begum, the Mother of Aſſuph al Dowlah, who ſhall remit the Revenues thereof to the Burree Begum. No one ſhall prevent her enjoying her Jaghires.] ☞

☞ (a) [TRANSLATE.

Copy of an Engagement under the Seal of the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah, and under the Seal and Signature, in Engliſh, of Mr. Middleton, as follows:

1ſt. I, who am the Nabob Aſſuph ul Dowlah Bahadre, do agree that the Jagheers and Gunges, and Monthly Allowance of the Officers and Servants, and of the Ladies of the Zunana, and of thoſe ſpecified in the Account annexed, ſhall be at the Diſpoſal, and under the Management and Authority of the Begum. And no one ſhall oppoſe or prevent it. This I will punctually obſerve. In this Agreement Mr. Middleton and the Engliſh are engaged.

2d. Whenever the Begum may chuſe to go to Mecca, I will not oppoſe it.

3d. Whenever the Begum ſhall go to Mecca, ſhe ſhall leave her Lands, Jagheers, &c. either in the Care of my Mother or of me; and I will procure Bills for the Amount of their Revenues, and ſend them to her. No one ſhall oppoſe this.

4th. The Begum ſhall have Authority over all the Ladies of her Zunana. She ſhall let them remain with me, and not allow them to go any where without my Permiſſion, or keep them with her.

5th. The Jagheers Khodah Gunge, Ally Gunge, &c. with the Mahl and Syher, belonging to the Begum, and made over to her, ſhall remain, as heretofore, in her Poſſeſſion.

Particulars of the Salaries allowed.

	Per Month.
Allowances to the Family of the Boorhaun ul Mulk — —	10,000
Allowance to Meer Huſſein Ally Khaun — — —	2,000
D° to Ahmed Ally Khaun — — —	400
D° to Doctors — — — —	1,000
D° to Molovie Mudjeed — — —	60
	13,460

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 461. (b) Vide ſupra, P. 462.

6th. I have paſſed a Bond payable in Six Months, for 1,15,000, for the Price of Houſes, &c. and, God willing, I will pay the Amount when it ſhall become due.

7th. I have bought Vizier Gunge, and the Garden of Sepoydaud Khaun in Allahabad, of the Begum, for 10,000 Rupees; and, God willing, I will pay the Amount in Six Months.

8th. The Begum has Authority over the Ladies and Attendants of the Zunana. Neither myſelf, nor any one elſe, will oppoſe it.

9th. The Begum (my Grandmother) ſhall have the Authority in all Feſtivals, and in the Marriages of the Children of the late Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, and with the Conſent of my Mother and myſelf, ſhall regulate them, excepting in the Feſtivals (Shâdee) the Authority is mine.

The Engliſh are Guarantees to the above Engagements ſo long as the Begum ſhall exiſt.] ☞

To his Excellency the Nabob Vizier Aſoph ul Dowlah, dated 19th April 1780.

I informed the Council in the Month of Maug of your Situation, and the Want of Sources in your Country. I have To-day received an Anſwer to my Letter; and lay before you the Subſtance of their Orders, that you are to provide for the Remainder of the Demands required for the Service of the preſent Year. You have granted Joydaad or Aſſets to the Amount of 1,06,62,000, from which there are to be no Deductions; and I now ſend you encloſed an Account (which was before ſubmitted to you) ſtating 30,00,188 : 12 in Addition to the above 1,06,62,000, amounting in the whole to 1,36,62,188 : 12, which I hope you will be ſo good as to provide for.

And if you are pleaſed to releaſe any of the Jagheers, you will grant Tunkaws in the room of them, upon other Lands. I therefore requeſt of you that you will be pleaſed to iſſue Orders upon your ſeveral Aumils, that they ſhall pay no Tuncaws whatever of private Tunkawdars, in order that the Amount which was to have been received by them be brought to the Account of the Honourable Company, to whom I deſire additional Aſſignments may be granted.

☞ (a) [TRANSLATE.

Letter from the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah to Mr. C. Purling.

I have received your Letter.—You write, that you informed the Council, in the Month of
* Sic in Orig. Maug, that I had not * Sources in my Country, and my Expences were very great; and that you have received an Anſwer from the Council, that whatever Balance was due at the End of the Year, I ſhould pay; and that the Sum 1,06,62,000 Rupees, which were granted as Aſſets, ſhould ſuffer no Diminution; nor will the Gentlemen of the Council allow One Rupee; but that, agreeable to the Account Particulars, the Balance of 1,36,62,188 : 12 muſt be aſſigned.

I have in no Reſpect failed in my Compliance with the Pleaſure of the Council, or my Friendſhip for the Company, as far as I have had Ability. And I have acquainted you very fully with the State of my Country, and the Sources of the Revenue: And I have even put a ſtop to the Expences of my Table, and the Animals which I ought to keep; and the Jagheers of my Servants and Attendants; and there are Aſſets of 98,98,375. After this, I wrote the Jagheers of my Grandmother and my Mother, and of the Nabob Sallar Jung, and of my Family, and the Sons of my Uncle Mirza Alla Khan, which were granted them for their Livelihood; and they amounted to the Sum of 7,63,625 Rupees. By this Means has the Buſineſs been done. But they all poſſeſs Engagements. And I have made over in Aſſignment the Expences of my Table, which I have put a ſtop to with this View, that the Gentlemen of the Council, underſtanding my diſtreſſed Situation, would ſhew me their Friendſhip. I at firſt oppoſed the aſſigning the Jagheers of my Grandmother and Mother, and my Uncle. Now that the Council have, upon ſuch a Repreſentation of my Diſtreſs, written, that there ſhall not be leſs Aſſignments than 1,06,62,000 Rupees, and that the Balance of 1,36,62,188 muſt be given, I am acquainted with the Particulars of the 1,36,62,188. If the Gentlemen of the Council, or you, Sir, will inform yourſelves from the Accounts, you will find, it is not to be obtained. Whatever, in Juſtice, can be obtained from the Accounts, have been granted; but at this Time Aſſignments are demanded of me. The Buſineſs of the World is eaſy, and paſſes away; and the Gentlemen of the Council ſhould, in every Thing that is juſt, be my Guardians and my Friends. I do not put my Life in Competition with Friendſhip. Whatever Aſſets were in the Country, with even my Table, my Animals, the Jagheers of my Servants and Attendants, are granted in Aſſignments, amounting to 98,98,375 Rupees: Beſides theſe, the Jagheers of my Grandmother, Mother, and my Uncles, the Nabobs Mirza Allee and Sallar Jung, which were granted them for their Maintenance, are at your Diſpoſal. If the Council have directed you to attach them, do it. In the Country no further Sources remain, and I have no Means, for I have not a Subſiſtence. Alas! I have Elephants, Horſes, and Houſes; if they will ſerve the Purpoſe of my Friends, they are ready for them; the Country and the Aumils are at hand; wherever Aſſets can be found, take them—I do not oppoſe it—In this Situation I am in want of a daily Subſiſtence—I feed upon the Hope and Expectation of Tranquillity—Upon this the Council's Order is arrived.—Whatever proceeds from Friendſhip is good—my Situation is no way concealed—How long ſhall I dwell upon my Misfortunes!——I have written ſufficient.] ☞

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 479.

ABSTRACT of the REVENUE ACCOUNT of the Dominions of his Excellency the VIZIER, ASOPH UL DOWLA, for the Fuſſullee Year 1187.

Names of the Mhal.	Names of the Farmers, &c.	Mofuſſel Groſs Jumma of 1186.	Deductions granted this Year.	Balance.	Amount Balance due on the Collections of 1186.	Increaſe made this Year.	Total Mofuſſul Groſs Jumma, for the Fuſſullee Year 1177.	Amount of the Honourable Company's Tuncaws.	Commiſſion granted for tranſporting Money from the Country to Lucknow.	Expences of the Mootaina, or Troops ſtationed on the Collections.	Ackraiaut and Mhal Charges.	Tuncawdars, &c.	His Excellency the Nabob's private Expences.	Amount of Waſſalaut of Aumils removed at the Time the Tuncaw was granted to the Company.	Total in Sicca and Racavy Rupees.	Deduct Batta for Racavy Rupees.	Total Waſſalaut on the Jumma.	Balance.
Corah, Sharah, &c. —	Almaſs Ally Cawn —	64,60,831 1 6	5,00,000 — —	59,60,831 1 6	—	—	59,60,831 1 6	26,00,000 —	75,000 —	17,84,218 15 9	1,40,450 3 —	4,61,095 4 3	5,00,000 — —	—	55,60,764 7 —	— —	55,60,764 7 —	4,00,066 10 6
Barelly, &c. —	Coja Ain Udeen —	50,00,000 — —	5,75,000 — —	44,25,000 — —	—	—	44,25,000 — —	25,00,000 —	—	5,75,993 — —	61,148 — —	12,87,637 10 9	— —	—	44,24,778 10 9	— —	44,24,778 10 9	221 5 3
Khairabad — —	Mirza Ally Reza —	10,50,371 — —	10,00,371 — —	9,50,000 — —	50,000 —	—	10,00,000 — —	3,32,000 —	3,320 —	5,71,795 3 9	10,054 12 —	1,13,201 10 —	— —	—	10,30,371 9 9	31,039 12 —	9,99,331 13 9	668 2 3
AzzumGhur,&Mauhool,	Mirza Noor Beg —	6,64,864 — —	1,39,063 — —	5,25,801 — —	—	—	5,25,801 8 —	1,50,000 —	3,000 —	3,70,533 1 —	18,752 — —	3,095 — —	— —	—	5,45,381 1 —	19,591 2 —	5,25,789 15 —	11 1 —
Sundula, &c. — —	Mirza Mendy —	5,17,160 8 —	1,58,301 — —	3,58,859 8 —	—	—	3,58,859 8 —	2,00,000 —	2,000 —	1,17,808 — —	26,208 3 3	21,035 2 —	— —	—	3,67,051 5 3	8,192 13 3	3,58,858 8 —	1 — —
Allahabad — —	Iſmael Beg — —	7,06,000 — —	59,000 — —	6,47,000 — —	—	40,000 —	6,87,000 — —	3,50,000 —	5,000 —	1,20,130 — —	36,183 — —	1,28,740 9 6	— —	—	6,40,053 9 6	8,975 11 —	6,31,077 14 6	55,922 1 6
Khyra Ghur — —	Rajah Cheit Sing —	2,00,000 — —	— —	2,00,000 — —	13,337 —	—	2,13,337 — —	2,00,000 —	4,000 —	— —	889 15 —	8,778 — —	— —	—	2,13,667 15 —	330 15 —	2,13,337 — —	
Furruckabad — —	Nabob Muzzuffer Jung	4,50,000 — —	— —	4,50,000 — —	2,12,400 —	—	6,62,400 — —	5,50,000 —	—	61,276 2 —	— —	— —	— —	—	6,11,276 2 —	3,267 2 —	6,08,009 — —	54,391 — —
Total Mhals granted in Tunkcaw to Mr. Middleton, before my Arrival at Lucknow —		1,50,49,226 9 6	15,31,735 — —	1,35,17,491 9 6	2,75,737 —	40,000 —	1,38,33,228 9 6	68,82,000 —	92,320 —	36,01,754 6 6	2,93,685 1 3	20,23,583 4 6	5,00,000 — —	—	1,33,93,344 12 3	71,397 7 3	1,33,21,947 5 —	5,11,281 4 6
Gorruckpore, Baraitch, &c. — —	Mahmud Huſſein Cawn	21,82,903 13 6	8,10,903 14 —	13,71,999 15 6	—	2,32,500 —	16,04,499 15 6	10,00,000 —	20,000 —	3,81,347 — —	75,206 — —	25,420 — —	— —	4,00,000 —	18,21,973 — —	20,570 13 —	18,01,402 3 —	3,097 12 6
Sanree — —	Rajah Jowloll —	3,67,800 — —	67,800 — —	3,00,000 — —	—	—	3,00,000 — —	—	—	97,571 — —	7,289 — —	18,642 — —	1,69,355 — —	—	2,92,857 — —	1,578 — —	2,78,279 — —	21,731 — —
Byhiſwarra, &c. —	Rajah Bowanny Sing —	38,78,747 8 9	3,01,089 4 —	35,77,639 4 9	—	27,385 —	36,05,043 4 9	13,00,000 —	25,000 —	10,34,448 8 6	50,749 6 —	2,93,666 8 3	8,74,004 — —	—	35,78,068 6 9	31,982 5 —	35,46,086 1 9	58,957 3 —
Dalmow, Barelly, &c. —	Rajah Micoo Sing —	8,34,890 13 —	1,29,151 7 —	7,05,739 6 —	—	—	7,05,739 6 —	—	—	2,18,695 — —	36,000 7 6	81,332 — —	4,04,975 14 —	—	7,41,003 5 6	35,297 13 —	7,05,705 8 6	33 13 6
Auhuma Sandila, &c. —	Umber Ally Cawn —	3,28,280 7 —	— —	3,28,280 7 —	—	—	3,28,280 7 —	—	—	46,025 — —	23,686 8 3	8,074 — —	2,55,356 12 —	—	3,33,142 4 3	4,861 12 3	3,28,280 8 —	
Mohaun — —	Meer Ally Ahmud —	49,578 — —	— —	49,578 — —	—	—	49,578 — —	—	—	3,980 — —	2,216 — —	44,145 — —	— —	—	50,341 — —	763 — —	49,578 — —	
Manualarry — —	Khewal Ram —	1,20,000 — —	38,894 13 6	81,105 2 6	—	—	81,105 2 6	—	—	— —	— —	— —	81,105 2 6	—	81,105 2 6	— —	81,105 2 6	
Coorſey, &c. — —	Meer Nahim Cawn, &c.	3,24,362 4 —	1,46,821 4 —	1,77,541 — —	—	—	1,77,541 — —	—	—	— —	— —	1,11,493 4 —	66,047 12 —	—	1,77,541 — —	— —	1,77,541 — —	
Polly, &c. — —	Khahim Cawn, &c. —	2,25,775 9 —	— —	2,25,775 9 —	—	2,50,000 —	4,75,775 9 —	—	—	— —	— —	— —	4,75,775 9 —	—	4,75,775 9 —	— —	4,75,775 9 —	
Mahmuddu — —	Iſmael Beg — —	1,50,000 — —	— —	1,50,000 — —	—	—	1,50,000 — —	—	—	— —	— —	— —	1,50,000 — —	—	1,50,000 — —	— —	1,50,000 — —	
Total Mhals granted in Tuncaw to Mr. Middleton, before my Arrival at Lucknow —		84,62,337 15 —	14,94,660 10 6	69,67,677 4 6	—	5,09,885 —	74,77,562 4 6	23,00,000 —	45,000 —	17,02,266 8 6	1,95,247 5 9	5,82,672 12 3	24,76,619 9 3	4,00,000 —	77,01,806 3 9	1,08,053 11 3	75,93,752 8 6	83,809 13 —
Amount of Tuncaw granted on the Jagheers,		1,50,49,226 9 6	15,31,735 — —	1,35,17,491 9 6	2,75,737 —	40,000 —	1,38,33,228 9 6	68,82,000 —	92,320 —	36,01,754 6 6	2,93,686 1 3	20,23,583 4 6	5,00,000 — —	—	1,33,93,344 12 3	17,397 7 3	1,33,21,947 5 —	5,11,281 4 6
Total		2,35,11,564 8 6	30,26,395 10 6	2,04,85,164 14 —	2,75,737 —	5,49,885 —	2,13,10,790 14 —	1,06,62,000 —	1,37,320 —	53,04,020 15 —	4,88,933 7 —	26,06,256 — 9	29,76,619 9 3	4,00,000 —	2,10,95,151 — —	1,79,451 2 6	2,09,15,699 13 6	5,95,091 1 6

N. B. Explanation of the Deductions granted this Year; viz.

On Account of Drought —	27,08,950 1 6
On Account of Jagheers granted —	2,18,370 — —
On Account of Tuncaws, &c. —	62,265 7 6
On Account of Huzoor Collections —	36,810 1 6

Explanation of the Increaſe made this Year; viz.

Actual Increaſe upon the Jumma of 1186 —	57,385 — —
On Account of reſumed Jagheers —	4,82,500 — —
Gain on Batta of Rupees —	10,000 — —

His Excellency, in ſettling with the Aumil of Baraitch, &c. gave him the Farm of thoſe Mhals for Two Years; and in order to make up 10 Lacks from thoſe Mhals, required him to include the enſuing Year's Nuzzeram of Two Lacks in the Company's Tuncaw of this Year; which makes the Krutch exceed the Jumma, as in this Account, by Two Lacks.
The 4,00,000 Rupees, in the Balance of Almaſs Ally Khawn's Account, was carried to the Liquidation of laſt Year's Balance, in the Vizier's Account Current with the Honourable Company.

Lucknow, the 30th of April 1780.

(Errors excepted)

per C. Purling.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, N° XX. A. (a)

Book 76. Page 624.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 9th March 1778.

Fort William, 9th March 1778. Secret Dep. Monday.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident.
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

READ the following Letters from Mr. Middleton.

☞ (b) [Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I am ſorry to acquaint the Honourable Board, that I have not been ſucceſsful in my Applications to the Nabob in behalf of the Begum. He has poſitively refuſed to come to any immediate Determination upon any one of the ſeveral Points I have ſubmitted to him; anſwering me only in general Terms, that it is his Intention to viſit Fayzabad on his Return from his Hunting Party, when he will requeſt my perſonal Aſſiſtance in accommodating all Matters of Diſpute between him and the Begums. In the mean Time, he intreats me to take every Means in my Power to prevail upon the old Begum to ſuſpend the Execution of her Purpoſe, until he ſhall have had an Interview with her; and to accompliſh this Object, he even authoriſes me to make her ſuch Aſſurances on his and my own Behalf, and * in my Judgment ſhall ſeem reaſonable and juſt. 2d February. * Sic in Orig.

It is needleſs for me to remark upon the Ambiguity of this Reply, or the indefinite Terms in which his Authority to me is conceived. The Begum's Requiſitions were laid before him in the Form I received them, clearly and ſpecifically noticed; ſo that it required only that he ſhould have given me his Sentiments upon them, and have informed me how far he wiſhed me to engage his Compliance; but inſtead of this, he contents himſelf with deſiring me to uſe every conciliating Argument I can with the Begum, to diſſuade her from her Purpoſe, while he denies me the only Means by which he knew it could be effected, and by his Conduct, in fact, ſtrengthens and confirms her Reſolution. I have acquainted the Begum with the Subſtance of the Nabob's Reply to my Letters, which ſhe is by no means ſatisfied with; and, indeed, I am myſelf convinced there is very little Faith to be placed on the foregoing Aſſurance; but ſhe has, at my earneſt Requeſt, and from a firm Reliance on the Juſtice and Equity of the Honourable Board, conſented to ſuſpend her Journey until I may be favoured with your Sentiments and Deciſion upon this Reference, which I hope to be indulged with as ſoon as poſſible, as any conſiderable Delay might perhaps raiſe Doubts in the Begum's Breaſt as to the Part the Honourable Board would take in her Affairs, and induce her, at all Events, to take her Departure before your Deciſion reaches me.

I have, &c.

Fayzabad, 2d February 1778. (Signed) N. Middleton, Reſt at the Vizier's Court.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I had the Pleaſure to addreſs you Yeſterday; and having cloſed the Subject of the old Begum's Complaints and Requiſitions, it is neceſſary I ſhould now trouble you with thoſe of the Bow Begum, who has, through me, demanded the Protection of our Government, and its Influence to reſtore and confirm her Rights. 3dFeb.1778.

On my Arrival here, ſhe addreſſed a long Letter to me on the Subject of her Affairs, covering the original Treaty which had been entered into between her and the Nabob, and guaranteed by my Predeceſſor on the Part of the Honourable Company; Copies of all which I have now the Honour to lay before you, together with a particular Account of the Begum's ſeveral Claims and Requiſitions, with my own Obſervations on each Article.

As moſt of theſe Claims are expreſsly admitted in the Treaty, and guaranteed by the Reſident, I apprehend by public Authority, I did not ſuppoſe the Nabob would have heſitated to comply with them: I therefore thought it unneceſſary to take up the Attention of the Honourable Board with a Matter which had before been ſo particularly diſcuſſed and ſettled, and which, after ſuch ſolemn Engagements on the Part of the Nabob, they would hardly expect could at this Time become a Subject of Diſpute. His Excellency has, however, declined Compliance with them.] ☞

(a) The Reference to this Appendix is omitted by Miſtake; it ſhould be affixed to the Extract from the Conſultation of 9th March 1778, in Pages 459 and 460.

(b) Vide ſupra, P. 459.

I have

I have on all Occaſions as much as poſſible avoided troubling the Honourable Board with any Matters which reflect upon the Conduct or Government of the Nabob, wiſhing rather to check and obviate Abuſes, by friendly Admonitions and Remonſtrances to his Excellency himſelf, than to correct them by an Appeal to your Authority; but ſuch is his Excellency's Diſpoſition, and ſo entirely has he loſt the Confidence and Affections of his Subjects, that unleſs ſome Reſtraint is impoſed upon him, which would effectually ſecure thoſe who are living under the Protection of his Government from Violence and Oppreſſion, I am but too well convinced, that no Man of Reputation or Property will long continue in theſe Provinces. Out of many of the Nabob's Acts, which have cauſed ſuch a total Diſaffection and Want of Confidence amongſt his Subjects, I ſhall take the Liberty to trouble the Honourable Board with One which I have lately been a reluctant Witneſs to.

The Nabob Sheir Jung, whoſe Death happened in the Nabob's Camp a ſhort Time ago, was a Man nearly related to this Family, and who, in the Lifetime of the late Nabob Shujah-ul-Dowlah, had ſuitable Allowances made him for the Support of his Rank, and the Dignity of his Family, and which he enjoyed, without Interruption, until the Acceſſion of the preſent Nabob to the Muſnud, who thought proper to reſume them. Since that Time, until the Period of his Death, this old Gentleman had no Means left of ſupporting himſelf, his Offſpring and Dependants, but from his private Fortune; nor had his Children any Proſpects or Hopes, but from being permitted to inherit ſuch Property as their Father might die poſſeſſed of: Theſe, however, were Conſiderations which had not the ſmalleſt Weight with the Nabob; for immediately upon the Demiſe of Sheir Jung, he himſelf ſent People to ſeize the Tents and Effects of the deceaſed in Camp, not even leaving his Friends the Means of carrying the Body to Lucknow, and diſpatched his moſt poſitive Orders to the Miniſter to do the ſame with the Effects of the deceaſed wherever they might be found.

As ſoon as I was informed of theſe Proceedings, I took the Liberty of remonſtrating to him againſt a Meaſure which appeared to me unnatural and tyrannical to a Degree, and no leſs alarming to his Subjects in general. In Anſwer to which he was pleaſed to ſay, it was a Matter which did not in any reſpect concern me, and that he alone was the Maſter in this Buſineſs; but that for my Satisfaction he would for the preſent ſuſpend the Execution of his Orders, and poſtpone finally determining upon the Diſpoſition of the deceaſed's Effects until his Return to Lucknow, when he would conſult with me upon the Subject, and act agreeable to my Advice on the Occaſion. Notwithſtanding theſe Aſſurances, the Nabob has privately written to the Miniſter, ordering him, in peremptory Language, immediately to ſeize all the Houſes, Effects, and Property of Sheir Jung in Lucknow, and to appropriate them to his Excellency's Uſe. As this Meaſure, if permitted to be carried into Execution, will be the Means of reducing a once opulent Family to a State of Indigence and Want; I hope the Honourable Board will be pleaſed to take this Matter into their humane Conſideration, and interpoſe their Influence to prevent an Act which muſt inevitably bring Diſgrace upon himſelf, and a proportionate Degree of Diſcredit upon the national Character of the Engliſh, which I conſider to be more or leſs concerned in every Act of his Adminiſtration.—Had my Remonſtrances produced the deſired Effect, I ſhould not have troubled the Honourable Board with this Detail, but I cannot ſee an helpleſs Family deprived of its Rights and only Means of Support, without endeavouring to procure them Redreſs. Beſides, the Effect which ſuch an Act, if ſuffered to paſs unnoticed, would have upon the Minds of his Excellency's Subjects in general, and upon every Man of Property in particular, will I doubt not appear to the Honourable Board deſerving of their moſt ſerious Conſideration.

I have, &c.

Fayzabad, 3d February, 1778. (Signed) N. MIDDLETON. Reſt at the Vizier's Court.

Ordered, That the Letters from Mr. Middleton of the 2d and 3d February, above recorded, do lie for Conſideration.

APPENDIX, N° XXI.

Vide Appendix, N° XX.

APPENDIX, N° XXII.

Vide Appendix, N° XX.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, N° XXIII.

Book 103.

From the Bahoo Bhegum. Received 29th April 1780.

THE Nabob Khan Khanan Salar Jung Bahadre is my elder Brother, and Uncle to my Son the Nabob Vizier Aſoph ul Dowlah Bahadre; his good Qualities and Virtues are not now for the firſt Time repreſented to you, as I am certain that you muſt have long ago heard from other Quarters with what diſtinguiſhed Honour he was treated by his late Majeſty Mahomed Shah, above all the other Servants of his Majeſty, being always admitted to his moſt ſecret Councils—you muſt alſo be well acquainted with the great Regard, Reſpect, and Affection which the late Nabob always entertained towards him. I have no Relation but that Nabob, and God knows how much he is attached to the Company, and how deſirous he is of your Friendſhip. It is about Seven Months ſince he came on a Viſit to me to Fyzabad; and in the many Interviews which we had his whole Converſation was a Recapitulation of your Praiſes, and while he remained with me he was entirely taken up with the Accounts of your great Qualities.

☞ (*a*) [At preſent the Naibs have begun a Negociation about the Nabob's Jaghier, of ſo remarkable a Nature, that it has greatly alarmed us. For firſt, his Jaghier is by no means equal to his Dignity; yet, on account of the preſent State of Affairs, he has contented himſelf with it, though it approaches not to his Expences. Secondly, About a Year and an Half ago, Mr. Middleton gave a poſitive Promiſe to him, that he would take care no Interruption ſhould be given to his Jaghier, or that of the late Iftekar ul Dowlah, and entered into a ſacred Engagement to this Purport. It is now Matter of great Aſtoniſhment to us, that, notwithſtanding all this, ſuch a Negociation ſhould have been thought of, ſince your Highneſs can have no Wiſh that the Nabob's ſmall Income ſhould be ſtopped, as the Promiſes of the Engliſh Chiefs are as if written on a Stone, and can admit of not the ſmalleſt Variation.] ☜

I therefore hope that you will upon receiving this Letter grant me Letters to Mr. Purling, Huſſein Reza Khan, and Hyder Beg Khan, directing in a moſt poſitive Manner that no Interruption be given to the Jaghier of the Nabob, and that they never in future think of any Negociations of this Nature. This will be the greateſt Satisfaction and Honour you can beſtow on me and on my Brother. He before this ſent ſome Otter and Paintings to your Preſence, but has not yet heard whether you received them or not. As ſoon as I ſhall be informed of their being ſafe arrived, I will diſpatch ſome other Preſents to you. I am hopeful that an Intercourſe of Letters may be eſtabliſhed between your Highneſs and the Nabob, which is his greateſt Wiſh. I am very anxious to receive an Anſwer to my former Letter; do not delay replying to it and to my preſent Letter, for Friendſhip is ſought againſt the Seaſon of Diſtreſs.

APPENDIX, N° XXIV.

Book 105.

From the Vizier. Received 23d Auguſt 1782.

57. Par. MAJOR William Palmer and Mr. Davy have made known to me your Orders, reſpecting my Authority in the Country, with great Regard and Conſideration, and have made me greatful * for your Favours. They aſked for a Paper of Requeſts, which I accordingly wrote and gave to them; they afterwards ſpoke about Ten Lacks of Rupees for the Expences of the Sircar of the Company; next, they ſpoke about Four Regiments, that I ſhould employ them from the Company's Troops in the Sebundy's of my Country. Reſpecting theſe Two Articles, although I have no Power, yet, as Major William Palmer repeatedly ſaid, that this would be giving Pleaſure to the Nawab (meaning your Highneſs), being remedileſs, in Obedience to your Will, I wrote a Letter to Major Palmer in the Manner I agreed to it, from which you will become acquainted with it. They now ſay, that as important Matters are in Hand, for the Expences of the Company's Sircar, I muſt give Sixty Lacks of Rupees by way of Loan, that either I muſt borrow it from the Merchants, and from my Relations, and take a Bond, or give Aſſignments on the Country. After Two Years, when this Matter ſhall have been ſettled, that Money ſhall be repaid; my Country and Property belong to your Highneſs, to the utmoſt of my Life. I am not backward in the Company's Affairs, and your Highneſs's Pleaſure. By the Bleſſing of God you are wiſe in the Times. The full Particulars of my

* Sic in Orig.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 464.

Country are not concealed from you. How ſhall I make known my Situation? From the Time that theſe Propoſitions have been made, all Judgment has left my Mind. After the Death of the deceaſed Nawab, on account of the Greatneſs of the Expences of the Army of the Sircar of the Company, which was here, I ſupported myſelf in a Manner that I cannot deſcribe.

☞ *(a)* [I never found Reſource equal to the neceſſary Expences: Every Year, by taking from the Miniſters, and ſelling the Articles of my Karkhanna, I, with great Diſtreſs, tranſacted the Büſineſs; but I could not take care of my Dependants; ſo that ſome of my Brothers, from their Difficulties, aroſe and departed; and the People of the Khord Mahault of the late Nawab, who are all my Mothers, from their Diſtreſſes, are reduced to Poverty, and involved in Difficulties.—No Man of Rank is deficient in the Care of his Dependants, in proportion to his Ability.]

Notwithſtanding the Exiſtence of theſe Diſtreſſes, I am thankful and ready to ſatisfy you. But never was the Money of the Tuncas for the Brigades, &c. received without a Balance from the Jaidad of the Company; and yet the Gentlemen, to the utmoſt of their Abilities, were guilty of no Neglect in taking Aſſignments, and collecting the Money. This Year, that you, from your Goodneſs, having diſcovered the State of my Diſtreſſes, recalled the Brigade and Battalions, and granted me an Engagement that all Matters ſhould be as in the Time of the deceaſed Nawab, I took from my Mother, and diſcharged the Balances to the Company's Sircar as they appeared from my Bond. Many Years are required to relieve me from the former Diſtreſſes. I know, that as you, from real Affection, had releaſed me from the Weight of Expences, I ſhould have ſome ſmall Relief from the neceſſary Expences at this Time theſe Propoſitions are brought forward. My Brother and Companions, from the Reſumption of the Jagheers, are reduced to great Affliction and Diſtreſs; from the Mahajens of this Town ſhould I requeſt the Loan of One or Two Lacks of Rupees, they cannot give it, having no Reſources. I have never been deficient in the Friendſhip of the Company, and Obedience to your Pleaſure. I have looked upon my Difficulties as a Cauſe of Satisfaction, and am always ready to execute your Commands. In theſe Propoſitions I am aſtoniſhed and confounded at my bad Fortune, that I ſhould have ſuch a compaſſionate Friend as your Highneſs, and be involved in ſuch a Situation. What Anſwer can I give, and how can I ſupport my Life?

Difficulty, with your Favour, becomes eaſy; what is eaſy, by your Neglect, becomes difficult. Night and Day paſs in Grief and Affliction. Either make looſe my Difficulties, or elſe call me to your Preſence. I will reſide with your Highneſs, and whenever you ſhall give me my Diſmiſſion, with the Favours and Affection which belong to you, I ſhall return to my Country, and be releaſed from continual Afflictions.

Encloſures.

N° 1. Copy of a Letter from the Nawab Vizier to Major William Palmer, dated 19th Shabaun.

On the Subject of Ten Lacks of Rupees, you repeatedly have ſaid, that the Nawab Governor's Pleaſure is, that I ſhould give them for the Expences of the Company's Sircar. The Nawab Governor's Will is binding upon me. I can make no Excuſes. Take Ten Lacks of Rupees for the Expences of the Company's Sircar. But you have ſaid, that if I am willing to aſſiſt the Affairs of the Company's Sircar, you will fulfil my Requeſts agreeably to the Paper, as the Nawab Governor's Permiſſion is arrived. With reſpect to the Two Points of which you have ſpoken, I agree to both of them, and will give for the Expences of the Company's Sircar Ten Lacks of Rupees this Year, and Six Lacks of Rupees yearly, in lieu of Regiments, upon Condition that I obtain my Requeſts and Authority. It is proper that you adjuſt my Requeſts, agreeably to the Paper upon which the Nawab Governor has given Orders, and reſtore me to the Management of every Concern.

N° 2. Copy of a Letter from the ſame to the ſame, dated 30th Shabaun.

In Anſwer to your Demand of a Loan of Sixty Lacks of Rupees, I repreſented and explained to you, with the greateſt Reverence, the full Particulars of my Inabilities; that in Caſes where I have Power and Ability, I am never negligent, to the Extent of my Life, in promoting the Affairs of the Company's Sircar, and in obeying the Nawab Governor's Orders. You, in my Preſence, ſpoke to me, and ſent a Meſſage to me, that if I did not give Sixty Lacks of Rupees, by way of Loan, the Nawab Governor would be highly diſpleaſed, and would quit my Friendſhip, and would alſo recall the Old Brigade which is here; and beſide, the * whatever may be the Nawab Governor's Will you did not know. Why did not you give me prior Information that it would proceed to this Extremity?

* Sic in Orig.

My Friend! the Friendſhip of the Company, the Nawab Governor, and the Gentlemen of the Council, is fixed in my Heart, and I have remained ſo inattentive and forgetful, from a Dependance on their Friendſhip and Satisfaction, that I have nothing left to me but my Name; and every Thing elſe belongs to them.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 465.

To

To the Glorious and Omnipotent God it is known, what Diſtreſſes having brought upon myſelf, in the Obedience to his Pleaſure, I have ſupported Life. Notwithſtanding all this, you make theſe Kinds of Propoſitions and Meſſages on behalf of the Governor. I had never an Idea that the Nawab Governor would behave in ſuch a Manner towards me, as to withdraw his Favour and Friendſhip; if it is really and fully known to you, that the Nawab's Will is to ceaſe the Connection, I will go myſelf to his Preſence, and explain my Situation. Had I any Reſources, I would not make any Delay and Excuſes. If the Nawab will be favourable, it is well; if not, I will remain there. As I, conformably to the Nawab's Letter, conſider what you ſay to have been ſpoken by the Nawab, having repreſented all my Particulars, when you anſwer that in future, there will be no Blame on you for the Diſgrace of this Place; therefore, being remedileſs, I write this much, that my Friendſhips for the Company, the Nawab, and the Gentlemen of Council, are not ſuch as to be thrown to the Wind without a Cauſe; and to the End of my Life I cannot agree to it; the Nature of the Governor's Firſt Meſſage of Friendſhip was ſuch: At this Time, Propoſitions to this Effect confound me greatly. In ſhort, whatever you know of the Nawab's Intentions, write to me explicitly; as in this Caſe my remaining here is impoſſible.

APPENDIX, N° XXV.

Anſwer to the 2d Article of Charge.

Printed Copy. Page 18.

AND as to ſo much of the ſaid Second Article, as relates to the Women and Children of the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowla, the ſaid Warren Haſtings denies that they were in any Manner dependant upon both, or either of the ſaid Begums. [(*a*) But he ſays that the ſaid Women, who were moſtly Perſons of low Condition, and the ſaid Children, if any ſuch there were, lived in the Khourd Mhal, on an Eſtabliſhment entirely diſtinct from the ſaid Begums.]

APPENDIX, N° XXVI.

Book 26. Page 60.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 3d April 1780.

Fort William, 3d April 1780.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

READ the following Letters and Incloſure from Mr. Purling.

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

In conformity to your Orders of the 15th December, I addreſſed his Excellency upon the Subject of the Sums required for the Service of the preſent Year; I alſo delivered the Letter written to him by the Honourable the Governor General, prior to which Sir Eyre Coote had taken much Pains to convince him of the Neceſſity of his Compliance.

Mr. Purling. [(*b*) I have now the Honour to inform you, that his Excellency has been pleaſed to grant Tuncaws for 37,80,000 more, which makes, with the former Grants, about Rupees 1,06,62,000. I beg Leave to encloſe the Account Eſtimate of Demands made on his Excellency and the general Kiſtbundee. I hope the Sum granted will be more than ſufficient for the Exigencies of the Year, though inferior to that of the Eſtimate, which amounts to 120 Lacks, including the Balance of the Honourable Company's Account current with the Vizier to the End of Baudun 1186. Out of this Eſtimate I have omitted the Demand for the Donation to the Army, and the Six Lacks eſtimated Loſs on the Exchange; for the Nabob declares an utter Impoſſibility to provide more Money for the preſent Year; and, indeed, the Situation of his Excellency's Affairs at this Period are *ſuch as demand my faithful Repreſentation of them, and a very ſerious Conſideration on the Part of your Honourable Board; and Sir Eyre Coote, who has an Opportunity of judging on the Spot, has required it of me as a Point of indiſpenſable Duty. To be enabled to provide ſo large a Sum upon the reduced State of his Finances, when Half the Year is elapſed, and One Harveſt totally deſtroyed for want of timely Rain, his Excellency is now certainly getting rid of a great Part of

* Sic in Orig.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 466. (*b*) Vide ſupra, P. 489.

the

the Animals he has kept, either for his State or for his Diverſion; has reduced Part of his Troops which attended his Perſon, has diſbanded many of his Battalions raiſed for his Collections; has diſcharged a large Number of the Servants of his Houſehold, among whom are included many old Attendants of his Family; and has put an entire Stop to his Buildings. Notwithſtanding theſe Retrenchments, his Excellency has been obliged to give Aſſignments upon his Jagheerdars to the Amount of near 15 Lacks of Rupees. The only Means of relieving the Nabob from his preſent Diſtreſs is, by ſuſpending the Demand of the Balance of the laſt Year's Account current with the Honourable Company, which, I have Reaſon to believe, his Excellency will be ſatisfied with; and there is no Doubt he will be able to pay in the enſuing Year, if the Misfortune of a ſecond Drought does not prevent his reſuming the large Deductions he has been obliged to give his Collectors. If your Honourable Board are pleaſed to give your Aſſent to this, the Accounts of the Grants will ſtand thus:

Amount of the Tuncaws for the Year 1187,	—		1,06,62,000 — —
His Excellency's Balance at End of the Year 1186,	20,60,608 2 1		
Deduct Amount, at this Time, in the Hands of the ſeveral Paymaſters, viz[t]			
Mr. Oliver, temporary Brigade,	3,52,433 9 5		
Mr. Champion's Cavalry, D°	71,842 4 —		
	4,24,275 13 5		
			16,36,322 4 8
Balance Tuncaws remaining,	—		90,25,677 11 4

The Amount of the Army Debt I have included in the general Head of Demands on the Nabob, although he has not in fact provided for them; but in caſe the Collections turn out favourably, your Honourable Board may be pleaſed to aſſign ſome Part of them to be liquidated, and it will remain with you to determine at the End of the Year what Part it ſhall be.

The ſettling of the Aſſignments with his Excellency has prevented my Monthly Accounts being hitherto tranſmitted to your Honourable Board, but they will now be prepared and forwarded with Regularity.

Lucknow,
February 9th, 1780.

I am, &c.
(Signed) C. Purling.

GENERAL KISTBUNDEE of the Lands aſſigned over by his Excellency the Vizier Aſoph ul Dowlah, for the Purpoſe of anſwering the Public Claims upon him for the Fuſſulee Year 1187, commencing 26th September 1779.

On what Account.	Aumils Names.	Diſtricts.	Amount Aſſignment. Each Diſtrict.	Each Head.
The Hon. Company's Balance	Almaſſulbe Cawn	Doaub and Corah	26,00,000	
	Coja Ainul Duen	Rohilcund	25,00,000	
Army Subſidy	Ally Reza	Khyrabad	3,32,000	
Temporary Brigade	Mirza Mhindy	Scindea Mellinbad & Lucknow	2,00,000	
Vizier's Troops under Britiſh Officers	Nabob Muzuffer Jung	Ferockabad	5,50,000	
	Mirza Noor Beg	Azem Gurrh & Mahole	1,50,000	
Saudaut Ally's Stipend	Raja Cheit Sing	Khyra Ghur	2,00,000	
Rohillas Stipend	Iſmael Beg	Allahabad	3,50,000	
Abdul Rahmaun Khan's Ruſſaulah, and Army Debts	Mah[d] Huſſein Khan	Baraitch, &c.	10,00,000	
	Raja Bowanny Sing	— — —	13,00,000	
	Jagheerdars	— — —	14,80,000	
				1,06,62,000
		Grand Total — —		1,06,62,000

N. B. The laſt Three Heads having been made over by the Nabob in the Month of Maugh, their Kiſts can only commence from that Period.

Errors excepted.

* No Date in Orig. Lucknow, the * February 1780. (Signed) C. Purling.

ESTIMATE

ESTIMATE of the Assignments to be required from the Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah for the Fussullee Year 1187.

Balance of the Vizier's Account Current with the Honourable Company, the last Day of Bhauden 1186,		20,60,608 : 1 : 9
Army Subsidy,		31,20,000 : 0 : 0
Temporary Brigade,	26,13,559 : 13 : 9	
Cavalry Brigade,	10,80,000 : 0 : 0	36,93,559 : 13 : 9
Vizier's Troops, under British Officers,		16,87,333 : 12 : 6
Saudut Ally's Stipend,		3,00,000 : 0 : 0
Rohilla's Stipend,		61,578 : 0 : 0
Abdul Rahman Cawn's Russalauh,		3,30,000 : 0 : 0
Army Debts, viz.		
Brigadier General Goddard,	3,44,478 : 0 : 0	
Major Webber,	2,49,611 : 0 : 0	
Captain Bourke,	30,464 : 0 : 0	
Lieutenant Collins,	1,18,876 : 0 : 0	
Lieutenant M'Intosh,	15,680 : 0 : 0	
		7,59,169 : 0 : 0
Rupees		1,20,12,188 : 12 : 0

Errors excepted.

Lucknow, the 25th January 1780. (Signed) C. Purling.

The Secretary having drawn up the following Reply to the Resident at the Vizier's Court, he circulated it for the Approbation of the Board, and received back the Minutes which are entered after it.

To Mr. Purling.

Sir,

We have received your Letters of the 29th January and 9th February.

We are very much disappointed at the Vizier's Assignments falling short of the Estimate, notwithstanding your Account is incomplete by the Omission of Sixteen Lacks and an Half of Rupees, which of course leaves an actual Deficiency of Rupees 30,00,188 : 12, in the Supplies for realizing all the Demands of the present Year, to which, if the Sum you propose to be given back of the Assignments, being 16,36,322 : 4 : 8, be added, the Balance at the End of the Year, exclusive of Arrears of Collection, will amount to the Sum of Rupees 46,36,511 : 0 : 8. We cannot therefore consent to any Remission, but, on the contrary, must insist on retaining the Assignments which have been granted, or of receiving others equal to their Amount, in Exchange for such as shall be justly exceptionable.

Estimate, -	1,20,12,188 : 12 : 0
Deduct Assignments,	1,06,62,000 : 0 : 0
Leaves, - -	13,50,188 : 12 : 0
Add Army Donation,	10,50,000 : 0 : 0
Loss by Exchange -	6,00,000 : 0 : 0
Actual Deficiency,	30,00,188 : 12 : 0
Assignments proposed to be given back,	16,36,322 : 4 : 8
Balance, Rupees —	46,36,511 : 0 : 8

(a) [With respect to the Jagheers, we are not competent to judge of the Propriety of retaining or yielding them back to their Proprietors, not knowing who they are; and we desire that you will afford us every Information in your Power relative to this Point.]

We are, &c.

Fort William, 3d April 1780.

Mr. Francis.—It is my Opinion, that Assignments should be demanded to the Amount of the Estimate as it ought to stand, including the Balance of last Year, and the Articles omitted by Mr. Purling, that is, for the entire Sum of 1,36,62,188 : 12 Rupees. To suspend any Part of this Demand now is only throwing it on the succeeding Year, when every Difficulty that exists at present is very likely to be increased. I could also have wished that Mr. Purling's Letter of the 9th of February had been brought before the Board, and taken into Consideration at an earlier Period.

(Signed) Philip Francis.

I agree in Opinion with Mr. Francis.

(Signed) Edward Wheler.

(a) Vide supra, P. 480.

Governor General.—The Letter is written conformably to the Reſolution of the Board, which was formed, as I underſtood, of the concurrent Opinions of the Members; ſuch is the State of the Vizier's Dominions, that I cannot agree to demand Aſſignments for a larger Amount, much doubting their Capacity to realize even that.

On whomſoever the Reproach may fall, for the Neglect of bringing this Letter earlier before the Board, I muſt for my own Part declare, that it is not imputable to me. The accumulated Difficulties of this Government have thrown a greater Weight of Buſineſs on my Hands than it is poſſible for me wholly to diſcharge, and the Want of Official Aſſiſtance has been a *Sic in Orig. grievious * Addition to my Embarraſſments. Few are the Moments which I allow to Relaxation; and in the Selection of ſuch Subjects as require my Attention, I have been ever attentive to their Priority in point of immediate Urgency and of intrinſic Conſequence. I knew not of this Letter till it came in its Courſe before the Board; I could not therefore bring it earlier to the Conſideration of the Board.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

In conſequence of the foregoing Minutes, the following Letter was written and diſpatched to Mr. Purling on the 6th Inſtant.

To Mr. Charles Purling, Reſident
at the Vizier's Court.

Sir,

We have received your Letter of the 26th January and 9th February.

We are very much diſappointed at the Vizier's Aſſignments falling ſhort of the Eſtimate, notwithſtanding your Account is incomplete by the Omiſſion of Sixteen Lacks and an Half of Rupees, which of courſe leaves an actual Deficiency of Rupees 30,00,188 : 12 in the Supplies for realizing all the Demands of the preſent Year; to which, if the Sum you propoſe to be given back of the Aſſignments, being 16,36,322 : 4 : 8 Rupees, be added, the Balance at the End of the Year, excluſive of Arrears of Collection, will amount to the Sum of Rupees 46,36,511 : 0 : 8. We cannot therefore conſent to any Remiſſion, but, on the contrary, muſt inſiſt not only on retaining the Aſſignments which have been granted, but upon your obtaining additional Aſſignments, to the Amount of the whole Demand of Rupees 1,36,62,188 : 12.

Eſtimate, -	1,20,12,188 : 12 : 0
Deduct Aſſignments,	1,06,62,000 : 0 : 0
Leaves, - -	13,50,188 : 12 : 0
Add Army Donation,	10,50,000 : 0 : 0
Loſs by Exchange, -	6,00,000 : 0 : 0
Actual Deficiency,	30,20,188 : 10 : 0
Aſſignments propoſed to be given back,	16,36,322 : 4 : 8
Balance, Rupees -	46,36,511 : 0 : 8

☞ *(a)* [With reſpect to the Jagheers, we are not competent to judge of the Propriety of retaining or yielding them back to their Proprietors, not knowing who they are, or on what Footing they are held; and we deſire that you will afford us every Information in your Power relative to this Point;] but in caſe any of theſe Jagheers ſhould be reſtored, other Aſſignments of equal Value and Security are to be taken in their ſtead.

We are, &c.

(Signed at the End of the Conſultation)

Warren Haſtings.
P. Francis.
Fort William, the 3d April 1780. Edw[d] Wheler.

APPENDIX, N° XXVII.

Vide Appendix, N° XX.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 640.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, N° XXVIII.

Book 106. Page 5.

Extract of a Consultation of the 25th October 1774.

Fort William, the 25th October 1774.

At a Council; Present,
The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President,
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monson,
Richard Barwell, } Esquires.
Philip Francis, }

THE following Minute delivered into Council yesterday by the Governor General being referred for Consideration to this Department, is now recorded, having been sent in Circulation to the different Members of the Board.

Gentlemen,

The Governor's Minute on the Revenue and Politics of the Country.

All the Members of this Council being now assembled, I could wish to point out some general Plan for carrying into Execution the Regulations of the new System of Government, agreeably to the Instructions received from the Company; but upon an attentive Review of the various Subjects which occur, I find it necessary to select such particular Parts of them as seem to claim your earliest Notice, reserving the rest for future Consideration, to be taken up in the Order in which their respective Importance or particular Exigencies may point out. I shall take the Liberty to accompany every Proposition with a brief Relation of such Circumstances and such past Transactions as have any Relation to it, and are necessary to be known for the Purpose of forming your Resolutions upon it. I mean not, Gentlemen, to preclude any other Member of the Council from offering any Point for present Deliberation, which in his Judgment may claim a Preference in point of Time above those which I may wish to introduce. I only propose this Method as the most likely to facilitate the Dispatch of Business, which may be retarded by undertaking too many Subjects at the same Instant. It will unavoidably take some Time to arrange and perfect the new System of this Administration. In the mean while the current Affairs will require your daily Assistance to keep them in Motion; and in both—I mean both in forming the new Mode of Government and conducting the daily Business—you will find it necessary to consult the Records of the former Administration for the sake of due Connection and Consistency. I desire also to shorten the Time and lessen the Trouble of such a Search among the voluminous Books of Consultations, by the Mode I have proposed of laying before you a succinct View of each Subject with References to the Consultations for the successive Orders which have been issued, and the Advices which have been received concerning them. I think it my Duty to add, and I think I may do it without presuming too much upon the Experience which I have acquired in the Affairs of this Government, that I shall be at all Times happy to assist any Member of the Council with my Communications upon any Point upon which he may desire to be so informed.

Professions of Zeal and Solicitude for the public Good are too commonly made use of to be received with implicit Credit; but I feel my own Honour and my own Interest so intimately blended with the successful Issue of the Measures of this Government, that I may with Truth, and without Hazard of having my Declaration suspected, affirm that I have not a Wish even for myself which has not the Good of the Company for its immediate Object, and my own ultimately as derived from it. I believe I may safely conclude the same for the other Gentlemen embarked with me in this great Undertaking; and I have the most thorough Confidence in your Disposition to unite with me in the Prosecution of the Company's Interests; while I with the strictest Sincerity and Cordiality declare that nothing on my Part shall be wanting to render that Union effectual.

The next Point which I have proposed for your Consideration is the political System of these Provinces.

The Alliance with the Nabob Shujah Dowlah, the Vizir of the Empire, is the only Foreign Connection in which the Government can be with Propriety said to be engaged. This took place originally by the Treaty formed by Lord Clive at Illahabad in the Year 1765.

By a new Treaty with the Vizir, dated the 8th September 1773, in consequence of an Interview which I had with him at Banares, the monthly Subsidy for the extraordinary Expence of our Forces employed in his Assistance was fixed at the Sum of 210,000 Rupees for One Brigade, and the Provinces of Corah and Illahabad ceded to him for the Sum of Fifty Lacks of Rupees, of which Twenty Lacks were to be immediately due and were accordingly paid; Fifteen Lacks were to be paid at the Expiration of a Year, and the remaining Fifteen at the Expiration of Two Years.

At the ſame Time the Vizir had ſolicited the Aid of our Troops to reduce the Rohillah Country, lying on the North of his Dominions, between the Ganges and the Mountains of Tibbet. The immediate Plea for theſe Hoſtilities was the Breach of Faith with which the Rohillah Chiefs were charged in the Supplies of Money afforded by them to the Marattas, againſt whom they had ſolicited and obtained the Vizir's Aſſiſtance, under a ſolemn Engagement to pay him Forty Lacks of Rupees on the Departure of the Marattas, and for refuſing afterwards to fulfil that Engagement.

This Enterprize, the Deſign of which furniſhed the firſt Occaſion of my meeting with the Vizir, formed an Article in the original Draught of our Treaty, but it was afterwards omitted at his Deſire, and I promiſed that it ſhould ſtill take place if it ſuited the Affairs of the Company at any other Time, when he ſhould find himſelf in a Condition to reſume it. Accordingly, in the Month of January 1774, the Vizir made a formal Requiſition of the Aſſiſtance of a Brigade of the Company's Forces for the Defence of his Dominions, and for the Proſecution of his former Purpoſe of invading the Country of the Rohillahs. For this Service he engaged to pay the Company, beſides the ſtipulated monthly Subſidy, Forty Lacks of Rupees when it ſhould be concluded. The Vizir's Requeſt was granted. The Second Brigade was ordered on this Service, and Colonel Champion, the Provincial Commander in Chief, appointed to the Command. Having been joined by the Vizir and his Troops, he entered the Rohillah Borders on the 17th April; and on the 23d of the ſame Month attacked and defeated the Army of the Rohillahs, commanded by Hafez Rahmet their Leader, who was killed in the Action. This Victory was deciſive; no other Enemy appeared in the Field; and the Vizir having obtained Poſſeſſion of the greateſt Part of the Country, both Armies marched on the 7th of May to the City of Biſſooly, where Quarters were prepared for them, and it was intended they ſhould paſs the Rains there; but the remaining Leaders of the Rohillahs having aſſembled Forces under the Command of Fyzoola Cawn at Nigeetgur, a Town on the Northern Frontier of the Country; the Vizir apprehending their acquiring too great Strength, and that the Marattas might return to interrupt the Operations before they were brought to a Concluſion, prevailed upon Colonel Champion to put the Brigade again in Motion about the latter End of July, and to march with him againſt the Enemy, although the Rains were then at their Height.

The Troops enjoyed remarkable good Health, and proceeded without Oppoſition to Potteſgur, the Enemy flying before them to the Skirts of the Hills, whither the combined Armies have followed them. They have lain for a conſiderable Time within a ſhort Diſtance of each other, Colonel Champion waiting for Orders from the Select Committee to purſue the Enemy beyond the Line to which he conceived himſelf limited by his Inſtructions; the neceſſary Orders were ſent out, and we have been for ſome Time paſt in daily Expectations of hearing that the War was brought to a Concluſion, either by the Attack and Defeat of the Enemy, or by Negociation. The laſt Letters from Colonel Champion, which you, Gentlemen, have read, were dated the 2d Inſtant, and adviſe that Fizoollah Cawn had delivered himſelf up, but that the Negociation was ſtill continued.

The Advantages propoſed from this Expedition were, 1ſt. An Addition of Territory, and of courſe of Wealth, to the Vizir, in which the Company will always participate. 2d. The Completion of the defenſive Line of his Dominions, by freeing them from an inconvenient Neighbour, and by taking into them the whole Space included between the Ganges and the Northern Mountains. 3d. The Employment of a Third Part of our Force, and a ſaving at the ſame Time of its Expences. And, laſtly, The Stipulation of Forty Lacks, to be paid on the Concluſion of the Undertaking. The Retreat of the Marattas to their ancient Territories, and the violent Diſſenſions which had ariſen in their State, were Arguments ſtrongly favouring the Time which was choſen for beginning the War; and the Juſtice of it is ſupported by the undoubted Refuſal of Hafez Rahmet to fulfil the Conditions of his Treaty with the Vizir, of which the Original, witneſſed by General Sir Robert Barker, is in our Poſſeſſion.

Many detached Events, ſuch as the Claim of the Army to a Share in the Plunder of the conquered Country, the Donation offered to them by the Vizir, a Claim of the King Shaw Alum to a Share of the conquered Diſtricts, will appear in the Courſe of the Correſpondence between the Select Committee and Colonel Champion, and do not require further Notice in this Place.

The Second Payment of the Treaty Money for Cora and Illahabad ſtill remained undiſcharged by the laſt Advices; but Orders had iſſued for effecting it, and an Engliſh Gentleman had been appointed by the Vizir to receive and take charge of it at Fyzabad, his Capital. The Monthly Subſidy has been paid with ſufficient Exactneſs, at leaſt we have had no Information to the contrary. The Forty Lacks of Rupees, ſtipulated for the Performance of the preſent Service, I conſider as now due, though the Vizir makes ſome Objections; but the Defeat of Fyzoolla Cawn's Troops, or the Concluſion of the Negociation with him, has probably, by this Time, put the Company's Right beyond Diſpute. There remains alſo a ſmall Balance of former Accounts ſtill unadjuſted. Theſe will conſtitute the principal Part, if not the whole, of our Concerns with the Vizir. When the Buſineſs on which we have been to this Time engaged with him is concluded, I apprehend no Difficulty in procuring Payment.

The

The Bounds which I had preſcribed to myſelf in this Paper, and which I have already exceeded, will not admit of my entering into a Diſcuſſion of the Benefits depending on the Alliance of the Company with the Vizir. Theſe will appear at large on various Parts of our Records, to which I ſhall hereafter diſtinctly refer. They may be reduced to the following Abridgment—A ſecure Barrier, a conſtant Occupation for Part of our Army, a Reduction of our Military Expences, and an accumulating Fund of future Wealth. He cannot long ſubſiſt without our Protection, and is incapable of himſelf of becoming an Object of our Jealouſy or Apprehenſion.

For the better Communication with the Vizier, and for the Maintenance of that Confidence which is neceſſary to perpetuate the Alliance between the Vizier and the Company, it has been judged adviſable to appoint a Reſident at the Durbar as the immediate Agent of the Governor, with whom alone he officially correſponds. The Gentleman employed in that Station is Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, with whoſe Diſcretion, Integrity, and Ability for the Diſcharge of this Truſt, I have every Reaſon to be abundantly ſatisfied.

The King remains at Delhi, the ancient Capital of the Empire, a mere Cypher in the Adminiſtration of it. With him, our Connection has been a long Time ſuſpended, and I wiſh never to ſee it renewed, as it has proved a fatal Drain to the Wealth of Bengal, and the Treaſury of the Company, without yielding one Advantage or poſſible Source, even of remote Benefits, in Return. The Tribute which he claims from the Provinces hath been withheld from him ſince his Deſertion of the Company, and his Union with their natural Enemies the Mahrattas; and a Reference has been made to the Court of Directors for their Orders concerning the future Payments of it, with every Argument urged that can induce them to forbid it.

The Mahratta State, after having threatened the whole Empire with Subjection during the active Adminiſtration of their Paiſhwa, or acting Chief, Mahderow, has been for this Twelvemonth paſt the Scene of internal Diſtractions, which ſtill ſubſiſt. On the Death of Mahderow, his Brother Narain Row ſucceeded him; he was treacherouſly ſlain, and his Uncle Raganot Row releaſed from Priſon, and declared Paiſhwa in his Stead. The Miniſters of the Government, to whom he owed his Elevation, became the Objects of his Jealouſy; and, acting from that Impreſſion, he made them his Enemies; they formed a powerful Combination againſt him, ſet up the new-born Son of Narain Row in Competition againſt him, and defeated him. He has ſince thrown himſelf on the Protection of Takojee Hulkar, and Mahadajee Sindea, Two Chiefs of Conſideration, who were lately in the Party of his Opponents. The Leaders of this Oppoſition, Sookeram Bolboo the Principal Miniſter, Gaujaboy the Mother of the Paiſhwa, Mahde Row, and Narain Row, Shubajee Bonſela the Chief of Berar, and the Nabob Nizam Alle: The Two laſt may be rather conſidered as Auxiliaries; Moodajee, the Brother of Shubajee, was on the Side of Ragonat Row till his Defeat; both the Brothers are now in Berar. The laſt Letter from Mr. Moſtyn the Reſident at Poonah, dated the 22d Auguſt, explains the State of theſe Diſputes to that Period. They ſeem yet likely to be of longer Duration, and whenever concluded, will probably leave the prevailing Party too weak to undertake any Plan of remote Conqueſt for ſome Time at leaſt to come; of courſe we have no Cauſe to apprehend any Diſturbances from the Mahrattas during the preſent Seaſon.

The Province of Berar, adjoining to our own Borders on the South and Weſt Side of the Provinces, merits from that Conſideration, and from the Power and Independency of its Rulers, a diſtinct Conſideration. The preſent Chief Shawbajee Bonſelah is the Brother of the late Janajee Boonſla, who for many Years paſt enjoyed the Sovereignty of the Country. His Brothers are Moodajee, who has been already mentioned in this Narrative, and Binbajee; the latter poſſeſſes little other Conſequence beſides that which he derives from the Credit of his Family. The Two other Brothers have been long at Variance; but by the Mediation and Authority of Derriaboy, the Widow of Janojee, and a Woman of great Spirit and reputed Ability*, prevented from carrying their Animoſities to violent Extremes. Their being engaged in oppoſite Factions of the Mahratta State, is not a certain Proof of their mutual Enmity, it being (as I underſtand) a Policy not uncommonly practiſed among the Mahrattas, for the ſame Family to take different Sides in Civil Diſſenſions, with a View to its Aggrandiſement.—While I was at Benares the laſt Year, a Vakeel from Shawbajee Booſla arrived at that Place with a Letter addreſſed to me by that Chief, and attended me in Calcutta till the Month of September laſt, when he received his Diſmiſſion to return to his Maſter, in conſequence of Orders received for that Purpoſe. The Purport of Shawbajee's Letter, and the verbal Propoſitions made to me by his Vakeel, was to ſolicit the Friendſhip and Alliance of this Government; to which I have replied in ſuch Terms as were moſt likely to encourage him to nearer Advances, if he has formed any Deſigns which may make it ſtrongly his Intereſt to court the Friendſhip of the Company. He is deſcended from the ancient Rajahs of Sitterah. The preſent Rajah is called Ram Rajah. He has no Children. It is worthy of Remark, and may ſerve to convey ſome Idea of the Inſtability of the preſent Government of the Mahrattas, that it is exerciſed through Two ſubordinate Gradations: The Raja, in whoſe Name all the Orders of the State are iſſued, is deprived of all Authority; the Peiſhwa, or prime Miniſter, an Infant of Nine Months old, and the actual Miniſter or Regent, who exerciſes the legal Powers of both; a Man deriving his Authority ſolely from the Combination of a few wealthy Individuals. From this

* Sic in Orig.

this divided State of the Mahratta Empire, and the Intereſts and Pretenſions of the ſeveral Competitors for Power amongſt them, great political Advantages may, perhaps, be attained to the Company, to which the preſent united Syſtem of the Company's Eſtabliſhments in India is well calculated to contribute.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

The Vizier Suja Dowla's Application by Letter, through General Barker, for the Aſſiſtance of the Engliſh Troops againſt the Rohillas, and the Governor's Reply to him, with the Reſolution of the Select Committee,	Select Committee Proceedings, 24th June 1772.
The Vizier's Application for a Force to repel the Marattas, and the Governor's Anſwer, deſiring him to wait till Receipt of the Company's Advices of the Seaſon,	Ditto, 20th July 1772.
Orders for the March of the Brigade to the Aſſiſtance of the Vizier,	Ditto, 29th October 1772. See alſo Conſultation, 16th November 1772.
Meaſures to be taken for the Defence of the Provinces of Corah and Currah againſt the Marattas. General Barker to prepare to join the Vizier with the Firſt Brigade, and proceed to the Defence of Corah and Illiabad in concert with him,	Ditto, 1ſt February 1773.
Queries of the General, propoſed in caſe of particular Exigencies and Caſes in his Expedition,	Ditto, 11th ditto.
The Board's Anſwer to theſe Queries, — —	15th ditto.
Inſtructions to General Barker on his Departure for the Army,	18th ditto.
General Barker blamed for having paſſed the Ganges,	17th March 1772.
General Barker's Reaſons for having croſſed the Ganges, and the Select Committee's Cenſure for it,	Select Committee Proceedings, 15th April 1773. And Conſultation, 16th ditto.
General Barker's Vindication of his Conduct in this Particular,	Select Committee Proceedings, 10th May.
Propoſal for an Interview between the Governor and Suja Dowla,	Ditto, 15th April 1773. See alſo Conſultation 19th April.
Suja Dowla's Letter to the Governor, preſſing for the Interview, and the Governor's Determination to go,	31ſt May.
Reſolution to depute Mr. Lawrell to take charge of the Provinces of Corah and Illahabad,	19th April.
Inſtructions given him, — — —	26th ditto.
Inſtructions for the Governor agreed on and ſigned, but not recorded, for the ſake of Secreſy,	18th May.
Ditto recorded in Conſultation, — —	4th October.
The Governor's Report of his Tranſactions with Suja Dowla at Banaras,	Ditto.
General Barker's Diſſent to ditto, — —	7th ditto.
The Governor's Reply to General Barker's Minute; the General's Rejoinder, and the Board's Obſervations,	12th ditto.
The Vizier's Letter, requiring the Brigade to conquer the Rohilla Country,	Select Committee Proceedings, 22d November 1773. Alſo Conſultation, 26th November.
The Governor's Anſwer to the Vizier's Letter, with Draft of an Engagement, to be given by him, in caſe of his accepting the Service of the Brigade; the Preſident's Minute, and the Board's Determination to grant it on thoſe Terms,	Conſultation, 26th November 1773.
The Vizier's Anſwer to ditto; he does not immediately want the Brigade, but deſires it may be ready,	13th January 1774.

The Vizier calls for the Brigade, and ſends down the Obligation executed,	3d February.
Colonel Champion ordered to prepare to command it,	Ditto.
Inſtructions to Colonel Champion for this Expedition,	14th ditto.
Colonel Champion's Letter, reporting the Victory over the Rohillahs at Pittybeet, &c.	9th May.
Ditto's Letter on the Inconvenience of the Troops being ordered to canton at Biſſouly and removed from Berelly, and a ſuppoſed Treaty between the King and the Vizier through Nudjiff Cawn, and the Board's Anſwer,	23d ditto.
Ditto's Letter relative to the Situation of Fyzulla Khan, with the Anſwer of the Board; alſo his Letter reſpecting the Search of Pittybeet for Treaſure reported to be there, and the Governor's and Board's Reply to him,	Conſultation, 3d June.
Colonel Champion's Letter that Fyzoolah Cawn is encamped juſt without the Boundaries of the Limitation of his Operations,	19th September.
The Board's Permiſſion to extend his Circle, if neceſſary for the Defeat of Fyzoola,	
The Preſident's Correſpondence with the Provincial Commander in Chief.	
Ditto with the Reſident at the Vizier's Court.	

The Select Committee Proceedings, in Continuation from the 13th April 1772 to the preſent Period, are recommended to be read, beſides the Proceedings of the Council in the Secret Department, wherein many other detached Pieces relative to theſe Subjects will be found, particularly within the Period of the 13th April 1772 and the 14th February 1774; moſt Things being at that Time tranſacted by the Board at large, with little (if any) Reference to the Select Committee.

☞ *(a)* [The Board proceed to the Conſideration of that Part which reſpects the political State of Affairs in India.

Read the General Letters of laſt Year to the Court of Directors, as far as relate to the Treaty of Banaras and the Rohilla Expedition.

Read the Treaty of Banaras, and the Vizier's Requiſition for the March of the Brigade.

Read the Governor's Report on his Return from Benaras.

The Governor called on for his Correſpondence with the Reſident at the Vizier's Court, and Col. Champion.

The Commander in Chief propoſes that the Governor General be deſired to lay before the Board his original Correſpondence with the Reſident at the Vizier's Court, and with Colonel Champion, commanding the Troops acting in Conjunction with the Army of the Vizier.

The Governor obſerves on this Propoſition, that he will lay before the Board all ſuch Extracts of the Reſident's and Colonel Champion's Letters as regard the Conduct of Public Affairs; but as they may contain many Things, in the courſe of a free and perſonal Communication, which might not be proper for a Public Record, and as he believes that many of them do contain ſuch, he begs leave to decline laying the original Letters, or the whole of the Correſpondence, before the Board.

The General, in Reply to the Governor, offers the following for the Conſideration of the Board:

The Preſident deſired to give up the whole original Correſpondence.

In order that the Board may judge of the Nature and Extent of the Engagements which have been contracted with Suja Dowla, and how far they have been fulfilled, by the taking of Puttengur, and by the entire Reduction of the Rohilla Country, and with a View to our claiming the Forty Lacks of Rupees ſtipulated by theſe Engagements, and conſequently whether it will be proper to ſend an Order for the immediate Recal of the Brigade, or to leave it there till Sujah Dowla pleaſes to ſend it back, it appears abſolutely neceſſary that the whole of Mr. N. Middleton's and Colonel Champion's Correſpondence, which the late Preſident maintained with them, they being both employed on a Public Service, ſhould be communicated to this Board; and, for the Reaſons above ſtated, he moves that the Governor be deſired to lay the whole of the Correſpondence with the Reſident and Colonel Champion, according to his firſt Propoſal, before the Board.

The Majority of the Board agree in the General's Propoſition, and reſolve, that the Governor be deſired to give in the Letters moved for by the General accordingly.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 505.

The

He diſſents. The Governor enters his Diſſent to this Reſolution of the Board, for Reaſons which he will deliver in Writing To-morrow.]

APPENDIX, N° XXIX.

Book 106. Page 47.

Extract of a Conſultation of 26th October 1774.

Fort William, the 26th October 1774.

At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

☞ (a) [THE Governor delivers in the Minute in Diſſent to the Reſolution of the Majority of the Board Yeſterday, which he then promiſed, as follows:

I diſſent from the Reſolution of the Board, becauſe I do not think the whole of the Correſpondence which the Commander in Chief deſires to have laid before the Board, is neceſſary for their Information, and becauſe, as I have already declared, there are ſeveral Parts of Mr. Middleton's, which comprehend an unreſerved and confidential Communication of his Opinion, and of ſuch Occurrences as he judged neceſſary for my private Information, entered into, and carried on by him, on my repeated Aſſurances that I would not reveal any Part of his Correſpondence which might ſubject him to Ill-will or Inconvenience.

That I had a Right to give Mr. Middleton ſuch Aſſurances at the Time I delivered him his Inſtructions, cannot be doubted; and it will be found perfectly conſonant to the Truſt repoſed in me by the Adminiſtration. It was the Condition and expreſs Declaration of the Board in his Appointment, that he ſhould be my official Agent in the Maintenance of that Intercourſe with the Vizier, which the Honourable Company had committed eſpecially and ſolely to my Charge, and for which I alone was reſponſible; ſuch were the Ideas and the Practice, with no Exceptions which could invalidate the Rule, of every Adminiſtration in Bengal, from the Year 1757 to the Diſſolution of the late Government; and I will venture to appeal to the Members of the laſt Council, whether they did not underſtand that I was allowed to employ the Services of Mr. Middleton with the Latitude I have deſcribed.

If the Latitude allowed to me in the Exerciſe of theſe conſtitutional Powers by the former Adminiſtration, ſhould be deemed under the new Government too extenſive, it depends on them to retrench it; but I conceive that Engagements of whatever Nature contracted by me during that Period, underſtood to be conſiſtent with the Rules of the Service and the Powers veſted in me, can loſe no Part of their Obligation by a Change of Government. If theſe Engagements were legal, no Power on Earth can authorize me to violate them; much leſs ſhall I ſubmit to an *ex poſt facto* Law of ſo ſudden Formation: If they were not legal, I ſhall patiently ſubmit to the Cenſure of thoſe to whom only I am accountable.

I muſt be permitted further to obſerve, That to me the whole Proceeding in this Buſineſs carries the Air of an Inquiſition into my perſonal Conduct, in my Negociations with the Vizir. After having ſolemnly declared to the Board, that I would lay before them every Part of the Correſpondence required, which could give any Information upon public Affairs; without waiting for this Communication, without knowing whether it would furniſh them with every Light that could be deſired, or whether any Chaſm would be found in the Intelligence, for want of the reſt of the Correſpondence, they arbitrarily reſolve, That I ſhould expoſe to them all the Minutiæ of a confidential Correſpondence, and betray into public Record the unreſerved Opinions of a young Man, hazarded only on the moſt ſacred Aſſurances of Secrecy, from the only Perſon to whom he looked upon himſelf as accountable in that immediate Duty. I muſt declare, that I regard this as prejudging a Matter not yet completely laid before the Board, merely to convey a Cenſure on my former Adminiſtration in the Branch of Correſpondence with the Foreign Powers, and to introduce the Change propoſed with every Circumſtance of Mortification to me.

I will conclude with a few Words, which I think neceſſary, reſpecting Mr. Middleton, for obviating any Conſtruction to his Prejudice which may be drawn from what I have ſaid of the ſecret Nature of Part of his Correſpondence. I therefore now declare, that I never either expected or received from him any Information reſpecting Individuals, which the ſtricteſt Honour could not juſtify, nor has he ever conveyed to me an Opinion or a Word reflecting upon the

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 506.

Character of any Gentleman in the Service, unleſs the Letters which I ſhall lay before the Board ſhall be conſtrued to have ſuch Tendency. As to the reſt, I am certain that the whole of Mr. Middleton's Management, including even his moſt ſecret and confidential Correſpondence, whenever it ſhall be publicly known, will reflect Honour both on his Principles and Abilities, and recommend him to the Notice of his Employers, in a Manner that will be favourable to himſelf, and do Credit to me in the Choice I made of him.

I have now formally to acquaint the Board, that all the official Letters of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, and ſuch Parts, even of his private Correſpondence, as I can with Propriety ſhew, ſhall be laid before them; a Copy alſo ſhall be delivered of my Letters addreſſed to him, in which I ſhall obſerve the ſame Reſervation.

All Colonel Champion's official Letters ſhall be laid before the Board, with Copies of mine to him if required; but ſuch as have paſſed between us of a familiar and friendly Communication, I do not think myſelf authorized to produce, becauſe they were written only for our mutual Information, and his are expreſsly marked with a diſtinct Mode of Addreſs, for thoſe which are intended for official, and for thoſe which he intended as confidential. I am the more obſervant of this Rule towards Colonel Champion, becauſe our Correſpondence has not been altogether cordial on many Points; and we have ſeveral Times expoſtulated with each other on theſe Topics, with the Freedom of private Friends, and in a Style which, though decent in every Degree, is yet different perhaps from the formal Addreſſes of official Correſpondence.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

The General thinks it proper to proteſt againſt the Governor's Refuſal to deliver up the whole of the Correſpondence, and will deliver his Reaſons in a Minute To-morrow.

Colonel Monſon the ſame; and

Mr. Francis the ſame.

Colonel Monſon propoſes the following Queſtion to the Board:

Whether or not Mr. Middleton ſhould be continued Reſident at the Court of the Vizir, the Governor having refuſed to lay before the Board the whole of his Correſpondence?

This Queſtion being accordingly put;

Mr. Francis thinks that he ſhould not be continued.

Mr. Barwell thinks that it would be improper to remove him at this Juncture.

Colonel Monſon thinks that Mr. Middleton ſhould not be continued there.

The Commander in Chief alſo thinks that he ought not to be continued.

The Governor objects to the Removal of Mr. Middleton.

Reſolved by the Majority of the Board, That Mr. Nathaniel Middleton be not continued Reſident at the Vizir's Court.

The Governor enters the following Diſſent to this Reſolution:

I diſſent from the Reſolution of the Majority of the Board, for the Diſmiſſion of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton from his Employment; and I hereby enter my ſolemn Proteſt againſt all the Conſequences of ſo violent a Meaſure, which proclaims to all the Powers of Hindoſtan, in almoſt the firſt Public Act of the new Adminiſtration, the total Abolition of the Authority which they have hitherto ſeen exerciſed by me, either in Perſon or through my official Agent, as the firſt and executive Member of the Government of Bengal, an Authority which has been confirmed to me by an Act of the Britiſh Legiſlature, and eſpecially aſſigned me by the Inſtructions of the Honourable the Court of Directors, in the Clauſe appointing me the ſole Channel of Correſpondence with the Princes and Powers of India.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.]

The Commander in Chief propoſes, that Mr. Middleton be immediately ordered to repair to the Preſidency, and directed to bring down with him the whole of his Correſpondence during his Reſidence at the Court of the Vizir; and to order Mr. Grady to come down with the Money he has received from Sujah Dowla on Account of the Second Payment ſtipulated in the Treaty of Benaras, and if he has not already received any, to come away without waiting further.

Mr. Francis agrees to both Parts of the General's Propoſal.

Mr. Barwell delivers his Opinion as follows:

As the Majority of the Board have reſolved to call on the Governor for his original Correſpondence, and don't leave him to be the Judge of what is only material for the Board's Information, the natural Reſult is the Call now made upon Mr. Middleton. I think, as I before delivered my Sentiments, that this ſhould be declined; for I cannot imagine that private Correſpondence, for ſuch I deem all that has not immediate Relation to public Affairs, can be of the leaſt Utility in judging the Subject before us.

(Signed) R. B.

Colonel Monſon againſt the General's Propoſal in both Parts.

The Governor objects to the laſt Part of the Propoſal, becauſe it ſeems to imply that Mr. Middleton ſhould bring the whole of his Correſpondence with him, public and private, the laſt of which he conceives the Board can have no Right to demand from him or any Perſon.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, by a Majority of the Board, That Mr. Nathaniel Middleton be ordered down to the Preſidency, and directed to bring the whole of his Correſpondence with him.

Ordered therefore, that the Secretary diſpatch to him the following Letter.

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton.

SIR,

Letter to Mr. N. Middleton.

The Honourable the Governor General and Council having judged it expedient to withdraw you from the Vizir's Court, I am directed to ſignify to you their Commands, that you repair immediately to the Preſidency, bringing with you the whole of your Correſpondence during your Reſidence there, and that you alſo order Mr. Grady thither directly, with the Money which he may have received at Fyzabad, in conſequence of the Charge you entruſted him with.

You are, on taking leave of the Vizir, to acquaint him, that your Departure will not interrupt the Intercourſe of this Government with him, and that Colonel Champion, or the Commanding Officer of the Brigade, will, in the mean Time, be charged with any Negociations which you may have unfiniſhed with him; and you will accordingly leave in Writing with Colonel Champion, or the Commanding Officer, a State of the ſeveral Sums due to the Company by the Vizir, in conſequence of his different Engagements, the Payments he may have made in Diſcharge of them, and the Balances which remain due, and, in general, all the Papers and Documents relating to your pecuniary Tranſactions with him, that the ſaid Officer may be enabled to liquidate theſe Accounts as ſoon as poſſible.

Fort William, the 26th October 1774. We are, &c.

It being reſolved to recall Mr. Middleton, the Commander in Chief propoſes, that Colonel Champion, or the Officer commanding the Brigade, be appointed to treat with Suja Dowla in the Room of Mr. Middleton.

Mr. Francis agrees to this Propoſal.

Mr. Barwell thinks, that, in conſequence of the Recall of Mr. Middleton, the Neceſſity of an Appointment in his Room, in the preſent Juncture, is obvious; but he never obſerved, in any general Propoſition of this Nature, that it involved the Nomination of a particular Perſon; and he has many Reaſons for objecting to our political Affairs with the Aſiatic Princes being carried on through a military Medium. For this Reaſon, and in conſequence of the Precedent before the Board, Mr. Barwell declares he muſt propoſe a civil Servant of the Company to this Charge, though he will not venture to name any particular Perſon, leaving that to the Governor, as has been cuſtomary hitherto.

Colonel Monſon agrees to the General's Propoſal.

The Governor objects againſt appointing the military Commander.

Reſolved by the Majority.

Reſolved by the Majority, according to the General's Propoſal, that the Commanding Officer of the Army in the Field be appointed to treat with the Vizir in the Room of Mr. N. Middleton.

The Governor's Diſſent.

The Governor judges it proper to enter the following Diſſent and Proteſt againſt this Appointment.

I diſſent from this Reſolution, and proteſt againſt the Conſequences which may attend it, becauſe it cuts off all Communication between Government and the Vizir but through the Channel of the Commander of the Army, which is contrary to the * Article of the Company's Inſtructions; becauſe it gives the Commander of the Army the Power of deciding in all Caſes of Difference between himſelf and the Vizir; and, by ſo declared a Proof of the Prevalence of the military Influence, inevitably tends to diſſolve the Alliance between the Company and the Vizir, who can hope for no Redreſs from an Appeal to the Government, and muſt therefore either ſubmiſſively acquieſce in every Act of the military Commander, however violent, or ſeek for a Remedy in other Alliances.

* Sic in Orig.

By the Syſtem hitherto eſtabliſhed, the Controul of the Board has been ſufficient to reſtrain the Power of the military Commander from every dangerous Exceſs, had he been diſpoſed to make that ill Uſe of it; and the Vizir was freed from every Apprehenſion of the Kind by his Reliance on the Interpoſition of the Governor, to whom he had an immediate Appeal. To whomſoever this dangerous Truſt may be delegated, which is now given to the Officer who may chance to be in the Command at the Time that the Orders of the Council may reach the Army, I declare that I cannot, conſiſtently with my Duty, admit his Advices as authentic, ſince it is his Intereſt to conceal from the Knowledge of the Council every Circumſtance and Tranſaction, which, if known, might ſubject his Conduct to blame, or oppoſe any Deſign which his Ambition, his Intereſt, or Prejudices, might dictate.

The Board have been pleaſed to compliment me with the Nomination of the Perſon who ſhould ſucceed Mr. Nath. Middleton in his Office, and I have declined it, becauſe I foreſaw, in his Removal, the Reſolution to throw all Power and Truſt into the Hands of the military Commander. The Propoſal was actually made to this Effect before the Intimation of any Reference to my Choice; and with ſo recent an Inſtance of my own Agent recalled, without a ſingle Proof or Suſpicion alleged of his Miſconduct, I did not chuſe to expoſe any other Perſon whom I ſhould recommend to the Hazard of ſuffering the ſame cauſeleſs Diſgrace.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, That the Governor General be deſired to write to the Vizir, acquainting him of the new Government having taken place, of Mr. Middleton's Recall from his Court, and of the Appointment of the Commanding Officer of the Brigade in the Interim to treat with him in the Room of Mr. Middleton. The Governor requeſted to write to the Vizir.

Warren Haſtings.
J. Clavering.
Geo. Monſon.
Richd Barwell.
P. Francis.

APPENDIX, N° XXX.

Book 39. Page 613.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 2d December 1776.

Fort William, the 2d December 1776.

At a Council; Preſent, Secret Dep. Monday.
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,
General Clavering,
Richard Barwell,
and
Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

☞ (a) [THE Governor General moves, that Mr. John Briſtow be recalled from the Court of the Nabob of Oude, and that Mr. Nathaniel Middleton be reſtored to the Appointment of Reſident at that Court.]

Mr. Francis.—I beg leave to aſk the Governor General, whether he means the ſame Office which Mr. Middleton before held at that Court, which I think the Word reſtore ſeems to imply?

Governor General.—I do not, in the Senſe in which Mr. Francis ſeems to underſtand it. The Court of Directors having expreſſed their Diſapprobation of the Channel through which he was to receive his Inſtructions, that is no Part of my preſent Propoſal. But, that I may not be miſunderſtood, I beg leave to correct my Motion, and to propoſe, which is in Effect only what I meant by the preceding, That Mr. Briſtow be recalled from the Court of the Nabob of Oude, and that Mr. Nathaniel Middleton be reſtored to the Appointment of Reſident at that Court, ſubject to the Orders and Authority of the Governor General and Council.

Mr. Francis.—My Determination to withdraw myſelf from an unavailing Conteſt with the preſent Majority of the Board, does not depend on any Act of theirs; Motives of perſonal Intereſt or Animoſity did not dictate to me the Line which I have hitherto followed in public Affairs, nor ſhall they have any Influence over my future Conduct.

Without affecting to conceal my own immediate Senſe of the Injuſtice done to Mr. Briſtow; I need look nowhere but to the Meaſure itſelf for Arguments to oppoſe it; a Propoſition to remove him from a Station he has filled with diſtinguiſhed Credit to himſelf, and Advantage to the Company, and for no other avowed Reaſon, but to give his Place to another, is open to Objections too ſerious and important in a public View to be mixed with any Conſideration of the perſonal Concern which I may receive from it. Having already mentioned them at the Board, I ſhall content myſelf with giving a Negative to the Queſtion, reſerving a more formal Declaration of my Opinion on the whole Subject, for a Diſſent to the Reſolution, which I take for granted will follow the Motion.

(Signed) Philip Francis.

Mr. Barwell.—I aſſent to the Motion becauſe I think it a Juſtice due to Mr. Middleton, and what the Governor General could not avoid taking the firſt Opportunity of effecting. I have not the leaſt perſonal Objection to Mr. Briſtow; ſo very far from it, that did I not conceive it would be prolonging the Injury already done to Mr. Middleton, to keep that Gentleman in the Station to which he was advanced on the Removal of Mr. Middleton, I ſhould have been glad to have had him ſtill employed; but I cannot indulge the Wiſh I have to ſerve Mr. Briſtow, at the Expence of what I conceive the Rights of another.

General Clavering.—The Motion before the Board comprehends Two Queſtions, the Removal of Mr. Briſtow, and the reſtoring Mr. Middleton to the Office of Reſident to the Vizir's Court: To enable me to give my Opinion on the Firſt, I muſt beg the Favour of the Governor

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(a) Vide ſupra, P. 507.

General

General to inform the Board of his Charge againſt Mr. Briſtow, and the Faults which he has committed, that have induced him to make the preſent Motion for Mr. Briſtow's Recall.

Governor General.—I bring no Charge againſt Mr. Briſtow; I do not accuſe him of any Faults; I know of no Charge that was produced againſt Mr. Middleton when he was removed; the Majority of the Board thought it proper at that Time to remove the public Miniſter at the Court of the Nabob of Oude, who had received his Nomination from me, and to appoint another in his ſtead, in whom they had a Confidence. Highly as I eſteem the Merits of Mr. Middleton, I will not bring them into an invidious Compariſon with thoſe of Mr. Briſtow, whom, though totally unknown to me but by his public Character, I eſteem; I have a greater Confidence in Mr. Middleton, and as the Reſponſibility of all public Meaſures has been pointedly thrown upon myſelf and Mr. Barwell, in the numerous Diſſents and Proteſts which have been recorded during the Courſe of the Two laſt Months, I claim the Right belonging to that Reſponſibility and conſtitutionally to the Office which I fill, as the Head and executive Member of this Government, to chuſe the Means and Inſtruments by which it may be exerciſed, and in the moſt effectual Manner for the Good of the Service and the Credit of thoſe who are inveſted with the Charge of it.

General Clavering.—I am ſatisfied with the Anſwer that the Governor General has given; that he brings no Charge againſt Mr. Briſtow, nor does he accuſe him of any Faults. This Declaration will be at leaſt ſome Conſolation to Mr. Briſtow and his Friends, and will ſhew the Court of Directors that he has not exerciſed the Truſt which has been repoſed in him, even in the Governor General's Opinion, unworthily. The Governor General is pleaſed to ſay, that he knew of no Charge that was produced againſt Mr. Middleton when he was recalled, but it is impoſſible that he can have forgot the Reaſons that were aſſigned for it. It appears in the Conſultation 26th October 1774, that the Governor General having refuſed to deliver up the whole of his Correſpondence with Mr. Middleton, the Queſtion was propoſed and put, That that Gentleman ſhould not be continued at the Nabob's Court any longer, and he was accordingly ordered to withdraw from that Court, and to bring the whole of his Correſpondence with him: The Court of Directors have had this Subject very fully before them, and in their Letter 15th December 1775, they were pleaſed to diſapprove of the independent and ſeparate Authority which had been delegated to the Governor General, and afterwards to expreſs their Diſapprobation that any Part of Mr. Middleton's Correſpondence had been withheld from the Peruſal of the Supreme Council. The Board did not conſider Mr. Middleton as a public Miniſter, the Term which the Governor General now gives to him, but his own Agent, as he avowedly was acknowledged both by the Governor General himſelf, and by Mr. Middleton, on his Return to the Preſidency, who, in his Letter recorded the 6th February 1775, declares, that he conceives himſelf not to be authoriſed to make any Communication of his Correſpondence with the late Preſident, without his expreſs Commands. Such were the Reaſons which the late Majority of the Board aſſigned for the Recall of Mr. Middleton. As no Fault nor Imputation of Fault or Neglect is alledged for the propoſed Recall of Mr. Briſtow, I cannot but object to it as a moſt unjuſt, unwarrantable Proceeding. If the Governor General will think proper to defer his Motion till after the Arrival of the Eagle Packet, which may be now hourly expected, it is more than probable, that we ſhall have further Lights than have been hitherto given to us, of the Sentiments of the Court of Directors, both on Mr. Middleton's Recall and on Mr. Briſtow's Appointment to the Vizir's Court. I would therefore, with the Governor General's Conſent, beg leave to propoſe that the Motion be deferred till after the Arrival of that Ship.

Governor General.—I think it a Duty incumbent on me to adhere to my Motion. I will not take up the Time of the Board by anſwering the Objections which have been made to it at this Time, having other Queſtions which I wiſh to propoſe immediately for their Determination.

Mr. Francis.—I think General Clavering's Propoſal in every Reſpect reaſonable and expedient. If the Inſtructions which we may receive by the Eagle Packet ſhould make no Alteration in the Circumſtances or Meaſures of this Government, it will always be opened to the Governor General to purſue his preſent Plan. The Difference of Time cannot be conſiderable; but if ſuch Inſtructions as this Board have ſome Reaſon to expect ſhould arrive, they cannot but produce the immediate Reverſal of the preſent Reſolution; and in that Caſe it will have ſerved no Purpoſe whatſoever either public or private.

Governor General.—I would willingly wait for the Arrival of the Eagle Packet, if I thought it probable that ſhe was on her Road; I have already waited till this Time, in the Expectation of deciſive Advices from England, but I repeat, that, charged as I am, pointedly charged, with the Reſponſibility of public Affairs, it is my Duty to avail myſelf of ſuch Means as may enable me to conduct them for the public Good and my own Credit. I have Intelligence which convinces me that no public Meaſure of any Conſequence reſpecting this Government could have taken place in England ſo late as the Month of June laſt. This News, though not of official Authority, is come to me ſufficiently authenticated for my own internal Conviction: I muſt therefore object to the General's Motion.

Mr. Barwell.—The Governor General having declined to withdraw his Motion, and the Opinion I have already given being direct to the Governor's Motion, it precludes my ſaying any Thing to the General.

General Clavering.—I am ſorry that a Motion which I have made to prevent the daily Alteration of Meaſures, which is a Diſgrace to all Government, ſhould not have been accepted, particularly when the Object of it was to learn the clear and deciſive Opinion of the Court of Directors, as well on the Subject now before the Board, as on many others of the higheſt Importance to this Government; it is therefore ſufficient that I declare my Diſſent to the Removal of Mr. Briſtow; and I cannot agree to the Appointment of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton till he has acknowledged the Authority of this Government, in ſubmitting to give up the Papers which were before required of him. As this is a poſitive Order of the Court of Directors, a Refuſal from him can no longer be admitted.

Mr. Francis.—I beg leave to aſk the Governor General at what time he received his lateſt Intelligence from England.

Governor General.—About the Middle of Auguſt, I believe the 14th of Auguſt.

Mr. Francis.—I took the Liberty of aſking this Queſtion, becauſe the Governor General has ſaid, that he has waited to this Time in the Expectation of deciſive Advices from England: That Expectation muſt have been founded on the Intelligence which he received on the 14th of Auguſt; and as he has not received any Advices ſince that Period, I do not comprehend what new Motive or Conſideration induces him to give up the Expectation of thoſe deciſive Advices for which he has hitherto waited. If he has hitherto expected the Arrival of the Eagle Packet, or of Intelligence by any other Channel, there is no apparent Reaſon why he ſhould not ſtill expect them.

Governor General.—I have not expected the Eagle Packet, and I think the Seaſon is now too far advanced for Intelligence to be received for ſome Months yet to come by the Route through which I received my laſt Letters from England, which was by the Poſt of Suez, and through the Red Sea.

Some Arguments ariſing reſpecting the Regularity of the previous Queſtion propoſed by General Clavering for ſuſpending the Conſideration of the Governor General's Motion;

Governor General.—To bring the General's Motion more regularly before the Board, I deſire that the Queſtion may be put, whether my Motion ſhall be deferred till the Arrival of the Eagle Packet?

Mr. Francis.—The General's Motion cannot be more regularly put than it was by himſelf. I entirely approve of it.

Mr. Barwell.—I look upon this in the Light of a previous Queſtion, whether the Governor General's Queſtion ſhall be put or not? I have already acquieſced to its being put, and muſt therefore put a Negative upon this Motion.

General Clavering agrees to the Motion.

Governor General.—I again object to it.

Reſolved, That the Board do not agree to General Clavering's Propoſition for deferring the Conſideration of the Governor General's Motion until the Arrival of the Eagle Packet.

General Clavering.—The Court of Directors having been pleaſed, in the 28th Paragraph of their Letter, of the 15th December 1775, to declare that Mr. Nathaniel Middleton's Correſpondence with the late Preſident ſhould have been addreſſed to the Preſident and Council, or ſpeedily and unreſervedly laid before them by the Preſident, and to expreſs their Diſapprobation that any Part thereof had been with-held from the Peruſal of the Supreme Council; I move, that before the Conſent of this Board be obtained for the Appointment of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton to the Vizier's Court, that the Orders, or at leaſt the plain and direct Intention, of the Court of Directors be complied with.

Mr. Francis.—If any Reſpect be due to the Senſe of our Superiors, or if we expect Submiſſion to our Authority hereafter, the Propriety of this Motion, I conceive, cannot poſſibly be diſputed. The Court of Directors, and a General Court of Proprietors, have unanimouſly reſolved, that the whole of Mr. Middleton's Correſpondence with the Governor General ought to have been laid before the Board; and the Court of Directors expreſs their ſtrongeſt Diſapprobation of the Refuſal to communicate ſuch Correſpondence entire to us, as long as no Propoſition was made for employing Mr. Middleton; and as the Public Service did no longer require that we ſhould receive that Communication for our Guidance, it was needleſs to renew the Reſignation to Mr. Middleton. I would now have it renewed, upon the ſingle Ground of the Obedience he owes to Government; and I ſhould think that the Governor General himſelf, although he might have Reaſons to avoid inſiſting upon it at that Time, when the Requiſition only proceeded from General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and myſelf, will now ſee the Neceſſity of enforcing it as a Duty impoſed upon this Board by the whole Authority of the Eaſt India Company.

Mr. Barwell.—This is the Second previous Queſtion that has been put upon the Governor General's Motion; it comes indeed in a new Dreſs, but ſtill it is the previous Queſtion; for if it was not to reſtore Mr. Middleton to his Rights, and the Governor General did not think it incumbent on him ſo to do, I apprehend the Motion would not have been made. I acquieſce with Mr. Francis, that there would have been no Neceſſity for calling upon Mr. Middleton for his Correſpondence at this Juncture, if the Governor had not propoſed to employ him, as it is evident from the Length of Time that has elapſed ſince the Receipt of the Company's Letter, and the Call now propoſed to be made upon Mr. Middleton, the Company have diſapproved of the Governor General's not giving his Correſpondence entire, although what he did ſubmit contained the whole of

of the public Tranſactions; but as they throughout cautiouſly avoid imputing the leaſt Blame to Mr. Middleton, I don't ſee that the Governor's Conduct can be a Bar to any Appointment that may be propoſed for that Gentleman.

I regard the Motion as a ſecond previous Queſtion, and put my Negative upon it.

General Clavering agrees to the Motion.

Governor General.—I object to the Queſtion, upon the ſingle Ground of its being directly contrary to the manifeſt Intentions both of the Court of Directors and the General Court of Proprietors; neither of theſe Courts have ordered that Mr. Middleton's Correſpondence with me ſhould be laid before the Board. This, together with the Recall of Mr. Middleton, and the Appointment of Mr. Briſtow, were the firſt Subjects which were referred to their Deciſion. Their Opinions, though ſolemnly given, expreſs neither Approbation nor Diſapprobation of the Recall of Mr. Middleton or the Appointment of Mr. Briſtow, but leave thoſe Subjects open to any Change which might afterwards be propoſed reſpecting either.—Upon my Refuſal to deliver up Mr. Middleton's Correſpondence, the Court of Directors have expreſſed their Diſapprobation, that any Part thereof had been with-held from the Peruſal of the Supreme Council; but though it ſhould obviouſly follow, if ſuch was their Intention, that I ſhould, on Receipt of their Orders, deliver up the Correſpondence which I had before improperly with-held, yet no ſuch Order, nor Intimation of ſuch an Order, appears in any Part of the General Letter quoted by the General; and the Court of Proprietors in expreſs Terms confine their Approbation of the Opinion delivered by the Court of Directors to the Time paſt. They too agree with the Opinion of the Court of Directors, that the whole Correſpondence between the Governor General and Mr. Middleton ſhould have been laid before the Members of the Supreme Council, adding, as the Reaſon, the following Words: "Who ought to have received every Information reſpecting the Tranſactions of the Company's Agent at Sujah Dowlah's Court, in order to regulate their Conduct at that critical Period."

Forgetfulneſs may be imputed to Individuals, but it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that Twenty Men of known Abilities and Experience in Buſineſs, ſhould have omitted ſo neceſſary an Order, or left it to be gathered by Implication from an Opinion given upon a Subject paſt; much leſs can ſuch an Inadvertency be imputed to the whole Body of the Proprietors. I object to the Motion.

The following Motion of General Clavering's is reſolved in the Negative, viz. That before the Conſent of this Board be obtained for the Appointment of Mr. Middleton to the Vizier's Court, that the Orders, or at leaſt the plain and direct Intentions, of the Court of Directors be complied with, viz. That Mr. Nathaniel Middleton's Corrreſpondence with the late Preſident ſhould be ſpeedily and unreſervedly laid before the Board.

☞ (*a*) [Reſolved, That Mr. John Briſtow be recalled to the Preſidency from the Court of the Nabob of Owde, and that Mr. Nathaniel Middleton be reſtored to the Appointment of Reſident at that Court, ſubject to the Orders and Authority of the Governor General and Council, conformably to the Motion of the Governor General.]

Mr. Francis.—I beg leave to enter my Diſſent from the Reſolution of the Board, for the following Reaſons: ☜

1ſt. Mr. Briſtow's Removal is not founded on any Plea of Neceſſity, or of Advantage to the Public Service, but ſolely on the particular Confidence which the Governor repoſes in Mr. Middleton.

2d. It is not founded on any Plea of Incapacity or Demerit in Mr. Briſtow, or even of ſuperior Qualifications in the Perſon who is to ſucceed him.

3d. It is in Effect a Diſavowal of, and Contradiction to, the unanimous Declarations which the Board have repeatedly made as well to himſelf as to the Court of Directors, of the high Senſe we all entertain of his Services to the Company, and which I am happy to find is not yet diminiſhed in any of us. The following Paſſages from the Records will ſhew that, however we might differ as we did on many other Queſtions, Mr. Briſtow's Conduct united every Opinion in his Favour.

In our Letter of the 3d Auguſt 1775, we informed the Court of Directors, that Mr. Briſtow's Conduct in negociating, and bringing to a happy Concluſion, the important Buſineſs committed to him, notwithſtanding the Difficulties which were at firſt thrown in the Way, was very meritorious, and that, as the ſignal Service he rendered the Company, in the Acquiſition of ſo great an additional Revenue, afforded us the Means of acknowledging his Services, without any Charge on their ancient Fund, we determined to reward him by a Preſent of One Lack of Rupees.

While ſuch diſtinguiſhed Teſtimonials accompany Mr. Briſtow's Diſmiſſion, the preſent Reſolution touches nothing but the Honour of the Board, and the Conſiſtency of their Proceedings: Our Letter to Mr. Briſtow himſelf demonſtrates ſtill more ſtrongly the Board's unanimous Approbation of his Conduct.

We told him,

We intirely approve of every Article in the Treaty, and of the Negociation of it.

We ſaid, that in ratifying a Treaty ſo highly honourable and advantageous to the Company, as that which you have had the Honour of concluding with the Nabob, we cannot, in Juſtice to your diſtinguiſhed Zeal and Aſſiduity in the Courſe of this important Negociation, omit ex-

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 507.

preſſing

preſſing to you the higheſt Approbation of your Conduct, and returning you our Thanks for the Service you have rendered to the Company. The Terms you have obtained are ſo complete and ſatisfactory, that they equal our warmeſt Expectations and you may be aſſured, that we ſhall not fail to repreſent the whole of your Conduct ſince your Appointment, to the Honourable Court of Directors, in that favourable Light in which it appears to us, and in which we do not doubt it will be received by the Company.

As a further Mark of Favour and Approbation, we have agreed to order a Bond to be made out in your Favour, for One Lack of Rupees, bearing Intereſt at 5 per Cent. from the 21ſt May, being the Date of the Signature of the Treaty, ſubject however to the final Approval of the Honourable the Court of Directors, to whom we ſhall recommend it as a juſt Reward of your Services.

The intended Reward however has not been received by Mr. Briſtow; it would not be improper to inſert in this Place, a Copy of the whole Treaty of Fyzabad, ſince there is not a Line of it, that does not in effect arraign the Juſtice of the preſent Reſolution. I ſhall however only mention thoſe Two Articles in favour of the Company, which a leſs faithful Servant, and a leſs honourable Man, might have uſed the Latitude allowed him by his Inſtructions, and eaſily have compounded for Abatements, yet ſtill have preſerved the Credit of having rendered an eſſential Service to his Employers: I mean the Acquiſition of a net Revenue of Twenty-three Lacks, with all the Rights of the Nabob over the Country of Benares, and of Six Lacks a Year in Addition to the Subſidy. The Company, I truſt, will long preſerve the Poſſeſſion of theſe Acquiſitions, as well as a grateful Senſe of the Ability and Integrity to which they owe it.

4th. At a Time when the Eſtabliſhment of our Ally the Nabob of Owde is repreſented to be inſecure, and when ſome extraordinary Meaſures are recommended for protecting his Dominions againſt a foreign Invaſion, I deem it in the higheſt Degree hazardous to the Welfare of his Government, and of courſe to our own, to remove a Man thoroughly acquainted with the Affairs of that Country, and with the political Intereſts, Views, and Connections of all the Indian Powers that ſurround it; and that if the Meaſure were otherwiſe defenſible, many Circumſtances which peculiarly belong to the preſent Conjuncture, ought to have deterred the Board from adopting it.

5th. The preſent Reſolution appears to me an Attack on the Authority of the Company themſelves, who are informed of Mr. Briſtow's Appointment, who have left it unreverſed, and who have expreſsly adopted and confirmed the Principles on which Mr. Middleton was recalled.

6th. Suppoſing the preſent Majority not to be bound by any Obligation of public Duty, to maintain an Uniformity of Councils in the Eyes of the Indian Powers, and to preſerve ſome Appearance of Dignity and Conſiſtency in the Operations of this Government, and ſuppoſing that the Governor General and Mr. Barwell have no Rule to conſult, but the Extent of their preſent Power, to direct them in the Uſe of it; ſtill I affirm that, on any Principles they can poſſibly avow, the Recall of Mr. Middleton is not a Precedent to juſtify that of Mr. Briſtow. The Records will ſhew that the Motives on which the late Majority acted, were ſolely of a Public Nature. We deemed it a Violation of the Conſtitution of this or any Government, not veſted in a ſingle Perſon, that the chief Member of it, who is no more than Firſt among his Equals, ſhould tranſact the Affairs of the Government, through the Channel of a private Agent, receiving Inſtructions from him alone, and anſwerable to him alone for the Execution of them: The Honourable Court of Directors themſelves tell us, "That the Conduct of the late Council in this Reſpect was very improper. They expreſsly order that no ſuch independent or ſeparate Authority be ever delegated to any Governor, or Member of Council, or to any other Perſon whatever; and they declare that Mr. Middleton's Correſpondence ſhould have been addreſſed to them, or ſpeedily and unreſervedly laid before them by the Preſident."

If the public Principle on which we profeſſed to act, be now clear and incontrovertible, it will appear from the ſtrongeſt preſumptive Evidence, that we did not aſſume it to cover any ſecret unwarrantable Purpoſe.

The Governor General himſelf will acquit us of partial Views to the Eſtabliſhment of any other Perſon at the Expence of Mr. Middleton. He cannot but recollect that General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and myſelf, made him a Tender of continuing Mr. Middleton as the Public Reſident of the Company, which the Governor thought fit to decline. With reſpect to Mr. Briſtow, I moſt ſolemnly declare, that his Name for this Appointment was not, to my Knowledge, in Contemplation with any Member of the Board, till a conſiderable Time after Mr. Middleton's Arrival in Calcutta. If vindictive Meaſures were in any Caſe capable of a Juſtification, it could only ariſe from a Compariſon with other Meaſures of the ſame Temper; but, even on this Principle, the Removal of Mr. Briſtow has no Plea to ſupport it.

To Mr. John Briſtow.

Sir,

Having thought proper to recall you to the Preſidency, and to reſtore Mr. Nathaniel Middleton to the Station of Reſident at the Vizier's Court, we direct that on his Arrival at the ſaid

said Court, you immediately deliver up to him the Charge of that Appointment, and repair to Calcutta.

[At the End]

We are, &c.

[At the End of the Consultation.]

Warren Hastings,
J. Clavering,
Richard Barwell,
P. Francis.

APPENDIX, N° XXXI.

Vide Appendix, N° XXX.

APPENDIX, N° XXXII.

Book 108. Page 693.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Council at Bengal, dated 4th July 1777.

☞ *(a)* [Par. 11. UPON the most careful Perusal of your Proceedings of the 2d of December 1776, relative to the Recall of Mr. Bristow from the Court of the Nabob of Oude, and the Appointment of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton to that Station, we must declare our strongest Disapprobation of the whole of that Transaction.

12. We observe, that the Governor General's Motion for the Recall of Mr. Bristow, includes that for the Restoration of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton; but as neither of those Measures appear to us necessary, or even justifiable, they cannot receive our Approbation.

13. With respect to Mr. Bristow, we find no Shadow of Charge against him. It appears that he has executed the Orders of the Board to the entire Satisfaction even of those Members of Council who did not concur in his Appointment. You have unanimously recommended him to our Notice; Attention to your Recommendation has induced us to afford him Marks of our Favour, and to re-annex the Emoluments affixed by you to his Appointment, which had been discontinued by our Order. And as we must be of Opinion that a Person of acknowledged Abilities, whose Conduct has thus gained him the Esteem of his Superiors, ought not to be degraded without just Cause, we do not hesitate to interpose in his Behalf, and therefore direct, that Mr. Bristow do forthwith return to his Station of Resident at Oude, from which he has been so improperly removed.]

14. In regard to Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, to whose Conduct we have no other Objection than his refusing to submit his Correspondence to the Perusal of the Governor General and Council, we feel a Concern in being obliged again to express our Disapprobation of such Refusal, and are particularly sorry that the Tenderness with which we treated the Subject in our Letter of the 15th December 1775, should have induced the Governor General to draw Conclusions manifestly contrary to our Intentions, and to the Sentiments expressed in that Letter.

15. In order to obviate every Doubt on this Head, we hereby order and direct, that our Governor General do forthwith deliver in to your Board all such Parts of his Correspondence with Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, from the Day of his Departure from Fort William, as have hitherto been withheld from your Perusal, or withdrawn from the said Correspondence.

16. It is also our express Direction that Mr. Middleton deliver to you without Delay, the whole of his original Correspondence with the Governor General, with Sujah ul Dowlah, and with all and every other Person, on public Business, from the Time of his Departure from Fort William in January 1774, to his Return thither in January 1775, together with his Diary, and all Minutes made by him in such Diary; and that an authenticated Copy of the whole be transmitted to us by the first Opportunity, for our Information.

(a) Vide supra, P. 508.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, N° XXXIII.

Book 79. Page 61.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 2d October 1780.

Fort William, 2d October 1780.

Public Department. Monday.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,
Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires,
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.

☞(a) [MR. Francis moves, That the 11th, 12th, and 13th Paragraphs of the Company's general Letter of the 18th July 1777, and the 149th Paragraph of the general Letter of the 23d December 1778, be now read.

Read the above-mentioned Paragraphs of the Company's general Letters of 18th July 1777, and 23d December 1778.

Mr. Francis moves, That in Obedience to the Company's Orders, Mr. Briſtow be forthwith appointed, and directed to return to his Station of Reſident at Oude; and that Mr. Purling be ordered to deliver over Charge of the Office to Mr. Briſtow immediately on his Arrival, and return himſelf forthwith to the Preſidency.

Alſo, That the Governor General be requeſted to furniſh Mr. Briſtow with the uſual Letter of Credence to the Nabob Vizir.]

The Governor General.

Before the Board enter into the Conſideration of this extraordinary Motion, I muſt beg leave to offer ſome Obſervations upon it. Were the moſt inveterate and determined Adverſary of the Britiſh Nation to poſſeſs, by whatever Means, a Share in the Adminiſtration, he could not deviſe a Meaſure in itſelf ſo pernicious, or time it ſo effectually for the Ruin of the Britiſh Intereſts in India, as that now introduced to the Board. Mr. Francis alone is conſcious of his own Motives and Intentions; I can ſpeak only to their Tendency. We are at this Inſtant involved in a new War with perhaps the moſt powerful of all the States in India, which has opened with a Calamity ſo dreadful, as to require the moſt immediate and vigorous Exertions of this Government to prevent what muſt otherwiſe be the Conſequence, the total and ſpeedy Loſs of the Carnatic, and of all the Britiſh Eſtabliſhments and Poſſeſſions in that Part of India. To ward off this impending Danger we have, beſides immediate Preparations of War, reſolved to offer a Peace on their own Terms to the Marattas, with whom we have been, during the paſt Two Years, engaged in a hazardous, though hitherto ſucceſsful War. At ſuch a Time to proclaim an entire Subverſion of the Influence of this Government (for ſuch muſt be the Effect, whether it be or be not the Intention of the preſent Queſtion), will be to defeat every End of the Meaſures on which we have lately reſolved to give Encouragement to our Enemies by the Proſpect of an inverted, fluctuating, or divided Government, and diſcourage thoſe to whom the Advances of this Government are made, when they ſee the Perſon in whoſe Name they are offered, and to whom alone they look as the repreſentative Inſtrument of the Britiſh Nation in India, treated at the ſame Inſtant with Contempt, and diſarmed of the Power of fulfilling the Engagements, and maintaining the Faith of the Treaties offered by him for their Acceptance.

☞(b) [I will aſk who is Mr. Briſtow, that a Member of the Adminiſtration ſhould at ſuch a Time hold him forth as an Inſtrument for the Degradation of the firſt executive Member of this Government. What are the profeſſed Objects of his Appointment? What are the Merits and Services, or what the Qualifications, which entitle him to ſuch an uncommon Diſtinction? Is it for his ſuperior Integrity, or from his eminent Abilities, that he is to be dignified at ſuch Hazards of every Conſideration that ought to influence the Members of this Adminiſtration? Of the former I know no Proofs.—I am ſure it is not an Evidence of it, that he has been enabled to make himſelf the Principal in ſuch a Competition; and for the Teſt of his Abilities, I appeal to the Letter which he has dared to write to this Board, and which I am aſhamed to ſay, we have ſuffered. I deſire that a Copy of it may be inſerted in this Day's Proceedings, that it may ſtand before the Eyes of every Member of the Board, when he ſhall give his Vote upon a Queſtion for giving their Confidence to a Man, their Servant, who has publicly inſulted them, his Maſters, and the Members of the Government to whom he owes his Obedience; who, aſſuming an Aſſociation with the Court of Directors, and erecting himſelf into a Tribunal, has arraigned them for Diſobedience of Orders, paſſed Judgment upon them, and condemned or acquitted them as their Magiſtrate and Superior. Let the Board conſider, whether a Man poſſeſſed of ſo independent a Spirit, who has already ſhewn ſuch a Contempt of their Authority, who has ſhewn

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 508.

(b) Vide ſupra, P. 508.

himſelf ſo wretched an Advocate for his own Cauſe, and Negociator for his own Intereſt, is fit to be truſted with the Guardianſhip of their Honour, the Execution of their Meaſures, and as their confidential Manager and Negociator with the Princes of India.] As the Motion has been unaccompanied by any Reaſons which ſhould induce the Board to paſs their Acquieſcence in it, I preſume that the Motion which preceded it for reading the Orders of the Court of Directors, was intended to ſerve as an Argument for it, as well as an Introduction to it. The laſt of thoſe Orders was dictated the 23d December 1778, almoſt Two Years paſt; they were dictated at a Time when, I am ſorry to ſay, the Court of Directors were in the Habit of caſting Reproach upon my Conduct, and heaping Indignities on my Station; at a Time when their Affairs in every Part of India wore the Aſpect of Proſperity; at a Time too when the Renewal of the Company's Charter was in Contemplation, and a new Settlement of Government was required for the Adminiſtration of theſe Provinces. It was certainly their Intention or Expectation that I ſhould be immediately removed from this Government, and ſome other Perſon ſubſtituted in my Place. To what Cauſes the Suſpenſion of this Deſign is to be aſcribed I ſhall not enquire; but ſince they themſelves have thought it proper to continue me in the chief Adminiſtration of their Affairs, I ſhall not offer ſo groſs an Inſult to their Underſtandings, or Impeachment of their Integrity, as to ſuppoſe that they could ever think it conſiſtent with the Intereſts and Security of their Conſtituents to deprive me of thoſe Authorities and Sources of Influence, which can alone enable me to fulfil the Duties they have aſſigned me, and on the Foundation of which ſo heavy a Reſponſibility reſts on me particularly. The relative Situation of the Governor General, and of the other Members of the Council, has not indeed been defined by the Act of Parliament, which has conſtituted their collective Authority; but in all Inſtances in which that Act has been ſilent, the Powers and Practice of the former Government were declared by the Act itſelf to ſubſiſt unchanged. By the ancient and immemorial Conſtitution of the Company, the executive Authority of every Preſidency was committed to the firſt Member of it. He was declared the immediate and ſole Agent in all Negociations and Tranſactions with the Country Powers, and his Name alone was announced to them as the Repreſentative of the Government; as the Government: Let it then be conſidered, how far the Principles and obvious Deſign of this Prerogative are generally connected with the Queſtion now before the Board, independently of the peculiar Circumſtances which attended it—(a) [The Removal of Mr. Middleton, my Agent at the Court of the Nabob of Oude, was the firſt Act of a Majority of this Adminiſtration in the Year 1774, to proclaim the Annihilation of my Authority; and the Effect moſt completely anſwered that Intention, for from that Moment I was conſidered, both at the Court of Oude, and in every other Court, which had any Connection with this Government, in no other Light than as the conſtrained Inſtrument of exerciſing an Authority which had been eſtabliſhed on the Ruins of my own. Such muſt be the evident Effect of the preſent Queſtion if it ſhall be carried againſt me.] I will not carry this Argument to the further Lengths or Concluſions to which it would warrantably lead me; but I do not* ſolemnly adjure the other Members of the Board, that, unleſs they think me totally unqualified to execute the Functions of my Station, they will not give their Sanction to a Meaſure which muſt reduce me to the State of a nominal Member of it, which ſhall take the Reins of Adminiſtration from my Hands, to place them in thoſe of Mr. Francis, and which, by ſubverting the natural Order of the Conſtitution, muſt deprive it of its Vigour by whomſoever it may be occaſionally held. While they pay that Obedience and Reſpect which I am as ready as they are to yield to the Orders of the Court of Directors, let them compare the Situation of Things as they ſtood at the Time when theſe Orders were iſſued, with the preſent, and let them imagine what Orders the Court of Directors would, at ſuch a Period as this, paſs on ſuch a Queſtion. If they think, but it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe it, that a Body of Men, ſo reſpectable in their Characters and in their Rank of Life, would, at a Time like this, conſent to degrade and diſarm the firſt Inſtrument of their Authority, let them give their Votes for the Queſtion; if not, let them act by their ſtrongeſt Conviction of what would be the Orders of the Company in the preſent Caſe, not what it is, applied to one which it was impoſſible for the Company to have foreſeen; I again call upon them moſt ſolemnly to ſupport my Authority, and at the ſame Time their own Rights and their Reputation, which are connected with it, both in its immediate Effect, and its remoter but inevitable Conſequences.

* Sic in Orig.

Mr. Briſtow's Letter, alluded to in the foregoing Minute.

Honble. Sir, and Gentlemen,

I beg leave to repreſent to your Honourable Board, that I arrived at the Preſidency on the 16th of February laſt. Not having yet been put in Poſſeſſion of the Office of Reſident at the Vizier's Court, in which I had the Honour of being reinſtated agreeable to the Orders of the Court of Directors, dated the 4th July 1777, and the 23d of December 1778, I think it my Duty to addreſs your Honourable Board with a humble Requeſt to carry the aboveſaid Orders into Execution. I make this Application in conſequence of my Solicitations to the different Members of the Board to move for my Reinſtatement, having been repeatedly refuſed by every

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 509.

Member

Member individually; and it being now incumbent on me to make a public Claim of my Right.

In Juſtification of my Conduct in not having, immediately on my Arrival, requeſted to be forthwith put in Poſſeſſion, I humbly repreſent that I underſtood my Reinſtatement ought to have been moved by a Member of the Board. Under other Circumſtances my Conduct might be deemed premature; but ſituated as I am, after Three Months Solicitation in vain, I hope our Honourable Superiors will do me the Juſtice to conſider the Delay in my Application a Point of Delicacy to your Honourable Board, and no Want of Attachment to them, or Zeal for their Service.

I have never given my Conſent to being held out of my Office; and I mean by this Addreſs to efface any bad Impreſſions that might be entertained of me in thus long ſuſpending a Claim grounded upon the higheſt Authorities.

I alſo beg leave to repreſent, that I was removed from my Office the 2d December 1776, after having, for Two Years ſucceſſively, received the unanimous Approbation of your Honourable Board. Our Honourable Superiors have ſince likewiſe been pleaſed to favour me with Marks of their Approbation; notwithſtanding which I am treated with Neglect by your Honourable Board; and the Members individually have poſitively refuſed to do me the Juſtice I have every Right to claim. In order to diſcharge my Duty to your Honourable Superiors, I humbly ſolicit, that it may be recorded upon your Proceedings, I have neither directly nor indirectly conſented to my Right having been thus long withheld from me.

In Juſtice to Sir Eyre Coote, I take the Liberty of mentioning that I have the Honour of a Letter from him, under Date the 3d of laſt Month, in which he declares his Determination of ſupporting the Orders of the Court of Directors in my Favour.

I have the Honour, &c.

Fort William, 1ſt May 1780. (Signed) John Briſtow.

Mr. Francis.—I believe no Man living will ſeriouſly attribute to me the Character of a determined and inveterate Adverſary of the Britiſh Nation. It is well known to every Man in India, that if Mr. Wheler's Advice, and mine, for theſe Three Years paſt had been regarded, or if our unremitted Efforts had availed any Thing, this Government would not have been in the diſtreſſing Situation to which it is reduced by a Series of other Meaſures adopted and purſued in Oppoſition to our Sentiments: But I have done with Controverſy. If the Company's Orders are not binding on this Government—if they convey no poſitive Right to Mr. Briſtow, his Pretenſions fall to the Ground. If the contrary be true, the Queſtion is ſimply, whether the Orders ſhall be obeyed or not. In the Governor's Minute I ſee no Connection between the Premiſes and the Concluſion: I ſee no Proportion between the Miſchiefs ſuppoſed to follow from Mr. Briſtow's Re-appointment and the Cauſe which is to produce them. The other Members will judge for themſelves; but I foreſee many Miſchiefs and Dangers of the firſt Magnitude from this Government contracting a Habit of diſobeying the Company's Orders. Their Authority is the only Link by which this Dominion is held by Great Britain. If that Authority be not binding on us, or if we may wave it when we think fit, I know not through what other lawful Medium the ſuperior State can exerciſe its Juriſdiction over the inferior.

The Queſtion applied perſonally to Mr. Briſtow might with equal Reaſon and Propriety be applied to Mr. Middleton, Mr. Hoſea, Mr. Purling, or any other Gentlemen in the Company's Service. The Paragraphs of the Company's Letters which have been read contain a complete Anſwer to them; and if they do not, I am not bound to take any Part of ſuch Queſtions, ſince I reſt my Propoſition on the Grounds of the Company's poſitive and repeated Orders.

Governor General.—I paſs Mr. Francis's Minute, availing myſelf of it only to aſſert my own Pretenſions on the very Ground on which he ſupports his Queſtion; and on this Occaſion Mr. Wheler will pardon me if I addreſs myſelf in a more particular and pointed Manner to him.

He was my Superior at the Time I held this Government under another Syſtem; he was during ſome Part of that Time the Chairman of the Court of Directors, and on him I venture to call as an Evidence of the implicit and effectual Obedience which I paid to the Commands of the Court of Directors in every Inſtance in which they thought it proper to put my Fidelity to the Trial; for this my Reputation, my Ambition, my Intereſt, my private Feelings, were ſeverally taxed; yet in all that Period I never ſuffered any Conſideration to prevail for a Moment in Oppoſition to my Duty and to the Confidence which they generally repoſed in me. In return, I claim from him that Portion at leaſt which he can beſtow of the Reward which was due to ſuch Services, performed with ſuch Sacrifices; and as he once did me the Honour to think me deſerving of his Applauſe, I hope that now I ſhall receive his Support.—He will well remember the Inſtances to which I allude, and the Belief entertained by many at the Time in which thoſe Orders were iſſued, that I ſhould either refuſe or evade the Execution of them.

Mr. Wheler.—The high Senſe which the Court of Directors entertained of the peculiar Merits and Abilities of the Governor General, at the Period alluded to in the foregoing Minute, were more conſpicuouſly marked by their Choice and Appointment of him to the exalted

exalted Station which he now holds, than they can poſſibly be by any particular Inſtance at this Time recited by me. A general Compliance with the Company's Orders I am perſuaded conſtituted no ſmall Part of thoſe Merits which at that Time met with the unanimous Reward of the Court of Directors. I am equally deſirous to ſupport the Authority of the Governor General at this Period, as I was, when in a different Situation, happy in promoting thoſe Ends which I thought moſt conducive to his Honour, and to the general Intereſt of the Company's Affairs; but in the preſent Conteſt I cannot effect it without a Sacrifice of that Power from whence I conceive he derives his Authority.

The Orders of the Court of Directors are too pointed and ſtrong to leave me a Choice; I muſt therefore give my Aſſent to the Motion in Support of them.

Sir Eyre Coote.—At a Time when I am ſo engaged in the public Concern, I little expected that any Queſtion of a private Nature would be agitated at this Board that could poſſibly interrupt the Harmony of it; and that at a Time when that Harmony is ſo neceſſary for carrying on the Public Service. The Queſtion to me is of ſo much Magnitude that I muſt beg leave to defer giving my Opinion on it till To-morrow.

The Governor General informs the Board, that for the Purpoſe of concluding this Debate he ſhall requeſt their Attendance in this Department again To-morrow Morning.

Deferred the further Conſideration of Mr. Francis's Motion until To-morrow Morning.

APPENDIX, N° XXXIV.

Book 79. Page 86.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 3d October 1780.

Fort William, 3d October 1780.

Public Department. Tueſday.

At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,

Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires,

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.

RENEWED the Conſideration of Mr. Francis's Minute recorded on Yeſterday's Proceedings. Sir Eyre Coote delivers in the following Minute.

Sir Eyre Coote. After having created the Board the Trouble of a ſecond Meeting on the Queſtion which formed the Subject of Yeſterday's Debate, and for which I truſt its Importance, my own Situation at this Juncture, and my being without any previous Knowledge until I arrived in Town in the Morning, that ſuch a Buſineſs was likely to come before us, will plead Excuſe. It is not my Intention to encroach further on their Time by tedious Argument or Diſcuſſion.

Whilſt I am bound in Honour, by my Opinion recorded on the Proceedings of this Board on a former Occaſion, to ſupport all Orders received from the Court of Directors, ſubſequent to my Arrival in this Country, I nevertheleſs hold it a Duty equally incumbent upon me as a Member of this Adminiſtration, appointed under the Authority of an Act of Parliament, and to which Tribunal of the Britiſh Conſtitution we are ultimately reſponſible for the due Execution of the important Truſt committed to our Charge, the Care of the Intereſts of the Engliſh Nation in India, to judge how far, in following ſuch Orders, I am likely to injure that firſt Object of our Attention.

The late Requiſition made of me by this Board, to take upon me the Command of the Army at Madras, and the Grounds upon which that Requiſition was made, render it altogether unneceſſary for me to bring forward, on this Occaſion, Arguments in Proof of the very critical State of the Intereſts of the Company and the Engliſh Nation in India. Our unanimous Agreement on the Meaſure, and our ſubſequent Reſolutions to carry it into force, evince its Expediency; and which I flattered myſelf had been the Reſult of a diſintereſted Conviction in the Mind of every Member of this Board, and of a Determination to allow no Objects to interpoſe which could have a Tendency to obſtruct the ſucceſsful Execution thereof. That the Reſtoration of Mr. Briſtow, at this Time, to the Charge of the Reſidency at Lucknow, will produce Effects highly prejudicial thereto, I have not a Doubt of; as it will generate in the Minds of every Power of Hindoſtan, that the Governor General is carrying on Treaties with them which he has not the Power to ratify, and will produce on their Part Conſequences deſtructive to all Negociation, Indeciſion and Procraſtination. The Neceſſity of avoiding every Step that can give riſe to ſuch Impediments, at the very Time the Governor General is negociating, under the Sanction of this Board, Terms of Peace with the Marhattas, I am perſuaded is too obvious to every Member of it to require Elucidation, and that they ſee it as a Conduct highly inſeparable from the real Purpoſe of their Reſolves, to give him every poſſible Support, both in Word and Action, for the Accompliſhment of a Buſineſs in which the Intereſts of the Public are ſo eſſentially concerned.

In ſhort, although my former Declarations, added to the Rule I had laid down for my Conduct in all Caſes where I could have the Orders of the Court of Directors for my Guide, obliges me to give my Voice in favour of Mr. Francis's Motion, I nevertheleſs ſee, and am ſo thoroughly convinced of the great Neceſſity there is in the preſent critical Conjuncture of our Affairs in India, of ſupporting the Governor General as the firſt Inſtrument of our Adminiſtration, that I here declare, I will moſt heartily join with him in any Meaſure he can deviſe, whereby the ill Effects of the Change at Lucknow may be obviated, and the World in general be convinced, that he is ſtill in Poſſeſſion of that Authority in the Adminiſtration of the Public Buſineſs, ſo abſolutely requiſite for the Support of our Government.

In urging theſe Sentiments, I am naturally led to reflect on what may be my own Situation in the Execution of that Duty which I am on the Eve of undertaking, the Operations of which may be materially injured by any Meaſure which * in the leaſt impede the Negociations ſet on foot by the Marattas. I therefore, as a Duty I owe myſelf and the public Welfare, call upon every Member of this Board to give me ſuch Teſtimony of their Determination to ſupport me in the Proſecution of a Service ſo important in itſelf, and in its Conſequences, as that, when once entered on *, I may not be expoſed to the Apprehenſion of Failure, from a Doubt of not receiving that ample Aſſiſtance from them which the Nature of the Undertaking renders ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary, and which they alone can afford.

* Sic in Orig.

* Sic in Orig,

(Signed) Eyre Coote.

Mr. Francis's Motion carried in the Affirmative.

Mr. Francis.—If the Commander in Chief will ſtate on what ſpecific Points he wiſhes to obtain from me a Teſtimony of my Determination to ſupport him in the Proſecution of the Service which he is going to undertake, I dare ſay I ſhall be able, as I am ſure I am deſirous, to give him every Satisfaction he can deſire. If the Requeſt be left generally, I can only anſwer it by a general Aſſurance to him, that it is my Determination to ſupport him.

The Reinforcement of Men, and the great Supply of Money which he will carry with him, will empower him to act for a conſiderable Time at leaſt; and if there be any Thing elſe he wiſhes for, I only beg it may be ſtated.

Mr. Wheler.—I have already given my feeble Support to all the Meaſures that have yet been propoſed for the Reſtoration of our Affairs in the Carnatic by the Governor General, with the Concurrence of the Commander in Chief. I am ready to go yet further, and to remove every Interruption to the General's Meaſures, in a Quarter where I apprehend they might poſſibly be oppoſed. I doubt not but I am underſtood.

The Governor General.—It is unneceſſary for me to give Aſſurances to the General of my particular Support, after having been the Mover of the Meaſures which ſo eſſentially require his perſonal Execution of them, and of the Requeſt made to him ſo urgently by this Board, to undertake the Conduct of them. I regard the Intereſt, and eventually perhaps the Exiſtence, of this Government, to be dependent on the Succeſs of his Operations; and declare, I will at all Hazards make this my firſt and invariable Object.

☞ *(a)* [The Governor General delivers in the following Minute.

I cannot, conſiſtently with what I conſider due to the Dignity and Authority of my public Station, and to my own Character and Feelings as a Man, conſent to affix my Signature to the Letters of Credence or Inſtructions of Mr. Briſtow, as Reſident at the Court of Oude. The Court of Directors, after having, in their firſt Inſtructions to this Government, expreſsly enjoined every Member of the Board not only to be guided by the Voice of the Majority, but alſo to ſubſcribe to all Letters, Orders, Acts, and Meaſures reſulting from the Deciſions of ſuch Majority, have ſince thought proper to compliment General Clavering and Mr. Francis upon their Departure from this Rule in Inſtances where their Sentiments have not accorded with thoſe of the other Members of the Board. This will be a Juſtification to me in the Reſolution I have taken; for whatever Law is binding on One Member of the Adminiſtration, muſt certainly be ſo to the whole; and although it is a Latitude I neither approve, or ſhould in general wiſh to avail myſelf of, yet in this very particular Inſtance, I truſt I ſhall ſtand acquitted not only to my Employers, but to the whole World. I muſt therefore deſire that the Board will deviſe ſome other Means of notifying Mr. Briſtow's Appointment to the Vizier, and as they have thought it incumbent on them, as a Point of official Duty, to receive and put in force an antiquated Order of the Court of Directors in favour of Mr. Briſtow, which, for the Reaſons aſſigned in my Minute of Yeſterday, will neceſſarily be conſidered by all the Country Powers as a Superceſſion of my Authority, I am yet willing to hope that the Board will not only liſten to, but afford me their Support in a Motion which I ſhall beg leave to make, with a View to repair the Injury which I conceive my public Station has ſuſtained, and avert, in ſome Degree, the prejudicial Effects which this Meaſure cannot fail to produce on our Affairs.

I propoſe that Mr. Briſtow's Appointment be limited ſolely to the Conduct of ſuch political Negociations, Correſpondence, and Tranſactions, as this Government may now, or at any future Period, be engaged in with the Vizier, and in no Shape whatever to interfere in any

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 509.

Matters reſpecting our pecuniary Engagements with his Excellency. That a ſeparate Agent be appointed by us to that Truſt, whoſe Duty it ſhall be to receive, collect, and manage the Tuncaws, or Aſſignments, which have been, or may hereafter be granted by the Nabob, for the Liquidation of the Claims of this Government upon him. That he be entruſted with the Adjuſtment of all Accounts relative to theſe Claims with the Nabob and his Miniſters, with all Diſburſements to the Paymaſters of the Company's Troops ſtationed in the Dominions of the Vizier, as alſo to his Excellency's own Military Eſtabliſhment under Britiſh Officers, &c.; remitting the Reſidue of his Collections immediately to us, and that he be directly amenable to our Authority and Orders, and in no Reſpect whatever dependent on or connected with the Office of the Reſident. And as Mr. Purling cannot continue with a diminiſhed Commiſſion, and as it now becomes more than ever neceſſary that I ſhould have a Perſon in Station in thoſe Provinces, not only in whom I can confide, but who is publicly known to be attached to me, I propoſe Mr. Middleton for the above Office, hoping to meet with the Concurrence and Support of the Board.

Debates. Sir Eyre Coote.—I agree to the Governor General's Propoſal of the Appointment of Mr. Middleton to the Office mentioned, not becauſe Mr. Purling may not continue at Lucknow with a diminiſhed Commiſſion, but becauſe Mr. Nathaniel Middleton is a Perſon publicly known to be attached to the Governor General. The Neceſſity of the Times requires an Appearance of that Kind.

Mr. Wheler.—I object to the Queſtion.

Mr. Francis.—The Office deſcribed in the Motion is the ſame which Mr. Briſtow had before, and which has been held ſince by Mr. Middleton and Mr. Purling. I know no Reaſon why it ſhould be diminiſhed, and ſo materially altered, when it is given to Mr. Briſtow. I therefore cannot conſent to the Propoſition:—At the ſame Time it is a Matter of Indifference to me by whom the Duties propoſed to be veſted in Mr. Middleton are exerciſed.

The Governor General's Motion carried in the Affimative.

Reſolved accordingly, That Mr. Briſtow's Appointment be limited ſolely to the Conduct of ſuch political Negociations, Correſpondence, and Tranſactions, as this Government may now, or at any future Period be engaged in with the Vizier; and that he in no Shape whatever interfere in any Matters reſpecting our pecuniary Engagements with his Excellency.

Reſolved, That Mr. Nathaniel Middleton be appointed Agent on the Part of this Government, for receiving, collecting, and managing the Tuncaws or Aſſignments, which have been, or may hereafter be granted by the Nabob, for the Liquidation of the Claims of this Government upon him: That he be entruſted with the Adjuſtment of all Accounts relative to theſe Claims with the Nabob and his Miniſters, with all Diſburſements to the Paymaſters of the Company's Troops ſtationed in the Dominions of the Vizier, as alſo to his Excellency's own Military Eſtabliſhment under Britiſh Officers, &c.; remitting the Reſidue of his Collections immediately to us; and that he be directly amenable to our Authority and Orders, and in no Reſpect whatever dependent on or connected with the Office of Reſident.

Mr. Francis moves, That as the Governor General declines ſigning the Letter of Credence for Mr. Briſtow, Mr. Briſtow's Appointment may be communicated to Mr. Purling by the Board, with Directions to make it known to the Vizier.

Agreed to.

Ordered, That Mr. Charles Purling be directed to deliver over Charge of all the Papers of the Office hitherto held by him, which have a Relation to the Office to which Mr. Briſtow has been appointed, to Mr. Briſtow; and that he be directed to deliver over Charge to Mr. Nathaniel Middleton of all the Papers and Accounts of the Office hitherto held by him, which have a Relation to the Office to which Mr. Middleton is appointed, together with the Balance of Caſh in his Hands.]

Agreed, That the following Letter be written to Mr. Purling:

Sir,

Having, in conſequence of the Commands of the Honourable Court of Directors, thought proper to appoint Mr. John Briſtow Reſident at his Excellency the Vizier's Court, we direct, that on Receipt of theſe Orders you make the ſame known to the Vizier; and that on Mr. Briſtow's Arrival at Lucknow, you deliver over Charge to him of all Public Papers in your Poſſeſſion, relative to the Management and Conduct of the political Negociations, Correſpondence, and Tranſactions between this Government and his Excellency. And having been pleaſed to appoint Mr. Nathaniel Middleton our Agent, to receive, collect, and manage the Tuncaws or Aſſignments, which have been, or may hereafter be granted by the Nabob, for the Liquidation of the Claims of this Government upon him; to adjuſt all Accounts relative to theſe Claims with the Nabob and his Miniſters, and to make the requiſite Diſburſements to the Paymaſters of the Company's Troops ſtationed in the Vizier's Dominions, as alſo to his Excellency's own Military Eſtabliſhment under Britiſh Officers, &c. We direct, that on Mr. Middleton's Arrival at Lucknow, you deliver over Charge to him of ſuch Papers in your Poſſeſſion as relate to theſe Offices; and after the Execution of theſe Orders, we require that you forthwith return to the Preſidency.

Fort William, 3d October 1780.

We are, &c.

APPENDIX, N° XXXV.

Book 35. Page 1305.

Extract of a Consultation of the 21st May 1781.

Fort William, 21st May 1781.

Secret Dep. Monday.

At a Council; Present,
The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President,
And Edward Wheler, Esq.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. absent on Command at the Presidency of Fort St. George.

☞(a) [THE Governor General finds himself under the disagreeable Necessity of reviving the Subject of Mr. Bristow's Appointment of Resident at the Court of the Nabob of Oude, and of moving that he may be recalled. His general Reasons for this Motion have been recorded very fully in various Parts of the Consultations, and particularly in those of the 2d and 3d of October and the 14th January last. To these a recent Motive is added, in the Necessity of removing every Circumstance which may contribute to lessen his Influence on the Effect of any Negociation in which he may be engaged in the Prosecution of his intended Visit to Lucknow, and in the accompanying Letters just received from the Nabob Vizier to the Governor General, and to his Minister Raja Govendram.

Agreed to the Governor General's Motion, and ordered accordingly.] ☞

From the Nabob Vizier to the Governor General. Received the 20th May.

I have frequently written to you that I cannot submit to the Authority of Two Gentlemen, and desiring that you would recall Mr. John Bristow, and engage by Writing to continue Mr. Middleton for ever with me, because from the Beginning to this Time I have never deviated from the Friendship of the Company and you. I have been for a long Time hopeful, that from the encreased Friendship I shall be in Peace, and relieved from all Difficulties, and particularly at this Time, when, agreeable to my Wishes, you have by the Blessing of God the Power. You have frequently promised in Answer to my Request, that you would send for me, but as yet you have never done it. The Particulars of Mr. Bristow are as follow: He openly and publicly declares, that he is in Expectation of Orders from Europe, giving him entire Authority over the Affairs of this Quarter; and that he has such Connection and Interest with the Gentlemen in Europe that Orders for his Authority will most certainly be sent; and that he will not give up the Point for Ten, Fifteen, or Twenty Years; that he now remains silent, but will at last receive full Powers, and will then call me to an Account for my Behaviour to him. These Expressions there can be no Doubt of, as they are publicly spoken. As such Declarations and Threats made use of by him are an Insult to you, and an Injury to the Administration of Affairs here; I am therefore certain you will not consent to my suffering such Distresses. For God's sake do not be unfavourable in this Matter, but recall Mr. John Bristow from hence, and grant me a written Agreement, specifying that Mr. Middleton shall be continued for ever with me; and to prevent his applying to Europe, send me, if you think proper, the Drafts of Letters which I may write to the King, the Vizier, and the Chiefs of the Company; and do you also write. From your Favour and Kindness, let this be done without Delay.

A true Translation.

(Signed) Edward Colebrook,
Persian Translator.

To the Nabob Vizier, written 21st May.

I have received your Two Letters; the one advising me to quit Calcutta during the present unhealthy Air of it, which has caused the Death of several Persons; and the other acquainting me that you cannot submit to the Orders of Two Gentlemen, and desiring that I will recall Mr. Bristow, who publicly declares that he is in Expectation of Orders from Europe, giving him the sole Authority in this Country, &c. &c. with many other Particulars which I fully understand, and which gave me great Pleasure.

In obedience to Orders from the Court of Directors, as at that Time there was a different Object and System, Mr. Bristow was sent to your Province, and his continuing with you was thought the same Thing as if I was there, and although you frequently wrote to me desiring his Removal, and I knew it could easily be done, yet I would not do it. At this Time, however, that you have written to Rajah Govind Ram, that any Delay in his Recall will be attended with Disgrace; and as you have written to me likewise fully in the same Words, I

(a) Vide supra, P. 510.

therefore,

therefore, to ſhew nothing is further from my Wiſh than your Diſhonour, immediately on the Receipt of your Letter ſent to Mr. Briſtow to return to Calcutta.

It is nearly Three Years ſince Rajah Govind Ram, who is a faithful Servant of your Government, has been deſirous of effecting an Interview between your Highneſs and myſelf, and you yourſelf have repeatedly written to me, that if I have no Leiſure you will come to this Quarter; and this you likewiſe mention in your Hand-writing, in a Letter from the Nabob Monier Uddowlah, which was delivered to me by Mr. Vanſittart. As I conſider that this would be putting your Highneſs to great Inconvenience, and as I myſelf had no Leiſure from the Weight of Public Affairs, I promiſed you that as ſoon as I could find the ſmalleſt Opportunity I would have the Honour of an Interview with your Highneſs. At this Time that you mentioned in your Letter to the Rajah that you will come to Calcutta in Perſon, without the Knowledge or Permiſſion of any one; in order to prevent you from taking that Trouble, I have reſolved, now that I have a little Leiſure, to go to your Quarter; but as it will require One Month for Preparations, I ſhall be detained for a little Time, after which, by the Bleſſing of God, I ſhall leave this Place, and arriving with you, ſhall, by the Bleſſing of God, have an Interview with your Highneſs, which is the greateſt Wiſh of my Heart. But I requeſt that you will never take the Trouble of coming.

I have already, agreeable to your firſt Directions, diſmiſſed Bahar Ally Khan; the Particulars of which you will learn from Rajah Gobind Ram.

A true Copy.

(Signed) Edward Colebrooke.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Rajah Gobind Ram.

I have frequently written to the Nabob Amaud ud Dowlah about the Recall of Mr. John Briſtow, and the Nabob promiſed he would ſoon do it; but to this Time he has not had an Opportunity of doing it. In the mean while, Mr. Briſtow reſides here, and has come twice to pay a Viſit, but I have not yet returned it, nor will I return it. He is now expecting Orders from Europe, which, he ſays, will give him ſole and entire Authority. Repreſent this to the Nabob in private. By the Bleſſing of God, you are wiſe, and acquainted with all Matters. This long Delay, after Mr. Briſtow has been told that he will be recalled to Calcutta, is a Diſgrace to both Sides. I imagine the Nabob is acting prudently, ſo as to prevent Mr. Briſtow's Attempt from reaching Europe; otherwiſe how could the Orders from Calcutta have been ſo delayed? By the Bleſſing of God, at this Time the Nabob, conformable to the Wiſhes of his Friends, has got the Power; it is therefore neceſſary for him to attend to the Concerns of his Friends, and to recall Mr. Briſtow from hence, and grant a Sunnud, in the Nature of an Engagement, for Mr. Middleton to remain here for ever. If it is proper, I will write to the King, the Vizier, and the Chief of the Company, in ſuch Manner as he ſhall direct, and in the Words which he ſhall order, that Mr. Briſtow's Views may be thwarted there. A long Time has paſſed in anxious Expectation; let him now be favourable to me, and recall Mr. Briſtow without Delay. Should any further Delay happen in this Matter, or no Anſwer be returned to my Letters, being remedileſs, I will, without the Permiſſion or Knowledge of the Nabob, leave this Place and go to the Nabob's Preſence. Why is Bahar Ally Khan ſtill in that Quarter? Do you mention it to the Nabob, and procure his Diſmiſſion from thence, that he may come to Fizeabad; and let the Nabob write to my Mother, that when he comes in Perſon to this Quarter he will do whatever the Nature of Affairs ſhall require.

A true Tranſlation.

(Signed) Edward Colebrooke,
Perſian Tranſlator.

APPENDIX, N° XXXVI.

Book 62. Page 57.

Extract of a Conſultation of 23d September 1782.

Fort William, 23d September 1782.

Public Dep. Monday. At a Council; Preſent,

Edward Wheler, and John Macpherſon, } Eſquires,

The Governor General indiſpoſed.

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Command at Fort St. George.

RECEIVED the following Letter from the Governor General.

Gov. Gen. 22d Sept. 1782.

Gentlemen,

A few Days before my preſent Indiſpoſition commenced, I informed you that I was ſorry to find that the Reſident at the Vizier's Court had evidently failed in his Duty to this Government,

ment, in not having carried into Execution the Conditions and Spirit of the late Treaty with the Vizier. I had further the Mortification to be obliged to inform you, that neither the Resident, nor his Deputy in his Absence, had communicated to me the Confusions which had arisen in the Vizier's Dominions, from a Neglect or Violation of the Treaty. The Letters which I wrote, in consequence of such Mismanagement, to the Resident and the acting Minister of the Vizier, were laid before you and approved.

☞ (a) [Upon the same Occasion I observed to you, that the Obstacle which opposed itself to the Nomination of Mr. Bristow to the Residentship at Oude no longer existed: It was removed by my having vindicated what must ever be esteemed one of the necessary Privileges of this Government. I had the Pleasure of finding, upon the most impartial Inquiry, that the Conduct of Mr. Bristow, during his former Residence at the Court of the Vizier, had been proper and attentive. I accordingly wished to recommend him to succeed the present Resident, provided the Vizier had no reasonable Objections to his Appointment.]

I have now great Satisfaction in informing you, that my Letter to the acting Minister of the Vizier has had the happiest Effect in realizing the heavy Balances due to the Company from Oude; and it is said that the present Resident and his Deputy are brought to a proper Sense of their Duty to the Company.

But as in every Act of my Administration of the Affairs of the Company, I never had an Object in view but their permanent Interest, as far as my Judgment could direct me, and as Prejudices in favour of those in whom I have confided, or against those who opposed me, vanish in my Mind, when the Good of the Service requires it, I now wish you to recall Mr. Middleton from the Court of the Vizier, and to appoint Mr. Bristow in his Room.

My weak State of Health obliges me to dictate this Letter from my Bed; yet I cannot but add, that your Instructions to Mr. Bristow should be strong and positive upon these Points—First, That he should always shew every possible Respect to the Vizier and his Family. Secondly, That he should take the most effectual Steps for securing all that may remain unpaid of the Company's Balances. Thirdly, That the Security and internal Peace of the Vizier's Dominions, and the Happiness of the People, should be continually in his View; and that he should communicate fully and freely with this Government upon those Subjects.

The State of my Health requires my proceeding further up the River; and I shall communicate to Mr. Bristow, with your Approbation, any more particular Instructions that may occur to me, and that I may be able to send them.

I am, with Esteem and Regard,
Gentlemen,
Yours, &c.
(Signed) Warren Hastings.

Upon the Ganges,
near Soohsagar,
22d September 1782.

The Board, in conformity to the Governor General's Recommendation, and sensible of the Propriety of the Measure,

Resolve to recall Mr. Middleton immediately from the Vizier's Court.

The Board further resolve, That Mr. Bristow be appointed to succeed Mr. Middleton, and ordered to proceed with the utmost Dispatch to Lucknow, to take charge of that Office.

The following Letters are accordingly written.

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, &c.

To Mr. Middleton.

Sir,

Having thought fit to recall you to the Presidency, and to appoint Mr. John Bristow to succeed to your Station, we hereby direct, that on Mr. Bristow's Arrival at Lucknow, you immediately deliver over Charge to him of the Office of Resident, with all the Treasure, Accounts, Papers, Documents, and Dependencies thereunto belonging, and make the best of your Way to Calcutta; for which Place you will then set out without further Delay.

Fort William,
23d September 1782.

We are, &c.

To Mr. John Bristow.

To Mr. Bristow.

Sir,

I am directed by the Honourable the Governor General and Council to inform you, that they have been pleased to appoint you Resident at the Court of the Vizier Asoph ul Dowla, in the Room of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton removed. You will therefore proceed to Lucknow with all possible Dispatch, and receive Charge of that Station, with all the Treasure, Accounts, Papers, Documents, and Dependencies thereunto belonging, from Mr. Middleton. Instructions and Credentials will be immediately prepared for you.

Fort William,
the 23d September 1782.

I am, &c.
(Signed) P. Auriol, Secretary.

(a) Vide supra, P. 511.

Mr. Macpherſon. Mr. Macpherſon.—I cannot but expreſs great Satisfaction at the Governor General's Recommendation of Mr. Briſtow to ſucceed to the Reſidency at the Vizier's Court, an Office to which he was named by the Company, and to which his Abilities and Experience are underſtood to render him very equal.

The Conduct of Mr. Middleton, in various Inſtances, appears to me highly reprehenſible. His Negligence, in not informing the Government of the Confuſions, if not general Rebellion, in the Vizier's Country, and his Dilatorineſs in realizing the heavy Debt due by the Vizir to the Company, appear to me, in the preſent Criſis of public Affairs, as Crimes againſt the State; and that as ſuch they ſhould be rigidly inveſtigated.

* Sic in Orig. Mr. Johnſton's Conduct, as acting Reſident, appears to me to be ſubject to a ſimiliar * Impeachment; but as I ſhould be equally ſorry to condemn the Conduct of any Servant of this Government, before he has every fair Power for Vindication given him, as I would be rigid in enforcing a juſt Puniſhment after Condemnation, ſo I ſhall move, upon the Return of Meſſrs. Middleton and Johnſton to the Preſidency, that they may be called upon to account for their Miſmanagement at Oude, and that the Complaints made of their Conduct, both by the Vizier and his acting Miniſter, be taken into Conſideration. If ever there was a Period in the Diſtreſs of any Government when Neglect of Duty, or Corruption of Servants in high Station, is ſuperiorly criminal, it is the preſent Criſis of the Company's Diſtreſſes *, and critical Situation with its few Allies and numerous Enemies.

* Sic in Orig.

John Macpherſon.

(Signed at the End of the Conſultation)

John Macpherſon.

APPENDIX, N° XXXVII.

Vide Appendix, N° ~~LVI.~~ 59

APPENDIX, N° XXXVIII.

Book 82. Page 49.

Extract of a Conſultation of 12th June 1783, and Appendix to the ſame.

Secret Dep. Thurſday. Fort William, 12th June 1783.

At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon,
John Stables,
} Eſquires.

THE Secretary having, in conſequence of the Reſolution of the Board of the 21ſt April laſt, received from the Governor General the Letters from Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon to him, in order to draw up the Charges againſt thoſe Gentlemen, and having accordingly prepared the Charges in conformity to the Board's Orders, and circulated them, with the Letters above mentioned, they are now recorded as follows, and ordered to be immediately ſent to Meſſrs. Middleton and Johnſon reſpectively, that they may reply to them.

Charges againſt Mr. Nathaniel Middleton.

1ſt. For leaving unexecuted the ſeveral Articles of the Governor General's peremptory Orders and Inſtructions to you, dated at Chunar, the 20th September 1781, notwithſtanding thoſe Inſtructions enjoined and commanded your ſtricteſt Obedience, and were, both by the Vizier's formal Agreement, on which they were founded, and by the Tenor of them, intended to be carried into immediate Effect, the Object of them being the Reduction of the Vizier's Debt to the Company, which was in a conſtant State of Accumulation, and a Conſciouſneſs of it ſeemed implied in your Firſt Letter from Lucknow, dated 4th October 1781, which contained the following Words: "We have not yet been able to enter on any Buſineſs of Moment, but you may reſt aſſured "no Time ſhall be unneceſſarily conſumed;" and in your Letter of the 12th October, where you write in the moſt preſſing Terms for the Recall of the late temporary Brigade, as being a Part of the Reform. Notwithſtanding the Governor General, on the 26th of December following, finding that you had not to that Time taken any Steps towards accompliſhing the Treaty, in the Points in which the Vizier had engaged the Interference of our Government, wrote to you,

you, "that the Reformation of the Vizier's Army, and the new Settlement of his Revenues, "were Points of immediate Concern, and ought to be immediately concluded;" and added, "I now demand and require you moſt ſolemnly to anſwer me, Are you confident in your "own Ability to accompliſh all theſe Purpoſes, and the other Points of my Inſtruc-"tions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet and aſſured Mind to the "Preſidency, but leave you a dreadful Reſponſibility if you diſappoint me. If you tell me "that you cannot rely on your Power, and the other Means which you poſſeſs, for perform-"ing theſe Services, I will free you from the Charge: I will proceed myſelf to Lucknow, "and I will myſelf undertake them." To which you returned for Anſwer, "I confidently "reply, that I am fully competent to undertake and effect the Completion of the Reform, "upon the Grounds ſtated in my Anſwer to the 4th Paragraph, and therefore again repeat "that your coming here is unneceſſary." Your Anſwer to the 4th Paragraph admits, that you have erred in ſuppoſing that the Reform was not meant to take place that Year; and adds, that "the Inſtant the Fyzabad Buſineſs is finiſhed, which cannot take more than One Fort-"night from the Day of marching there, I ſhall take ſuch Steps, as the Means in my Power "will admit of, towards procuring from the Nabob Orders to each Aumil to pay his groſs "Revenues to the Miniſters, and to receive the Pay of their Troops, being reduced into "regular muſtered Eſtabliſhments, from the General Treaſury; and ſhould he refuſe, I will "iſſue my own, together with thoſe of the Miniſters, to that Purpoſe."—And further, that "theſe Three Points complete the Heads of your (the Governor General's) Recommendation "to the Nabob." Upon the Strength of theſe Aſſurances, the Governor General deſiſted from his Intention to viſit Lucknow, as he hoped it would be unneceſſary, and returned immediately to the Preſidency, leaving upon you the Reſponſibility he had denounced. Letter to the Governor General, 30th Dec. 1781.

2dly. For giving not only precipitate and unwarranted Aſſurances, as above quoted, but contradictory Information of Facts; for by your Letters of the 11th February 1782 to the Governor General, you ſay you incloſe one from the Vizir, "informing him of his Compli-"ance with the only Points that remained unfiniſhed of his Part of the late Agreements," &c. and add, "I have, in confirmation of the above-mentioned Letter, received one from the "Miniſter, informing me of the Accompliſhment of this Reform, from which, with the total "Reſumption of all Jagheers, which is now perfectly completed, I have every Reaſon to hope "for the moſt beneficial Reſult, and that every Part of this Government will now be in a State "of Regularity and Tranquillity ſcarcely ever before experienced."

"I alſo truſt, that you will now deem every Wiſh, expreſſed in your Inſtructions to me, "fully performed."—Again, in your Letter to the Governor of the 10th March following, you ſay, "Having ſucceeded in the Impreſſion which I wiſhed to make on the Miniſters, and the "Reduction which has been made in the Nabob's Mooteyana Troops ſtrengthening the Ground "I had argued on, I availed myſelf of this Opportunity to propoſe an Eſtabliſhment of the "Company's Troops."—In your Letter to him of the 20th of that Month, you ſay, "In "order to complete the Check you have directed over the Mooteyana and their Payment, I "have been neceſſitated to appoint an Aumeen to receive and remit to me the Collections of "Litaput, Ally Cawn's Jaidads, &c."—And in your Letter of the 25th March 1782, addreſſed to the Governor General, you defined the particular Manner in which the ſeveral Parts of your Inſtructions had been carried into Execution; but by your Letter of the 17th September 1782, addreſſed to the Board, you only then declare, that you had ſtationed an Agent of your own in each Aumildarry throughout thoſe Provinces, as Muſter Maſter of the Mooteyana Troops, and ſay, that you "could not with Propriety have taken ſo deciſive a Line in this Buſineſs at an "earlier Period, as the Nabob and Miniſters returning to the Capital ſo late as the Month of "October found themſelves obliged to continue the Aumils already in Employ in their reſpec-"tive Truſts, or riſk by new Appointments at that advanced Seaſon the Loſs of the whole Col-"lections on the Kierreeff or firſt Crop, amounting to Two Fifths of the Annual Revenue, "and the ſame Circumſtances involved the Neceſſity of leaving their Agreements nearly in the "Form in which they ſtood in the preceding Year. Hence it became difficult and dangerous "to take any immediate Steps for the Introduction of the Governor General's Arrangements, "beyond laying the Foundations of a future Reform, which was duly attended to; and theſe I "can now ſecurely build upon, as, by availing myſelf of this early Period, every Aumil is ap-"prized of the Terms on which he embarks, and left without Excuſe for any Failure in his "Engagements."—And thus deferring till September 1782, what you thought it too late in the Seaſon to carry into Execution in October 1781, although you had urgent and poſitive Orders for doing it immediately, and although you had reported the actual Peformance thereof to have paſſed in your Letters above quoted.

3dly. For theſe and other Contradictions and Inconſiſtencies, particularly pointed out to you in the Governor General's Letters, dated 1ſt and 3d of January 1782.

4th. For not reporting to the Governor General, or to the Board, the Progreſs which you had made from Time to Time in your Endeavours to comply with his Inſtructions; and if you met with any Impediments in the Execution of them, for omitting to ſtate thoſe Impediments, and to apply for freſh Orders upon them.

5th. For Diſobedience to the Governor General's peremptory Orders of the 26th December 1781, contained in the following Words:—"I approve the Nabob's Reſolution to deprive the

"Begums

" Begums of the ill-employed Treasures. In both Services it must be your Care to prevent an " Abuse of the Power given to those that are employed in them. You yourself ought to be " personally present—You must not allow any Negociation or Forbearance, but must prosecute " both Services until the Begums are at the entire Mercy of the Nabob, &c."—Whereas, by a Letter from Major Naylor to the Governor General, dated at Camp Killa Fyzabad, 14th January 1782, it is declared as follows:—" After my Arrival, a Couple of Days passed in " Negociation, but without Effect, and the Party in the Town collecting and hourly gaining " Strength, at length, after mature Deliberation, it was resolved that I should, with my Regi- " ment and Four Guns, storm the Town; which I effected the 12th in the Morning."—And by this Disobedience of the Order which forbad any Negociation or Forbearance, you allowed Time for Opposition, which evidently had been meditated, to take its full Effect, and for the Concealment of the Wealth which was in the Begum's Possession, as is acknowledged by your Letter of the 18th January to the Governor General. Your Letter of the 5th February is not a sufficient Exculpation from this Charge, as the Forbearance alluded to was before the Attack of the Killa, and not " after the Begums were to be considered as entirely at the Mercy of the " Nabob," which is the Time it alludes to.—It might be good Policy, after they were so reduced, to observe a temporizing Conduct, because the Treasure was then concealed, and none but the Accessaries to its Concealment were acquainted with the Places where it was deposited.

6th. For neglecting to realize the whole of the Vizier's Debt to the Company at the End of the Year 1189, Fussily, notwithstanding your repeated Assurances that it should be completely liquidated by that Time, and in particular, the Assurances contained in your Letter to the Governor General, dated 6th December 1781, " that from the Begums alone you had no " Doubt of the complete Liquidation of the Company's Balance."

7th. For neglecting to secure the Means of liquidating this Debt, by only taking Tunkaws or Assignments upon the Country for the Sum of Rupees 76,37,458, when you must have known that the Demand on the Vizir for that Year (1189) would amount to more than double that Sum.

8th. For omitting, according to annual Custom, and the positive Orders of the Board, to send down to them a regular Account of the Demands upon the Vizir for the Year 1189, and of the Assignments taken to satisfy those Demands; and for accepting the Assignments without the Authority of the Board.

9th. For omitting to take any Notice of the additional Balance of R^{s} 26,48,571. 3. 8. stated by the Accountant General to be due from the Vizir to the Company on the 30th April 1780, and not charged to him by the Resident, although such a formal Intimation of it from the Accountant General, as you received, was at least a sufficient Authority to have induced you to apply for the Board's Orders concerning it, had you been otherwise dubious about admitting it; and although it arose from positive Charges and Demands upon the Vizir, which ought to have been carried immediately to his Account, and could not be in the least affected by any counter Claims of the Vizir; which if allowed to be just, he might equally receive Credit for, in Account, at any future Time after they had been so allowed.

10th. For anticipating the Revenues of the Vizir's Country, and burthening them with an enormous Load of Interest, by mortgaging Assignments upon them to the Shroffs, at the Usury of 2 per Cent. per Mensem, in order to accomplish a Remittance of the above additional Balance to the Presidency, by the Means of their Bills, within the Year 1189, after having omitted to include the said Balance in the regular Assignments.

11th. For loading the Vizir's Revenues in like Manner with the further usurious Charge of 2 per Cent. per Mensem, in order to anticipate the Liquidation of the Excess of Disbursements beyond the Amount which you had received Assignments for at the Beginning of the Year 1189, by mortgaging to the Shroffs the Balances of the Assignments uncollected at the End of the said Year 1189.

12th. For endeavouring to conceal from us the Knowledge of the Rebellion of Almas Ally Cawn, the Vizir's principal Renter, by studiously avoiding the Mention of his Disobedience and Flight, which, from the Treasures and Forces he carried with him, threatened to involve the Vizir's Country in a State of Warfare.

13th. For afterwards pursuing Measures to encrease the Power of Almas Ally Cawn (already too formidable for a Subject) by procuring for him, on his Return to Lucknow, a Grant of additional Districts, on the Condition of his becoming bound to the Shroffs for the Payment of their Tunkaws or Assignments in their Favour, and thereby releasing your own Security to them for the Liquidation of those Tunkaws.

14th. For neglecting to advise us of the Disturbance at Daranagur, when Two of the Vizir's Battalions were attacked and dispersed by a Body of Fyzoola Cawn's Horse; and the Consequences might have been more serious from this Effect, although it appears to have proceeded from a private Fray, and was unauthorized and unknown by Fyzoola Cawn.

15th. For neglecting on every other Occasion of Disaffection or Disturbance in the Vizir's Aumils, to report them to the Board, although considerable Detachments were made from the Brigade to quell such Disturbances, by your own Requisition, or that of your Assistant, Mr. Richard Johnson.

16th.

16th. For concealing from us a Knowledge of the State of the Vizir's Dominions, and when you knew them to be under such precarious Dependance as to require the constant Awe of a Military Force to prevent a Civil War, from the Machinations of rebellious Zemindars; when you knew likewise that we were surrounded by Enemies (the Peace with the Marattas not having then been ratified at Poona); for endeavouring at such a Crisis to increase the Number of our Enemies, and consequently our Difficulties, by recommending an Expedition, in concert with the Vizir, to deprive Fyzoola Cawn of his Zemindarry; although you acknowledge, in the same Letter, "that the Possessions of Fyzoola Cawn are so situated, that there is no "Possibility of cutting off his Retreat, whenever he might choose to attempt it."—And again, that "there can be no Doubt but Zabit-a-Cawn, with whom he is closely connected, and "keeps up a constant Intercourse, would seize any Opening which might yield him the faintest "Hopes of recovering his hereditary Possessions in Rohilcund." Mr. Middleton's Letter, 17th Sept. 1782.

Charges against Mr. Richard Johnson.

1st. For assuming an unlicensed Authority in Prejudice of the Vizir's Government; and interfering in the Management of his Country, in opposition to his Will, and to the Endeavours and Remonstrances of his Minister. The particular Instances alledged are, "by ap-"pointing Aumils of your own Choice, and in such a Manner that no one either attended "the Presence of the Nabob, or visited his Minister." Consultation, 7th Sept. 1782. Hyder Beg's Letter.

2dly. "By exacting Sunnuds, and Orders from the Presence, at your own Pleasure, and "issuing the Sunnuds on your own Part, as if his Duty had been held independent of the Vizir's "Authority." Ditto.

3dly. For sending repeatedly to the Vizir, and to his Minister Hyder Beg Cawn, to advise them against transferring the Ten Lacks of Rupees, intended as a Present to the Governor General, to the Company's Account, as it would be a Precedent for further Demands, which, if the Vizir did not resist in the first Instance, this Government would never cease to harass him for Money. Consultation, 7th Sept. 1782. Major Palmer's Letter.

4thly. For Neglect of Duty, in not having communicated to this Government any Measures which the State of Affairs in the Vizir's Country might render it necessary for you to adopt, if such Necessity prevailed.

5thly. For further Neglect of Duty, in not having written a single Letter to this Government during the Absence of Mr. Middleton from his Station at Lucknow, to report the State of the Upper Provinces, or of the Vizir's Dominions, or to mention any one Occurrence of those Parts, notwithstanding the important Events which took place during that Interval from the Contentions which ensued upon the Decease of Nudziff Cawn, and the Disturbances in the Vizir's Country from the Defection and Flight of Almas Ally Cawn, one of his principal Zemindars, with a considerable Treasure and Force; from the Refractoriness and Disobedience of other Zemindars, and from other Causes, which the Board have since been informed of; and for not mentioning the Disaster which happened to Two Battalions of the Vizir's Troops at Daranagur; all which the Board obtained no Knowledge of but from private Information.

6thly. For applying on different Occasions to Colonel Morgan, commandihg the Brigade at Cawnpore, for military Aid to enforce the Orders of Government, and quell Disturbances in different Parts of the Vizir's Dominions, without any Reference, or even Information, given to the Board of such Applications, or the Occasion for them.

7thly. But particularly for detaching, by the Means of your Application to the Commanding Officer at Cawnpore, One Regiment from that Brigade, to enforce the Vizir's Demands upon the Nabob of Furruckabad, notwithstanding the positive Prohibition of any Interference from the Resident in the Vizir's Claims upon that Nabob, and notwithstanding the further positive Prohibition of Detachments being required from the Brigade, except in Cases of extreme Necessity; and on all these important Occasions, for neglecting to make any Communications to this Board. Governor General's Orders to the Resident.

Ordered, That the Letters from Mr. Middleton and from Mr. Johnson be entered after the Consultation.

Appendix to Consultation, 12th June 1783.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 4th October 1781.

I have the Pleasure to inform you that I arrived here, by forced Marches, on the 2d Instant, having parted with the Nabob, who took Fayzabad in his Way, at Hussapore *.— As his Excellency will not be at Lucknow till Saturday next, and the Ministers arrived only To-day, we have not yet been able to enter upon any Business of Moment; but you may rest assured no Time shall be unnecessarily consumed. * Sic in Orig.

On my Arrival here, I was extremely concerned to find, from Colonel Hannay's Letters to my Brother, that his Situation was far more critical and dangerous than I could have had any Reaſon to ſuppoſe; in ſhort, the Safety of himſelf and Detachment appeared to depend ſolely upon his obtaining immediate Aſſiſtance from this Place; my Brother therefore, previous to my Arrival, had ſent Major Naylor's Regiment, which in conſequence of your Orders had been detached to Lucknow, to the Colonel's Relief, and I am hopeful it will be the Means of extricating him from his apparent Difficulties. Major John M'Pherſon, with One Battalion of his Regiment, arrived here Yeſterday, which enables us to ſpare Major Naylor's, otherwiſe I am convinced it would not have been by any Means ſafe to detach it from Lucknow, as Diſturbances prevail almoſt univerſally around us, and ſome daring Deſigns have been meditated, though happily detected before they were ripe for Execution, againſt the Tranquillity of this Town. I ſhall addreſs you on theſe Subjects at large in a Day or Two, and I truſt be able to leave you without any Apprehenſions for this Quarter, whatever Dangers there may have been.

The encloſed Letter from Colonel Hannay will exhibit to you an unpleaſant, but I fear too true a Picture of his Situation, and evince to you the Neceſſity there was for ſending him the Aſſiſtance we have done.

My dear Sir,

The Honble. Warren Haſtings. Your, &c. &c.

Nath. Middleton.

To Mr. J. C. Middleton.

(Copy.) Sakrora, Oct. 2d, 1781.

I have juſt received your Two Notes of the 30th: My Deſtruction is infallible, unleſs Two Regiments, or at leaſt One, arrive to my Aſſiſtance, without a Moment's Delay.—I am ſurrounded on Three Sides by incredible Numbers of Inſurgents, and I ſhall not be able to keep the Road open to Byramgaut above another Day. My Sepoys, the Remains of Seven broken Companies, deſert ſo faſt, that I ſhall ſoon be without any; moſt of my Horſe have made their Terms with the Rebels, and I am helpleſs. I have heard nothing more of Meer Ahmed Ally, and his Reſaula.—I have no hope but in Aſſiſtance from Lucknow: For theſe Three Days I have written to you, in the moſt preſſing Terms, for Aid; but I am afraid my Letters have not got to you: Without immediate Aſſiſtance we are loſt.

(Signed) A. H.

A true Copy,

(Signed) Nath[l] Middleton.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 12th October 1781.

Incloſed I take the Liberty of tranſmitting Copies of the ſeveral Papers you ſigned previous to my Departure from Chunar. The original Agreement between you and the Nabob I am afraid to truſt to the preſent Uncertainty of the Dauks; it ſhall however be forwarded the Moment you deſire it, and an authentic Copy may in the mean Time anſwer your immediate Purpoſe. Theſe Papers I have put under a ſealed Cover, that you may not have them opened and entered before you wiſh them to become public.

Permit me on this Occaſion, my dear Sir, to ſuggeſt to you the Neceſſity there is of the preparatory Steps being immediately taken towards accompliſhing the Point ſtipulated and agreed upon between you and the Nabob, by iſſuing the General Orders under which the temporary Brigade is to prepare to move out of the Vizir's Dominions, and the Engliſh Officers commanding Corps in his Excellency's Service to return to their reſpective Stations in the Company's Service.

Two Months from the Date of the Agreement were to be allowed (which will expire in the enſuing Month) for the Purpoſe of enabling the Troops at remote Stations to march down or diſband by Degrees, ſo as that what remains of them may paſs the Nabob's Boundaries by the Time ſtipulated. If Orders to this Effect are not now iſſued, the Time allowed will elapſe without Avail, and its intended Purpoſe be defeated. If you have not already fixed or iſſued your Orders and Arrangements for this Purpoſe, I venture to intrude the Propoſal of the following Mode, which I entreat you will receive merely as it is intended, to ſave, or aſſiſt in ſaving, you any Trouble this Subject might give you, at a Time that your Mind and Attention muſt be ſo wholly occupied by the great Object more immediately under your Conſideration.

Firſt, A General Order, that all Officers now employed in the interior Service of the Vizir do immediately repair with their Commands to Lucknow, and there completely pay off their Troops, and ſettle their Accounts with the Paymaſter General of the Vizir's Eſtabliſhment under Britiſh Officers, ſo that they (the Officers) may join their reſpective Brigades before the End of next Month, or at leaſt quit the Vizir's Provinces by that Period.

Secondly, An Order that the Second, or ſuch other Brigade as may be intended to occupy the Frontier Station, do march to Etawah, and canton there, excepting One complete Regiment of Sepoys, which is always to remain with the Reſident at Lucknow, and to be relieved every Three Months without Deviation.

Thirdly, An Order, ſignifying, that as it had been ſtipulated with the Nabob Vizir that the temporary Brigade and Cavalry ſhall no longer be at his Charge after the 30th November next, the Officers of that Brigade are to furniſh Drafts to the 2d Brigade to complete their Regiments to the Number newly regulated, and to march down their remaining Men to complete in like Manner the Regiments of the 1ſt and 3d Brigades, previouſly delivering over the Ordnance, Arms, &c. received from the Nabob Vizier—the Intention of this being, that the whole of the Futty Ghur and Daranagur Detachments, after being drafted for the 2d Brigade, do paſs the Nabob's Boundaries on or before the 30th November next. The Paymaſter to ſettle all Accounts with the Reſident to that Time.

Fourthly, An Order to direct the Paymaſter of Colonel Muir's Detachment, that he do not ſend in his Eſtimates for that Detachment to the Reſident, for the Pay and Allowances of any Period after the 30th November next, but from thenceforward to make his Drafts upon the Military Paymaſter General, or the Reſident and Collector of Benares, and to cloſe whatever Accounts he may have with the Reſident at Lucknow, to the Period above mentioned.

This laſt Order ſeems more urgently neceſſary than any of the foregoing, on account of the remote Situation of that Detachment, which might render any Diſappointment in its Supplies of the moſt ſerious Conſequence.

A Fifth Order, to ſtop the temporary Brigade from recruiting, might be of great Uſe, if immediately iſſued, as I underſtand that Officers are now employed in different Parts of the Vizier's Country on that Service.—In ſhort, my dear Sir, if it be true, as I have heard it lately reported, that you mean to re-eſtabliſh the Golundaz Corps, and to have an additional Military Eſtabliſhment at Benares, the Men required for theſe Two Objects, together with the Drafts ſufficient to complete the 3d Brigade, will preclude all Difficulty in diſpoſing of the Officers and Men which now compoſe the temporary Brigade and the Cavalry, whether you chuſe to allot One Regiment to each Brigade, or fix the whole at Benares.

It is alſo to be obſerved, that it is not indiſpenſably neceſſary, by the new Agreement with the Nabob, that the Troops are to leave his Dominions on a fixed Day; it is ſufficient that he is exonerated from the Charge of maintaining them, and that the Company find Funds for their Pay from the Period ſtipulated: But if the Orders above ſuggeſted, or ſome others to a ſimilar Effect, be not immediately iſſued, the ſudden Expiration of the ſtipulated Time muſt create much Confuſion and Difficulty, as the effectual Accompliſhment of this Arrangement, in all its Branches, will neceſſarily require Time, and the Proviſion of new Funds and Reſources muſt become an Object of your early Conſideration.

Excuſe, my dear Sir, the Freedom with which I have ſuggeſted the above Points, as Preparatives to the final Execution of your Engagements with the Vizier; and do me the Juſtice to believe that I am actuated by no other Motive than a ſincere Deſire to ſave you Embarraſſment.

Major Naylor's complete Defeat of the Rebels in the Goruckpore Country has left Colonel Hannay without any Apprehenſions of Danger to himſelf or Detachment; but the Country is yet in a very unſettled, diſaffected State, and will I fear remain ſo, until ſome ſevere Examples have been made of the leading Inſurgents, which the Circumſtances of their local Situation, their Reſources, and inacceſſible Retreats, may render both a difficult and a tedious Operation.

I am, moſt reſpectfully, &c. &c.

The Honble. Warren Haſtings. (Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow, the 16th October 1781.

My dear Sir,

I have been duly honoured with the Receipt of your Letter of the 7th Inſtant, to which the uſual and unavoidable Delays of the Vizier's Office prevented my giving you an earlier Reply.

Incloſed I now do myſelf the Pleaſure to tranſmit you an Addreſs from his Excellency, aſſenting to the Requeſt I made to him on your Behalf, in regard to the Farm of Khyra Ghur, and a Shocka to Raja Meyhipnarain on the ſame Subject; the neceſſary Orders having alſo been forwarded to the Fougedar of Allahabad, it remains only for the Raja to depute an Officer to receive Charge of the Pergunnah, which will be made over to him immediately on his Arrival.

From the Difficulties which the Nabob's Miniſters have heretofore experienced in realizing the Rents of this Farm, owing to the Want of any effectual Controul or Authority over Cheit Sing, his Excellency was ſecretly very averſe to continuing it to his Succeſſor, and had, I have Reaſon to believe, expedited the Reſumption of it on that Account; but I muſt do him the Juſtice to declare, he did not ſuffer this Objection to have any Weight in Competition with your Inclinations.

The Nabob's Shocka to Meyhipnarain, is left open for your Peruſal.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

The Honble. Warren Haſtings.

To

To Mr. Middleton.

Chunar, 21ſt November 1781.

I know not how to account for the little Attention which you ſhew to my Orders, eſpecially on a Point which you know to be the moſt important to my Reputation. Before you left this Place, I gave you a Liſt of Papers which I ſhould want, both to explain and juſtify the Engagements which I had concluded with the Nabob Vizier, and you promiſed to ſend them on your Arrival at Lucknow. You obliged me to write preſſingly, and I believe repeatedly for them. You then ſent me Accounts, which, had you but looked at their Titles, you would have known could be of no Uſe, being the Accounts of Eſtabliſhments, not of actual Expenditures, and of Eſtabliſhments of the Year 1778, which are either obſolete or much changed; and the Account which I moſt wanted you have not ſent, which was the Account of the Nabob's preſent Debt to the Company. I have been prevented by your Neglect of me from ſending to the Board the Report of this Tranſaction, which of courſe will go Home only in private, and of courſe not the moſt favourable Accounts of it.

I now once more deſire that you will inſtantly ſend me the following Accounts:

1. An Account of the Sums due to the End of the laſt Month of the Fuſſulee Computation from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, on account of each ſeparate Charge.

2. An Account of the Diſburſements made and due for the laſt Fuſſulee Year for every different Department paid by Mr. Wombwell, viz. The temporary Brigade, Major Martin's Arſenal, Colonel Hannay's Corps, Body Guard, Penſions and Salaries, and the actual Expence of Captain Oſborne's Corps for the laſt Year of his Command.

To theſe I muſt add another equally neceſſary with the foregoing, which I deſire you to give me, as you can, but not to delay the foregoing for it; viz. An Account of the nominal Value of each Jagheer; and oppoſed to it, its real Produce or its eſtimated Value.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

My dear Sir,

Lucknow, the 1ſt December 1781.

The Account of the Jagheers, in the Manner you deſire it in your Letter of the 21ſt Ultimo, is by no means eaſy to make, with any Degree of Certainty, while they remain ſeparated and diſtinct from the Mahls of the Sircar, as every Jagheerdar finds it too much his Intereſt to conceal any Exceſs of Collections above the Amount for which the Lands are granted to him, to ſuffer an exact Valuation to be taken, ſo long as he has the Means of preventing it; but as the Jagheers will now either be re-annexed to the Khalſa Lands, or made a ſeparate Aumildarry, under the Direction of a Perſon of my own Recommendation, it will not be difficult for me to obtain the Informations you require, as their Produce, whatever it may be, will be brought into the Treaſury, from whence thoſe who are entitled to the Mediation of the Company will receive their Proportions in Ready Money. I have this Day ſignified to the Miniſter my Expectation that the whole of the Jagheers be reſumed, and their Revenue, after paying to ſuch of the Proprietors as have a Right to claim the Mediation of our Government, the Amount of their Jagheers, be applied to the Liquidation of the Nabob's Debt to the Honourable Company. I ſhall be very glad if his Excellency conſents to make this Meaſure an Act of his own, as I conceive it would be more agreeable to you, and more conſiſtent with thoſe Appearances which it may be thought expedient to preſerve with his Excellency; but if he declines it, as is by no means improbable, I ſhall think myſelf juſtified by your Inſtructions in inſiſting on its being done even without his Concurrence.

I expect to be informed of his Excellency's Determination on this Subject To-morrow, and ſhall loſe no Time in taking my Meaſures accordingly, and informing you thereof.

The Miniſter informs me that Meyhipnarain has not yet ſent an Aumil to Khyragur, which cauſes great Confuſion in that Pergunnah; may I therefore, my dear Sir, beg to be informed whether it is your Intention to continue the Farm under Meyhipnarain, or reſtore it to the Authority of the Vizier?

I am, &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

My dear Sir,

It is with the greateſt Concern that I have to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter of the 21ſt, as you appear to be much hurt at the Neglect you accuſe me with towards you.

I really thought that I had ſent you every Account which you had aſked me for at Chunar. The Eſtabliſhments of the Troops under Britiſh Officers which I tranſmitted, although made, as you obſerve, in the Year 1778, are the ſame by which the Payments are at this Moment made, excepting any extra Diſburſement and Contingency which cannot be provided for, and which but rarely occur in the Service.

And the Revenue Accounts were of the very laſt Year that had then been drawn out. The Accounts of the new Year are not yet ſettled or delivered in; and what have been tranſcribed has been ſince my ſending the Accounts to you.

However,

However, the Accounts, as you now desire them, are transcribing, and shall be sent you without a Moment's Loss of Time. The Receipts and Disbursements of the last Year will not be quite complete, as the Accounts of Gurruchpore and Furruckabad have not yet been closed.

Sir Elijah Impey leaves us on Wednesday Morning, after which, I dare venture to assure you, you will have much less Cause to tax me with want of Punctuality. I have, and must necessarily continue to be constant in my personal Attendance upon him, which I trust you will admit as some Excuse for me.

I am, &c.

Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
25th Nov^{r} 1781.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings.

Lucknow, the 2d Dec^{r} 1781.

My dear Sir,

I had Yesterday the Honour of informing you of the Message I sent to the Nabob through the Minister, respecting the Jagheers, to which his Excellency this Morning returned me a Reply, purporting, that if the Measure proposed was intended to procure the Payment of his Balance due to the Company, he could better and more expeditiously effect that Object, by taking from his Mother what she is very able to spare, and what he has an undoubted Right, as he conceives, to exact from her. The present Debt to the Company, as he with Truth observes, is a great Part handed down from his Father; and the Funds from which he might have been enabled to liquidate it, it is notorious, were withheld from him by the Begum, on the late Nabob's Death. That according to the Laws of the Koran, and the invariable Custom of the Country, he is justly entitled to the whole Estate and Treasures of his Father, and could legally demand their being put in his Possession; but that the Sum he desires to take from his Mother (about Sixty Lacks) bears no Sort of Proportion to the immense Wealth which fell into her Hands on the Death of his Father, nor would it bear at all hard upon her, as he knows how much her Treasures exceed that Sum. All therefore that he asks, is not to be interrupted in recovering a Part of his hereditary Right, by which he will be enabled to discharge immediately the whole of his Debt to the Company.

This, my dear Sir, is a flattering Proposition; and as to the Point of Right, admitting it to be less clear and defined than the Nabob chuses to consider it, you may possibly be of Opinion that the Conduct of the Begums, on the late Disturbances at Benares, as set forth in the several Testimonies laid before you, has forfeited any Claim they might originally have had to the Protection and Mediation of the Company; and further, that it may not be political, or yet perfectly safe, to trust them any longer with such powerful Means of promoting an Opposition to our Interests.

For my own Part, I am so well persuaded of the Disaffection of the Begums, particularly the present Nabob's Mother, to our Cause, and of their Promptitude to unite in any Measure to distress us, that I could very easily reconcile it to my Conscience to assist the Nabob, instead of obstructing him, in wresting from them every Benefit they enjoy beyond a decent Maintenance; however, this is only my own Opinion, and by no means meant to influence yours. The Nabob writes you himself on this Subject, and you have his Letter inclosed. Neither he nor I expect that you should give a formal Sanction to the Measure proposed: It will be sufficient that you but hint your Opinion upon it, and enable me to inform his Excellency whether you would or would not oppose his Design. Let me therefore entreat you, my dear Sir, to favour me with a Line by the Return of the Dauk; and if your Sentiments should happen to accord with my own, I doubt not but I should be able to congratulate you, in a very short Space of Time, upon the Remittance of a handsome Sum to the Presidency.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

P. S. Whatever may be your Resolution upon the Subject of this Letter, it will be expedient to keep it secret. The Resumption of the Jagheers it is necessary to suspend, until I have your Sentiments on this Letter.

The Honourable Warren Hastings.

Lucknow, the 5th December 1781.

My dear Sir,

The inclosed Letter from the Nabob, stating his Situation relative to his Claims to Furruckabad, I have had some Days by me, waiting till I should learn your final Determination upon this Point from Sir Elijah Impey; and having now received this, I shall look to nothing but the Enforcement of your Wishes, by bringing the Nabob to expect the Recovery of his Dues from Furruckabad from your Interference alone. In the mean Time I forward his Letter, that you may be fully acquainted with his former Situation in that Respect.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 6th Dec^r 1781.

I underſtand, from a Letter I have received from Sir Elijah Impey, that you are not yet ſatisfied with the Statement tranſmitted to you of the Nabob's Debt to the Company, which induces me to trouble you with a few further Remarks.

In the Nabob's Account Current, dated and forwarded to you the 20th ultimo, I purpoſely particularized, as far as my Judgment could point out, any Diviſion or Detail in it. The Sum of Rupees 32,78,613. 11. after deducting 10,000 R^s for an Error, was the Balance of the Year 1187, agreeably to Mr. Purling's Account, ariſing from ſhort Payments of the Claims made upon the Nabob for that Year, and occaſioned by the total Collections of the Country not having proved adequate to the Nabob's own Wants and our annual Claims; and upon theſe Conſiderations I found myſelf obliged, upon my Adjuſtment with his Excellency for the Year 1188, to take a Bond for that Amount, of which I duly informed the Honourable Board. The Army Donation, R^s 10,50,000, was under the ſame Circumſtances; as the unavoidable Claims for the immediate Pay of the eſtabliſhed Troops, and other indiſpenſable Diſburſements, fully engroſſed all the Funds that could be ſet apart from the Nabob's abſolute Wants, after deducting the uſual Charges of Collection. For this, therefore, I was obliged to accept a Bond, the Honourable Board being informed of it, and ſanctifying it by their Concurrence. Both theſe Bonds I ſeparately particularized at the Foot of the Nabob's Account for 1188, and added the actual Balance of R^s 12,09,876. 9. 8. for which new Aſſignments were receiving.

Believe me, my dear Sir, if this Explanation does not anſwer your Purpoſe, it is not owing to the Want of Inclination to take any Pains to afford you complete Satisfaction, but to my Ignorance of any clearer Mode of ſtating it, or any other Elucidation of which the Account is ſuſceptible; I muſt therefore entreat you will do me the Favour to inform me, what Queſtion, unanſwered by my Explanation, can be aſked upon it, and I will inſtantly do my utmoſt to make it more clear and explicit.

I underſtand alſo from Sir Elijah's Letter, 'that you approve of a Subſidy from Fayzula 'Cawn, and the Troops to be raiſed upon it to be ſtationed at Cawnpore or Allahabad, but not 'higher.'

The Troops Fayzula Cawn offered through Mr. Johnſon to hold in Readineſs upon his Interpretation of the Treaty, were 2,000 Cavalry, and 1,000 Infantry. If Money inſtead of theſe be required, he will probably propoſe his own Rates of paying them, which are from 14 to 17 Rupees per Month for each Horſeman, with his Arms, Accoutrements, and Horſe, and 4 R^s each for the Infantry; which would only amount together to little above 4 Lacks per Annum—ſay 5 Lacks, including Oadadars or Officers; a Sum which I imagine you would conſider ſcarcely worth the Company's Acceptance, and at the Rates of our own Service, the ſame Number of Troops would exceed Twelve Lacks, which I ſuppoſe is conſiderably beyond what he will voluntarily pay. However, if it is your Wiſh that the Claim ſhould be made, I am ready to take it up, and you may be aſſured nothing within my Power ſhall be left undone to carry it through. The Tofeer or Exceſs of Fayzula Cawn's Collections above the Valuation of his Grant, is ſaid to be equal to the laſt-mentioned Sum. I wait only your Orders to proceed in this Buſineſs.

Finding the Nabob wavering in his Determination about the Reſumption of the Jagheers, I this Day, in Preſence of, and with the Miniſter's Concurrence, ordered the neceſſary Perwannahs to be written to the ſeveral Aumils for that Purpoſe, and it was my firm Reſolution to have diſpatched them this Evening, with proper People to ſee them punctually and implicitly carried into Execution; but before they were all tranſcribed, I received a Meſſage from the Nabob, who had been informed by the Miniſter of the Reſolution I had taken, intreating that I would withhold the Perwannahs until To-morrow Morning, when he would attend me, and afford me Satisfaction on this Point. As the Loſs of a few Hours in the Diſpatch of the Perwannahs appeared of little Moment, and as it is poſſible the Nabob, ſeeing that the Buſineſs will at all Events be done, may make it an Act of his own, I have conſented to indulge him in his Requeſt; but, be the Reſult of our Interview whatever it may, nothing ſhall prevent the Orders being iſſued To-morrow, either by him or myſelf, with the Concurrence of the Miniſters. Your Pleaſure reſpecting the Begums I have learnt from Sir Elijah; and the Meaſure heretofore propoſed will ſoon follow the Reſumption of the Jagheers. From both, or indeed from the former alone, I have no Doubt of the complete Liquidation of the Company's Balance.

I am, &c.

Nath. Middleton.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 7th December 1781.

I had the Honour to addreſs you Yeſterday, informing you of the Steps I had taken in regard to the Reſumption of the Jagheers. This Morning the Vizier came to me according to his Agreement, but ſeemingly without any Intention or Deſire to yield me Satisfaction on the Subject under Diſcuſſion; for after a great deal of Converſation, conſiſting on his Part of triſling Evaſion and puerile Excuſes for withholding his Aſſent to the Meaſure, though at the ſame Time

profeſſing

profeſſing the moſt implicit Submiſſion to your Wiſhes, I found myſelf without any other Reſource than the one of employing that excluſive Authority with which I conſider your Inſtructions to veſt me: I therefore declared to the Nabob, in Preſence of the Miniſter and Mr. Johnſon, who I deſired might bear witneſs of the Converſation, that I conſtrued his Rejection of the Meaſure propoſed as a Breach of his ſolemn Promiſe to you, and an Unwillingneſs to yield that Aſſiſtance which was evidently in his Power towards liquidating his heavy accumulating Debt to the Company, and that I muſt in conſequence determine, in my own Juſtification, to iſſue immediately the Perwannahs, which had only been withheld in the ſanguine Hope that he would be prevailed upon to make that his own Act, which nothing but the moſt urgent Neceſſity could force me to make mine. He left me without any Reply, but afterwards ſent for his Miniſter, and authorized him to give me Hopes that my Requiſition would be complied with; on which I expreſſed my Satisfaction, but declared that I could admit of no further Delays, and unleſs I received his Excellency's formal Acquieſcence before the Evening, I ſhould then moſt aſſuredly iſſue my Perwannahs; which I have accordingly done, not having had any Aſſurances from his Excellency that could juſtify a further Suſpenſion. I ſhall, as ſoon as poſſible, inform you of the Effect of the Perwannahs, which, in many Parts, I am apprehenſive it will be found neceſſary to enforce with Military Aid; I am not, however, entirely without Hopes that the Nabob, when he ſees the Inefficacy of further Oppoſition, may alter his Conduct, and prevent the Confuſion and diſagreeable Conſequences which would be too likely to reſult from the Proſecution of a Meaſure of ſuch Importance, without his Concurrence. His Excellency talks of going to Fayzabad, for the Purpoſe heretofore mentioned, in Three or Four Days: I wiſh he may be ſerious in this Intention, and you may reſt aſſured I ſhall ſpare no Pains to keep him to it.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

The Honourable W. Haſtings.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 9th December 1781.

I had the Honour to addreſs you on the 7th Inſtant, informing you of the Converſation which had paſſed between the Nabob and me on the Subject of reſuming the Jagheers, and the Step I had taken in conſequence.—His Excellency appeared to be very much hurt and incenſed at the Meaſure, and loudly complains of the Treachery of his Miniſters; Firſt, in giving you any Hopes that ſuch a Meaſure would be adopted; and, Secondly, in their promiſing me their whole Support in carrying it through: But, as I apprehended, rather than ſuffer it to appear that the Point had been carried in oppoſition to his Will, he at length yielded a nominal Acquieſcence, and has this Day iſſued his own Perwannahs to that Effect; declaring however, at the ſame Time, both to me and his Miniſters, that it is an Act of Compulſion.—I hope to be able, in a few Days, in conſequence of this Meaſure, to tranſmit you an Account of the actual Value and Produce of the Jagheers, oppoſed to the nominal Amount at which they ſtand rated on the Books of the Sircar.

I have the Pleaſure to inform you, the Nabob ſtill adheres to his Reſolution of proceeding immediately to Fayzabad, for the Purpoſes already mentioned to you, and will, I believe, depart in Three Days from this Date. I entertain the moſt flattering and ſanguine Expectations from his Journey; and we ſhall not be kept long in Suſpenſe concerning the Reſult, as he is convinced of the Danger and Impropriety of Delay.

Sir Elijah Impey has ſignified to me your final Commands reſpecting the Nabob of Furruckabad, and Iſhmael Beg; in both which Inſtances reſt aſſured they ſhall be implicitly obeyed. I wait only the arrival of Suftulla Cawn, whom Sir Elijah informed me you had diſpatched to me, to withdraw every Shadow of Interference in the Government of Furruckabad. Iſmael Beg's Accounts with the Nabob ſhall be inveſtigated in the Manner you direct, and full Information tranſmitted you the Moment I can ſpare Time from the Two important Objects to which you have directed my firſt Attention.

Under this Date I have diſpatched to you, at the Nabob's Deſire, Two Elephants, with an Ambarry and Howdah, Four Horſes, a Palenquin, a Maulah Seerpeach, and Caulgah, appertaining to the Dreſs, &c. you did him the Honour to accept at Chunar.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

The Nabob Vizier having appointed an Aumil to take charge of the Begum's Jaguirs, ſhe has, it appears, prepared a large Body of Troops, with a ſuppoſed Deſign to reſiſt him. A violent and threatening Letter, which I have juſt received from the Begum, would ſeem to leave no Doubt of her Intentions to ſupport the already-declared Licentiouſneſs of her Servants, in oppoſing the Nabob's Orders; I have therefore been obliged to join my Solicitation to the Vizier's, for obtaining a Regiment from Colonel Morgan, to ſupport the Aumil in the Execution of his Excellency's Commands; and I may add, that unleſs my Judgment far miſleads me, we ſhall be in want

want of ſtill farther Aid, before the Meaſure of reſuming the Jaguirs ſhall become fully eſtabliſhed, and the Country reſtored to that State of Tranquillity and Subordination which it enjoyed before the Contagion ſpread by Chyte Sing's Machinations.

I encloſe Copy of my Letter to Colonel Morgan, and have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
the 19th December 1781.

(Copy.)

To Colonel Charles Morgan, commanding at Cawnpore.

Sir,

Incloſed I have the Honour to tranſmit you a Letter from the Nabob Vizier, requeſting a Regiment of Native Troops to aſſiſt the Aumil of Selon, &c. in eſtabliſhing his Authority, which is threatened to be violently diſputed by an armed Force. I muſt join my Requeſt to that of his Excellency's, as I am but too well aſſured of the great Neceſſity there will be for a Military Force to re-eſtabliſh a regular Obedience to Government in many Parts of this Country; if you will therefore pleaſe to order a Regiment here, I will take care to procure proper Inſtructions for the Commanding Officer.

I have the Honour, &c.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,
the 19th December 1781.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

I have been honoured with the Receipt of your Letter of the 19th Inſtant; and in obedience to your Commands ſhall forward to you, by the Firſt ſafe Opportunity, your Agreement with the Nabob Vizier, together with ſuch other authentic Papers as are connected with it; and have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient, &c. &c.
(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,
the 22d December 1781.

To Mr. Middleton.

Benares, 26th December 1781.

Sir,

My Mind has been for ſome Days ſuſpended between Two oppoſite Impulſes; one ariſing from the Neceſſity of my Return to Calcutta; the other from the Apprehenſion of my Preſence being more neceſſary and more urgently wanted at Lucknow. Your Anſwer to this ſhall decide my Choice.

I have waited thus long in the Hopes of hearing that ſome Progreſs had been made in the Execution of the Plan which I concluded with the Nabob in September laſt. I do not find that any Step towards it has been yet taken, though Three Months are elapſed, and little more than that Period did appear to me requiſite to have accompliſhed the moſt eſſential Parts of it, and to have brought the whole into Train. This Tardineſs, and the Oppoſition prepared to the only decided Act yet undertaken, have a bad Appearance. I approve the Nabob's Reſolutions to deprive the Begums of their ill-employed Treaſures. In both Services it muſt be your Care to prevent an Abuſe of the Powers given to thoſe that are employed in them. You yourſelf ought to be perſonally preſent. You muſt not allow any Negociations or Forbearance, but muſt proſecute both Services until the Begums are at the entire Mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers in the quiet Poſſeſſion of his Aumils, and their Wealth in ſuch Charge as may ſecure it againſt private Embezzlement. You will have a Force more than ſufficient to effect both theſe Purpoſes.

The Reformation of his Army, and the new Settlement of his Revenues, are alſo Points of immediate Concern, and ought to be immediately concluded. Has any Thing been done in either?

I now demand and require you moſt ſolemnly to anſwer me. Are you confident in your own Ability to accompliſh all theſe Purpoſes, and the other Points of my Inſtructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet and aſſured Mind to the Preſidency, but leave you a dreadful Reſponſibility if you diſappoint me. If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your * Power, and the other Means which you poſſeſs, for performing theſe Services, I will free you from the Charge; I will proceed myſelf to Lucknow, and I will myſelf undertake them; and in that Caſe I deſire that you will immediately order Bearers to be ſtationed, for myſelf and Two other Gentlemen, between Lucknow and Illahabad, and I will ſet out from hence in Three Days after the Receipt of your Letter.

I am ſorry that I am under the Neceſſity of writing in this preſſing Manner; I truſt implicitly to your Integrity: I am certain of your Attachment to myſelf, and I know that your Capacity is equal to any Service; but I muſt expreſs my Doubts of your Firmneſs and Activity, and above all, of your Recollection of my Inſtructions, and of their Importance. My Conduct in the late

*"A Blank is left here in the Original."

Arrangements will be arraigned with all the Rancor of disappointed Rapacity, and my Reputation and Influence will suffer a mortal Wound from the Failure of them. They have already failed in a Degree, since no Part of them has yet taken place, but the Removal of our Forces from the Douab and Rohilcund, and of the British Officers and Pensioners from the Service of the Nabob; and the Expences of the former thrown, without any Compensation, on the Company.

I expect a Supply of Money equal to the Discharge of all the Nabob's Arrears, and am much disappointed and mortified that I am not now able to return with it

Give me an immediate Answer to the Question which I have herein proposed, that I may lose no more Time in fruitless Inaction.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Warren Hastings.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 26th Decr 1781.

I have long been waiting, with very great Impatience, for the Arrival of Sultulla Cawn, who Sir Elijah Impey informed me you had dispatched to Lucknow, to adjust with me the Account between the Vizier and Muzuffer Jung, and settle the future Mode of Payment of what might appear due from that Chief to his Excellency; but having heard of Sultulla's Arrival at Furruckabad, and of his having, as he reports, by your Authority, declared Muzuffer Jung exempted from all Sort of Dependance on the Vizier, I was unwilling to delay any longer the Execution of your Commands, and therefore prefsed upon his Excellency and the Ministers the Necessity of an immediate Compliance with your Requisition for the Recall of Almâs Ally Cawn from Furruckabad, which has accordingly been done; and I have now the Honour to inclose you Translate of a Letter addressed to me by his Excellency on the Subject.

Permit me, my dear Sir, in this Place, to suggest to you the Necessity of your writing in very peremptory Terms to the Nabob Muzuffer Jung, respecting the Payment of his Dues to this Government, which I am more particularly anxious about, as the Amount unavoidably has become a Part of the Funds assigned to the Liquidation of the public annual Claim upon the Vizier. As yet no Security whatever has been offered for any Part of the Demand, nor any Thing paid, although Four Months of the Year are elapsed; and as neither his Excellency or myself have now any Means of exacting Payment, I am very apprehensive that, without the immediate and vigorous Exertion of your Authority, very little, if any Thing, will be got from Muzuffer Jung. On this Point, as the Claim is considerable; and the Nabob, at your Requisition, has given up the Means he formerly had of enforcing it, I could wish, on your Authority, to give him some satisfactory Assurance, which I hope you will enable me to do.

As I understand you interested yourself in the Welfare of a Person by the Name of Hadjee Mahmood Caudry, who some Time ago visited this Court in his Way to Delhy, I beg leave to inclose you an Article of curious Intelligence concerning him, which has been transmitted by Luttarefut Ally Cawn. I have not heard what has been, or is likely to be, the Consequence of the Hadjee's Manœuvre.

I shall, To-morrow, do myself the Honour of addressing you officially respecting the Bhow Begum, whose Conduct, on the intended Resumption of her Jagheer, has removed the Veil by which her real Dispositions have long been covered, and seems to render what I should before have recommended as a Measure of Prudence, at present an Act of indispensable Necessity—I mean depriving her of the Power of doing Mischief.

I am, &c.

The Honourable W. Hastings. Nath. Middleton.

From Lataufut Ally Khan to Nazir Collah Beg Khan, his Vakeel.

I have received the Letters from the Nabob and Mr. Middleton respecting Hadjee Shaw Mahmood Kaudrie; also one from yourself, mentioning the same Person. On his Arrival, I lodged him at my House, furnishing him with every Thing necessary, and introduced him to the King and Nabob Nezif Khan; also obtained for him a Grant of Two Lacks of Rupees. On his taking his leave, I secured to him the Compliment of a Doshawlah and Shawl Handkerchief from the King; likewise from Nabob Nezif Khan Five Trays, in which were Two Pair of Doshawlahs, Four Pieces of Shawls, One Piece of Kumbkaub, and Two Shawl Handkerchiefs; notwithstanding which, he has been guilty of the Fraudulency of making out Sunnuds for the Countries of Arcot and Hydernaig, in the Name of Mahmud Ally Khan, under forged Seals, promising to give the forged Seal-cutter a thouland Rupees, of which he paid only Two hundred, withholding the Balance, and proceeded to Desnah, distant from Dhelly Sixteen Cos. There were Four Accomplices in the Forgery, One of whom was the Seal-cutter, and received the Two hundred Rupees. One out of the Four has turned Informer, and made the Nabob Nezif Khan acquainted with the whole, who seized the Three other People, and sent them to the King. There were Three of the King's Kismutgars on whom the forged Seals were found. The King tried the Seals with his own Hands on Paper, when there was not to be perceived the smallest Deviation on comparing with his own. The People are now in Confinement. They say that the Hadjee promised them, that if they would make out the Sunnud for Arcot, and give it him, he would pay them

them Ten thouſand Rupees; that, induced by this promiſed Reward, and the Hadjee's Perſuaſion, they have been guilty of this Fraud. The King has directed Nazif Khan to apprehend the Hadjee, and take from him the forged Sunnud. In compliance therewith Nazif Khan has ſent to Dornah.—Explain the whole of this Affair to the Nabob Hyder Beg Khan and Mr. Middleton.

From the Nabob Vizier to the Reſident.

I have received the Governor's Letter, directing me to withdraw my Naib from Nabob Mozuffer Jung, leaving the Bundebuſt to be ſettled by him; I have accordingly been waiting for a reſponſible Perſon on the Part of Mozuffer Jung, to attend and account with you for the Company's Aſſignments, that I might then recall my Servant from thence, and after that addreſs the Governor reſpecting my Humiliation. Hitherto no one from Mozuffer Jung has appeared for that Purpoſe. Mozuffer Jung, on Receipt of the Governor's Letter, ſent a Copy of it to Almas Ally Khan, which I now encloſe you. It being my Wiſh to give Satisfaction in all Reſpects to the Governor, I relinquiſh all Interference with Mozuffer Jung's Dominions. The Particulars reſpecting Mozuffer Jung, from the Beginning, are theſe:—On the Death of Ahmud Khan, the Brothers and Family of Mozuffer Jung attempted to deprive him of the Muſnud, when my Father ſent his Troops to ſupport him, who engaged with the Patans of Mhow, &c. who were in Oppoſition, and eſtabliſhed Mozuffer Jung in his Acceſſion. Since this, I have protected him againſt his Brothers, Meerbhaun Khan, &c. Houſehold Slaves, allotting, at my own Charge, One thouſand Troops and Artillery for his Guard; the Truth of which enquire of others: You will know in what Manner he has made good, during theſe Five Years, the Tribute promiſed for theſe Services. From the Beginning, when every Thing was in his own Power, by his Indolence, and the Knavery of his Servants, nothing was received; I therefore was reduced to the Neceſſity of appointing a reſponſible Man; and, in the ſame Manner as I ſettled the Collections of my own Country, cauſing Engagements or Bonds to be written by my Aumils for the Company's Aſſignments, and Payment of the ſame, to you; ſo Mozuffer Jung took Engagements or Bonds from his Aumils, to ſecure the Payment of the Company's Aſſignments to him; but from the Ignorance of Mozuffer Jung, and Knavery of his Servants, the Aſſignments have not been paid, which will appear from the Balance accumulated during the Collectorſhip of Mr. Shee. Thus circumſtanced, I appointed Almas Ally Khan, that having adjuſted every Matter reſpecting Mozuffer Jung to his Satisfaction, he might effectually ſettle the Bundebuſt of the Country.—Now the Governor writes me, not to have any one there——His Pleaſure is the Line of my Conduct. There is due to me from Nabob Mozuffer Jung, to the End of the Year, Rupees 1,58,456; —this I will aſſign to the Company towards the Payment of my Debt to them, which, if ſatisfactory to be received from Mozuffer Jung, you will give me Credit for the ſame in Part Payment of the Company's Claim on me, and I ſhall recall my Servant from thence, not meaning to offer any Excuſe. This being ſettled, I ſhall addreſs to the Governor on the Subject of my preſent and future Humiliation. If I heſitate, the Governor may deem it an Oppoſition to his Will: If I recall my Aumil, it will be conſidered by Mozuffer Jung as a Relinquiſhment of my Claim. Do you therefore, my Friend, take immediate ſatisfactory Steps for the Recovery of the Debt, that I may withdraw my Aumil in Obedience to the Governor's Orders. It is notorious that his Friendſhip and Connexion with me exceeds that of any other Prince of Hindoſtan; and in Return for which, my Life and Fortune are devoted to him. The particular and declared Object of my Application for the Removal of Mr. Shee, was to obtain the uncontrouled Management of Furruckabad, which was granted me accordingly, and made an Article of my laſt Agreement. What has led the Governor to alter his Sentiments on this Point, I am at a Loſs to conceive. My Humiliation will reach Dehly. When you ſhall have taken the neceſſary Steps for ſecuring Payment of the Claims from thence, let me know, and I will recall the Aumil, and then I will write the Governor.—My Elevation or Diſgrace remains in his Breaſt.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

The very great Inconvenience, Loſs, and Indignities to which the Vizier has long been ſubject, from the Authority and Dominion aſſumed and exerciſed by the Jagheerdars with the Support of armed Force, and the Impoſſibility of ſtriking out any Medium by which theſe Evils could effectually be remedied, have induced his Excellency to reſume all the Jagheer and Marofee Lands throughout his Country, promiſing to ſuch Perſons as have juſt or equitable Claims to his Bounty, or thoſe guaranteed by the Company for the Amount of their Jagheers, Allowances in Ready Money equal to the Net Sum they ſhall appear to have annually realized from their Jagheers.

This Meaſure, the Utility, and I may ſay the abſolute Neceſſity, whereof will not be diſputed by any one who has had an Opportunity of obſerving the Conduct of the Jagheerdars in general, and particularly ſome whoſe Incomes enabled them to maintain Armies not only ſuperior to thoſe of the Aumils of the Country, who ſhould properly be a Check upon them, but even ſufficient to reſiſt the Force of the State itſelf, has met with violent Oppoſition from the Bhow Begum, who falls particularly under the laſt Deſcription, and whoſe Power is rendered the more pernicious and dangerous, Firſt, From its being wholly delegated to her

Servants, who have their own Views of Ambition and Intereſt to anſwer, and in the next Place from the Reluctance with which the Miniſters, and even the Nabob himſelf, interfere with any Concerns of the Begum.

From theſe Two Circumſtances, ſtrengthened by the immenſe Wealth in her Poſſeſſion, alſo intruſted to her Two Chief Eunuchs, Bahar and Jowar Ally Cawn, and her unreaſonable Expectations of Support from the Engliſh Government, of all which ſhe and her Servants avail themſelves to the utmoſt, ſhe is become One of the moſt ſerious internal Evils that, among others, ſeems to bid fair to give great Diſturbance to this Country.

The great Awe in which the Nabob, and of courſe every one under him, ſtands of her Diſpleaſure, leaves without Bounds or Reſtraint the Effects of her uncommonly violent Temper. Death and Deſtruction is the leaſt * me Menace ſhe denounces, upon the moſt trifling Oppoſition to her Caprice. * Sic in Orig.

By her own Conduct, and that of all her Agents and Dependants during the Benares Troubles, it may with Truth and Juſtice be affirmed, ſhe forfeited every Claim ſhe had to the Protection of the Engliſh Government, as ſhe evidently, and it is confidently ſaid avowedly, eſpouſed the Cauſe of Rajah Cheyt Sing, and united in the Idea and Plan of a general Extirpation of their Race and Power in Hindoſtan.

Her Agent at Taunda, who is the Cheyla and adopted Son of Bahr Ally Cawn, her principal Miniſter, treacherouſly turned his Guns upon Lieut. Gordon's Detachment, and was by that Gentleman's Account the ſole Cauſe of the Loſs of it. She gave every Encouragement in her Power to the Adherents of Cheyt Sing by her Agents; aſſiſted them in raiſing Troops in the Town of Fyzabad; promiſed, and as is generally believed, actually advanced Money to the rebellious Rajahs of the Vizier's Country; raiſed Troops to ſupport them, and iſſued Perwannahs for their Operations againſt the Forts garriſoned by the Nabob's Troops under the Command of Britiſh Officers; all which is fully ſtated in the Depoſitions made by Colonel Hannay and the Gentlemen of his Corps. Notwithſtanding all theſe Facts, upon the general Reſumption of the Jagheers I made the Rents of her Lands payable to me; under an Engagement of making the Amount good to her by ſuch Inſtallments as ſhe might direct, in Return for which I have received Letters from her, containing the moſt groſs Abuſe and the wildeſt Threats that can be tranſcribed, Copies of which I have the Honour to encloſe.

Her chief Agent, Bahar Ally Cawn, has marched a conſiderable Force into Nabob Gunge, One of her Jagheers, declaring that if any Attempt is made to reſume it, he will lay the whole Country of Goonda waſte. Theſe declared and repeated Acts of Rebellion are ſurely more than ſufficient to forfeit all Claim whatever to the Interference in her Behalf from our Government; and if ſome Stop is not immediately put to it, it appears but too certain that ſhe will light a Flame throughout theſe Provinces, which if not difficult to extinguiſh will at leaſt put a heavy Bar to the Company's Collections here. I cannot therefore avoid making theſe Repreſentations to you, or doubt but you will approve of the Vizier's immediately taking thoſe Steps which may be neceſſary for effectually eſtabliſhing his Government and Authority, and depriving the Begum of thoſe great Reſources which ſhe has ſhewn it would be extremely impolitic and unſafe to truſt longer in her Hands. On this Subject the Nabob has communicated to me his Sentiments in a long Letter, Copy whereof I have the Honour to encloſe you, in which you will obſerve he ſignifies his Intention of proſecuting his legal Claims upon her for the Public Treaſure and Effects belonging to his Inheritance from his Father, which ſhe detains from him, and ſquanders in ſuch deſtructive Purpoſes, while he is overwhelmed by Public Debts, principally incurred by his Predeceſſor, and on account of his Inability to diſcharge which the Company have indiſpenſably been driven to take upon themſelves the Burthen of a large Military Eſtabliſhment hitherto entertained for their Service at the Charge of the Nabob.

On this Head I think it unneceſſary to offer any Remark, ſince a Reference to the eſtabliſhed Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country will ſufficiently prove his Excellency's inherent Right to claim the Property of his Predeceſſor.

I muſt alſo take the Liberty to add my Opinion, that unleſs Fyzullah Cawn, remotely ſituated as he is, out of reach of Interruption, in the Centre of his own Tribe and Country, connected uninterruptedly with the other Two remaining Patan Powers, becomes included in this general Reform of the Jagheer, or ſome effectual Check impoſed upon him, the whole may prove abortive, while, if fully enforced, may ſave this Country, and with it poſſibly much of our own Blood and Treaſure.

I have the Honour to be,
&c. &c.

Lucknow,
the 27th Dec[r] 1781.

(Signed) Nathaniel Middleton,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

From the Bhowe Begum to the Reſident.

The underwritten Particulars have juſt come to my Knowledge—That the Nabob's Orders to Meer Mahboob Ally are arrived, directing the Reſumption of Nabob Gunge on the other Side of the River, and Bene Gunge my Jagheer, and for him to take charge thereof; alſo that

that the Charge of Purgunnah Salone, my Jagheer, is given to Meer Nazir Ally; every Thing reſpecting myſelf is ſpecified in your Caulnama. Hitherto no Interference has taken place by any one; I am at a Loſs to account for the preſent Meaſure. On what Plea has the Nabob reſumed my Jagheer, or what are his Intentions? While you are Reſident can ſuch Proceedings be admitted? Expreſs your Diſapprobation, that it may not be carried into Effect. Before, Application was made through Molvie Fuzzle Azeem Khan to me, for Lowanah Talook, my Jagheer, when I wrote to Huſſein Reza Khan, and Hyder Beg Khan, on the Subject, who ſilenced Molvie Fuzzle Azeem Khan—but now the Reſumption of my Jagheer is reſolved on.

The Jagheer is not the Grant of the Nabob, that he ſhould reſume it—let thoſe who granted reſume it. The Nabob has nothing to do with me. Let me have a ſpeedy Anſwer. Countermand the Order to Meer Nazir Ally for the Reſumption of my Jagheer. The preſent State of Matters is trifling, but the Conſequences ſhall be great.

From the Reſident to the Bhowe Begum.

I have received your Letter—recapitulated the Contents—The Nabob has thought proper, on account of the Inconveniences, Loſs, and Indignities he ſuſtains from the Authority exerciſed by the Jagheerdars throughout the Country, to reſume all the Jagheers in his Dominions, in which yours is neceſſarily included; but as the Amount of your Jagheer is confirmed to you by a written Agreement between you and the Nabob, and guaranteed by Mr. Briſtow in behalf of the Governor General and Council, it will be made good to you in Ready Money. If you will therefore be pleaſed to tranſmit me an accurate Account of the Amount you realized from your ſeveral Jagheers, Gunges, Bazars, &c. as ſpecified in the Caulnâma, after deducting the Expences of Collection, Sebundee, and all other Charges, I will pledge myſelf that the ſaid Sum ſhall be regularly remitted to you at ſuch ſtated Times, and in ſuch Proportions, as you ſhall preſcribe:—As to any Thing farther, his Excellency is Maſter.

From the Bhowe Begum to Huſſein Reza Khan.

I find that Meer Nazir Ally has been veſted with Charge of Purgunnah Salone, my Jagheer, which to me is unaccountable. From whence proceeds his Excellency's Interference with my Jagheer? The Jagheer is not from his Grant, that he ſhould reſume it; what his Intentions may be, I am at a Loſs to form an Idea of.—Note this, that if my Jagheer falls, the Country ſhall not ſtand: Remember this, and make the Nabob acquainted with it. It is not well that for a trifling Matter much Trouble ſhould be occaſioned.—Recall the Aumil, to whom the Charge of the Jagheer of Salone has been given; if not, it will not be well done. Hitherto I have been ſilent and patient, but I cannot continue ſo longer. Whence this Reſolution for the Reſumption of my Jagheer? Let me have your Anſwer ſpeedily.

From the Bhowe Begum to the Reſident.

The Particulars I have written you, reſpecting my Jagheers, having arrived, will be read by you. The Nabob has ſent Aumils to take charge of them. The Caulnâma under your Seal is in my Poſſeſſion, in which all Interference with my Jagheers is diſclaimed, as well as all Demands on me for Money. Now the Engagements of the Nabob are diſregarded, although the Engliſh are at hand. I ſhall in Ten Days, the Mohrum being over, proceed to Lucknow, where, having fully explained and adjuſted Affairs, I ſhall repair to wherever my Will may direct. Your being at Lucknow will expedite the clearing and cloſing the Affair. Let there be no Interference with my Jagheer previous to my Arrival at Lucknow, neither vexatiouſly interfere with my People. I am repairing to Lucknow; wherefore this Precipitation? You are Guarantee for the Caulnâma. Should the Country be loſt to me, it ſhall be loſt to all. I give you this Intimation—Note it.

From the Bhowe Begum to the Reſident.

Having written to you particularly reſpecting my Jagheers, you are now acquainted therewith. Now the Nabob's Order to Meer Maboob Ally is arrived, directing the Reſumption of my Jagheers, Nabob Gunge, on the other Side of the River, and Bene Gunge, and their Amount Collections, to be paid into the Treaſury.—Whence this Meaſure? You are acquainted with the Purport of the Caulnâma, diſclaiming all Interference with my Jagheers, and by the Bleſſing of God are at hand for my Benefit. Yet am I aſtoniſhed with this Proceeding. The Jagheers are not granted by the Nabob, that he ſhould reſume them. What has he reſolved againſt me? The Conſequences ſhall be Extremities. There has been a Friendſhip of long Date ſubſiſting between the Engliſh Government and me. I underſtand Aumils for other of my Jagheers are in Agitation. Interpoſe, and put a ſtop to ſuch Proceeding. Application was made before by Molvie Fuzzle Azeem Khan, for Lowanah Talook, my Jagheer; on which I wrote to Huſſein Reza Khan, and Hyder Beg Cawn, who explained the Matter to the Molvie, and cauſed the Matter to be dropped. Huſſein Reza Khan and Hyder Beg Khan are my profeſſed Friends. The Buſineſs I write to them on is effected. With them I am perfectly ſatisfied. I am now convinced this Trouble is cauſed

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by Molvie Fuzzle Azeem Khan. Make known to him your Diſpleaſure at it, that this Affair may be relinquiſhed, forbidding him ever to enter on the Subject of my Jagheers, to prevent any further Interference of this Kind therewith.

From the Reſident to the Bhowe Begum.

I had the Honour to reply to your former Letter Yeſterday; to the Contents of which I muſt beg leave to refer you, as far as relates to ſecuring to you the actual Income of your Jagheers, Gungees, Bazars, &c. as ſet forth in the Caulnâma ſubſiſting between you and his Excellency the Nabob. I certainly am bound in Duty to interfere, becauſe the Faith of the Governor General and Council, my Maſters, has been pledged to you for it; and I am ready, as I before informed you, to ſettle that Point to your Satisfaction; but as to continuing the Lands, &c. in the Form you have hitherto held them, his Excellency the Nabob is the Maſter, and I cannot oppoſe his Pleaſure. It behoves you to reflect well on this Matter. I am equally the Friend of you and your Son the Nabob, and can have no Prejudices in favour of one or the other. His Excellency declares, and I have myſelf ſeen too many Proofs to doubt it, that the Authority and Dominion exerciſed by the Jagheerdars is extremely prejudicial to his Revenue and Government. A Medium, therefore, being propoſed, by which you loſe nothing, and his Excellency gains ſo much, I ſhould * you would not continue to reject it, ſince it is unqueſtionably the ſame to you, whether you receive the Income of your Jagheer through the Channel of an Aumil appointed under the Nabob's Authority, or from the Hands of your own immediate Agent. For the regular Remittance of whatever Net Income you may heretofore have received from your Jagheers, I willingly make myſelf reſponſible; but I again repeat, that in all other Reſpects the Nabob is Maſter.—What more ſhall I ſay?

* Sic in Orig.

From the Bhowe Begum to the Reſident.

I underſtand, from Huſſein Reza Khan, that he has ſpoke to you concerning my Jagheers, and that you in Reply ſhould ſay that the Nabob's ſending Aumils into my Jagheers was not of any Conſequence or Prejudice. If theſe are your Sentiments, I cannot but be much aſtoniſhed. Had any other Perſon expreſſed ſuch, I ſhould not have felt it, but imputed them to his Ignorance. Since I heard that you ſhould have declared ſuch as the above, I have been in Deſpair, as I cannot think the Country any longer proper for my remaining in it, as thoſe who bound themſelves by Engagements, now diſregard them. After the Mohrum is paſt, I ſhall repair to Lucknow, and take my Leave of it to ſojourn elſewhere, as neceſſitated by the Gentlemen at Lucknow, and as my Inclinations once led me, and is now God's Decree; though, ſhould I be neceſſitated to quit the Country, God grant that no Soul may be able to remain in it in Peace. The Power of Exiſtence reſts not with you, but God. You are a Ruler of the Country, and can take to yourſelf the Jagheers of others. Many are involved in Diſtreſs. Pride is not commendable; it is not countenanced by God. How long is to be the Period of your Reign? Infamy is your due. The Countries of Puttaghur, Owde, &c. yield Four Crore of Rupees; if they are not ſufficient to ſatisfy you, what can my Jagheers contribute towards it? And why, without my Knowledge, ſhould Aumils be ſent into them? If you mean to proceed in this Mode, ſend Aumils into Nezif Khan's Country, &c. and try the Conſequences. While I do remain in the Country, recall the Aumils from my Jagheers. Why ſo precipitate? Be aſſured I ſhall with Expedition take my Departure.

From the Reſident to the Bhowe Begum.

A Perſon aſſuming your Name has juſt arrived here, with a Letter under your Seal, addreſſed to me; but as I cannot believe, either from the Subject Matter or the Stile, that it can have been dictated by you, or written with your Knowledge, I encloſe a Copy of it, that you may detect the Forgery, and inflict a proper exemplary Puniſhment on the Perſon who ſhall have dared thus to abuſe your Confidence, and inſult me.

From the Nabob Vizier to the Reſident.

I have received your Letter, covering Copies of Letters from my Mother to yourſelf—recapitulated* the Contents.—She ſays her Jagheers were not granted by me. At the Time of the late Nabob's Death, theſe Mahls were under the Charge of Jowaur Ally Khan, on the Footing of other Aumils, inſomuch that the Accounts, &c. were lodged in the Dewan's Office; theſe Accounts, as they were delivered into the Dewan's Office to the Date of the Nabob's Death, are forthcoming. After his Death, I, as a dutiful Son, made over theſe Mahls to her in Jagheer, that it could not be ſaid I left my Mother unprovided. The Buſineſs and Mahls of the Khalſa ſuffer conſiderably, and are much prejudiced by the Authority and Conduct of the Aumils of theſe Jagheers, Mahls, as alſo from the Inſolence of the Houſehold Khajahs; witneſs the Conduct of Bhar Ally Khan's Naibat Tondah. My Life, Eſtate, and Dominions originate from the Friendſhip of the Engliſh Government. Yet what Knavery have not theſe Houſehold Khajahs been guilty of. As therefore it is not prudent that theſe Mahls ſhould be continued in the Charge of my Mother,

* Sic in Orig.

Mother, or Houſehold Khajahs, I have appointed my own Aumils—receive the Amount ariſing from theſe Mahls, and pay it to my Mother, after deducting the Charges of Collections, &c. abſolute Charges. I am ready to acquieſce in any Thing for my Mother. As for the other Parts of her Letters, I truſt in God they are dictated by the Houſehold Khajahs; and that I have not cauſed Shame to myſelf from my Conduct to God or my Mother. After the Death of my Father, whatever was due from him to the Company, alſo to the Troops, I took upon myſelf; but whatever Effects there were remained with my Mother. Some Time ſince ſhe gave ſome Part to me, but it went no Way in the Diſcharge of the Claims of the Company or Troops. For theſe many Years I have endured much Inconvenience and Trouble for the Diſcharge of theſe; yet Half is not made good, and I am in daily Anxiety on this Account, from a Deſire to diſcharge all juſt Dues to the Company. It is my Intention to proceed to Fyzabad in Ten Days, the Mohrum being over, when I mean to requeſt of my Mother the whole of my Father's Eſtate, to enable me to pay off all Debts to the Company. Agreeable to the Laws of God, all my Father's Effects are my Right, that I may make good all Claims on him. If my Mother, from Affection, conſents, I ſhall be happy; if not, in whatever Manner ſhe may render it, I ſhall pay it towards the Adjuſtment of the Balance due to the Company. With reſpect to the Houſehold Khajahs, I ſhall confine and puniſh them, for the Knavery and Means they have uſed towards effecting a Breach between my Mother and myſelf. You will in Friendſhip cauſe this Letter to be tranſlated into Engliſh, and ſend it immediately to the Governor, deſiring him not to liſten to any one, or what my Mother may write, neither adopt her Opinion, but direct me to receive Money from her, towards the Payment of the Company's Demands. I am ready to defray and allow her for her Expences—with reſpect to the Amount Collections of her Jagheers, after deducting all neceſſary Charges of Collection; you may receive and tranſmit it to her.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 28th Decem^r 1781.

I am this Day honoured with your public Letter of the 24th Inſtant; and I do not loſe a Moment in informing you, that without a total Seizure of the Country, it is not poſſible to collect this Year a larger Sum than the Nabob has already granted, which altogether exceeds that of any other Year, at a Time when his Collections have been greatly diminiſhed by the Miſconduct of Raja Bowanny Sing, late Aumil of Bycewarrah, the Inſurrections acroſs the Gogra, and in other Parts of his Country, and laſtly the heavy Remiſſions he has been obliged to allow on the preſent Year's Rents, for the Loſſes by Drought and Hail, which fell upon the Cloſe of the laſt Harveſt. Hence, my dear Sir, you will be able to judge how far it would be in his Power to grant further Jaidads.

If your new Demand is to be inſiſted upon, which your Letter ſeems to portend, I muſt beg your preciſe Orders upon it; as, from the Difficulties I have within theſe few Days experienced, in carrying the Points you had enjoined with the Nabob, I have the beſt Grounds for believing that he would conſider it a direct Breach of the late Agreement, and totally reject the Propoſal as ſuch; and I muſt own to you, that, in his preſent fermented State of Mind, I could expect nothing leſs than Deſpair, and a declared Rupture.

He has by no means been yet able to furniſh me with Means of paying off the Arrears due to the temporary Brigade, to the ſtipulated Term of its Continuance in his Service. The Funds neceſſary for paying off and diſcharging his own Military Eſtabliſhment under Britiſh Officers, and his Penſion Liſt, have been raiſed on the private Credit of Mr. Johnſon and myſelf, from the Shroffs of this Place, to whom we are at this Moment pledged for many Lacks of Rupees; and without ſuch Aid, which I freely and at all Hazards yielded, becauſe I conceived it was your anxious Deſire to relieve the Nabob, as ſoon as poſſible, of this heavy Burden, the Eſtabliſhment muſt have been at his Charge to this Time, and probably for Months to come, while his Reſources were ſtrained to the utmoſt to furniſh Jaidâds for its Maintenance to this Period. I therefore heſitate not to declare it utterly impoſſible for him, under any Circumſtances whatever, to provide Funds for the Payment of the Troops you now propoſe to ſend him.

The wreſting Furruckabad, Kyrague, and Fyzula Cawn's Country from his Government (for in that Light, my dear Sir, I can faithfully aſſure you he views the Meaſures adopted in reſpect to thoſe Countries), together with the Reſumption of all the Jagheers, ſo much againſt his Inclination, have already brought the Nabob to a Perſuaſion, that nothing leſs than his Deſtruction, or the Annihilation of every Shadow of his Power, is meant; and all my Labours to convince him to the contrary have proved abortive. A ſettled Melancholy has ſeized him, and his Health reduced beyond Conception; and I do moſt ſolemnly believe, that the March of Four Regiments of Sepoys towards Lucknow, under whatever Circumſtances it might be repreſented, would be conſidered by him as a Force ultimately to be uſed in ſecuring his Perſon. In ſhort, my dear Sir, it is a Matter of ſuch immediate Moment, and involving apparently ſuch very ſerious and important Conſequences, that I have not only taken upon me to ſuſpend the Communication of it to the Nabob, until I ſhould be honoured with your further Commands, but have alſo ventured to write the incloſed Letter to Colonel Morgan—Liberties which I confidently truſt you will excuſe, when you conſider that I can be actuated by no other Motive than a Zeal for the Public Service; and that if, after all, you determine that the Meaſure ſhall be inſiſted on, it will be only the Loſs of Six, or at moſt Eight Days, in propoſing it. But, in the laſt Event, I earneſtly

entreat your Orders may be explicit and positive, that I may clearly know what Lengths you would wish me to proceed, in carrying them into Execution. I again declare it as my firm Belief, and assure yourself, my dear Mr. Hastings, I am not influenced in this Declaration by any Considerations but my public Duty, and my personal Attachment to you, that the enforcing the Measure you have proposed would be productive of an open Rupture between us and the Nabob; nay, that the first necessary Step towards carrying it into Effect, must be on our Part a Declaration of Hostility.

There can, I apprehend, be no Doubt but such an Extremity would end in the Ruin of the Nabob, and I think he would have Sense enough to see it; but, under the Circumstances I have mentioned, and encouraged as he would be by all the Malecontents of his Court, I am persuaded, as far as my own Reason and Judgment enable me to predict, that he would disregard all future Consequences.

I entreat you will excuse the Freedom with which I have addressed you on this Subject. I have been obliged to write in great Haste, to save the Dauk, and consequently not so connectedly or fully as I could wish; but be assured I have given you the genuine Sentiments of my Heart; and as such I am persuaded you will receive them with Indulgence.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

To Colonel James Morgan, commanding in the Field.

Sir, (Copy.)

I was last Night honoured with your Letter, informing me that you had Orders from the Governor General to furnish me with more Troops, should I want them.

I have this Day received Information from the Governor, that he has ordered a large Force to repair to Lucknow. If you have received such an Order, I must beg you will suspend the Order until I have received the Governor's Reply to the Representation I have made to him upon this Subject, as such a Movement at this Juncture might be productive of the most serious Consequences. While I make this Application to you, I do not know how far it is in your Power to comply; yet I deem it my Duty to make the Representation, whatever the Result may be.

Lucknow, I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.
28th December 1781. (Signed) Nath. Middleton.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 28th December 81.

I do myself the Honour to inclose you Letters from Koman and Goxnan Sing, brought to me by one of my Servants, who was in those Quarters.—They conceive, or affect to conceive, that you have some Designs upon Bundeeleund, and volunteer themselves to act in Conjunction, offering to join with a large Body of Cavalry, in Hopes of benefiting by any such Expedition, or at least saving their own Shares of that Country: I do not know whether you will think them deserving of any Answer.

(a) [Your Letter of the 24th is just arrived, ordering the temporary Brigade to be again put on the Vizier's List, which the late Treaty had just eased him of. Nothing less than Blows can effect this; for he is not even able to pay off the Arrears still due to it for the last Year, which, with the 2½ Months stipulated by the Treaty, amount to Nine Lacks, by Mr. Day's Statement. Upwards of Twelve Lacks have been paid to Mr. Wombwell, besides Remittances made to the Second Brigade and Colonel Muir, and scarce Six Lacks have yet been collected: A hard Strain of private Credit alone has made these large extra Payments,—and total Ruin must inevitably be the Consequence of any Interruption in the Recovery of the Money advanced. However, this is merely a private Consideration, and therefore cannot weigh in public Measures; but in a public Light, the Troops being all in Arrears, and no Possibility of present Payment, so large a Body assembled here, without any Means in Hand to check or controul them, nothing but Disorder could follow. As one Proof that the Nabob is as badly off for Funds as we are, I may inform you that his Cavalry rose this Day upon him, and went all armed to the Palace, to demand from 13 to 18 Months Arrears due to them, and* with great Difficulty persuaded to retire, which was probably more effected by a Body of Troops getting under Arms to go against them, than any other Consideration.] Without troubling you with Detail of Arguments, I may venture to pledge myself to you, that the additional Demand you propose making cannot this Year be obtained without a total Reform of his Government, which, if brought about by a Campaign against him (by which alone it can be done), would, at the same Time, stop at once all Resources of Collections; so that, admitting Success, our Situation, in point of Finance, would be worse than before. As I feel confident of your full Credit to this Assertion, I shall add nothing further upon the Subject, excepting, that the Troops hitherto called for by the Vizier have been solicited under that Article of the late Treaty which authorizes him to remove the Subsidiary Brigade where he pleases, with the Concurrence of the Resident; which Power is still more fully explained in the Letter of Instructions:—Both Papers can only allude to the Troops which they stipulate to remain within the Vizier's Dominions. Whenever you no longer may chuse to permit his detaching the Brigade,

* Sic in Orig.

(a) Vide supra, P. 551.

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he muſt then of courſe conduct his Meaſures by his own Sebundy, or be driven to make new Propoſals from himſelf for the Aid and Pay of our Regiments.

As I have made uſe of the Name of the temporary Brigade in the Firſt Part of my Letter, it may be neceſſary to remind you that One additional Regiment is already paid by the Nabob, to which add 4 Regiments, and a Train of Artillery, now propoſed, makes Ten Battalions of 500 Men each, which is equal to Seven Battalions of 780 Men, which formed the temporary Brigade, as ſtipulatedto be paid by the Nabob.

I ſincerely hope, though I ſcarcely expect, to avoid diſpleaſing you by the Freedom of this Repreſentation. But, as it is impoſſible that you ſhould poſſeſs Facts without their being plainly ſtated, and as you cannot act upon any other Grounds, while aiming, as I know you do, to do that which is beſt, I muſt run the Riſque, or ſerve you unfaithfully, which would contradict what I ſhall ever endeavour to prove, that I am, upon all Occaſions, your truly devoted, &c. &c.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, R. Johnſon.
Governor General, &c. &c.
Benaras.

My dear Sir,

Upon re-peruſing the Tranſlate of the Nabob's Letter to me, reſpecting the Furruckabad Buſineſs, I find a capital Miſtake was made in the Statement of the Sum due from Muzuffer Jung. I beg leave therefore to incloſe you a Memorandum to rectify it.

Lucknow, I am, &c. &c.
29th Decem^r 1781. (Signed) Nath. Middleton.
The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

Memorandum:

The Sum of 1,58,456 Rupees, mentioned in the Tranſlate of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to the Reſident, as due from Mozuffer Jung, ſhould have been 7,58,456. This Miſtake was made in copying fair from the Tranſlate.

☞ *(a)* [To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

The ſolemn Call you have made upon me, in your Commands of the 26th Inſtant, with which I was honoured Yeſterday, demands from me the moſt unreſerved and decided Reply; and that I might not advance any Thing haſtily, I took all Yeſterday to deliberate upon my Reply: For the ſake of Perſpicuity, I have thought it beſt to recapitulate the ſeveral Paragraphs of your Letter, and arrange my Anſwers to them reſpectively in the ſame Order.

1ſt. My Mind has been for ſome Days ſuſpended between Two oppoſite Impulſes; One ariſing from the Neceſſity of my Return to Calcutta, the other from the Apprehenſion of my Preſence being more immediately and more urgently wanted at Lucknow; your Anſwer to this ſhall decide my Choice.

To this Paragraph I freely anſwer, That your Preſence is in no Shape neceſſary here, but, on the contrary, could not fail of being of conſiderable Retardment to the Collections; becauſe in theſe Countries the Motions of Governors are looked upon to imply great intended Exertions, and with them great Changes; conſequently all Agents in public Stations, from the higheſt to the meaneſt, put an immediate Stop to all their Avocations, and gaze motionleſs for the Reſult. This is the Height of the Khereiff Collection, and any Impediments now thrown in the Way loſes * the Produce of the Crop. The encloſed Statement ſhews what I have received and what I have diſburſed; it will at Firſt Sight evince the Importance of realizing every immediate Reſource. The current Diſburſements of the 2d Brigade have not been made good, and the Arrears due from the Nabob to the late temporary Brigade and Cavalry, agreeably to Stipulation, have not yet been liquidated.

* Sic in Orig.

2d. I have waited thus long, in Hopes of hearing that ſome Progreſs has been made in the Execution of the Plan which I concluded with the Nabob in September laſt; I do not find that any Step towards it has yet been taken, though Three Months are elapſed, and little more than that Period did appear to me requiſite to have accompliſhed the moſt eſſential Parts of it, and to have brought the whole into Train.

In Reply to the Second Paragraph, I beg leave to refer you to my former Letters, ſtating the turbulent State of the Country. Three Months is a Period in which the Changes you allude to probably might have been effected in Times of perfect Tranquillity; but when all the Diſtricts acroſs the Gogra were in Arms, and all the Jagheerdars (a very numerous and powerful Body) were very little ſhort of the ſame State in every Diſtrict, and for the regulating and Reduction of whom the Aumils were principally

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 529.

Train. This Tardineſs, and the Oppoſition prepared to the only decided Act yet undertaken, have a bad Appearance.

3d. I approve the Nabob's Reſolution to deprive the Begums of their ill-employed Treaſures. In both Services it muſt be your Care to prevent an Abuſe of the Powers given to thoſe that are employed in them. You yourſelf ought to be perſonally preſent.—You muſt not allow any Negociation or Forbearance, but muſt proſecute both Services until the Begums are at the entire Mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers in the quiet Poſſeſſion of his Aumils, and their Wealth in ſuch Charge as may ſecure it againſt private Embezzlement.—You will have a Force more than ſufficient to effect both theſe Purpoſes.

4th. The Reformation of his Army, and the new Settlement of his Revenues, are alſo Points of immediate Concern, and ought to be immediately concluded. Has any Thing been done in either?

pally to be applied to—could a general Change or Attack upon thoſe Aumils with Eaſe have been undertaken? I think not; but I put this Argument of the Practicability or Impracticability out of the Queſtion, as it was not that Conſideration which prevented me from enforcing the Meaſures recommended by you to the Nabob in the Treaty;—the Fact is this: I did not underſtand, at the Period of executing the Agreement between you and the Vizier, that your Intention was, that the whole of the Reform propoſed was in its fulleſt Extent to take place this Year, nor indeed at all, if the Company's Debt became liquidated; I conceived your Interference in the Nabob's Government tended ſolely to eſtabliſh the Means of the moſt ſpeedy Payment poſſible of the Company's Debt; and that whenever this ſhould be accompliſhed, every Shadow of Interference was to be deſiſted from, which I ſtated to the Nabob and the Miniſters, and I believe upon the Faith of that Aſſurance principally was his Excellency's Acquieſcence obtained. For the Proſecution of theſe Meaſures, I looked to the occaſional Aſſiſtance of the Regiments of the ſubſidiary Brigade, as permitted in the Treaty, and your ſubſequent Inſtructions, and intended employing the Aumils and their Sebundy in the Firſt Inſtance for the Reduction of the Jagheerdars, that I might not have the whole Country to attack at once. This Mode of proceeding threatened no Interruption to the Collections, but an immediate Increaſe of Means in hand to defray the Charges of the Troops, without which previous Point even our own Army muſt be uſeleſs. The Meaſure of reſuming the Jagheers involved many and ſome very powerful Intereſts, ſubject to ſuch Odium, from the Diſappointment of the Parties, deprived of their Means of Subſiſtence, and in ſuch extenſive Dominions, under a Government ſo irregular in its Conſtitution, and ſo ſhaken as this is, it could not be effectually accompliſhed in a Day.—However, it is now effected nearly throughout with the Nabob's Sanction (which at the Point of Execution there was the moſt alarming Difficulty to obtain), and in a very few Days I truſt it will be completely enforced; and, bad as the Appearance of Oppoſition may be, I truſt to be able to execute the whole Reform, without Delay, upon the Grounds I ſhall ſtate in my Anſwer to your Paragraphs ſucceſſively.

To the 3d Paragraph I ſhall only ſay, That I march To-morrow with the Nabob to enforce both the Services you exact in it; and if I ſucceed, as I have the ſtrongeſt Reaſons to hope, in obtaining large Ready Money Reſources towards liquidating the Arrears to the Troops, which form a large Proportion of the Debt to the Company, I have not a Doubt of accompliſhing every End you have now declared you look to the inſtant Performance of; but as Troops alone can do it, their Aſſiſtance cannot be depended upon without previous Pay, or the Poſſeſſion of certain Means in hand for that Purpoſe; as it follows, that an immediate Stop to all Collections muſt enſue from any general Military Exertion.

To the 4th I anſwer, That nothing has been done, for the Reaſons aſſigned in my Anſwer to the Second Paragraph. If I erred in the Judgment I had formed of your Intentions, I can ſay no more, as it is paſſed, than that the Inſtant the Fyzabad Buſineſs is finiſhed

5th. I now demand, and require you moſt ſolemnly to anſwer me: Are you confident in your own Ability to accompliſh all theſe Purpoſes, and the other Points of my Inſtructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet and aſſured Mind to the Preſidency, but leave you a dreadful Reſponſibility if you diſappoint me.—If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your Power, and the other Means which you poſſeſs, for performing theſe Services, I will free you from the Charge, I will proceed myſelf to Lucknow, and I will myſelf undertake them; and in that Caſe I deſire that you will immediately order Bearers to be ſtationed for myſelf and Two other Gentlemen between Lucknow and Illahabad, and I will ſet out from hence in Three Days after the Receipt of your Letters.

6th. I am ſorry that I am under the Neceſſity of writing in this preſſing Manner. I truſt implicitly to your Integrity, I am certain of your Attachment to myſelf, and I know that your Capacity is equal to any Service; but I muſt expreſs my Doubts of your Firmneſs and Activity, and above all of your Recollection of my Inſtructions, and of their Importance.

7th. My Conduct in the late Arrangements will be arraigned with all the Rancor of Diſappointment, Rapacity, and my Reputation and Influence will ſuffer a mortal Wound from the Failure of them. They have already failed in a Degree, ſince no Part of them has yet taken place, but the Removal of our Forces from the Doaub and Rohilchund, and of Britiſh Officers and Penſioners from the Service of the Nabob; and the Expence of the former thrown without any Compenſation on the Company.

ſucceſsfully, which cannot take more than One Fortnight from the Day of marching there, I ſhall take ſuch Steps as the Means in my Power will admit of towards procuring from the Nabob the Orders to each Aumil to pay his Groſs Revenues to the Miniſters, and to receive the Pay of their Troops, being reduced into regular muſtered Eſtabliſhments, from the general Treaſury; and ſhould he refuſe, I will iſſue my own, together with thoſe of the Miniſters, to that Purpoſe, as I did in a former Inſtance when the Nabob refuſed his Perwannahs for the Reſumption of the Jagheers; and ſhall further enforce the Execution againſt each diſobeying Aumil by marching againſt him, and diſplacing him. Theſe Three Points complete the Heads of your Recommendations to the Nabob, the Fourth Article, which was the Separation and Limitation of his own Diſburſements to the Medium of his Receipts for the laſt Three Years, having already taken place; and then no Aſſignments will remain upon the Country, but thoſe of the Company, as expreſſed in the Treaty.

To the 5th I confidently reply, That I am fully competent to undertake and effect the Completion of the Reform, upon the Grounds ſtated in my Anſwer to the 4th Paragraph; and therefore again repeat, that your coming here is unneceſſary; and that, as far as regards the Duties of my Station towards the Execution of your Orders, you may depart, in Conviction that neither Activity or Firmneſs ſhall be wanting in the Exertion of every Means within my Power: And thoſe Means I can foreſee no Deficiency in, upon the Permiſſion I have of calling upon Colonel Morgan for Aid, and the Receipt of Aſſets at Fyzabad.—For theſe Reaſons, therefore, I have not thought it neceſſary to lay the Bearers that you conditionally ordered.

In Reply to the 6th Paragraph, nothing need be offered by me but my Acknowledgments for the Juſtice you do to my Sentiments towards your Perſon and Government.

To the 7th. If your Conduct ſhould be arraigned, as you ſuſpect, I can at all Times teſtify, that upon the Plan of the foregoing Years, the Receipts from the Nabob were only a Deception, and not an Advantage, but even an Injury to the Company; for by the accumulating Encreaſe of the Demands upon him, and the proportionate Decreaſe of his Means, only his Debt to the Company encreaſed, with a Diminution of Proſpect of its Liquidation; while the Company's actual Money or Aſſets went to the Payment of the Troops ſuppoſed to be maintained ſolely at the Vizier's Expence. In Proof of this, it will ſuffice to remark that the annual Net Remittances to the Preſidency ſhould have been the Difference

8th. I expect a Supply of Money equal to the Diſcharge of all the Nabob's Arrears; and am much diſappointed and mortified, that I am not now able to return with it.

9th. Give me an immediate Anſwer to the Queſtion which I have herein propoſed, that I may loſe no more Time in fruitleſs Inaction.

ence of the Subſidy, and the real Expences of the Brigade; ſay, — — — 12,00,000
The Money paid from the Treaſury at Calcutta, to Abdulrahman Khan — 3,30,000
And the Payment made in like Manner to Mirza Sadit Ally — — 3,00,000
Beſides the full Payment of ſuch Stores as the Company occaſionally iſſued to the Nabob

Sun[t] Rup[s] — 18,30,000

or about 20,00,000 of Current, which never yet has been the Caſe from the Annual Jaidads, or Current Collections—conſequently the Plan was a Fallacy; for the Difference between this Amount and the Remittances to the Preſidency was an actual Loſs that the Company annually ſuſtained, inſtead of a ſuppoſed Advantage of a Brigade of Infantry and Cavalry being totally defrayed by the Nabob; from this therefore I may ſafely conclude, that the Remiſſion to the Nabob of this inſufferable Burthen was a Profit to the Company whenever the extra Troops paid by the Nabob ſhall be diſbanded or quartered upon other Neighbours, who are protected by our Power, and the Debt put into a probable State of ſpeedy Liquidation.

To the 8th Paragraph. If the Supply expected at Fyzabad ſhall prove adequate to the Diſcharge of all Arrears due to the Troops, and afford an adequate Fund for a Liquidation of the Company's Debt, it will remain at your Option to employ it as a Remittance to the Preſidency, or the future Payment of the Troops you may ſtill think neceſſary to keep up, to regulate the Nabob's internal Government, in regard to which I ſhall hope for your Determination, when I can inform you of what Means I poſſeſs.

To the laſt Paragraph. I truſt you will find all my Anſwers as explicit and deciſive as you could wiſh them, and that they will enable you to determine upon yielding with Confidence to the Impulſe ariſing from the Neceſſity of your Preſence at the Preſidency.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow,
the 30th December 1781.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Reſ[t] at the Vizier's Court.]

☞ (a)[My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 30th December 1781.

I have this Day anſwered your public Letter, in the Form you ſeemed to expect. I hope there is nothing in it that may to you appear too pointed. If you wiſh the Matter to be otherwiſe underſtood than I have taken up and ſtated it, I need not ſay I ſhall be ready to conform to whatever you may preſcribe, and to take upon myſelf any Share of the Blame of the (hitherto) Non-performance of the Stipulations made on behalf of the Nabob; though I do aſſure you, I myſelf repreſented to his Excellency and the Miniſters, conceiving it to be your Deſire, that the apparent Aſſumption of the Reins of his Government (for in that Light he undoubtedly conſidered it at the Firſt View), as ſpecified in the Agreement executed by him, was not meant to be fully and literally enforced, but that it was neceſſary you ſhould have ſomething to ſhew on your Side, as the Company were deprived of a Benefit without a Requital; and upon the Faith of this Aſſurance alone, I believe I may ſafely affirm his Excellency's Objections to ſigning the Treaty were given up. If I have underſtood the Matter wrong, or miſconceived your Deſign, I am truly ſorry for it; however, it is not too late to correct the Error; and I am ready to undertake, and, God willing, to carry through, whatever you may, on Receipt of my public Letter, tell me is your final Reſolve.

If you determine at all Events, that the Meaſure of reducing the Nabob's Army, &c. ſhall be immediately undertaken, I ſhall take it as a particular Favour if you will indulge me with a Line at Fyzabad, that I may make the neceſſary previous Arrangements with reſpect to the Diſpoſal of my Family, which I would not wiſh to retain here in the Event either of a Rupture with the Nabob,

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 513.

bob, or the Neceſſity of employing our Forces in the Reduction of his Aumils and Troops; this done, I can begin the Work in Three Days after my Return from Fyzabad.

I am, &c. &c.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings. Nath. Middleton.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

I have herewith the Honour to ſubmit to you an Account of my current Claims, for the preſent Year, upon the Nabob Vizier, amounting to R^{s} 70,99,882, for which Amount I have received Aſſignments, as per the encloſed Liſt, for R^{s} 76,38,114, in which I have been neceſſitated to include the Nabob's Demand for the current Year upon Furruckabad; and as his Excellency has now totally withdrawn his Sizawal from the Collection of it, as well as every Interference whatever, I beg I may be honoured with your Inſtructions, whether Muzuffer Jung is to pay the Amount at the Preſidency, or, as uſual, to me: Khyragur is in the ſame Predicament, the Vizier having no Authority over the preſent Aumil.

The reſt I have little Doubt of receiving, for the large Balance now due from the Nabob I am given ſtrong Hopes of receiving Aſſets from the Funds expected by the Recovery of the Nabob's paternal Eſtate, hitherto withheld by his Mother, but which he has now demanded. The Reſult is yet in Suſpenſe; as ſoon as any Certainty of the Grounds of this Expectation can be determined, and may come to my Knowledge, I ſhall not fail to impart it to you.

The new Regulation, of reſuming the Jagheers, is carrying into Execution in every Part of theſe extenſive Provinces, and, when effected, will afford a very material Encreaſe in the Nabob's Revenues.

The Order of 7 Lacks upon them could not be encreaſed this Year, as, before the Seizure can be completed, the Collections upon the Firſt Crop will be over; beſides which, many of the Jagheerdars having ſtrong Family Claims upon the Nabob, he has been obliged to aſſign ready Money Payment in lieu of the Rents of the Lands.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow,
the 31ſt Dec^{r} 1781.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſ^{t} at the Court of the Vizier.

ASSIGNMENTS received for the Year 1189, on the following Diſtricts.

Rohilcund	31,00,000
Corah, Doaub, &c.	12,00,000
Furruckabad	7,58,114
Jagheers	7,00,000
Bahrach and Gorruckpore	6,50,000
Goonda	3,50,000
Allahabad	4,35,000
Kyragur	1,95,000
Azimgur	1,30,000
Sundula Milliabad	1,20,000
	76,38,114

Nath. Middleton,
Reſ^{t} at the Court of the Vizier.

LIST of current Claims upon the Nabob, for the Year 1189.

Balances due to the Paymaſters, as per their reſpective Statements for 1188	14,88,304
Two Months Pay (as per Stipulation) to Mr. Wombwell's Office	3,00,000
Two and Half Months Pay to the temporary Brigade and Cavalry	7,50,000
Subſidy	31,20,000
Extra Regiment, as per Agreement, at 25,000 R^{s} per Month, for Ten Months	2,50,000
Abdulreheman Khan	3,30,000
Sadit Ally	3,00,000
Rohillas	61,578
Claims of Mr. Frazer, Mr. Marſack, &c.	5,00,000
	70,99,882

Nath. Middleton,
Reſ^{t} at the Court of the Vizier.

To

To Nathaniel Middleton, Esq^r.

Sir, Benares, 1st January 1782.

I have been deceived, I know not yet by whom. The Agreement which I concluded with the Vizier has yet served only to gratify Revenge, or some concealed Interest, and to make me odious to my own Countrymen.

The temporary Brigade is withdrawn, and its Expence thrown on the Company, without any Equivalent.

The English Officers and Pensioners dismissed.

The English Resident withdrawn from Furruckabad, to give place to a worse Tyranny, and the Nabob afflicted and offended at my Opposition to the latter.

The Nabob afflicted and desponding because I oppose his invading Fyzoolla Cawn, when he is confessedly unable to suppress the Sedition of his own Subjects.

The Resumption of the Jagheers, withheld for Three Months, now attempted against the Nabob's Consent, although originally solicited by himself; a Regiment of Sepoys required for its Execution, which you declare to be insufficient; and when I ordered a competent Force, you countermand it, because the Nabob will not approve it.

It was stipulated, that a complete Brigade should be stationed at Cawnpore, for the Protection of the Nabob's paternal Dominions; but that if he wanted a further Aid, he should pay for it. He wants a further Aid; I require that it shall be charged to his Account; you tell me, that though it is wanted, you dare not let it come; and Mr. Johnson calls it 'ordering the temporary 'Brigade to be again put on the Vizier's List.'

I cannot wait your Answer to my Letter; but have written a Letter to the Nabob, which I desire you to present to him, and tell him, that if he suspects the Motive of my Interference, I will withdraw it altogether, both the Resident and the Army; but he must first pay the Balance of his Debts to the Company.—I will not hazard the Company's Arms in scanty Detachments, for Services to which they are declared to be unequal; nor will I break the Strength of the Brigade while the Marrattas are yet on his Borders, and the Peace with them imperfectly concluded.

I agreed to the Nabob's Requisitions from a Desire to relieve him from a State of Distress, and to enable him to discharge his Debt to the Company. You know these were my only Objects: Have either of these been attained; or has any Step been yet taken to attain them? If you say they have, let me know what has been done, or what attempted.

I must desire, that your Letters, upon all official and public Subjects, may be official. I cannot receive any, or avail myself of them, as private; and my Reputation and Character have been too far committed to admit of an Intercourse which I cannot use as Authority.

You will be cautious that the Nabob does not misconceive my Letters as bearing any Expression of Displeasure towards him. I think him too deceived. I wish him to regard me as his Friend, and to confide both in my Faith and Attachment. I am willing to give him undoubted Proofs of both. I will do nothing for the Preservation of his Interests against his Will; but I will not hazard the Safety and Honour of our Arms, nor sacrifice the Company's Interest and Rights to the Caprice of his Advisers.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

(Signed) Warren Hastings.

To Mr. Middleton.

Sir, Benares, 2d January 1782.

I have received your Letters of the 30th December, and shall reply to them fully. It has afforded some Relief to the Anxiety which I have felt. If you have not already declared to the Nabob the Explanation which I desired you to give him, of the Sentiments expressed in my Letter, I desire you to defer it till you hear further from me. In the mean Time you may assure him that whatever is written in the Agreement concluded between us at Chunar shall be literally and firmly observed on my Part. I shall immediately compare it, for that Purpose, with the Measures now under Consideration.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) Warren Hastings.

To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire.

Sir, Benares, 3d Jan^y 1782.

I have already acknowledged the Receipt of your Letter of the 30th, and am determined, by the Assurances and Promise made to me in it, to return to Calcutta, and shall leave to you the Charge and Execution of the Measures necessary to the Execution of the Agreement concluded between the Nabob Vizier and myself in September last.

Willing as I am to trust to your Declarations, I cannot avoid yielding to the Doubts suggested by the Inconsistencies of your Representations of their Grounds. You, in a former Letter, told me that the Nabob had required the Assistance of a Regiment of Sepoys to enforce the Resumption of the Jagheers, but that it was your Opinion that a much larger Force would be

be required for it, as a powerful Oppoſition was prepared againſt it: I in conſequence ordered a ſtrong Detachment to perform this Service; you then wrote that the Nabob would not allow it, that you durſt not communicate it to him, that you knew he would even oppoſe it by Force, and that the Payment of the Detachment would be a Breach of Treaty; and now you write, that the Nabob's Sebundy alone are equal to this Service, and that it will be but a Fortnight's Work to accompliſh it. Theſe are abſolute Contradictions.

But I am moſt affected by your declaring, that you did not underſtand it to have been my Intention that the Reformation of the Nabob's Military Eſtabliſhment ſhould take place this Year; and that nothing has been done in the new Settlement of the Revenue, for the ſame Reaſon.

Theſe are freſh Inſtances of what I have had too frequent Cauſe to complain of, your total Inattention to my Inſtructions. The like Inattention is manifeſted in a former Letter, in which you tell me that you did not know that I expected a preſent Supply to the Company's Treaſury.

*Sic in Orig. In my Inſtructions I premiſe, as a Matter well know * to yourſelf, "that the chief Object "of my Negociation has been to induce and aſſiſt the Nabob to bring this Government and †Sic in Orig. "Finances into Regularity, † as to prevent his Alliance being a Clog to the Company, and to "enable him to diſcharge his Debt to the Company in the ſhorteſt Time poſſible."

It adds, "I ſhall expect that the whole of the Exceſs (of the Jagheers beyond the eſtimated "Amount) be appropriated to the Diſcharge of the Nabob's Debt to the Company."

The Order in which the Meaſures neceſſary to the Execution of the Agreement ſhall be taken is preſcribed in the following Words:

"After ſettling the Amount of the perſonal Diſburſements of the Nabob Vizier and his "Houſehold, the next Point that will require your Exertions, towards the general Arrange- "ments of the public Charges, is the Reform of the eſtabliſhed and Muttaiena Troops, "&c. &c."

The only Point which is left for future Adjuſtment, is the Eſtabliſhment of the Courts of Juſtice.

The Reformation of the Nabob's Troops, I conſidered as a Point which neither required nor admitted Delay—that his Muttaiena Troops were almoſt wholly fictitious, and his regular Eſtabliſhment ſcanty in Numbers, and in long Arrears. And I conſidered and ſtated this Reformation as One of the Means of reducing the Nabob's Expences, and enabling him to pay his Debts to the Company.

I have clearly explained my Intention to be, that the Firſt Receipt of the current Revenue ſhould furniſh the ſtipulated Amount of the Nabob's private Expences; that his Aſſignments for the Company's Debt, and other Charges defrayed by them, ſhould remain as uſual; and that the whole of the Exceſſes of the Jagheers ſhould be appropriated to the ſame Account: I require no more; nor can I add either Explanation or Comment on the Inſtructions which have been originally given to you, that can be more clearly expreſs, or more fully, than the Words of the original Text.

I have carefully peruſed the Agreement itſelf, and the former Treaties exiſting with the Nabob Vizier, but can find no Clauſe in any of them which either expreſsly, or by Implication, gives him a Right to employ the Company's Forces, except thoſe of the Subſidiary Brigade, without indemnifying the Company for their Expences. The Brigade itſelf is expreſsly declared to be for the Defence of his Dominions, and therefore has always been ſtationed on the Frontier neareſt to Invaſion. It was never intended that its Strength ſhould be diſſipated in little Detachments, and its Diſcipline ruined by employing it to ſuppreſs the Inſurrections of his Reiats, and to enforce the Payment of the Collections, although a diſcretionary Power has been given to you, in Caſes of great Emergency, to call for the Aid of Detachments from it for the former Service. And you know, that had our other Exigencies permitted it, it was intended to remand the whole of Sir John Cumming's Detachment to Bengal, and to leave no more than the Subſidiary Brigade, and the Regiment appointed for Lucknow, in the Vizier's Dominions. If the Oppoſition propoſed by the Begum is ſo formidable as you repreſented it when you firſt intimated it to me, your Employment of the Nabob's Sebundy to ſuppreſs it would only ſerve to make it a ſerious and protracted War; which my Order was intended to prevent, by ſuppreſſing all Attempts inſtantaneouſly. I ſhall now revoke my Orders; but I muſt poſitively forbid you to employ the Aid of the Regiment, which has been required and ſent, on any Service to which you ſhall judge it not fully equal. This is no Part of the Agreement.

I meet with a captious Expreſſion in your Letter, which, as it is not warranted by any in mine, I deem unbecoming.

Alluding to Sir John Cumming's Detachment, you deſire "my Determination on the future "Payment of the Troops, which I may ſtill think neceſſary to keep up to regulate the Na- "bob's internal Government"

It is not my Intention, nor ever was, to keep up Troops to regulate the Nabob's internal Government, but ſolely to defend his Country againſt Invaders, unleſs he ſhould require occaſional and temporary Aids to reſtore internal Peace and Order to it, to enable him to acquit himſelf

of

of his Debt to the Company, and thereby recover the whole and unparticipated Regulation of his internal Government. If he conceives my Design to be any other than this, it is now your Duty to undeceive him.

I now refer you back to the Agreement concluded by me with the Nabob, and my Instructions delivered in consequence of it. These are to be your sole Guide; nor do I mean by any Thing which I have since written, whether in this or any former Letter, to revoke or change a Tittle of what is written in them. On these I ground the whole of your present Responsibility, except what I have written concerning the additional Claims made on the Begums, and which I consider a virtual Part of my formal Instructions.

I am, &c. &c.
(Signed) Warren Hastings.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

I have the Honour to inform you, that the Nabob marched to Fayzabad on the 1st Instant, and that I follow him, conformably to your Orders, To-morrow Morning, having Yesterday ordered away the 8th Regiment to be ready to arrive with me on the 6th Instant at Fayzabad. The 20th Regiment, under the Command of Major Martin Gilpin, which was detached some Days ago from Cawnpore to enforce the Vizier's Order for the Resumption of the Begum's Jagheer, I have thought it necessary to station at Lucknow, in lieu of the 8th Regiment, until my Return from Fayzabad, when I shall be better able to judge how far, and what Force it may be necessary to employ against the Agents of the Begum, who I understand have all received the most positive Injunctions to oppose, by every Means in their Power, the Execution of the Vizier's Orders respecting the Jagheers.

I have the Honour, &c. &c.
(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
the 3d Jan^ry 1782.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

I arrived with the Nabob at Fayzabad Two Days ago, and his Excellency has made his Demand upon the Bhow Begum; but nothing final or decisive having yet taken place, I defer writing fully or entering on the Subject until To-morrow, when I hope to be able to do it with some Certainty as to the Result.

☞ (a) [I was honoured with your Letter of the 1st Instant on the Road, as also your subsequent Commands of the 2d and 3d, to which I shall pay the most submissive Obedience; and at present trouble you with no other Observations on the Points they contain, excepting a Paragraph in the First, to which it is indispensably incumbent on me immediately to reply, lest an Accusation it implies, though not absolutely applied, nor, I am persuaded, meant to be imputed to me, should, by any Misrepresentation or Misconstruction, be attempted to be forced upon you against me.

I do not know that any other Gentlemen than Mr. Johnson and myself were employed between you and the Nabob in the Agreement you concluded with his Excellency at Chunar; we therefore jointly subscribe to the following Attestation, which we shall be ready at any Time to confirm by a more formal Oath if desired.

" We do most solemnly declare before God, and upon our Honours, that we never have, " either of us, in Fact or Idea, received, or been tendered or promised, directly or indirectly, " any Benefit whatsoever, by any Person living, in consideration of any one or the whole of " the Articles specified or contained in the Agreement concluded between you and the Nabob " Vizier of the 19th September last."

Nath. Middleton,
R. Johnson.

If the above solemn Asseveration can have Effect in counteracting any Misrepresentations which it is possible may have been made or suggested to you on this Subject, we cheerfully and voluntarily offer it.

I have the Honour, &c. &c.
Nath. Middleton,
Res^t at the Court of the Vizier.

Fayzabad,
the 10th Janry. 1782.

P. S. Your Letter of the 31st Ultimo, through your Military Secretary, I can return no Answer to, as I am utterly unable to express what I feel and have felt upon it. I enclose a Copy of it, still willing to indulge a flattering Hope, that, upon Re-perusal, it may appear to you more severe than my Conscience tells me my Conduct in the Instance alluded to has merited.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.
Nath. Middleton.] ☞

(a) Vide supra, P. 555.

To

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

I was this Day honoured with your Commands of the 10th Inſtant, informing me of the Military Station you have eſtabliſhed at Juanpore, with the Liberty you grant the Nabob Vizier of claiming their Aid to quell any Diſturbances in the adjacent Parts of his Provinces. I have accordingly communicated it to his Excellency, who with great Juſtice was highly pleaſed with the Diſpoſition, as in Truth the Diſtricts bordering upon the Zemindary of Benares have for a long Period of Time been of all others the moſt turbulent and diſaffected, and nothing leſs than the Arrangement you have now formed could effectually ſecure the Peace and Tranquillity in that Neighbourhood, ſo eſſential to the Proſperity of the Nabob's Government and Revenues.

With reſpect to the Buſineſs here, I have the Honour to inform you, that Yeſterday finding that the temporizing and indeciſive Conduct of the Nabob ſeemed to promiſe an Iſſue very different, * very different from that expected in your Commands of the 26th December laſt; and that the only Uſe the Two leading Eunuchs under the Bhow Begum made of the Delay was, to aſſemble and call in armed Men from all Quarters, which when united with the large Force already in the Town under their Direction, would in all Probability have brought the Matter to a much more ſevere and arduous Teſt than it at preſent could admit of. I found myſelf neceſſitated to take the moſt immediate and deciſive Interference which the Force with me was capable of; and accordingly, having the Nabob's written Requiſition, marched the 23d Regiment, under the Command of Major Naylor, with a Detachment of his Excellency's own Troops, againſt the Kella, and had the Happineſs to ſucceed in putting the Nabob's Party in Poſſeſſion of it without any Effuſion of Blood; the armed Men retiring from it on the Approach of our Troops, and drawing up with their Guns in a large broad Street before the Houſe of the old Begum, to which the Bhow Begum and her Two principal Eunuchs had retired the preceding Evening. This effected, the Nabob iſſued his peremptory Orders for the immediate Departure of all armed Men, excepting his own Troops, beyond the Precincts of the Town, threatening them with an inſtant Attack if they diſobeyed. This Order, after many Evaſions, was promiſed to be complied with; and the Two Eunuchs, Bahr and Jowar Ally Cawn, at the ſame Time coming in, and delivering themſelves into the Nabob's Cuſtody, the armed Men, amounting to between Three and Four thouſand, evacuated the Town and diſperſed. I have ſince learnt, that had the Nabob's Troops alone attempted the Seizure of the Kella, a very deſperate Reſiſtance was reſolved upon, which appeared very probable, from the State in which the armed Men were found, being the preceding Evening furniſhed with a large Store of Ammunition, and now drawn up in regular Order, with loaded Pieces, and their Matches lighted; but they were prudent enough to think themſelves unequal to the united Efforts of his Excellency's Troops, ſupported by an Engliſh Regiment, and by this Conviction much Miſchief has happily been prevented.

* Sic in Orig.

To-morrow I hope to be able to inform you of the Effect of the preſent advantageous Situation, and in the mean Time have the Honour to remain, &c. &c.

Fayzabad,
the 13th Janry 1782.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſidt at the Court of the Vizier.

P. S. I have the Honour to encloſe you a Letter from the Vizier, in reply to your laſt to his Excellency.

Honourable Sir,

Camp, Kella, Fyzabad, Janry 14th, 1782.

Some Buſineſs of Importance, which the Reſident had to ſettle at Fyzabad, occaſioned my ſuddenly joining him there. After my Arrival, a Couple of Days paſſed in Negociation, but without Effect; and the Party in the Town collecting, and hourly gaining Strength, at length, after mature Deliberation, it was reſolved that I ſhould, with my Regiment, and Four Guns, ſtorm the Town, which I effected the 12th in the Morning. I very ſoon got Poſſeſſion of the Kellah, in which is the Palace and Zenanah; and as there were not only ſeveral Gates, but Openings in the Walls, as I entered on one Side they eſcaped at the other; but ſhortly after the Party returned again, headed by the Two principal Eunuchs, Bahr Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, and drew up oppoſite and within Sixty Yards of One of my Poſts, with Three Guns, and added the moſt aggravated* Behaviour; however, as they did not fire, or offer any other Acts of Hoſtility, and when I reflected on the Conſequence that would attend a conteſted Diſpute in the Streets of the Town; of the Zenanah, &c. being ſubject to be plundered even by themſelves, which would have been attributed to me; and being ſo ſituated for the Safety of the Female Part of the Family on one Hand, who were under the moſt dreadful Apprehenſion, and for the Support of his Excellency's Authority on the other, who was waiting the Reſult on the Outſide of the Town, I was for a ſhort Time doubtful how to decide; however, as I had Mahomed Affrein Cawn along with me, a Perſon in high Favour with the Nabob, and well acquainted with both Parties, I deſired to circulate lenient Advice, pointing out how fatal an Attack would be to them, and inevitable Ruin to thoſe they appeared ſo zealous

* Sic in Orig.

to ſupport. It had the Effect; the Two Eunuchs immediately ſurrendered, their People inſtantly left the Town, and I ordered their Guns to be dragged away.

As ſoon as the tumultuous Noiſe was over, and I had poſted Guards for the Safety of the Palace, &c. I directly ſent a Chubdar to the Begum, and offered every Aſſiſtance ſhe might want, and at the ſame Time conſiſtent with my Inſtructions, which ſhe accepted; and now I have the Satisfaction to inform you the Shops are all open, and Peace and Tranquillity prevails through the Town.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

(Signed) T. Naylor.

To the Honourable W. Haſtings, &c.

☞ (a) [To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I was duly honoured with your Commands of the 12th and 22d December laſt; the former reſpecting a Seizure which has been made by Choja Bahr Ally Cawn of ſome Cloths, manufactured at Tanda, on Account of Gualdaſs and Bolanaut, Merchants of Benares, under Pretext of their being the Property of Ram Laulla, whom he had confined on a Charge of Debt; and the latter recommending Gopaul Doſs in particular Terms for his Services to our Government, and the Punctuality with which he has acquitted himſelf of all his Engagements and Tranſactions with it. To this, Sir, be aſſured, I ſhall pay the moſt attentive Regard, and always give his Houſe that Preference to which it has ſo juſt a Claim, in all Remittances which may paſs through my Office.

I immediately, on my Arrival at Fayzabad, made a ſtrict Enquiry into the Complaint of the above-mentioned Seizure; and finding, from a Variety of Evidence, the Fact preciſely as it had been ſtated to you, I cauſed the Cloths to be releaſed, and delivered over to the Gumaſtah of Gualdaſs and Bolanaut, who attended here for that Purpoſe.

It having alſo been intimated to me, that Ram Laulla, a Shroft, and Relation of Gopaul Doſs, had been impriſoned by Bahr Ally Cawn, on Pretences equally vague and unjuſt, which I had Reaſon to believe was the Caſe, from my having failed in my Endeavours to procure his Enlargement near a Twelvemonth ago, although ſolicited on an Offer of the Security of Gopaul Doſs, and my own, if deſired, for the Payment of whatever Sum ſhould appear due from him on an Adjuſtment of their Accounts, I determined alſo to take this Opportunity of enquiring into that Matter, and procuring the Man Juſtice; for which Purpoſe I applied to Bahr Ally Cawn to ſend him to me, and repeated the Offer of Security which I had before made; he however thought proper to decline, or rather evade, Compliance with my Demand, and, to teſtify his Reſentment at the Application made for my Interference, he inſtantly doubled the Guard on his Priſoner, diſpatched an Eſcort to bring his Family from Tanda, and by every Means in his Power increaſed the Rigor of his Confinement. In this Situation he remained until the Day after the Seizure of Bahr and Jowar Ally Cawn, when he was brought to me by my own People, loaded with Irons; which I had immediately taken off, and, ſetting him at large, have deſired him to deliver me a Statement of his Account with Bahr Ally Cawn, which I ſhall take care to ſee equitably adjuſted.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Fayzabad, the 15th January 1782.

Nath. Middleton.

Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.] ☞

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have been honoured with your Commands of the 8th and 14th Inſtant; and in Reply to the Firſt, have to inform you, that having repreſented to the Nabob the improper Treatment which Dewanjee Punt met with from the Officers of Government at Allahabad, on his Way to you, ſtrict Orders have been iſſued to the Phougedar of that Province to prevent any Impediment or Moleſtation to him on his Return to the Deekan; and I alſo, in obedience to your Commands, ſignified to the Nabob's Miniſters your Sentiments and Diſapprobation of a Conduct which reflected ſo much Diſgrace on his Excellency's Government. Their Reply was, That the Waſhing Duties, or Tax levied upon all Perſons coming to bathe at the Conflux of the Rivers Ganges and Jumma, has long been an eſtabliſhed Thing, and at preſent forms a conſiderable Article of Revenue in the Tohud of the Farmer of Allahabad; that it ſhall be their Care to prevent, as much as poſſible, any Abuſe of this Privilege during the Remainder of the current Year, and at the Period of the new annual Settlement to aboliſh it altogether, if it is your Wiſh that it ſhould not exiſt.

I had the Honour to addreſs you under Date the 13th Inſtant, incloſing you the Letter from his Excellency the Vizier, for which you inform me you are waiting, and acquainting you with the Meaſures which had been taken here towards accompliſhing the Object of your Commands. I have hitherto withheld any farther Communication, in the Expectation of ſhortly being able to inform you, with Certainty, what would be the Iſſue of our Proceedings; a Subject on which I have been extremely unwilling to touch, until I could do it on ſuch Grounds

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 576.

as

as could not miſlead your Hopes or Expectations: Until Yeſterday the Buſineſs was in no Form that could enable me to pronounce, or even conjecture, what would be the Reſult.

It very early appeared, that the Begum, with the Aſſiſtance of her Cojahs, had diſpoſed of and ſecreted her Wealth in ſuch a Manner as to elude almoſt the Poſſibility of obtaining Poſſeſſion of it by mere Force of Arms; and whatever rigorous Meaſures it might be proper for the Nabob ultimately to adopt, it ſeemed, at all Events, in the firſt Inſtance highly expedient that we ſhould purſue the Courſe which promiſed, with the greateſt Certainty, the Accompliſhment of his First Object, in which the Intereſts of the Company, and your Deſires, were too much concerned for me to heſitate a Moment in giving my Concurrence to a temporary Forbearance, which I had reaſon to believe was the moſt adviſeable, and, if it did not ſucceed, could be attended in the Iſſue with no worſe Effect than a few Days Delay in cloſing the Buſineſs.

Your Letter to the Begum, which I had the Honour to receive and forward to her Yeſterday, having deſtroyed a Reliance, which, notwithſtanding the Part I have avowed and acted with reſpect to her, ſhe probably placed in the Support and Mediation of our Government, has given a very favourable Turn to the Buſineſs, and afforded me a well-grounded Hope that in One or Two Days more I ſhall be able to inform you of a ſatisfactory Concluſion of it.

I have the Honour, &c. &c.

Fayzabad,
the 18th January 1782.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

The Begum having finally agreed to ſurrender to the Nabob the Treaſures of his late Father the Nabob Shujah ul Dowlah, which ſhe had hitherto retained in her Poſſeſſion, his Excellency deſired me to withdraw the Troops from the Kella, that the Begum might return into it in order to deliver the Treaſure—to this I conſented, as alſo to the Re-delivery to the Nabob of the Two Eunuchs Bhar and Jowar Ally Cawn, without whoſe Preſence and Aſſiſtance nothing could be effected, as they were the only Agents employed by the Begum in the ſecreting and depoſiting it; they previouſly pledging themſelves to be preſent, when called upon, to anſwer to the Accuſation which I have informed them was laid againſt them. In the mean while, the Begum has delivered over her Chelah, Shumſheen Khan, who was Phouſdar of Tanda when Captain Gordon arrived there —So that I now hope the whole Buſineſs upon which I came here is in the moſt favourable Train.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Fayzabad,
the 20th January 1782.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Vizier's Court.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

I had the Honour to addreſs you, under Date the 25th Inſtant, acquainting you of the Vizier's having, from the Treaſure delivered up to him by the Bhow Begum, commenced on the Payment of his Debt to the Honourable Company. I have now the Pleaſure to inform you, that I am this Day in Poſſeſſion of a Sum equal to the Liquidation of his Bond for the Balance of 1187; and he further gives me Hopes, that he ſhall be able ſhortly to begin Payment of the 12 Lacks due for the Balance of 1188, of which I ſhall in due Courſe give you Information.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Fayzabad,
the 27th January 1782.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have had this Day the Honour to receive your Commands of the 25th Ultimo, and am extremely concerned that the Mode of conducting the Fayzabad Buſineſs, as ſet forth in my Addreſs of the 18th January, did not meet your entire Approbation. Permit me to aſſure you, Sir, it is with the greateſt Reluctance I ever venture to deviate from the expreſs Letter of your Inſtructions; and I cannot accuſe myſelf of having done it on any Occaſion, where it did not appear to my Judgment that the Object and Spirit of them rendered it adviſeable, and that the apparent Neceſſity would juſtify ſuch Latitude.

In the preſent Inſtance, it was more in Appearance and Expreſſion, than in Fact, that any Deviation was made from your Orders of the 26th December; for although I was conſtrained, from my ſtrict Regard to the Accompliſhment of what I conſidered the First Object of this Undertaking, to admit of a temporary Forbearance, for the Reaſons aſſigned in my Addreſs of the 18th Ultimo, the Begums were at that Time to be conſidered as entirely at the Mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers were in the Poſſeſſion of his Aumils, their Troops diſperſed, and the Kella of Fayzabad, which included alſo the Bhow Begum's own Habitation, under the Guard of his Excellency's and our Troops.

It remained only to get poſſeſſion of her Wealth; and, to effect this, it was then, and is ſtill, my firm and unalterable Opinion, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to employ temporizing Expedients, and to work upon the Hopes and Fears of the Begum herſelf, and more eſpecially upon thoſe of her principal Agents, through whoſe Means alone there appeared any probable Chance of our getting Acceſs to the hidden Treaſures of the late Vizier; and when I acquaint you that by far the greateſt Part of the Treaſure which has been delivered to the Nabob was taken from the moſt ſecret Receſſes in the Houſes of the Two Eunuchs, whence of courſe it could not have been extracted without the Adoption of thoſe Means which could induce the Diſcovery, I ſhall hope for your Approbation of what I did. I muſt alſo obſerve, that no further Rigour than that which I exerted could have been uſed againſt Females in this Country, to whom there can be no Acceſs. The Nabob and Salar Jung were the only Two who could enter the Zenanah: The Firſt was a Son, who was to addreſs a Parent, and of courſe could uſe no Language or Action but that of earneſt and reiterated Solicitation; and the other was in all Appearance a Traitor to our Cauſe: Where Force could be employed, it was not ſpared. The Troops of the Begum were driven away and diſperſed, their Guns taken, her Fort, and the outward Walls of her Houſe, ſeized, and occupied by our Troops, at the Nabob's Requiſition, and her chief Agents impriſoned and put in Irons. No further Step was left. And in this Situation they ſtill remain, and are to continue (excepting only a Remiſſion of the Irons) until the final Liquidation of the Payment; and if then you deem it proper, no poſſible Means of Offence being left in her Hands or thoſe of her Agents, all her Lands and Property having been taken, I mean, with your Sanction, to reſtore her Houſe and Servants to her; and hope to be favoured with your early Reply; as I expect that a few Days will complete the final Surrender of all that is further expected from the Begum.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow,
the 5th February 1782.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſident at the Court of the Vizier.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I had the Honour to addreſs you Yeſterday; and this Morning I was favoured with your Commands of the 27th Ultimo.

You are already apprized, by my Addreſs of Yeſterday, and my preceding Letters, of the promiſed Iſſue of the Buſineſs at Fayzabad, as well as of the State in which I left it; both which I hope will be ſatisfactory, as they ſeem to leave the Matter in that State of Suſpenſe which you wiſh it to remain, until the Board or yourſelf ſhould have been adviſed of the Amount of the Treaſure recovered from the Begums, and ſignified your further Pleaſure.

The Nabob has concluded no Settlement whatever with the Begums, but left Fayzabad ſome Hours before me, without taking leave of them, upon their Agents having agreed to complete the 55 Lacks, which appeared due to the Company upon the cloſing of my Accounts for the laſt Year, and the Begums declaring that this was the Extent of all their Poſſeſſions, including down to their Table Utenſils, which they have, and are ſtill delivering, and no Proof has yet been obtained of their having more. I ſhall, as you direct, uſe my Influence to diſſuade his Excellency from concluding any Settlement until I have your further Commands.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow,
the 6th February 1782.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I had the Honour to addreſs you, under Date the 6th Inſtant, informing you of the State in which I had left the Buſineſs at Fayzabad, and the Hopes I entertained of a ſpeedy Completion of it; permit me now to acquaint you, that, of the remaining Balance engaged to be made good by the Two Eunuchs Bahr and Jowar Ally Cawn, I have this Day had Advice of the Receipt of between Five and Six Lacks, which is now on the Way to Lucknow; and the Reſidue I have every Reaſon to believe will be realized before this Letter reaches your Hands: So that I have now to repeat my Requeſt, that I may as ſoon as poſſible be honoured with your final Commands reſpecting the Conduct it is your Wiſh ſhould be purſued with the Begum and her Eunuchs.

The Services of Major Naylor's Regiment being required to the Eaſtward of the River Gogra, as well to ſupport the Authority of the Nabob's Government in that Quarter, as to be ready to join in the Plan of Operations which may be determined on, in Obedience to your Commands, againſt Futty Saw, I have ſent One Battalion of Major Gilpin's Regiment to relieve Major Naylor at Fayzabad; which I hope you will approve.

I have the Pleaſure to inform you, that the 8th Regiment, which I left to eſcort the Treaſure from Fayzabad, arrived this Day, and ſafely delivered its Charge. Upon its Arrival, I immediately diſpatched to Colonel Muir the Sum requiſite for the Payment of the Arrears due to his Detachment; I am now forwarding to Colonels Morgan and Sir John Cummings, the

the Amount upon which they have called upon me, after which I ſhall loſe not a Moment in remitting the Reſidue to the Preſidency.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
the 8th February 1783.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have had the Honour to receive your Commands of the 22d Ultimo, through your Military Secretary, informing me of your Inſtructions given to Mr. Charters for the Seizure of Futty Saw, and your Directions, that I ſhould apply to the Vizier to give the moſt poſitive Injunctions to the Aumils, and other Officers of his Government, to afford no Shelter or Retreat to this Rebel, but in general to give every Aſſiſtance they can to the Detachment acting againſt him. I beg leave to acquaint you, that, in obedience to your Commands, I have applied for, and obtained his Excellency's Inſtructions, and have further written to Major Thomas Naylor, whoſe Regiment is employed on Service in the Gorruckpore Country, to co-operate with the Detachment under the Direction of Mr. Charters, and to uſe every Means in his Power to promote the Succeſs of the Expedition.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
the 10th February 1782.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

Incloſed I have the Honour to forward your Addreſſes from his Excellency the Vizier and his Miniſters.

In Juſtice to the latter, it is incumbent upon me to inform you, that during the Progreſs of the Buſineſs at Fayzabad, I received from them the moſt willing and zealous Support; and that to their Exertions I conſider myſelf greatly indebted for the complete Succeſs which attended that Buſineſs, as well as for the Fruits of it being ſolely applied to the Liquidation of the Nabob's Debts to the Honourable Company.

Under theſe Circumſtances, it would afford me great Satisfaction, and, I conceive, tend to promote the public Service, were they honoured with ſome Teſtimony of your Approbation and Favour, which would be particularly acceptable to them at this Period, as their Conduct in the Tranſactions at Fayzabad, and in the Reſumption of the Jagheers, has excited the inveterate Reſentment of the Begum, and many Perſons of the firſt Conſequence about the Court, whoſe Intereſts have been affected by the latter Meaſure, and created a far more powerful Combination againſt them, than they have ever before had to oppoſe. In ſhort, Sir, they are conſidered, not only by this Party, but by the Nabob himſelf, as the actual Dependants of the Engliſh Government; which they certainly are, and it is by its declared and moſt obvious Support alone, that they can maintain the Authority and Influence, which is indiſpenſably neceſſary to enable them to diſcharge the Truſt repoſed in them, either with Credit to themſelves or Advantage to the Public.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,
the 11th Febry. 1782.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have the Honour herewith to tranſmit a Letter addreſſed to you by the Nabob Vizier, informing you of his Compliance with the only Points that remained unfiniſhed of his Part of the late Agreement made with you, by having changed the Mode of the Receipt of his Revenues now ordered to be all paid at the Huzzoor to the Miniſters, by whom all Tuncawdars and Mooteyenah, &c. are to be paid, the Nabob firſt paying himſelf the Expences of his private Purſe, eſtimated at the Medium Receipts of the laſt Three Years.

I have, in Confirmation of the above-mentioned Letter, received One from the Miniſter, informing me of the Accompliſhment of this Reform; from which, with the total Reſumption of all Jagheers, which is now perfectly completed, I have every Reaſon to hope for the moſt beneficial Reſult, and that every Part of this Government will now be in a State of Regularity and Tranquillity ſcarcely ever before experienced.

I alſo truſt that you will now deem every Wiſh, expreſſed in your Inſtructions, to be fully performed.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
the 11th February 1782.

To

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have juſt received Intelligence, which I think may be relied on, of the Death of the Nabob Nudziff Cawn.

It is impoſſible to pronounce, with Certainty, what may be the immediate Conſequences of this Event. The ultimate ones, I have no Doubt, will be the total Subverſion of that extenſive Government, acquired alone by his powerful Influence and high military Character, and by which, rather than any effective Force, he has been able hitherto to maintain it. I do not know any one of his Partizans, whoſe Talents, Activity, or ſuperior Influence over the reſt, are likely to create an abſolute and permanent Authority; Diſſenſions, therefore, among the principal Officers of his Army may be expected to enſue, and thoſe Rajahs and Chiefs who have been deprived of their Territorial Poſſeſſions, will ſcarcely omit ſo favourable an Opportunity of attempting to retrieve them.

Abdulâhd Cawn, the laſt Miniſter, will probably be reſtored to Office; and his Object will naturally be the Extinction of every Shadow of Nudjif Cawn's Power.

Upon the whole, however, I do not apprehend any Conſequences which can affect the Honourable Company's Intereſts, or the Security of the Nabob Vizier, unleſs Zabita Cawn, who, it appears, has long entertained Views of attempting the Recovery of his former Poſſeſſions in Rohilcund, ſhould be prevailed on to conſider this a favourable Occaſion to proſecute them. In ſuch an Event, I ſhould think it very probable he would be joined by Fayzula Cawn, who, there is ſtrong Reaſon to believe, is by no means well affected to the Vizier's Government, and who has of late made ſuch Preparations, and ſuch a Diſpoſition of his Family and Wealth, as evidently manifeſt either an intended or expected Rupture.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

Poppamow,
the 24th Febry 1782.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I had the Honour to tranſmit you, a few Days ago, Intelligence I had received of the Death of the Nabob Nudjif Cawn, which, from the authentic Channel through which it came to me, I thought might be relied upon; but I have ſince been informed the Report was premature; and late Accounts from Dehly mention, that the Violence of the Nabob's Diſorder had ſo far abated as to give Hopes of his Recovery.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

Jawnpore,
28th Febry 1782.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

Upon the Spirit of your former Orders, relative to the Appointment of a Detachment under Sir John Cumming, for the Support and Protection of the Vizier's internal Government, and your ſubſequent Letters declaratory of your Senſe of the Footing on which the Subſidiary Brigade muſt be underſtood to remain with his Excellency, I have had repeated Converſations with the Miniſters, endeavouring to ſhew the Impropriety of making Detachments from the Frontier Brigade, originally intended ſolely for the Defence of the Nabob's Dominions againſt a foreign Enemy, for the Aſſiſtance of the Aumils, or other ordinary Services of the Collections; and to convince them of the Impoſſibility of continuing that Practice, now that the whole effective Force of the Country was reduced to One Brigade, without perverting this obvious Deſign of its Eſtabliſhment, and thereby riſking Conſequences to the Honourable Company's Arms and his Excellency's Government, which it equally behoved them and myſelf to avoid; as from the frequent Calls for ſuch Aid, and the Nature of the Service, and the very remote Diſtance to which the Troops were occaſionally ſent, neither the neceſſary Attention to their Diſcipline could be paid, nor their Re-junction effected upon any Emergency which might call for the immediate Exertion of the whole Force of the Brigade.

Having ſucceeded in the Impreſſion which I wiſhed to make on the Miniſters, and the Reduction which has been made in the Nabob's Mooteyna Troops ſtrengthening the Grounds I had agreed upon, I availed myſelf of this Opportunity to propoſe an Eſtabliſhment of the Honourable Company's Troops, which ſhould at once obviate the Neceſſity of applying to the Subſidiary Brigade for Aſſiſtance, and enable the Nabob to make ſtill further Reductions in his Mooteyna and Sebundy Eſtabliſhments: Three Regiments, with their Guns and complete Artillery Eſtabliſhments, I am of Opinion, would anſwer this Purpoſe; and the Miniſters are now ſo thoroughly convinced of the Utility of it, that they have authorized me to ſubmit the Meaſure to your Conſideration, with an Aſſurance that they will cheerfully co operate with me in carrying it into immediate Execution, ſhould it meet with your Approbation.

To

To leave as little as poſſible for future Diſcuſſion, and that no Diſpute might ariſe about the Payment of this Eſtabliſhment, I propoſed a Subſidy of 25,000 Rupees per Menſem for each Regiment, or 75,000 for the whole; which Terms will be agreed to, and I hope be deemed ſatisfactory by you, as they will be fully adequate to every poſſible Expence of the Eſtabliſhment, without Staff or Commanding Officer, which I preſume you will not conſider neceſſary, as the Regiments muſt of courſe always be ſtationed and employed ſeparately, to make them anſwer the Purpoſes for which they are intended.

I loſe not a Moment, Sir, in communicating this propoſed Arrangement to you in its preſent Stage, that I may immediately receive your Sentiments and Commands upon it; and I am happy in the Opportunity which it at the ſame Time affords me of evincing to you the Attention which has been paid to your Orders reſpecting the Reduction of the Nabob's Mooteyna, as well as the inſtant beneficial Effect of them, ſince the Expence of the Eſtabliſhments I now propoſe, is to be defrayed from that Fund, without the ſmalleſt additional Charge to the Nabob's Government.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
the 10th March 1782.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

In further Explanation of the Plan which I ſubmitted to you Yeſterday, I now beg leave to incloſe a Draft of a G. O. which is drawn up conformable to the Sentiments and Wiſhes of the Miniſters, and calculated to obviate an Evil they ſeem moſt to apprehend, which is accumulating Charges upon the Nabob over and above the Amount ſtipulated for the Three Regiments.

The 8th, 20th, and 23d Regiments are now upon Service in theſe Provinces, and of courſe will by far be the eaſieſt to leave here upon the new Plan; which, excluſive of ſaving the Time and Expence of marching freſh Troops, will at once, by ſhewing how they are to be employed, preclude the Danger ſo much dreaded here of having any Commanding Officer or Staff appointed to theſe Regiments.

They moſt probably never can be employed together, as the preſent diſperſed Poſition of them evinces.

The Staff Expence, and Inconveniency of Controul in the Diſpoſition of theſe Regiments, were what the Miniſters ſeemed moſt fearful of, and probably conſtituted the greateſt Objection they had originally to the Plan. I have taken upon me to aſſure them, their Wiſhes on this Head, as they appeared to me not unreaſonable, would be attended to, and I ſhall be happy to find this Aſſurance confirmed by you.

I have been guided by the Terms of your laſt Agreement with the Nabob, in propoſing the Period of relieving theſe Regiments; but as the Nature of the Service on which they are employed may not always admit of a ſtrict Attention to this Rule, I could wiſh to have the diſcretionary Power of diſpenſing with it, when it ſhall appear neceſſary.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.
Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
the 11th March 1782.

G. O. The Nabob Vizier having ſtipulated to pay a fixed and limited Sum for the Uſe of Three Regiments, which his Excellency has applied for towards the Support of his Aumils and Collections, this is to direct that no Officer going upon ſuch Service ſhall, under any Pretence whatſoever, claim or receive from the Nabob or his Agents, any Sum of Money whatever, either for himſelf or any contingent Expence he may incur, but ſhall tranſmit any Claim he may have, through the uſual and eſtabliſhed Channels, to the Paymaſters and Commiſſary General, as the Payment made by the Nabob includes an Amount equal to all Charges to which Service is liable.

The firſt Regiments appointed for this Service are the 8th, 20th, and 23d; which are to be relieved, in like Manner with the Lucknow Regiment, every Three Months, upon the Application of the Reſident, who alone can determine whether the Service they may be engaged upon can prevent it.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

Previous to the Receipt of your Commands from Patna, of the 22d January, relative to the Expulſion of Futty Saw, I had cauſed the ſtricteſt Injunctions to be laid on the Officers of the Vizier's Revenues in Gorruckpore, to render every Aſſiſtance in their Power towards the effectual Reduction of this notorious Diſturber of the Honourable Company's Government; and had given Mirza Abdoola Beg, the Fougedar of Gorruckpore, a Letter to preſent to Mr. Greme on this Subject; and I take the Liberty of troubling you with a Copy of that Gentleman's

Acknow-

Acknowledgment of the willing Diſpoſition which has been teſtified by Abdoola Beg to promote the Succeſs of this neceſſary Service.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow,
the 16th March 1782.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

To Nath. Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Court of the Vizier.

Sir,

I have been honoured with your Letter of the 20th ultimo, which was ſent to me by Mirza Abdoola Beg, the Aumil of Gorruckpore, who, I have the Pleaſure to acquaint you, has manifeſted the moſt earneſt Deſire to fulfil the Wiſhes of this Government, and of the Vizier his Maſter, for the Apprehenſion of Futty Saw. Some Time before the Receipt of your Letter, he ſent a Perſon to me with Propoſals for executing this Purpoſe, which I immediately concurred with him in; and, a Plan of Operations having been concerted in conſequence, I communicated it to Major Lucas, commanding the Company's Troops at Burragong, who approved, and inſtantly took all Meaſures for carrying it into force. Though the Project was planned with all poſſible Secrecy, the March of the Detachment from this Place appears to have been known to Futty Saw, who changed his Ground the Evening before the Time fixed on for making the Attack, but could not evade entirely the Effects of the Expedition; for Lieut. Lally (with Two Companies of Major Lucas's Regiment, which were ſtationed at Bogga) having received Intelligence of this Motion of Futty Saw's, marched directly to the Spot where he was encamped with about Three hundred Men, attacked and ſlew about Twelve of them, and was very near taking Futty Saw himſelf.

It would be unjuſt to Mirza Abdoola Beg, if I omitted to communicate to you the Teſtimonies I have received of his good Behaviour. Major Lucas, in his firſt Letter to me after their Junction, expreſſes himſelf as follows:

"The Phouzdar and my Parties have met juſt as we could wiſh; he has ordered out both "Horſe and Foot, and ſeems to be the Man you repreſented. We have agreed to join heartily "in the Cauſe, and hope yet to prove ſucceſsful, &c." And again, in his Letter of the 22d Inſtant, he ſays, "I have halted To-day by Deſire of the Phouſdar, who promiſed to join me; "but as he has the Country to ſettle as he goes on, he has again requeſted to ſee and conſult be-"fore I go farther. As he ſeems inclined to prove himſelf the Man you repreſented, I wiſh "to have his Advice in this critical Situation, particularly as I don't think the Service I am on "can be hurt by this (ſeeming) Delay; for 'tis now certain that Futty Saw, with his preſent "ſmall Party, may evade every Effort of the moſt vigilant and numerous Troops, in a Country "like this."

Whilſt a good Underſtanding (which has never heretofore been the Caſe) continues to ſubſiſt between the Officers of the Revenue in theſe Diſtricts and thoſe of the Vizier in Gorruckpore, I think I may venture to aſſert, that Futty Saw will never have it in his Power to diſturb the Peace of either.

I am, &c. &c.

Burragong,
28th Feb^{y} 1782.

Charles Græme,
Coll^{r} of S. Saron, &c.

A true Copy.
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have the Honour to inform you, that, in conſequence of ſome Miſmanagement having again intruded in the Mint of Lucknow, I have been under the Neceſſity of appointing a Sezaual on my own Behalf to check and examine every Rupee that may be iſſued from it.

I hope this unavoidable Interference with the Vizier's Officers will meet your Approbation; as the Preſervation of the Standard here is extremely material to the Intereſt and Convenience of the Honourable Company.

In order to complete the Check you have directed over the Mooteynah, and their Payment, I have been neceſſitated to appoint * appoint an Aumeen to receive and remit to me the Collections of Letafut Ally Cawn's Jaidads, the net Amount of which I have pledged myſelf to ſend to him; and, to prevent the Miſappropriation of theſe Funds, which he heretofore ſo notoriouſly was guilty of, I have appointed a Muſter Maſter and Pay Maſter to his Corps at Dehly.

* Sic in Orig.

The Perſon I have choſen for this Duty is Cazem Ally Cawn, whoſe Abilities muſt be known to you when formerly employed in Bengal as Phouſdar of Houghly; I therefore hope this Step will alſo meet with your Sanction. Since the above Arrangement was adopted, I have learned from certain Intelligence, that Letafut Ally Cawn has entered into the Pay of Nadjif Cawn, from whom he has received Jaidads for the Maintenance of his Troops. It of courſe follows, that the Vizier can no longer retain them in his Pay and Service; upon which I have this Moment received a Meſſage from the Nabob, but have waved a Reply until I ſhould receive your Anſwer to the following Queſtion:

Whether

Whether you think it moſt adviſeable, to the better Arrangement and Œconomy of the Nabob's Finances, to take this favourable Opportunity of ſtopping the large Expence incurred upon this Head; or, as our Intereſt and Politics muſt neceſſarily be connected more or leſs with the Court of Dehly, Whether you think it beſt to have any Perſon of declared Attachment to our Intereſt recommended to the Vizier to fill the Station vacated by the Delinquency of Letafut Ally Cawn?

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow, the 20th March 1782.

Nath. Middleton, Reſt at the Vizier's Court.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have received the Honour of your Commands under Date the 27th February.

I had carried the original Treaty down with me, in obedience to your Orders of the 19th December; but, having determined, upon Receipt of your firſt above-mentioned Letter, to return immediately to my Station, I have brought it back with me, and ſhall now forward it by the firſt ſafe Conveyance.

In obedience to the Explanation you require, of the general Aſſertion, That the Objects of the late Treaty have been fulfilled, I now proceed to recapitulate unitedly what I have hitherto in detached Letters taken the Liberty of ſubmitting to you; and, for Regularity, I ſhall take up the Paragraphs of your Inſtructions, accompanying the Chunar Treaty in the Order they ſtand.

Para. 1ſt. Requires the Execution of the ſeveral Articles of the Treaty, being Five in Number.

The Firſt has been fully effected by the complete Payment of all Arrears, and the March of the temporary and Cavalry Brigade into the Provinces.

Nothing remains but the Return, or Adjuſtment, of the Value of the Stores furniſhed by the Nabob when the temporary Brigade was firſt eſtabliſhed; of which only Nine Pieces of Field Artillery have yet been returned by Colonel Morgan. The incloſed is a Letter from the Nabob upon the Subject.

Mr. Wombwell's Office has been fully paid off and diſcharged, and all the Arms and Stores of the different Corps delivered to the Nabob, and Aſſets for the Payment of the extra Regiment ſtationed at Lucknow included in the Aſſignment for the Current Year.

The Second Article relates to the Reſumption of the Jaguire Lands. This has been fully effected. The Three moſt conſiderable are now under my Charge—the Bow Begum's, Salar Jung's, and Letafut Ally Cawn's; a Meaſure I was driven to enforce, on account of the Mode in which the Firſt Reſumption of the Jaguires was conducted; which, by leaving the reſumed Lands in the Farm of thoſe who before held them on behalf of the Jaguirdars, little more than a Shadow of the intended Change was effected.

The Third Article, which includes the Jaguire of Fizzulla Cawn among the reſt, has hitherto been deferred by the Poſtſcript to your general Inſtruction, which forbids it until Circumſtances may render it more expedient and eaſy to be attempted than the preſent more material Purſuits of Government make it appear.

However, I beg leave to repeat, that a Stipend or Allowance in Ready Money, to that Chief, in lieu of his Jaguire Lands, ſituated and peopled as they are by his own Tribe, in Vicinity to Three capital Territories of the ſame Caſt, would be far more conducive to the Intereſts and Security of this Government; and, as ſuch, permit me to recommend it to your Conſideration.

The 4th Article, as far as regarded this Office, was fulfilled here.

The Fifth and laſt Article being only a Proviſion for a future eventual Contingency, was liable to no Exertion here.

The Counterpart of the Treaty, being the Arrangements which the Nabob pledged himſelf to effect towards introducing Œconomy into his Finances, conſiſting chiefly in Three Points—The Reduction and Regulation of his Mooteyenah Troops—the Separation of his private Purſe from the public Funds—and placing the latter under the ſeparate Management of the Miniſters.

The Firſt of theſe Meaſures is in as great Forwardneſs as it is poſſible; Pay and Muſter Maſters having been appointed to the whole, and the Saving already made produced a Fund equal to defray the eſtabliſhed Charge of Three Regiments, as propoſed in my Addreſs of the 10th Inſtant. The other, of ſeparating and limiting the Privy Purſe, was immediately effected upon my Return here from Chunar, and with that the ſeparate Public Funds placed under the Miniſters.

I now proceed to the Continuation of the Paragraphs of your Letter of Inſtructions.

The 2d is only claiming my implicit Obedience to what follows; to fulfil which has been and ſhall be my conſtant Study.

The 3d Paragraph is a Recapitulation of the chief Object of the Treaty, being the ſhorteſt poſſible Liquidation of the Nabob's Debt to the Honourable Company.—To this Purpoſe I have ſecured Aſſignments, which I deem adequate to the full Diſcharge of all Demands by the End of the preſent Fuſſullee Year; which, conſidering the Greatneſs of the Aggregate Amount, is, I apprehend, as ſoon as could be expected.

The

The 4th Paragraph is partly anſwered above; the Reduction has chiefly been in the Infantry, ſo as to bring in our Troops to ſupply the Deficiency; upon which Subject my Propoſal is before you. The Corps under this Denomination here are chiefly Nudjeibs, and employed for the Garriſons of the Aumils, Forts, Kutcherries, and Tânahs.—The Corps of Cavalry could not ſo eaſily be diminiſhed or immediately reformed.—They conſiſt moſtly of Mogols, entertained for the State and perſonal Security of the Aumil, who they generally attend in Perſon; and, ſuch is the refractory Diſpoſition of the People, who have never yet been properly controuled, that, was not ſome immediate viſible ſtanding Force with the Aumil, at his Command, to enforce his Orders, he would neither be reſpected or obeyed, and conſequently unable to fulfil the Duties of his Charge.

The Sebundy is a ſeparate Eſtabliſhment from the Two above-mentioned, being a Charge of generally about 4 per Cent. upon the Collections of the different Aumils, for a Duty executed by a Set of Peons, not military diſciplined Men, who are ſtationed upon the Crops and Fields all over the Country, for their Protection. Theſe, from the Nature and preſent State of this Government, appear to me abſolutely and indiſpenſably neceſſary for the Collections, and can neither be embodied or farmed into any regular fixed Eſtabliſhment; but the new Year will afford an Opportunity of reducing their Numbers, and of bringing this Part of the Plan into greater Perfection.

The 5th Paragraph, regulating the Mode of paying the Mooteyanah, has been completely eſtabliſhed, notwithſtanding the Complaints and Obſtructions brought againſt it by the Aumils; who are by it ſubjected to a Check and Controul which they are not pleaſed with, and deprived of an ideal Proportion of Authority over their Men, by the Interference of the Pay and Muſter Maſters.

To the 6th Paragraph, which regards the Nabob's Choice of Officers, I have only to obſerve, that no Vacancies have occurred which can have afforded Room for an Exertion of its Clauſe.

The 7th, regarding the Choice of Aumils, can only come under Execution at the Commencement of the Year, when the Aumils are named.—The few Inſtances of Change which have accidentally occurred by the Reſumption of the Jaguires, have been conducted under the Spirit of this Order.

Upon the 8th Paragraph, I have written a ſtrong Letter to the Nabob, recommending moſt earneſtly to him to eſtabliſh Courts of Juſtice throughout his Dominions, beginning by a Sudder ul Hukk at the Capital; of the Effect whereof I ſhall hereafter inform you. I have not urged an inſtant Adoption of the Plan, as it appears more mentioned as a Point you wiſh to be brought about by Degrees than expect to ſee immediately enforced; nor is the Government here yet ſufficiently regulated to promiſe juſt now thoſe beneficial Conſequences which are the Objects of ſuch an Inſtitution.

The 9th Paragraph conveys a diſcretionary Power, eventually to be exerciſed; an Occaſion for which hath not hitherto occurred.

The Notice directed by the 10th Paragraph has been publicly given to every Perſon coming under its Deſcription, and who have ſignified their having received the Order.

Theſe complete your Inſtructions; ſince which you have directed, as an additional Article, that the Nabob ſhould be ſupported in his Claim upon the Bhow Begum, for the Inheritance of the late Vizier's Public Treaſure. This has alſo been done; 45 Lacks have been recovered, and the Begum's Chief Agents are now under ſevere Reſtraint for the Remainder of what they engaged to produce.

Truſting that from this Explanation you will be ſatisfied that I have done all that the Time I have had, and the Circumſtances I have been under, would admit,

I remain, with profound Reſpect, &c. &c.

Lucknow,
the 25th March 1782.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

Nathaniel Middleton, Eſq. Reſident at Lucknow.

Fort William, 24th April 1782.

Sir,

As I underſtand that there are ſtill remaining at Lucknow, or in other Parts of the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier, many Perſons ſubject to our Government, or poſſeſſing an Influence from their Connection with it, beſides the Company's covenanted Servants attached to your Department, and the Officers and Followers of the Army, contrary to the Agreement made by me with the Nabob Vizier in the Month of Auguſt laſt, it is my poſitive Order that you give them freſh Notice to depart, and on Failure of their immediate Compliance, that you apply to the Nabob for his Authority for their Removal by Force. Lieut. Colonel Polier, and Major Martin, are excepted from this Order, having received Permiſſion of the Board to remain, provided they have the Nabob's Licence; and Mr. Thomas, to whom the like Permiſſion has been granted, at the Nabob's expreſs Requeſt.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Resident at the Court of the Nabob Vizier, Lucknow.

Sir,

When his Highness the Vizier did me the Honour of a Visit at Chunar, he made me a Request, that we might have an Interview once in every Year, for the Purposes of discussing and adjusting the mutual Concerns of the Company and himself, and of improving the Harmony and Confidence which subsisted between the Two Governments. To this Requisition I readily assented, and greatly lament that the Situation of Affairs makes it impossible for me to effect a Meeting at this Time. The present important Conjuncture demands the united and vigorous Exertions of both Governments for their common Safety and Success; and in this Situation, whilst the greatest Cordiality is requisite, you inform me that his Highness is much dissatisfied on many Points contained in our late Agreement, and which he made his own Request.—To remove his Uneasiness on these Subjects, and to give him entire Satisfaction on others which may be the Objects of his Fears and Suspicions, and to give a lasting Cement and Encrease of Strength and reciprocal Advantage to our Alliance, would be impracticable by any other Mode than verbal Communication, Explanations, and Assurances; and as, for the Reason above assigned, I cannot make these in Person, I think it indispensable to delegate the Trust to another.—For these Purposes I have deputed Major Palmer to attend his Highness and his Ministers at Lucknow. Major Palmer, as you know, has been my confidential Secretary for several Years; I have disclosed to him, without Reserve, my Sentiments on every Point of the relative Connection between the Company and the Court of Owde, and I can rely upon him for a faithful Explanation of them.

I have also instructed Major Palmer to give the most express Assurances to the Ministers, of my Approbation of their Conduct, and Determination to protect and support them, so long as they preserve their Attachment to this Government, and pursue the real Interest of the Vizier.

Major Palmer has other public Objects in Charge, which he will personally communicate to you; and I most earnestly require of you the strongest Co-operation of your Authority and Influence towards his attaining them. I think his Success almost certain, if he meets with your cordial Support and Assistance: Whatever may be the Event, a considerable Share in producing it will be attributed to you, and affect you accordingly.

Such Explanations as are intended solely for the Satisfaction of the Nabob, and coming from myself, I have directed Major Palmer to communicate separately to him, but in doing this to use every Precaution to avoid any Diminution of your Authority or Influence.

I have sent Major Davy as a confidential Assistant to Major Palmer, and in case any Accident should happen, the latter to execute his Commission.

Fort William,
May 7th, 1782.

I am, Sir,
Your Obt, &c. &c.
(Signed)
Warren Hastings.

Sir,

Lucknow, the 9th May 1782.

I have received, through a Channel of seeming Authenticity, the following Intelligence; which it is my Duty to communicate to you, whether or not you may consider it of Importance.

A Frenchman, whose Name I cannot learn, but who is said to have been of some Note at Dehly, has lately been sent from that Court, on a supposed Deputation from the present Administration to Hyder Ally Cawn, and the French Commandant on the Coast, and thence to the Government at Mauritius; for which latter Purpose a Frigate was to be ordered for his Reception at Mangalore.

He arrived at Agra on the 20th of last Month, and staying only One Night there, pursued his Journey by the Route of Bundelcund, towards Naugpore, where it is surmised he has also some Dispatches to deliver for the Mahratta State.

If you think the Matter of sufficient Importance, an early Intimation to the Resident with Modajee Bousula might be the Means of intercepting this Agent, or at least of ascertaining the Truth or Falsehood of the Intelligence.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.
(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

The Honourable
the Governor General.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Govr Genl, &c.

Sir,

I have received the Honour of your Commands of the 24th Ultimo, which I have again signified to all Dependants of the Honourable Company's Government resident in the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier, falling under the described Predicament; who, I hope, will shew an immediate Obedience; but should it prove otherwise, your further Orders shall be strictly attended to.

There are Two Gentlemen of my Family whom I hope to be indulged with Permission to exempt from an immediate Effect of the above Order, holding myself entirely responsible for their Conduct, so long as they may be allowed to remain with me; the one is Mr. John Pendred Scott, my private Book-keeper, and sole Agent for the Management of the Salt Petre provided in these Provinces on Account the Honourable Company, whose Removal therefore would subject me to very

great Inconvenience and Difficulty; the other is Mr. James Orr, who is in the monthly Pay of my Office, and occupied wholly in tranſcribing the Accounts laid by me before the Honourable Board, the Superintendant of the Offices, and the Accomptant General.

The Loſs of this Gentleman's Services, which could not be replaced here, would be extremely inconvenient to me, as the Buſineſs of Accounts is what very few are converſant in, either from the Want of Practice, or from never having made it an Object of their particular Study; I muſt therefore trouble you with my Solicitations in favour of theſe Two Gentlemen, and hope for your Indulgence.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow,
the 10th May 1782.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, &c. &c.

Sir,

Having, in obedience to your Commands, prepared, and in your Behalf inveſted the Miniſters with the Chelats you conſented to beſtow upon them, as a Token of your Protection, I have now the Honour to forward you their Acknowledgments on that Occaſion; and am, with the moſt profound Reſpect, &c. &c.

Lucknow,
the 12th May 1782.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

Sir,

Incloſed I have the Honour to forward you an Addreſs from the Nabob Muzuffer Jung, of Furruckabad, in Acknowledgment of a Letter of your's to him, lately forwarded to me by Mr. Markham, with your Commands; and that I ſhould cauſe it to be delivered into the Nabob's own Hands, which was accordingly done.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow,
the 21ſt May 1782.

Nath. Middleton.

The Honourable the Govr Genl.

To Mr. Nath. Middleton.

Sir,

Fort William, 2d June 1782.

I deſire that you will not leave your Station at a greater Diſtance than Patna, as the Board will have Occaſion for your Preſence there ſpeedily, for the Adjuſtment of the Accounts of this, and for framing the Aſſignments of the enſuing Year. Inſtructions are preparing for you on both Subjects.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Govr Genl, &c.

Sir,

I have had the Honour to receive your Letter of the 2d Inſtant; and, in obedience to your Commands, I ſhall not leave my Station at a greater Diſtance than this Place, but hold myſelf in Readineſs to return with all poſſible Expedition, to execute any Orders you may be pleaſed to tranſmit me.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Patna,
the 15th July 1782.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

To Mr. Nathl Middleton.

Sir,

Fort William, 24th July 1782.

Notwithſtanding the Faith of Government pledged to the Nabob, for the Removal of all unlicenſed Europeans from his Capital, and from his Country, and notwithſtanding my repeated Injunctions to you, I am informed that Numbers yet remain at Lucknow, and the Nabob himſelf has made it the Subject of a formal Complaint. He undoubtedly conceives them to be under Protection; and as it is your Duty, ſo I muſt again deſire that you will undeceive him; that you will repreſent to him that my Credit and the Dignity of our Government is hurt by this Contempt of its Authority; but that he is the Magiſtrate of his own Country, and that it is incumbent on him to remove thoſe who have been forbidden to remain in it.—If they will not remove, why does he not uſe Force to compel them? Why does he not cauſe them to be arreſted, and tranſported beyond his Borders, with Orders to his Aumils not to permit them to return?

I have been much ſolicited to let Mr. Scott ſtay; and his Advocates have aſſured me that he had your Promiſe. I cannot permit it; and if he has not left Lucknow, I muſt inſiſt on his leaving it inſtantly.—I am told that Captain Marſack is ſtill there. Why do you, and why have you ſuffered it? For I know that it is not with the Nabob's Connivance.

I ſome Time ſince read a Letter from Captain Darell, requeſting to be permitted to continue at Lucknow, for the Recovery of his Health. If the Nabob will conſent to it, I will not object to his ſtaying till the End of the Rains, if he ſhall find it neceſſary, but no longer.

I muſt

I muſt deſire that you will ſend me a Liſt of all the Engliſh Gentlemen, of every Denomination, who ſhall be at Lucknow, or in any other Parts of the Nabob's Dominions, when you receive this Letter, and of the Means uſed for removing thoſe who have no Right to be there.

Col. Polier and Col. Martin have been excepted by the Board from the General Order; but their Continuance muſt be with the entire Option of the Nabob, or they muſt alſo be required to depart.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at Lucknow.

Sir, Fort William, 10th Aug^st^ 1782.

I have had the Mortification to hear that Almaſs Ally Cawn has at length, as was long ſince foreboded, fled from the Vizier's Dominions, taking with him an immenſe Treaſure, the Fruits of his Embezzlements and known Oppreſſions. Though this Intelligence has not come through its authentic Channel, I have no Doubt of its Truth; I am compelled to credit the Reports which aſſure me that every Point of the Vizier's Adminiſtration is in the ſame Diſorder. For this, and every other Failure in the Inſtructions which I gave to you in Writing on the 20th September, at Chunar, you are ſolely reſponſible to this Government, as Hyder Beg Cawn is to the Nabob; for to your conjoint Hands has the Adminiſtration of his Affairs been from that Time committed.

I have received your repeated Aſſurances, addreſſed to myſelf and to the Board, that the Nabob's Debt to the Company ſhould be completely diſcharged by the Cloſe of the Year. In my Fears for a Diſappointment in this Expectation, and in the contrary Belief, that in its actual Train the Debt is more likely to exceed the Amount at which it ſtood the laſt Year, than to be paid, I hereby apprize you, that if at the End of the Fuſſellee Year any Part of it ſhall remain in Arrears, I ſhall move the Board to call upon you publicly to account for it; and, that you may know that this Declaration is not made on light Grounds, I ſhall enter a Copy of this Letter upon the Company's Records. It will do you no Injury, if you diſprove the Juſtice of my Suſpicions by the Effects of your Exertions.

I have written to Hyder Beg upon the ſame Subject, and intended to refer you to his Letter for my fuller Sentiments, but I ſhall not have it ready for Diſpatch for this Poſt.

I am, Sir, &c.

Sir, Patna, the 17th Auguſt 1782.

I was duly honoured with your Commands of the 24th July, which a neceſſary Reference to Lucknow prevented my replying to before.

I have already had the Honour to inform you, that your Orders had been repeatedly notified to all the unlicenſed Gentlemen reſiding at Lucknow, who ſeverally aſſured me of their Obedience; and when I left that Place, the End of June laſt, ſome had taken their Departure, and the reſt appeared to be preparing to do it with all poſſible Speed. I learn from Mr. Johnſon, that on Receipt of your Letter Meſſrs. Scott, Orr, Marſack, Carvalho, and Darell, were yet at Lucknow; the Two former Gentlemen were poſitively to depart by the End of this Month at fartheſt, and Meſſrs. Marſack and Carvalho were then on the Point of ſetting out. Captain Darell, whoſe Health I am informed is in a very indifferent State, having your Permiſſion, is to remain to the End of the Rains.

Beſides the abovementioned Gentlemen, Mr. Robert Grant and Mr. Bird are, I underſtand, reſident at Furruckabad; but I have not ſignified your Orders to them, being uncertain how far they might be conſidered to fall under their Deſcription. Theſe are all the Dependants of our Government, that I know of, reſiding within the Vizier's Juriſdiction, without public Appointments, or the expreſs Licence of the Board.

I beg leave to aſſure you, Sir, that I never made any Promiſe whatever to Mr. Scott, or gave him any Hopes of continuing at Lucknow, excepting ſuch as he might have derived from my conſenting to forward a Recommendation to you in his Behalf.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſ^t^ at the Vizier's Court.

To the Honourable the Governor General.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I had the Honour to receive your Commands of the 10th Auguſt, previous to my Departure from Patna, and delayed the Acknowledgment of them until my Arrival at Lucknow, only that I might be enabled to yield you the fulleſt Information and Satisfaction on the Subject of their Contents.

I have had the Pleaſure to find, upon my Arrival, that the Report of Almas Ally Cawn's Flight from the Vizier's Dominions was premature. His Conduct, for ſome Time paſt, no doubt, indicated ſuch an Intention, and Appearances at one Time warranted a Belief that his Reſolution was decidedly

decidedly taken; but although he withdrew himself and his Naibs from the Charge of the Country, he never broke off his Correſpondence with the Court, or manifeſted any Diſinclination to return to his Duty under his Excellency's Government, whenever he might be aſſured he could do it on Terms of undoubted Security to himſelf.

The haſty and ill-founded Alarms, with which the Miſrepreſentations of the Enemies of the Vizier's and our own Government had impreſſed him, having been removed by the fulleſt Aſſurances of Security and Protection, he has reſumed the Charge of the Diſtricts he before held; and I truſt his future Conduct will merit your Forgiveneſs and continued Patronage.

I muſt entreat, Sir, that you will ſuſpend your Judgment upon the State of the Vizier's Adminiſtration, until I ſhall be able to lay before you a Review of the Meaſures already adopted, and now in Agitation, for the Regulation of this Country, which I have not a Doubt will afford the moſt ſatisfactory Evidence of the happy Effect of your Arrangements.

Upon the laſt Paragraph of your Commands, I muſt beg leave to refer you to my Addreſs of this Date to the Honourable Board, which I confidently truſt you will receive as an Acquittal of the Reſponſibility with which you charged me; and, as you have candidly reſted your Deciſion on my Conduct on the ultimate Effect of my Exertions to realize the Honourable Company's Balance, conformably to the Aſſurances I had repeatedly given on that Head, I am encouraged to hope for that Teſtimony of your Approbation which it has ever been equally my Study and Ambition to merit, and which with me muſt ever conſtitute an eſſential Part of any Satisfaction I could look for in the moſt ſucceſsful Diſcharge of my Duty.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
the 7th Septr 1782.

Sir,

Lucknow, the 9th Septr 1782.

In the Courſe of the Diſcuſſion with the Nabob and the Miniſters, upon the further Claim of the Honourable Company, as ſtated by the Accomptant General, they mentioned the Right, which they conceived his Excellency derived from the Treaty, to charge the Company with the Expence of Abdul Rahaman Cawn's Corps, and ſeemed to intend making it the Subject of an immediate public Addreſs to you; I have however, for the preſent, taken upon me to prevent ſuch an Application being made, wiſhing to be favoured with your previous Sentiments upon it.

If the Honourable Board are diſpoſed to admit theſe Pretenſions, no embarraſſing Conſequence could attend the public Aſſertion of them; but if, on the other hand, they deem it inexpedient to admit the Claim, and wiſh to avoid a public Deciſion upon it, I apprehend it would be moſt adviſeable to ſtop it altogether here; which I have no Doubt I ſhould be able to effect, if you are pleaſed to approve of my ſo doing. At all Events, I flatter myſelf you will approve of the Motive which induced me to trouble you with this Intimation; and that you will believe me, with the greateſt Reſpect, &c. &c.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

The Honourable the Govr Genl.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have the Honour to inform you, that all the unlicenſed Gentlemen formerly reſident at Lucknow have, in obedience to your Orders, taken their Departure, excepting Mr. Orr, Captain Darell, and Mr. Scott.—The former acquaints me, that he has received an Authority through Mr. Wombwell to continue at Lucknow.—Captain ſtays only until the Rains are over, for which he has your Permiſſion; and Mr. Scott, from whom I beg leave to lay before you a Letter, with Surgeon's Certificate, is preparing with all poſſible Expedition, conſiſtent with the reduced State of his Health, to fulfil your Commands.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
16th Septr 1782.

Richard Johnſon, Eſquire, acting Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Sir,

In obedience to the Governor General's Orders (which I did not conceive extended to my Removal, before I received Replies from Calcutta) the Beginning of laſt May, I have ſince then been uſing every Means to clear my Concerns, in order to withdraw myſelf from his Excellency's Dominions.

This I would have accompliſhed ere now, had it nōt been for the bad State of Health I have laboured under ſince February laſt. My Diſorders Mr. Murchiſon has attended to with the moſt attentive Care, without being able to remove them; but gives me Hopes, from the preſent Change of Seaſon, they may come to a Criſis. He imagines my Removal from immediate Aſſiſtance may be attended with Danger to my Life, before he ſees a Probability of my Recovery; and as ſuch he

he has given me his Sentiments, which I have incloſed you. I beg leave to requeſt you will inform the Governor General and his Excellency, that as ſoon as I can be moved with any Safety, that I ſhall, in obedience to their Orders; hoping that they will afford my People every juſt Support for their collecting my outſtanding Advances, which were made before I ever knew of ſuch an Order intended to be publiſhed. This makes my Situation peculiarly hard, and leaves me every Reaſon to dread I ſhall ſuſtain Loſs of more than my own Property, the Fruits of 15 Years unwearied Toils in Buſineſs. The Balances now outſtanding amount to very near Four Lacks of Rupees.

Any Enquiry you chooſe to make into the Truth of my Aſſertions ſhall with Cheerfulneſs be laid before you, by,

Sir,

Lucknow, Your moſt Obed^{t}, &c.
12th July 1782. John P. Scott.

Mr. John Pendred Scott having for many Months been afflicted with various Complaints, and being now in a very infirm State of Health, I am induced to believe, from what I have known of his Caſe, that his undertaking a Journey, in his preſent Situation, might be attended with fatal Conſequences; and I therefore ſtrongly recommend to him not to remove from hence, till the Effects of a Courſe of Medicines and Regimen, now preſcribed for him, can be aſcertained.

Lucknow, K. Murchiſon,
July 13th, 1782. Surgeon.

APPENDIX, N° XXXVIII. (A.)

Book 106. Page 443.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 21ſt December 1774.

Fort William, the 21ſt December 1774.

Secret Dep. Wedneſday.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident;
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
The Honourable George Monſon,
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

RESUMED the Conſideration of the Governor General's Propoſal deferred for Conſideration from the 15th Inſtant.

The Governor General gives in the following Minute:

The Governor General, conceiving that the Reaſons aſſigned for Mr. Middleton's Recall from his Station of Reſident at the Court of the Vizier will of courſe operate to preclude him from the Nomination now before the Board, moves, That the Honourable Mr. Frederick Stuart be nominated to the Office of Reſident at the Court of the Vizier, and Agent on the Part of this Government.

In making this Propoſition, the Governor is in part influenced by one Conſideration, which at any other Time, or on any other Occaſion, would have had little Share in directing his Judgment. His Eſtimation of Mr. Stuart's Abilities and Judgment is very high, but he conſiders that at this particular Time, the Connections of Mr. Stuart, and the Opinions commonly entertained of the Dignity and Credit of his Family, will have greater Weight on the Mind of the Vizier, whoſe Pride and Ambition are his predominant Qualities, and whoſe Fears may be alarmed by the late Meaſures of this Government, which for want of a due Knowledge of the Motives that produce them, he may conceive to proceed from a Diſpoſition in this Adminiſtration adverſe to him, and to the Engagements ſubſiſting between him and the Company, than any other Qualifications which might fall to that of the Perſon who might be entruſted with the Charge of the Negociations between him and this Government, and thereby keep him ſteady in his Attachment to the Company, and punctual to his pecuniary Engagements, which at this Time are the chief Object of our Concerns with him.

For Mr. Stuart's Aſſiſtance in the Diſcharge of this Truſt, which, from the Variety of Accounts now depending with the Vizier, and from the Probability of other incidental Affairs which may occupy his Attention, is likely to be a laborious one; the Governor General propoſes, that Sir John D'Oyley be appointed to accompany him in the Quality of his Aſſiſtant, for which Office he is peculiarly qualified by an ample Acquaintance with the Perſian Language, having, ſince the Abſence of Mr. Redfearn the Perſian Tranſlator, whoſe Aſſiſtant he now is, tranſacted all the Buſineſs of that Office with much Ability and Aſſiduity.

(Signed) W. H.

Mr. Francis delivers in the following Minute on the Governor's Queſtion:

Before I give my Anſwer to the Governor General's Propoſition, I beg leave to obſerve upon the Minute with which it is introduced, that when I gave my Voice for the Recall of Mr. Middleton, it was not upon the Idea of any Offence or Demerit in him. I had no Reaſon to think perſonally ill of him at that Time; I have Reaſon to think perſonally well of him at preſent: My Ground was public; I underſtood that he was the Public Reſident of the Company at the Vizier's Court. I aſked to ſee the whole of his Correſpondence with this Government. I was then told that he was the Private Agent of the Governor, who refuſed to communicate the whole of his Correſpondence to the Board. I thought that an Office of that Nature ſhould not be continued, and that the Perſon who holds it ought to be recalled to the Settlement, in order that the Board might obtain from him thoſe Explanations which were refuſed by the Governor. If his Conduct in this Reſpect ſhould prove ſatisfactory to the Board, I ſhould think him a very proper Perſon, from all that I have heard of his private Character, and ſeen of his Proceedings, to come under the favourable Conſideration of the Board for the Office of Public Reſident. As the Governor General however has propoſed that the Appointment ſhould be immediately made, and as the Neceſſity of the immediate Appointment has been repeatedly urged to the Board, I yield to the Governor's Propoſal to have it determined this Day. I mean not to agree to the Nomination of a Reſident propoſed by the Governor General for affirmative Reaſons, which I think ought to influence my Judgment in this important Choice. My Reſpect for Mr. F. Stuart however, and for the high Connections which he has in England, oblige me to ſay, that if I do not accede to the preſent Nomination, it is not owing to any perſonal Diſreſpect to him, or Inattention to them; on the contrary, I ſhould think myſelf happy in having an Opportunity, where the Public Service did not, in my Judgment, require from me more than barely having no Objection, to ſhew him the real Reſpect I feel for his Perſon and high Family. This Voice of courſe includes a Negative to the Nomination of Sir John D'Oyley, whoſe Aſſiſtance otherwiſe, I do not doubt, would have been indiſpenſably neceſſary to Mr. Stuart on the Knowledge and uſe of the Perſian Language.

(Signed) P. Francis.

Mr. Barwell declares his Sentiments as follows:

I am for the Nomination of Mr. Stuart. Independent of thoſe Particulars which have weight with the Governor General, from a long Reſidence in the Country, I have had Opportunities of becoming acquainted with all the Servants of the Company, and from my Knowledge of the Service, I can venture to affirm, there is not a ſingle Character in it, that can boaſt ſuperior natural Talents to Mr. Stuart; and if the Conſideration alone of underſtanding the Perſian Language is to ſway in Appointments of Importance, and where it is more abſolutely neceſſary than in a ſubordinate Sphere, it is an Objection againſt the firſt Characters of the Settlement, and incapacitates them from all political Intercourſes. For theſe Reaſons I do ſincerely and heartily wiſh, for the Promotion of the Public Service, that Mr. Stuart ſhould be appointed Reſident at the Vizier's Court, and Sir John D'Oyley, his Aſſiſtant.

Colonel Monſon's Opinion, viz.

My Motives for giving my Opinion for the Recall of Mr. Middleton from the Vizier's Court, did not ariſe from any Diſreſpect to him; but conſidering him as a Perſon in a Public Character, I thought his Correſpondence neceſſary for the Inſpection of this Board, and as that was denied, I judge proper to give my Opinion for his Recall. With regard to Mr. Stuart, the Gentleman now propoſed to be his Succeſſor, I reſpect him as a Man of diſtinguiſhed Rank; his Abilities I honour, as they are repreſented by the Governor General and Mr. Barwell to be of an extraordinary Extent. Theſe Conſiderations have their due Conſequence with me; but when I reflect, that Mr. Stuart has not as yet appeared in any Public Character, I muſt conſider him at preſent as a Perſon improper for this weighty Charge, which has for its Object the cementing of the Friendſhip between the Company and the Vizier, and the obtaining large Sums of Money ſaid to be due from him; and therefore I muſt refuſe my Aſſent to the Governor's Propoſal.

General Clavering delivers his Opinion in the following Words:

It having been determined by the Board to recall Mr. Middleton, for Reaſons that have been ſo properly aſſigned both by Colonel Monſon and Mr. Francis, it now only reſts with us to conſider the Propriety of the Governor General's Recommendation of the Honourable Mr. Frederick Stuart for this Appointment; in which Nomination, however deſirous I am of ſhewing my perſonal Regard for this Gentleman, and my Reſpect for his Family, I think it my Duty only to conſider the Fitneſs of the Perſon to take charge of ſo great a Truſt as will be repoſed in him; and as I have another Perſon in my Eye whom I imagine the Board will deem fitter for ſuch an Employment, from his general Knowledge of Buſineſs, and his particular

particular Acquaintance with the Perſian Language, I am under the Neceſſity of giving my Negative to the Governor General's Propoſition.

Reſolved by the Majority of the Board, That the Governor General's Propoſition be not agreed to.

☞ *(a)* [General Clavering now propoſes, That Mr. John Briſtow be appointed Reſident at the Vizier's Court, as qualified for it from his general Knowledge of Buſineſs, and his particular Acquaintance with the Perſian Language.

The Governor General objects to this Propoſition, becauſe in his Judgment Mr. Briſtow is not qualified for the Office, neither by his Knowledge of the Perſian Language, nor by any diſtinguiſhed Abilities.

Agreed, that the Queſtion above propoſed by General Clavering, be put.

Mr. Francis delivers the following Reply:

I am happy in hearing a Gentleman named for this high Office, to whoſe Appointment I can ſafely give a poſitive Approbation. I know him to be a Man of Senſe, Induſtry, and Judgment. I have poſitive Reaſons to think that he underſtands the Perſian Language, as well from the Aſſiſtance he has favoured me with in the Letters I have received and anſwered, as from his Public Office of Tranſlator to the Khalſa. This Office implies Knowledge of Buſineſs, Knowledge of Accounts, and Knowledge of Language. I do not inſiſt upon his Engliſh Connections, though in this Reſpect few Gentlemen are better connected than Mr. Briſtow. I agree to the Propoſition.

(Signed) P. Francis.

I beg leave to explain to the Board, that by the Word *poſitive*, uſed in this Minute, I mean no more than a contradiſtinction to *negative*, which I had uſed in my former Minute.

(Signed) P. Francis.

Mr. Barwell.—I cannot aſſent to the Nomination of Mr. Briſtow, for the following Reaſons; becauſe I think when a Propoſition from the Chair is over-ruled, there ought to be very good Grounds for ſuch a Meaſure. The Preference given to the General's Nomination undoubtedly ſpeaks Inattention to the Governor; beſides, in this Particular, I think the Governor ſhould have been conſidered, as he is the Channel of Public Correſpondence, and ſhould be ſupported as the Head of this Government in the Eyes of the Princes of India. This Character he will ſcarcely maintain, if a Gentleman, in oppoſition to his Sentiments, goes the Public Agent to the Court of the Vizier.

(Signed) R. B.

Colonel Monſon.—I aſſent to the General's Nomination, as I ſuppoſe Mr. Briſtow to be a Perſon qualified for the Truſt from the Station which he now fills.

The Governor General diſſents from the Propoſition.

Agreed by a Majority of the Board, That Mr. Briſtow be appointed Reſident at the Court of Sujah Doula.]

Mr. Francis moves, That the Reſident at the Vizier's Court be allowed an Aſſiſtant out of the Company's covenanted Servants.

Agreed, That an Aſſiſtant be allowed him accordingly.

APPENDIX, N° XXXIX.

Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 514.

APPENDIX, N° XL.

Book 113.

Letter from the Governor General to the Honourable Court of Directors, and Inclosures.

To the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable United East India Company.

Honourable Sirs, On the River Ganges, 21st February 1784.

HAVING had Occasion to disburse from my own Cash many Sums, for Services which, though required to enable me to execute the Duties of my Station, I have hitherto omitted to enter in my public Accounts, and my own Fortune being unequal to so heavy a Charge, I have resolved to reimburse myself in a Mode the most suitable to the Situation of your Affairs, by charging the same on my Durbar Accounts of the present Year, and crediting them by a Sum privately received, and appropriated to your Service in the same Manner with other Sums received on Account of the Honourable Company, and already carried to their Account.

The Particulars of these Disbursements are contained in the inclosed Accounts, N° 1, 2, 3, and 4, of which N° 5 is the Abstract.

I shall subjoin a brief Explanation of each.

The Sum of the Account N° 1 is the Difference between the Allowance of 300 Rupees a Month, which was the customary Pay of the Governor's Military Secretary, and that which I allowed to Lieutenant Colonel Ironside during the Time that he acted in that Capacity, on account of his superior Rank. It was referred to your Honourable Court in One of the General Letters of the Year 1773 or 4; but I presume that it was overlooked, in the Pressure of other more important Matters which at that Time occupied your Attention.

N° 2 and 3 are explained in the Accounts themselves.

N° 4 consists of Three several Kinds of Charges, which I confess to have been unauthorised, but which I humbly conceive neither to be of a private Nature, nor unworthy Subjects of the Bounty of a great and rising State.—The First is inconsiderable, consisting chiefly in the Subsistence of the Pundits, who were assembled in Calcutta, and employed during Two Years in compiling the Code of Hindoo Laws for your Use. The Sum allotted to them was, as I recollect, One Rupee per Diem; a larger Recompense was offered, but refused; nor would they receive this, but for their daily Support: They had indeed the Promise of some public Endowments for their Colleges, which yet remain unperformed.—The Second is the Amount of sundry Monthly Salaries paid to some of the most learned Professors of the Mahomedan Law, for translating, from the Arabic into the Persian Tongue, a Compendium of their Law, called the Hedaya, which is held in high Estimation, and Part of a more voluminous Work, which I could not prosecute. Your Honourable Court is in Possession of a Part of the English Version of Hedaya, made by Mr. James Anderson, and a subsequent Part of the same Work has been lately translated by Mr. Hamilton. These Gentlemen are both engaged in the Completion of it, and are both eminently qualified for it. It would exceed the due Bounds of this Letter, to expatiate on the Utility of this Work; yet I may be allowed to vindicate the Expence of it by One summary Argument, which is, that while the Mahomedan Law is allowed to be the Standard of the Criminal Jurisprudence of your Dominion, under the Controul and Inspection of your English Servants, it seems indispensably necessary that the Judges of the Courts should have a more familiar Guide for their Proceedings than the Books of the Arabic Tongue, of which few have Opportunities of attaining a competent Knowledge; and as necessary that your Servants should possess the Means of consulting the Principles on which those Judgments are founded, which, in their ultimate Resort, and in extraordinary Cases, may fall within their immediate Cognizance, and of the Laws of which they are the Protectors.—The Third Charge is that of an Academy, instituted for the Study of the different Branches of the Sciences taught in the Mahomedan Schools. After a Trial of about Two Years, finding that it was likely to answer the End of its Institution, I recommended to the Board, and obtained their Consent, to pass the subsequent Expence of the Establishment to the Account of the Company, and to erect a Building for the Purpose at my own immediate Cost, but for a Company's Interest Note granted me for the Reimbursement of it. It is almost the only complete Establishment of the Kind now existing in India, although they were once in universal Use, and the decayed Remains of these Schools are yet to be seen in every capital Town or City of Hindostan and Decan. It has contributed to extend the Credit of the English Name, and to soften the Prejudices excited by the rapid Growth of the British Dominion; and it is a Seminary of the most useful Members of Society.

I humbly submit the Propriety of carrying these Expences to your Account, by the Consideration, that it was not possible for me to have been influenced, in incurring them, by any Purpose of my own Interest. Something, perhaps, may be attributed to the Impulse of Pride, in the Share which I might hope to derive of a public Benefaction; but certainly not to Vanity or Ostentation, since I believe it to be generally conceived, that the whole Expence, of which the greatest Part is yet my own, has been already defrayed from the Treasury of the Company.

I will candidly confeſs, that when I firſt engaged, both in this and the preceding Expence, I had no Intention of carrying it to the Account of the Company. Improvident for myſelf, zealous for the Honour of my Country, and the Credit and Intereſt of my Employers, I ſeldom permitted my Proſpects of Futurity to enter into the View of my private Concerns. In the undiſturbed Exerciſe of the Faculties which appertained to the active Seaſon of my Life, I confined all my Regards to my public Character, and reckoned on a Fund of Years to come for its Duration. The Infirmities of Life have ſince ſucceeded, and I have lately received more than One ſevere Warning to retire from a Scene to which my bodily Strength is no longer equal, and threatens me with a correſponding Decay in whatever Powers of Mind I once poſſeſſed, to diſcharge the laborious Duties and hard Viciſſitudes of my Station. With this Change in my Condition, I am compelled to depart from that liberal Plan which I originally adopted, and to claim from your Juſtice, for you have forbid me to appeal to your Generoſity, the Diſcharge of a Debt which I can, with the moſt ſcrupulous Integrity, aver to be juſtly my Due, and which I cannot ſuſtain.

☞ *(a)* [If it ſhould be objected, that the Allowance of theſe Demands would furniſh a Precedent for others of the like Kind, I have to remark, that in their whole Amount they are but the Aggregate of a contingent Account of Twelve Years; and if it were to become the Practice of thoſe who have paſſed their Prime of Life in your Service, and filled, as I have filled it, the firſt Office of your Dominion, to glean from their paſt Accounts all the Articles of Expence which their Inaccuracy or Indifference hath overlooked, your Intereſts would ſuffer infinitely leſs by the Precedent, than by a ſingle Example of a Life ſpent in the Accumulation of Crores for your Benefit, and doomed in its Cloſe to ſuffer the Extremity of private Want, and to ſink in Obſcurity.]

I have thought it proper to complete the preſent Subject, by the Addition of a Charge which I intended to have ſubmitted regularly to the Board; but which, if divided at this Time from the others, might have admitted an unfair Conſtruction. It is in the Account N° 6, and conſiſts of Charges incurred for Boats and Budgerows provided by me, for my own Uſe, on ſuch public Occaſions as require my Departure from the Preſidency on extraordinary Services.

My Predeceſſors have always had an Eſtabliſhment of this Kind provided for them, and my Succeſſor will have a Proviſion devolve to him, ſuperior in Convenience and in Elegance to any that I have yet ſeen, and furniſhed with a Coſt which would not be credited by thoſe who have ſeen the Subjects of it.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,
Honourable Sirs,
Your moſt obedient and
moſt faithful Servant,
Warren Haſtings.

DUPLICATE.

An Account of Sums diſburſed by the Governor General for the Hire of Houſes occupied by his Aides de Camp, from 1ſt December 1775 to January 1784.

1778

Auguſt 1. To Amount charged for by the Executors of John Stewart, Amount of the Rent of the Houſe occupied by the Governor General's Aides de Camp, from the 1ſt December 1775 to the 1ſt Auguſt 1778, being 32 Months, at 600 Arg^{s} per Month 19,200

Intereſt on 1,800 Arg^{s} for 29 Months, at 10 per Cent. is — — 485
Do. on 1,800 for 26 Months, at 10 per Cent. is 390
Do. on 1,800 for 23 do. — 345
Do. on 1,800 for 20 do. — 300
Do. on 1,800 for 17 do. — 255
Do. on 1,800 for 14 do. — 210
Do. on 1,800 for 11 do. — 165
Do. on 1,800 for 8 do. — — 120
Do. on 1,800 for 5 do. — 75
Do. on 1,800 for 2 do. — 30 2,325 0 0

21,525 0 0
Batta 8 per Cent. 1,722 0 0

23,247 0 0
Intereſt from 1ſt Auguſt to 23d September 1788 343 1 8

23,590 1 8

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 540.

1782
April. Paid Mr. Alexander for Mr. Scott for the Rent of the Houſe occupied by the Governor General's Aid de Camp, from 28th May to 1ſt July 1771, is 1 M° and 4 Days, at 260 S^as^ per Month — 294 10 6
Aſſeſſment for June 1781 — — 11 4 0

S^as^ 305 14 6 354 13 6

Do. Mr. Fairfax Moreſby for the Rent of the Houſe occupied by the do. for May and June, at 350 Sic^a^ per Month, S^as^ 700 0 0
Batta 16 per Cent. 112 0 0
812 0 0

Dec. Do. Meſſrs. Alexander and Colvin, Attornies to Mr. J. P. Scott, as per Bill for do. for January, February, March, and April, 1782, at 260 Sa^s^ per Month — — 1,040 0 0
Tax for 4 Months 45 0 0
1,085 0 0
Batta 16 per Cent. 173 9 6
1,258 9 6

Do. Mr. Fairfax Moreſby, as per Bill for do. for July, Auguſt, September, and October, 1782, at 350 Sa^s^ per Month, S^a^ R^s^ 1,400 or 1,624 0 0
2882 9 6

1783.
June. Do. Mr. F. Moreſby, as per Bill for do. from 1ſt November to 31ſt March 1783, is 5 Months, at 350 S^as^ per Month — — 1,750 0 0
Batta 16 per Cent. 280 0 0
2,030 0 0

Due to Mr. Fairfax Moreſby for do. from 1ſt April to 31ſt December 1783, is 9 Months, at 350 S^as^ per Month, — — S^as^ 3,150 0 0 or 3,654 0 0
Current Rupees 33,323 8 0

Fort William, (Errors excepted) W^m^ Larkin,
the 31ſt December 1783. Act^g^ Att^y^ for the
Honble. Warren Haſtings.

DUPLICATE.

An Account of Sums diſburſed by the Governor General for the Diet and other Charges of Pundits employed in compiling the Code of Hindoo Laws, for the Salaries of Perſons employed in tranſlating Books of the Mahommedan Law, and other Charges incidental to the ſame; and for the Wages and other Expences of the Madriſſa or Mahommedan Academy.

1774.
July. Paid the undermentioned People for tranſlating the Futwah Alemgeeree, viz.

Golaum Yohya for June 1774	300	0	0
Meer Mahomed Hoſſen	250	0	0
Fauj o'Din —	200	0	0
Sherreul Oola —	150	0	0
			900 0 0

For tranſcribing fair:

Zewad Ullah —	75	0	0
Abdullah — —	75	0	0
			150 0 0
Ar^s^	1,050	0	0
Batta 8 per Cent.	84	0	0
			1,134 0 0

1774.						
Auguſt.	Do.	do. for July 1774	—	—		1,134 0 0
Sept.	Do.	do. Auguſt	—	—		1,134 0 0
October.	Do.	do. September	—	—		1,134 0 0
Nov.	Do.	do. October	—	1,050 0 0		1,134 0 0
	Mahomed Keamdy, Perſian Tranſlator, his Wages for 3 Months	—	—	150 0 0		
			Ar[s]	1,200 0 0		1,296 0 0
Dec.	Paid Perſian Tranſlators their Wages for November			1,134 0 0		
	Keamdy Perſian Tranſlator's Wages from 10th November to 30th Inſtant, is 20 Days			35 15 6		1,169 15 0
1775.						
January.	Do. the Perſian Tranſlators their Wages for December 1774	—	—	—		1,188 0 0
February.	Do.	do.	for January 1775	—		1,188 0 0
March.	Do.	do. —	for February	—		1,188 0 0
April.	Do.	do. —	for March	—		1,169 3 9
May.	Do.	do. —	for April	—		1,134 0 0
June.	Do.	do. —	for May	—		1,134 0 0
July.	Do.	do. —	— for June	—		1,134 0 0
	Do. the Bengal Tranſlators, for May, June, and July	—	—	—		356 6 6
Auguſt.	Do. the Perſian Tranſlators their Wages for July 1775			1,134 0 0		
	Do. Mr. Halhed for Diet to the Pundits employed in tranſlating the Hindoo Code for July 1775			118 12 9		
	Do. Moonſhey's Allowance for July and Auguſt			64 12 9		
						1,317 9 6
Sept.	Do. the Perſian Tranſlators their Wages for Auguſt 1775	—	—			1,134 0 0
October.	Do.	do.	for September 1775	—	1,134 0 0	
	Do. Mr. Halhed for Diet to the Pundits employed in tranſlating the Hindoo Code for September 1775				118 12 9	
						1,252 12 9
Nov.	Do. the Perſian Tranſlators for October and November 1775	—	—		2,268 0 0	
	Do. Mr. Halhed for Pundits, for October	——			118 12 9	
						2,386 12 9
Dec.	Do.	do.	for November	—	—	118 12 9
1776.						
January.	Do.	do.	for December	—	—	118 12 9
	Do. the Perſian Tranſlators their Wages for December and January, 1776	—			—	2,268 0 0
February.	Do. the Perſian Tranſlators for February				1,134 0 0	
	Do. Mr. Halhed for Pundits for January				118 12 9	
						1,252 12 9
March.	Do.		do. for February	—	—	118 12 9
April.	Do.		do. for March	—	—	118 12 9
	Do. the Perſian Tranſlators Wages for March and April					2,268 0 0
May.	Do. Mr. Halhed for Pundits for April			—	118 12 9	
	Do. the Perſian Tranſlators for May			—	1,134 0 0	
						1,252 12 9

1776.							
June.	Paid Mr. Halhed for Pundits for May	—	—			118	12 9
July.	Do. do. for June	—		118	12 9		
	Do. the Perſian Tranſlators for June and July			2,268	0 0		
						2,386	12 9
Auguſt.	Do. do. for Auguſt			1,800	5 9		
	Do. Mr. Halhed for Pundits for July			118	12 9		
						1,919	2 6
Sept.	Do. do. for Auguſt and September			237	9 6		
	Do. the Perſian Tranſlators for September			1,134	0 0		
						1,371	9 6
October.	Do. do. for October	—				1,134	0 0
Nov.	Do. the Perſian Tranſlators their Wages for this Month			1,134	0 0		
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies 200			216	0 0		
	Mr. Halhed for Pundits for this Month			118	12 9		
						1,468	12 9
	For binding Books and Papers	—		—		41	9 3
Dec.	The Perſian Tranſlators their Wages for December			1,134	0 0		
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies	—		216	0 0		
	Mr. Halhed for Pundits for November and December	—		237	9 6		
	For Two Quires of Coſmeree Paper for Books			13	8 0		
						1,611	1 6
1777.							
January.	Paid the Perſian Tranſlators their Wages for this Month			1,134	0 0		
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies	—		216	0 0		
						1,350	0 0
February.	The Perſian Tranſlators their Wages for this Month			1,134	0 0		
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies	—		216	0 0		
	Mr. Halhed for Pundits for January			118	12 9		
						1,468	12 9
	For 1 Book — Arᵃ		150	8 0			
	1 do. —		42	0 0			
	1 do. —		9	4 0			
			201	12 0	or	217	14 3
March.	The Perſian Tranſlators their Wages for this Month			1,134	0 0		
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies	—		216	0 0		
	Mr. Halhed for Pundits Salary for February and March	—	—	237	9 6		
	For making Books	—		10	12 9		
						1,598	6 0
April.	The Perſian Tranſlators their Wages for this Month			1,134	0 0		
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies	—		216	0 0		
	Mr. Halhed for Pundits Salary for this Month			118	12 9		
						1,468	12 9
May.	The Perſian Tranſlators their Wages for this Month			1,134	0 0		
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies	—		216	0 0		
						1,350	0 0
June.	The Perſian Tranſlators their Wages for this Month			1,134	0 0		
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies	—		216	0 0		
	Mr. Halhed for Pundits for May	—		118	12 9		
						1,468	12 9

1777.								
July.	Paid Mr. Halhed for Pundits for June			—		118 12 9		
	The Perſian Tranſlators, their Wages for this Month			—		1,134 0 0		
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies	—		—		216 0 0		
							1,468 12 9	
Auguſt.	Ditto	ditto	for this Month	—		—	1,468 12 9	
Sept.	Ditto	ditto	—	—		—	1,468 12 9	
October.	Ditto	ditto	—	—		—	1,468 12 9	
Nov.	Ditto	ditto	—	—		—	1,468 12 9	
Dec.	Ditto	ditto	—	—		—	1,468 12 9	
	Mr. Halhed for Pundits Salary for December				118 12 9			
	The Perſian Tranſlators, their Wages for January				1,134 0 0			
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies			—	216 0 0			
	1 Blank Book	—		—	158 3 6			
							1,627 0 3	
1778.								
February.	Mr. Halhed for Pundits for January			—	118 12 9			
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for February				216 0 0			
							334 12 9	
March.	Ditto		for March	—	216 0 0			
	Mr. Halhed for Pundits Wages for February				118 12 9			
							334 12 9	
April.	Ditto	ditto	for this Month		—		334 12 9	
May.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		334 12 9	
June.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		334 12 9	
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month				216 0 0			
	1 Blank Book	—		—	120 6 9			
							336 6 9	
Auguſt.	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month				—		216 0 0	
Sept.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		216 0 0	
October.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		216 0 0	
Nov.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		216 0 0	
Dec.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		216 0 0	
1779.								
January.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		216 0 0	
February.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		216 0 0	
March.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		216 0 0	
April.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		216 0 0	
May.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		216 0 0	
June.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		216 0 0	
July.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		216 0 0	
Auguſt.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		216 0 0	
Sept.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		216 0 0	
October.	Ditto	ditto	ditto		216 0 0			
	Mowlavee Mudged O'Dien, for this Month,							
	Houſe Rent 100							
	Charges 300							
		Ars. 400	or	432 0 0				
							648 0 0	

1779.										
Nov.	Paid Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month —						200	0	0	
	Mowlavee Mudged O'Dien for Houſe Rent for ditto — —						100	0	0	
						Ars.	300	0	0	or 324 0 0
Dec.	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month —						216	0	0	
	Mowlavee Mudged O'Dien, his Wages for October and November laſt		600	0	0					
	Allowance of Scholars		400	0	0					
	Houſe Rent —		200	0	0					
			1,200	0	0					
	Deduct advanced him —		500	0	0					
		Ars.	700	0	0	or	756	0	0	
										972 0 0
1780.										
January.	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies, for this Month						216	0	0	
	Mowlavee Mudged O'Dien, his Wages for December and January		600	0	0					
	Allowance of Scholars		400	0	0					
	Houſe Rent —		200	0	0					
		Ars.	1,200	0	0	or	1,296	0	0	
										1,512 0 0
February.	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month						216	0	0	
	Mowlavee Mudged O'Dien, his Wages for this Month —		300	0	0					
	Allowance of Scholars		200	0	0					
	Houſe Rent —		100	0	0					
			600	0	0	or	648	0	0	
										864 0 0
March.	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month —						216	0	0	
	Mowlavee Mudged O'Dien for this Month, Wages	Ars.	300	0	0					
	Allowance of Scholars		200	0	0					
	Houſe Rent		100	0	0					
			600	0	0	or	648	0	0	
										864 0 0
April.	Ditto ditto ditto		for this Month				—			864 0 0
May.	Ditto ditto ditto		ditto				—			864 0 0
June.	Ditto ditto ditto		ditto				—			864 0 0
July.	Ditto ditto ditto		ditto				—			864 0 0
Auguſt.	Ditto ditto ditto		ditto				—			864 0 0
Sept.	Ditto ditto ditto		ditto				—			864 0 0
October.	Ditto ditto ditto		ditto				—			864 0 0
Nov.	Ditto ditto ditto		ditto				—			864 0 0
Dec.	Ditto ditto ditto		ditto				—			864 0 0
										76,500 4 3
1781.										
January.	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month						216	0	0	
	Mowlavee Mudged Dien for this Month, his Wages —	Ar.	300	0	0					
	Allowance of Scholars		200	0	0					
	Houſe Rent —		100	0	0					
			600	0	0	or	648	0	0	
										864 0 0

1781.						
Feb.	Paid Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month					864 0 0
March.	Ditto ditto ditto ditto					864 0 0
April.	Ditto ditto ditto ditto					864 0 0
May.	Ditto ditto ditto ditto			864 0 0		
	Mowlavey Mudged O'Dien for keeping another School for 25 Days, at 470 per Month —	391 10 9				
	Houſe Rent *a* 51 : 8 per Month	42 14 9				
		434 9 6				
	Batta 8 per Cent.	34 12 3				
				469 5 9		
	Given to Mowlavies Eſſup and Muſruf 2 Khillats, containing 4 P^{s} —	375 0 0	or	405 0 0		
						1,738 5 9
June.	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month		—	216 0 0		
	Mowlavee Mudged O'Dien for keeping a School	200 0 0				
	Wages	300 0 0				
	Houſe Rent	100 0 0				
		600 0 0				
	Ditto for keeping another School	470 0 0				
	Houſe Rent	51 8 0				
		521 8 0				
		1,121 8 0	or	1,211 3 6		
						1,427 3 6
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for the Month			216 0 0		
	Mowlavee Mudged O'Dien for keeping a School	200 0 0				
	Wages	300 0 0				
	Houſe Rent	100 0 0				
		600 0 0				
	Ditto for keeping another School	470 0				
	Houſe Rent	51 8				
		521 8 0				
		1,121 8 0	or	1,211 3 6		
						1,427 3 6
Auguſt.	Ditto ditto ditto		—			1,427 3 6
Sept.	Ditto ditto ditto		—			1,427 3 6
October.	Ditto ditto ditto		—			1,427 3 6
Nov.	Ditto ditto ditto		—			1,427 3 6
Dec.	Ditto ditto ditto		—			1,427 3 6
1782.						
January.	Ditto ditto ditto		—			1,427 3 6
February.	Ditto ditto ditto		—			1,427 3 6
March.	Ditto ditto ditto		—			1,427 3 6
April.	Ditto ditto ditto		—			1,427 3 6
May.	Ditto ditto ditto		—			1,427 3 6
June.	Ditto ditto ditto		—			1,427 3 6
July.	Ditto ditto ditto		—			1,427 3 6

1782.							
July.	Paid Mowlovey Mudged O'Din for keeping a School	200	0				
	Wages	300	0				
	Houſe Rent	100	0				
				600	0		
	Do. do. for keeping another School	470	0				
	Houſe Rent	51	8				
				521	8		
						1,121 8 or 1,211 3 6	
	Making new Straw Cook Rooms and neceſſary Houſes at Madriſſa for Mowlavey Mudged O'Din and the Scholars	Ar°. 150		or		162 0 0	
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month					216 0 0	
							1,589 3 6
Auguſt.	Mowlavey Mudged O'Din, for keeping a School	200	0				
	Wages —	300	0				
	Houſe Rent	100	0				
				600	0		
	Do. do. for keeping another School	470	0				
	Houſe Rent	51	8				
				521	8		
						1,121 8 or 1,211 3 6	
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month					216 0 0	
							1,427 3 6
Sept.	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month						216 0 0
October.	To Mowlavey Mudged O'Din, for keeping a School and Houſe Rent for laſt Month					1,211 3 6	
	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month					216 0 0	
							1,427 3 6
Nov.	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month						216 0 0
Dec.	Ditto ditto ditto						216 0 0
1783.							
January.	Ditto ditto ditto						216 0 0
February.	Ditto ditto ditto					—	216 0 0
March.	Ditto ditto ditto					—	216 0 0
April.	Ditto ditto ditto					216 0 0	
	A Dorogah's Wages for 7 Months at 50 Sa Rs *per* Month for ſuperintending the Building			—		406 0 0	
							622 0 0
May.	To Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month					—	216 0 0
June.	Ditto ditto ditto					216 0 0	
	To a Bengal Moonſhey for this Month Sa Rs			or		69 9 6	
							285 9 6
July.	To Muſtapha Ally Cuſhnavies for this Month					216 0 0	
	To a Bengal Moonſhey for this Month Sa Rs. 60	0	0	or		69 9 6	
							285 9 6

1783.						
Auguſt.	Paid to a Bengal Moonſhey for this Month,			—		285 9 6
Sept.	Ditto	ditto	ditto	—	285 9 6	
	Bengal Paper and Ink for the Moonſhey				2 5 0	
						287 14 6
October.	Muſtapha Alley Cuſhnavies for this Month				216 0 0	
	a Bengal Moonſhey	ditto		—	69 9 6	
						285 9 6
Novem.	Ditto	ditto	ditto	—		285 9 6
Decem.	Ditto	ditto	ditto	—		285 9 6
						108,827 9 6

Deduct.

1772.					
Auguſt.	Received from the Khalſah Treaſury for the Allowance of the Mowlovies, &c. of the Madriſſa, from 1ſt May 1781, to 31ſt Auguſt 1782	—	—	20,258 10 3	
Decem.	Ditto ditto for October 1782		—	1,211 3 6	
					21,469 13 9
			Current Rupees		87,357 11 9

Fort William,
the 31ſt December 1783.

Errors excepted,
Wm Larkins, Acting Attv for the
Honble Warren Haſtings.

DUPLICATE.

An Account of Sums diſburſed by the Governor for the Salary of Lieutenant Colonel Gilbert Ironſide, during the Period in which he acted as Military Secretary.

1773.							
Jan. 15.	Paid his Salary from April to December 1772, Sa 4,950, or						5,494 8 0
Feb. 28.	Do.	do.	—	—	for January 1773		619 6 0
March 30.	Do.	do.	—	—	for February		559 7 0
April 30.	Do.	do.	—	—	for March		619 6 0
May 31.	Do.	do.	—	—	for April	540	
	Do.	do.	—	—	for May	558	
						1,098	
				Batta 11 per Cent.		120	
							1,218 12 6
					Current Rupees		8,511 7 6

Fort William,
the 31ſt December 1783.

Errors excepted,
Wm Larkins, acting Attorney for the
Honble. Warren Haſtings.

DUPLICATE.

An Account of Charges diſburſed in the Office of the Governor General, from 1ſt September 1772, to 1ſt January 1784.

1773.				
	Paid Mr. Henry Griffith his Allowance from 1ſt September 1772, to the 30th June 1773, is 10 Months, at A. R. 150 per Month, is Arcot Rs 1500, or	—	—	1,620 0 0
Jan.	2 Duſtories from 19th to 31ſt Dec. 1772, at 6, 14 6 6, or		—	15 9 0

1773.							
April.	Bookbinders Attendance	—	—			2 2 6	
June.	Do. Do. Do.	—	—	—		14 6 0	
	Paid Mr. Henry Griffith his Allowance from 30th June to 31 Dec. 1773, is 6 Months, at 150 A. R^{s} per Month, is A. Rupees 900, or	—	—	—		972 0 0	
1774.							
Feb.	Mr. Bird, his Allowance from 1ſt October 1773, to the 1ſt of February 1774, is 4 Months, at 250 A. R^{s} per Month, A. R^{s} 1000, or	—	—	—		1,080 0 0	
	1 Duftories Wages for January and February 1774			—		10 12 9	
March.	1 Do.	—	—	5 0 0			
	4 Do. — for 15 Days		—	14 0 0			
			A. R^{s}.	19 or		20 8 3	
April.	1 Do.	—	—	—	5 0 0		
	1 Do. from 17th January to 30th April is 3 M^{o} 13 D.				13 12 0		
	2 Do.	—	—		14 0 0		
	1 Do. for 10 Days	—	—		2 5 3		
	1 Do. for 6 Days	—	—		1 6 6		
			A. R^{s}	36 7 9	or	39 6 6	
May.	6 Duftories for this Month	—	A. R^{s}	33 8 0	or	36 2 9	
	Paid Mr. Bird his Allowance from 1ſt February to 1ſt June 1774, is 4 Months, at 250 A. R^{s} per Month, is	—	—	1000 0 0			
	Paid Mr. Henry Griffith his Allowance from 31ſt Dec. to the 30th June 1774, is ſix Months, at A. R^{s} 150 per Month, is	—	—	900 0 0			
			A. R^{s}	1900 0 0	or	2,052 0 0	
	6 Duftories for this Month			32 6 6	or	35 0 0	
						2,087 0 0	
July.	Bookbinders to bind Books	—			17 6 3		
	5 Duftories for this Month,		A. R^{s}	28 0 0	or	30 3 9	
						47 10 0	
Auguſt.	Paid Mr. Henry Griffith his Allowance for July 1774,	—	A. R^{s}	150	or	162 0 0	
	5 Duftories for this Month,			34	or	36 11 6	
						198 11 6	
Sept.	5 Do. Do.	—	—	A. R^{s}	30 15 6	or	33 7 3
October.	Paid Mr. Henry Griffith his Allowance for Auguſt, September, and October 1774, at A. R^{s} 150 per Month, is		A. R^{s} 450, or	486 0 0			
	Do. Mr. Bird's, from 1ſt June to 31ſt October, is 5 Months, at 250 per Month, is 1,250, or	—		1,350 0 0			
					1,836 0 0		
	5 Duftories for this Month,	—	A. R^{s}	34, or	36 11 6		
						1,872 11 6	
Nov.	Do. Mr. P. Laforte, his Allowance for this Month, S^{a} R^{s} 140, or	—	—		162 6 6		
	5 Duftories, A. R^{s} 41, or	—	—		44 4 6		
						206 11 0	

1774.						
Dec.	Paid Mr. Laforte his Allowance for this Month, Curr^{t} R^{s}			162	6	6
	5 Duftories — — A. R^{s}		41, or	44	4	6
				206	11	0
	Do. Mr. Henry Griffith his Allowance for November and December 1774 — — C. R^{s}			324	0	0
						530 11 0
1775.						
January.	Do. P. Laforte his Allowance for this Month —			162	6	6
	Do. Mr. Henry Griffith's Allowance —			162	0	0
February.	Do. Mr. W. H. Bird's Allowance for November and December 1774, at 250 per Month, A. R^{s}		500, or	540	0	0
	5 Duftories for this Month —		41, or	44	4	6
						908 11 0
	Do. P. Laforte's Allowance for this Month —			162	6	6
	6 Duftories — — —			44	4	6
						206 11 0
	Do. Mr. Bird's Allowance from 1ſt January to 1ſt April 1775, is 3 Months — A. R^{s}	750 0 0				
	Advanced Do. for April and May	500 0 0				
	A. R^{s}	1,250 0 0	or	1,350	0	0
March.	P. Laforte for this Month			162	6	6
	6 Duftories — —	41 0 0				
	Bookbinders — —	1 1 3				
		42 1 3	or	4	5	7
						1,557 13 6
April.	Paid Mr. Henry Griffith his Allowance for February and March — —			324	0	0
	Do. P. Laforte for this Month — —			162	6	6
	Bookbinders Work — —	0 7 0				
		41 0 0				
		41 7 0	or	44	12	0
						531 2 6
May.	Paid P. Laforte his Allowance for this Month —			162	6	6
	Do. Henry Griffith; Do. for April and May —			324	0	0
	W. H. Bird as an Advance of his Allowance for June, July, and Auguſt 1775, at Arcot Rupees 250 per Month —	750 0 0	or	810	0	0
	6 Duftories for this Month	41 0 0		44	4	6
						1,340 11 0
June.	P. Laforte his Allowance for this Month —			162	6	6
	Henry Ryean's Salary from 15th April to the 31ſt May 1775, at 200 S^{a} R^{s} per Month, is 300, or — —			348	0	0
	Thomas P. Broughton's Allowance from January to May 1775, at 100 S^{as}, is 500			580	0	0
	Henry Griffith's Allowance for this Month			162	0	0
	6 Duftories for this M^{o}. A. R^{s}	41 0 0				
	Binding three Books —	4 5 0				
		45 5 0	or	48	15	0
						1,301 5 6

1775.								
July.	Paid P. Laferte his Allowance for this Month					162	6	6
	Henry Ryean's Allowance for June					232	0	0
	Tho^{s} P. Broughton's is					116	0	0
	Bookbinder — —		1	1	3			
	6 Duftories for this Month		41	0	0			
	A. R^{s}	42	1	3	or	45	7	0
								555 13 6
Auguft.	Paid P. Laferte his Allowance for this Month					162	6	6
	Henry Griffith's ditto for July					162	0	0
	Henry Ryean's is					232	0	0
	Binding 3 Books		4	10	0			
	6 Duftories for this Month		41	0	0			
	A. R^{s}	45	10	0	or	48	15	6
								605 6 0
Sept.	Paid P. Laferte his Allowance for this Month					162	6	6
	Henry Ryean's ditto for Auguft					232	0	0
	Henry Griffith's Allowance for ditto					162	0	0
	6 Duftories for this Month A. R^{s}	41	0	0	or	44	4	6
								600 11 0
October.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month					162	6	6
	Henry Ryean's ditto for September					232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's ditto from July 1772 to March 1773, is 9 Months a 300 S^{as} per M^{o}							
		2,700	0	0	or	3,132	0	0
	6 Duftories for this Month A. R^{s}	41	0	0	or	44	4	6
								3,570 11 0
Nov.	Paid Henry Ryean's Allowance for October and November — — —					464	0	0
	Mr. Bird's ditto from September to December, 4 Months at 250 per Month							
	A. R^{s}	1,000	0	0	or	1,080	0	0
	Mr. Tho^{s} Elwoods his Salary for October					174	0	0
	P. Laferte his Allowance for this M^{o}. —					162	6	6
	6 Duftories for this Month		41	0	0			
	Bookbinder and Silk		0	5	6			
	A. R^{s}	41	5	6	or	44	10	6
								1,925 1 0
Dec.	Paid Henry Ryean's Salary for this Month					232	0	0
	Mr. Tho^{s} Elwood's ditto for November					174	0	0
	P. Laferte ditto for this Month					162	6	6
	6 Duftories —		41	0	0			
	Bookbinder's Work and Gold Thread, &c. —		3	2	0			
	A. R^{s}	44	2	0	or	47	10	6
								6 16 1
1776.								
January.	Paid Henry Ryean's Salary for this Month					232	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's do. for December —					174	0	0
	P. Laferte do. for this Month —					162	6	6
	5 Duftories do. do. A. R^{s} or —					38	14	0
								607 4 6

1776.
February. Paid Henry Ryean's Salary for this Month
S[a] Rupees 200 0 0 or 232 0 0
Bryan Glover's Salary from November 1774 to February 1776, being 15 Months, at 500 A. R[s] per Month, is A. R[s] 7,500 0 0
Batta 8 per Cent. 600 0 0
8,100 0 0
Henry Griffith's Salary from September 1775 to February 1776, is 6 Months, at 150 per Month A. R[s] 900 0 0 or 972 0 0
Peter Laferte his Allowance for this Month 162 6 6
5 Duftories for this Month, A. R[s] 36 0 0
Bookbinders Work — 3 0 0
A. R[s] 39 0 0 or 42 2 0
9,508 8 6

Paid Mr. W. H. Bird his Allowance for January and February — — 540 0 0
Henry Griffith's Salary for this Month 162 0 0
Henry Ryean's ditto — — — 232 0 0
Peter Laferte his Allowance — — 162 6 6
5 Duftories for this Month 36 0 0
Silk — — — 0 3 6
36 3 6 or 39 1 9
1,135 8 3

April. Paid Henry Ryean's Allowance for this Month 232 0 0
Henry Griffith's — — — 162 0 0
Bryan Glover's Allowance for February and March 1776 — — — 1,080 0 0
5 Duftories for this Month A. R[s] 36 0 0 or 38 14 0
T. M. Elwood's Allowance for January, February, and March S[a] Rup[s] 450 0 0 or 522 0 0
Peter Laferte his Allowance for this Month 162 6 6
2,197 4 6

May. Paid Henry Ryean's ditto — — 232 0 0
Mr. Bird's Allowance for March and April, at 250 A. R[s] per Month — — 540 0 0
Mr. Glover's Allowance for April and May, at 500 A. R[s] per Month — — 1,080 0 0
T. M. Elwood's Allowance for April 174 0 0
B. Rodrigues his Allowance from 26th March to the 31ft May 1776, is 2 Months 4 Days, a 200 per Month
S[a] R[s] 426 10 8 or 494 15 0
P. Laferte his Allowance for this Month 162 6 6
5 Duftories for this Month A. R[s] 36 0 0 or 38 14 0
2,722 3 6

June. Paid Henry Ryean's Allowance for this Month 232 0 0
Henry Griffith's for May — — 162 0 0
T. M. Elwood's — — — 174 0 0
P. Laferte's for this Month — — 162 6 6
Binding 2 Books A. R[s] 2 7 8
4 Duftories for this Month 29 0 0
31 7 8 or 33 15 9
764 6 3

1776.

July. Paid Henry Ryean's Allowance for this Month 232 0 0
R. Rodrigues's Allowance for June 232 0 0
Mr. Bird's ditto for May and June a 250 per Month — — — 540 0 0
Henry Griffith's Allowance for June 162 0 0
T. M. Elwood's — — — 174 0 0
Peter Laferte's for this Month — — 162 6 6
Bookbinder's Work and Leather 1 2 0
4 Duftories for this Month 29 0 0
A. R^{s} 30 2 0 or 32 8 6 1,534 15 0

Auguſt. Paid Henry Ryean's Allowance for this Month 232 0 0
D^{o} Henry Griffith's for July — — 162 0 0
B. Rodrigues — — — 232 0 0
W. H. Bird's for July and Auguſt — 540 0 0
T. M. Elwood's for July — — 174 0 0
Bryan Glover's from June to Auguſt, a 500 per Month A. R^{s} 1,500 0 0 or 1,620 0 0
Peter Laferte his Allowance for this Month 162 6 6
4 Duftories Wages for this Month 29 0 0 or 31 5 0
3,153 11 6

Sept. Paid Henry Ryean's Allowance for this Month 232 0 0
B. Rodrigue's Allowance for Auguſt 232 0 0
T. M. Elwood's — — — 174 0 0
Henry Griffith's for Auguſt and September, at 150 per Month A. R^{s} 300 0 0 or 324 0 0
P. Laferte his Allowance for this Month 162 6 6
Binding a Book — 1 10 0
Cotton, &c. for ſending Europe Packet — — 3 10 0
4 Duftories Wages for this Month 29 0 0
A. R^{s} 34 4 0 or 36 15 9 1,161 6 3

October. Paid Henry Ryean's Salary for this Month 232 0 0
B. Glover's for September — — 540 0 0
T. M. Elwood's for ditto — — 174 0 0
B. Rodrigue's for ditto — — 232 0 0
Peter Laferte for this Month — — 162 6 6
Binding a Book — 1 12 0
4 Duftories Wages for this Month 29 0 0
A. R^{s} 30 12 0 or 33 3 6 1,373 10 0

Nov. Paid B. Glover's Salary for October — 540 0 0
T. M. Elwood's for ditto — — 174 0 0
Wm. H. Bird's for September and October 540 0 0
Henry Ryean's, for this Month — 232 0 0
B. Rodrigue's for October — 232 0 0
Peter Laferte for this Month — — 162 6 6
Gurrah and Cotton to pack the Letters — — 3 0 0
4 Duftories Wages for this Month 29 0 0
A. R^{s} 32 0 0 or 34 9 0 1,914 15 6

1776.							
Dec.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for November and December — — —				1,080	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's Allowance for November				174	0	0
	Henry Ryean's for this Month —				232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's for November — —				232	0	0
	H. Griffith's for October and November				324	0	0
	Peter Laferte's Allowance for this Month				162	6	6
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month A. R^{s}. 29	0	0	or 31	5	0	
							2,235 11 6
1777.							
Jan.	Paid W. H. Bird's Allowance for November and December — — —				540	0	0
	Henry Ryean's Allowance for this Month				232	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for December —				174	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's for ditto — —				232	0	0
	Peter Laferte's for ditto — —				162	6	6
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month A. R^{s} 29	0	0	or 31	5	0	
							1,371 11 6
Feb.	Paid Henry Ryean's Allowance for this Month				232	0	0
	B. Glover's for January — —				540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for ditto — —				174	0	0
	B. Rodrigues for ditto — —				232	0	0
	P. Laferte's for this Month — —				162	6	6
	Samuel Hick his Allowance from 15th November 1776, to 31ſt January 1777, is 2 M^{o} 15 D. at 100 S^{a} Rupees per Month —				290	0	0
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month A. R^{s} 29	0	0	or 31	5	0	
							1,661 11 6
March.	Paid Henry Ryean's Salary for this Month —				232	0	0
	W^{m} H. Bird's for January and February				540	0	0
	B. Glover's for February and March —				1,080	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for February —				174	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's for ditto — —				232	0	0
	P. Laferte for March — —				162	6	6
	A Ream of large Poſt —	14	0	0			
	Green Cloth, &c. to cover a Deſk	7	8	6			
	8 Pen Knives — —	16	0	0			
	Gold Thread to bind ſome Papers	1	0	0			
		38	8	6			
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month	29	0	0			
	A. R^{s}	67	8	6	or 72	15	0
							2,493 5 6
April.	Paid Henry Ryean's Allowance for this Month				232	0	0
	B. Glover's ditto ditto —				540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's ditto for March —				174	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's ditto ditto —				232	6	6
	P. Laferte's ditto for this Month				162	6	6
	Cotton, &c. for the Packet	6	2	0			
	Gold Thread for binding Books	2	0	0			
	Silk ditto —	0	2	0			
	Bookbinders Work —	6	14	0			
	Sand — —	1	4	0			
	Curwah for covering the Books	3	0	0			
	Iron File, and mending a Lanthorn	1	0	0			
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month	29	2	0			
	A. R^{s}	49	6	0	or 53	5	3
							1,393 11 9

1777.									
May.	Paid Henry Ryean's Allowance for this Month						232	0	0
	Wm H. Bird's for March and April	—					540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for April	—	—				174	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's for April and May		—				464	0	0
	P. Laferte's for this Month	—		—			232	0	0
	4 Duftories Wages ditto	A. R^{s}	29	0	0	or	31	5	0
							1,673	5	0
June.	Paid Henry Ryean's Allowance for this Month						232	0	0
	B. Glover's for May and June	—		—			1,080	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for May	—		—			174	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's for June	—		—			232	0	0
	Peter Laferte's ditto		—				232	0	0
	Bookbinder's Work	—		0	8	0			
	Silk	—	—	0	2	0			
	4 Seers of Sand	—	—	3	12	0			
	Wax Cloth for dispatching Packet			5	3	0			
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month			29	0	0			
		A. R^{s}		38	9	0	or 41	10	3
							1,991	10	3
July.	Paid Henry Ryean's Allowance for this Month		—				232	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for June	—		—			174	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's for this Month	—		—			232	0	0
	Peter Laferte's ditto		—				232	0	0
	Cotton to Pack up the Letters			1	1	3			
	1 Dozen of Ink Powder	—		6	0	0			
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month			29	0	0			
		A. R^{s}		36	1	3	or 38	13	3
							908	13	3
Auguſt.	Paid T. M. Elwood's Allowance for July		—				174	0	0
	B. Glover's for July and Auguſt		—				1,080	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's for this Month	—		—			232	0	0
	Peter Laferte ditto	—		—			232	0	0
	4 Duftories Wages ditto	A. R^{s}	29	0	0	or	31	5	0
							1,749	5	0
Sept.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month		—				540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for Auguſt	—		—			174	0	0
	P. Laferte's for this Month	—		—			232	0	0
	Mr. Touchet for 25 Reams of large Poſt as per Bill	A. R^{s}	625	0	0				
	1 Tolah of Silk	—		0	2	0			
	1½ Cubicts of Gurrah for Packet			0	3	3			
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month	—	—	29	0	0			
				654	5	3	or 706	10	9
							1,652	10	9
October.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month		—				540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for September		—				174	0	0
	P. Laferte's for this Month	—		—			232	0	0
	4 Duftories Wages ditto	A. R^{s}	29	0	0	or	31	5	0
							977	5	0
Nov.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month		—				540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's ditto for October		—				174	0	0
	Peter Laferte's for this Month		—				232	0	0
	4 Duftories Wages	A. R^{s}	29	0	0	or	31	5	0
							977	5	0

1777.									
Dec.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—					540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for November	—	—				174	0	0
	Peter Laferte's for this Month	—					232	0	0
	4 Duftories Wages	A. R^{s}	29	0	0	or	31	5	0
								977	5	0
1778.									
Jan.	Paid Mr. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—					540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for December	—	—				174	0	0
	Peter Laferte's for this Month	—	—				232	0	0
	4 Duftories Wages	ditto A. R^{s}	29	0	0	or	31	5	0
								977	5	0
Feb.	Paid Mr. B. Glover's Allowance for this Month						540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for January	—	—				174	0	0
	P. Laferte's for this Month	—	—				232	0	0
	4 Duftories Wages	ditto A. R^{s}	29	0	0	or	31	5	0
								977	5	0
March.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—					540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for February	—	—				174	0	0
	Peter Laferte's for this Month	—	—				232	0	0
	4 Duftories Wages	A. R^{s}	29	0	0	or	31	5	0
								977	5	0
April.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—					540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for March	—	—				174	0	0
	Peter Laferte's for this Month	—					232	0	0
	Glue and Silk	— —		0	9	0			
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month		29	0	0				
		A. R^{s}	29	9	0	or	31	14	9
								977	14	9
May.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—					540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for April	—	—				174	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's for ditto	—	—				232	0	0
	Peter Laferte's for this Month	—	—				232	0	0
	4 Duftories Wages	— —	A. R^{s}				34	9	0
								1,212	9	0
June.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—					540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for May	—	—				174	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's ditto	—	—				232	0	0
	Peter Laferte for this Month	—	—				232	0	0
	Wax Cloth, Gurrahs, &c.		2	12	3				
	5 Duftories Wages for this Month		39	0	0				
		A. R^{s}	41	12	3	or	45	1	9
								1,223	1	9
July.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—					540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for June	—	—				174	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's ditto	—	—	—			232	0	0
	P. Laferte's for this Month	—	—	—			232	0	0
	5 Duftories Wages	A. R^{s}	39	0	0	or	42	2	0
								1,220	2	0
Auguſt.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—					540	0	0
	T. M. Elwood's for July	—	—				174	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's ditto	—	—				232	0	0
	P. Laferte's for this Month	—	—				232	0	0
	5 Duftories Wages	A. R^{s}	39	0	0	or	42	2	0
								1,220	2	0

1778.								
Sept.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—			540	0	0	
	T. M. Elwood's for Auguſt	—		—	174	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's ditto	—		—	232	0	0	
	Peter Laferte's for this Month	—		—	232	0	0	
	5 Duftories Wages do.	—	39 A. R^{s}	or	42	2	0	
								1,220 2 0
Oct.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—			540	0	0	
	T. M. Elwood's for September	—		—	174	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's do.	—		—	232	0	0	
	Peter Laferte's for this Month	—			232	0	0	
	1 Tolah of Gold Thread and 3 Tolahs of Silk	—	A. R^{s} 2 4 0					
	5 Duftories Wages for this Month		39 0 0					
			41 4 0	or	44	8	9	
								1,222 8 9
Nov.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—			540	0	0	
	T. M. Elwood's for October	—		—	174	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's do.	—		—	232	0	0	
	P. Laferte's for this Month	—		—	232	0	0	
	Silk and Gold Thread	—	A. R^{s} 2 2 6					
	5 Duftories Wages for this Month		39 0 0	or	42	2	0	
					44	4	6	
								1,222 4 6
Dec.	Paid Mr. B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—			540	0	0	
	T. M. Elwood's for November	—			174	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's for November and December	—			464	0	0	
	P. Laferte's for this Month	—	—		232	0	0	
	1 Tolah of Gold Thread	—	1 14 0					
	5 Duftories Wages for this Month		39 0 0					
			40 14 0	or	44	2	6	
								1,454 2 6
1779.								
Jan.	Paid Mr. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—			540	0	0	
	Peter Laferte's do.	—	—		232	0	0	
	5 Duftories Wages do.	A. R^{i}	39 0 0	or	42	2	2	
								814 2 0
Feb.	Paid B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—			540	0	0	
	Peter Laferte's do.	—	—	—	232	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's for January and February	—			464	0	0	
	Gold Thread and Silk	—	2 2 0					
	Mending a Key	—	—	0 5 0				
	5 Duftories Wages for this Month		39 0 0					
		A. R^{s}	41 7 0	or	44	12	0	
								1,280 12 0
March.	Paid Mr. B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—			540	0	0	
	Peter Laferte's do	—	—	—	232	0	0	
	Gold Thread and Silk	—	2 2 0					
	5 Duftories Wages for this Month		39 0 0					
	A. R^{s}		41 2 0	or	44	6	9	
								816 6 9

1779.										
April.	Paid Mr. B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—						540	0	0
	Peter Laferte's do.	—	—			—		232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's for March and April		—			—		464	0	0
	Silk and Cotton	—		0	4	0				
	5 Duftories Wages for this Month			39	0	0				
				39	4	0	or	42	6	3
										1,278 6 3
May.	Paid Mr. B. Glover's Allowance for this Month	—						540	0	0
	Peter Laferte's do.	—	—					232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's do.	—	—			—		232	0	0
	Duftories Wages	—	A. R°	24	4	0	or	26	3	0
										1,030 3 0
June.	Paid Peter Laferte's Allowance for this Month					—		232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's do.	—	—			—		232	0	0
	Silk	—	—	0	6	0				
	5 Duftories Wages	—		39	14	0				
				40	4	0	or	43	7	6
										507 7 6
July.	Paid Laferte's Allowance for this Month					—		232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's do.	—			—		—	232	0	0
	Wax Cloth for a Paper Box	—		1	0	0				
	Silk	—	—	—	0	4	0			
	1 Key for an Almeirn	—		0	10	0				
	Leather for a Book Cover	—		0	9	0				
	5 Duftorieis Wages for this Month			38	0	0				
			A. R°	40	7	0	or	43	10	9
										507 10 9
Aug.	Paid Mr. B. Glover's Allowance for July and Auguft							1,080	0	0
	Peter Laferte's for this Month	—				—		232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's do.	—			—		—	232	0	0
	5 Duftories Wages do.		A. R°	38	0	0	or	41	9	0
										1,585 0 0
Sept.	Paid Peter Laferte's Allowance for this Month					—		232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's do.	—			—			232	0	0
	Silk	—	—	—	0	8	0			
	5 Duftories Wages for this Month			38	0	0				
				38	8	0	or	41	9	3
										505 9 3
Oct.	Paid Mr. B. Glover's Allowance for September and October	—	—			—		1080	0	0
	P. Laferte's for this Month	—			—			232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's do.	—		—			—	232	0	0
	5 Duftories Wages do.	—	A. R°	38	0	0	or	41	9	0
										1,585 0 9
Nov.	Paid Mr. B. Glover's Allowance for this Month					—		540	0	0
	Peter Laferte's for this Month	—			—			232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's do.	—		—			—	232	0	0
	Mending a Paper Cafe	—		0	9	0				
	Silk	—	—	—	0	4	0			
	5 Duftories Wages for this Month			38	0	0				
				38	13	0	or	41	14	9
										1,045 14 9

1779. Dec.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month	—				232	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—	—		232	0	0	
	5 Duftories Wages do.	A. R^{s}	34	8	0 or	37	4	3	
									501 4 3
1780 Jan.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month	—				232	0	0	
	B. Rodrigues	—	—	—	—	232	0	0	
	Rattaining 2 Chairs	A. R^{s}	0	10	0				
	5 Duftories Wages	—	—	35	14	6			
		A. R^{s}	36	8	6 or	39	7	3	
									503 7 3
Feb.	Paid Laferte's Allowance for this Month	—				232	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—	—		232	0	0	
	Silk	—	—		0	8	0		
	5 Duftories Wages	—	—	38	0	0			
				38	8	0 or	41	9	3
									505 9 3
March.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month	—				232	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's do.	—	—	—		232	0	0	
	Silk	—	—	—	0	2	0		
	5 Duftories Wages	—		38	0	0			
		A. R^{s}	38	2	0 or	41	2	9	
									505 2 9
April.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month	—				232	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—	—		232	0	0	
	Silk	—	—	—	0	2	0		
	5 Duftories Wages	—	—	38	0	0			
		A. R^{s}	38	2	0 or	41	2	9	
									505 2 9
May.	Paid Mr. B. Glover's Allowance from November 1779 to March 1780, is 5 Months, at 500 per Month	—	A. R^{s}	2,500		or	2,700	0	0
	P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month					—	232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—			—	232	0	0
	Guzzy and Gunah	—	—		0	7	6		
	4 Bundles of Tape	—			3	12	6		
	5 Duftories Wages	—	—		38	0	0		
					42	4	0 or	45	10 0
									3,209 10 0
June.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month	—					232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—	—			232	0	0
	5 Duftories Wages	—	A. R^{s}	38	0	0 or	41	9	0
									505 0 9
July.	Paid Mr. S. Skardon from 1ft September 1779 to June 1780, is 10 Months, at 300 per Month		S^{a} R^{s}	3,000		or	3,480	0	0
	P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month					—	232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—			—	232	0	0
	Mending a Chair	—			0	14	0		
	Tape	—	—	—	0	11	0		
	5 Duftories Wages for this Month			38	0	0			
		A. R^{s}	39	9	0 or	42	11	9	
									3,986 11 9

1780.

Aug.	Paid Mr. P. Bowen's Allowance for May, June, and July 1780, at 300 R$ per Month, S$ Rup$ 900					or	1,044	0	0
	J. M. Playdell	do.	do.		do.		1,044	0	0
	P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month			—			232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—				232	0	0
	5 Duftories Wages		A. R$ 38	0	0	or	41	0	9
									2,593 0 9
Sept.	Paid Laferte's Allowance for this Month			—			232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—		—		232	0	0
	Cloth and Skin	—	A. R$ 1	0	0				
	5 Duftories Wages	—	38	0	0				
			39	0	0	or	42	2	0
									506 2 0
Oct.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month			—			232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—		—		232	0	0
	Silk, &c.	—		0	7	0			
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month		26	0	0				
			A. R$ 26	7	0	or	28	8	9
									492 8 9
Nov.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month			—			232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—		—		232	0	0
	J. M. Playdell's Allowance for Auguft and September, S$ R$ 600			—		or	696	0	0
	Cloth	—		0	2	6			
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month		28	0	0				
			A. R$ 30	6	0	or	32	12	6
									1,192 12 6
Dec.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month			—			232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—		—		232	0	0
	Samuel Skardon's for Auguft, September, October, and November, at 300 per Month, S$ R$ 1,200			—		or	1,392	0	0
	Cloth	—	—	0	5	0			
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month		28	0	0				
			28	5	0	or	30	9	3
									1,886 9 3

1781.

Jan.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month			—			232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	do.	do.		do.	—	232	0	0
	P. Bowen's Allowance from Auguft to December 1780, is 5 Months, at 300 per Month, S$ R$ 1,500			—		or	1,740	0	0
	George Nefbit Thompfon's Allowance for October, November, and December 1780, at 300 S$ R$ 900			—		or	1044	0	0
	Silk, &c.	—		—	0	9	0		
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month			28	0	0			
				28	9	0	or	30	13 6
									3,278 13 6

1781.								
Feb.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month —					232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's — —					232	0	0
	George Nesbit Thompson's Allowance for January and February 1781 —					696	0	0
	Silk — —			0	3	0		
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month			28	0	0		
				28	3	0	or 30 7 0	
								1,190 7 0
March.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for March and April —					464	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's do. — —					464	0	0
	Cloth and Silk — —			0	9	0		
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month			28	0	0		
				28	9	0	or 30 13 6	
								958 13 6
May.	Paid Peter Laferte's Allowance for this Month —					232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's do. — —					232	0	0
	G. N. Thompson's for March and April —					696	0	0
	The following Writers who attended in Writing the Papers of the Europe Dispatch by the Neptune:							
	Marianor Victoriane, 54 Days, at 200 S^a R^s per Month —					360	0	0
	G. Bobjen for 14 Days —					93	5	4
	Robert Sloper for 41 Days —					273	5	4
	Reginaldo Abren 18 —					120	0	0
	Manuel Gomes 17 —					113	5	4
	George Rowe 12 —					80	0	0
	J. Peirara 16 — —					106	10	8
	Joseph Bruce 20 — —					20	0	0
	Diego Pereira 9 — —					60	0	0
			S^a R^s	1,226	10	8	or 1,422 14 9	
	Silk — —			0	6	0		
	Marble coloured Paper, ½ Quire			6	7	6		
	4 Duftories Wages for April and May			56	0	0		
			A. R^s	62	13	6	or 67¼ 0 0	
								2,650 12 9
June.	Paid B. Rodrigue's Allowance for this Month —					232	0	0
	P. Laferte's — —					232	0	0
	Peter Bower's, from January to June 1781, is 6 Months, at 300, is S^a R^s 1800 or —					2088	0	0
	Thomas D. Abren, for 1 Month 4 Days, at 200 S^s — —					262	15	0
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month,			28	0	0	or 30 3 9	
								2,845 2 9
July.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month —					232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's —					232	0	0
	G. N. Thompson's, for May and June —					696	0	0
	Silk — —			0	4	0		
	3 Duftories Wages for this Month			21	0	0		
				21	4	0	or 22 15 3	
								1,182 15 3
Aug.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month —					232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's —					232	0	0
	3 Duftories Wages —		A. R^s	21	0	0	or 22 10 6	
								486 10 6

1781.								
Sept.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month					232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—		—	232	0	0
	3 Duftories Wages	—	A. R^s 21	0	0 or	22	10	6
								486 10 6
Oct.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month				—	232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—		—	232	0	0
	3 Duftories Wages	—	A. R^s 21	0	0 or	22	10	6
								486 10 6
Nov.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month				—	232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—		—	232	0	0
	3 Duftories Wages	—	A. R^s 21	0	0 or	22	10	6
								486 10 6
Dec.	Paid Ditto	ditto	ditto		—		—	486 10 6
1782.								
Jan.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month				—	232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—		—	232	0	0
	Bookbinders, Silk, &c.	—	1	10	0			
	3 Duftories Wages for this Month		21	0	0			
			A. R^s 22	10	0 or	24	7	0
								483 10 0
Feb.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month				—	232	0	0
	B Rodrigue's	—	—		—	232	0	0
	Green Cloth for the Writing Table, 1¾ Yard	—	—	0	13	2		
	Glue	—	—	0	5	6		
	A Knife to cut Paper	—		1	1	3		
	Cleaning Penknives	—		0	6	3		
	A ſmall Lanthorn	—		2	4	0		
	3 Duftories Wages for this Month			21	0	0		
			A. R^s	38	3	0 or	41	4	0
								505 4 0
March.	Paid Laferte's Allowance for this Month				—	232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—		—	232	0	0
	Bowers's, from July 1781 to March 1782, being 9 Months, at 300 per Month		S^a R^s	2,700	0	0	2,700	0	0
	5 Duftories Wages for this Month			38	0	0 or	41	9	0
								3,637 0 9
April.	Paid Laferte's Allowance for this Month				—	232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—		—	232	0	0
	Cloth, Bookbinder, &c.			13	0	0		
	5 Duftories Wages	—		38	13	0 or	41	14	9
								505 14 9
May.	Paid Mr. P. Bower's Allowance for April				—	348	0	0
	Do. do. for May				—	348	0	0
	Rodrigue's do. do.				—	232	0	0
	P. Laferte's do. do.				—	232	0	0
	5 Duftories Wages	—	A. R^s	38	0	0 or	41	9	0
								1,201 9 0
June.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month				—	232	0	0
	B. Rodrigue's	—	—		—	232	0	0
	Silk, Guzzy, Cloth, &c.			0	10	9		
	3 Duftories Wages for 18 Days			14	6	3		
	3 do. do. 12 Days			9	9	9		
	2 do. do for this Month			14	0	0		
			A. R^s	38	10	9 or	41	12	3
								505 12 3

1782.									
July	Paid P. Bower's Allowance for June			—		348	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's do.	for July		—		232	0	0	
	P. Laferte's do.	do.		—		232	0	0	
	5 Duftories Wages		A. R^{s}	38	0 0 or	41	0	9	
									853 0 9
Aug.	Paid P. Bower's Allowance for July			—		348	0	0	
	G. N. Thompſon's, from January to Auguſt 1782, is 8 Months, a 300 per Month,								
			S^{a} R^{s}	2,400	0 0 or	2,784	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's Allowance for this Month			—		232	0	0	
	P. Laferte's	—		—		232	0	0	
	3 Duftories Wages		A R^{s}	24	0 0				
	2 Do. for 15 Days	—		11	7 0				
			A. R^{s}	35	7 0 or	38	4	3	
									3,634 4 3
Sept.	Paid B. Rodrigue's Allowance for this Month					232	0	0	
	P. Laferte's	—		—		232	0	0	
	3 Duftories Wages	—		24	0 0				
	1 Do. for 26 Days	—		8	9 6				
				32	9 6 or	35	3	3	
									499 3 3
Oct.	Paid B. Rodrigue's Allowance for this Month			—		232	0	0	
	P. Laferte's	—		—		232	0	0	
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month								
			A. R^{s}	34	0 0 or	36	11	6	
									500 11 6
Nov.	Paid B. Rodrigue's Allowance for this Month			—		232	0	0	
	Laferte's do.	—		—		232	0	0	
	Skins for covering Books	—		6	0 0				
	Cloth and Silk			1	0 0				
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month			34	0 0				
			A. R^{s}	41	0 0 or	44	4	6	
									508 4 6
Dec.	Paid B. Rodrigue's Allowance for this Month					232	0	0	
	P. Laferte's do.	—				232	0	0	
	Bookbinder and Silk	—		0	7 6.				
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month			34	0 0				
				34	7 6 or	37	3	6	
									501 3 6
1783.									
Jan.	Paid P. Bower's Allowance from Auguſt to December 1782, is 5 Months, at 300 R^{s} per Month,								
			S^{a} R^{s}	1,500	0 0 or	1,740	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's Allowance for this Month			—		232	0	0	
	P. Laferte's do.	—		—		232	0	0	
	2 Skins for binding Books	—		1	1 3				
	4 Duftories Wages for this Month			34	0 0				
			A. R^{s}	35	1 3 or	37	14	3	
									2,241 14 3

1783. Feb.	Paid P. Bower's Allowance for January			—		348	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's do. for February			—		232	0	0	
	P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month			—		232	0	0	
	Baſta, 2 Cubits	—	0	4	0				
	4 Duſtories for this Month	—	34	0	0				
			34	4	0	or 36	15	9	848 15 9
March.	Paid P. Bower's Allowance for February			—		348	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's do. for this Month			—		232	0	0	
	P. Laferte's do.	—		—		232	0	0	
	Silk and Bookbinder's Work		0	14	3				
	4 Duſtories Wages for this Month		34	0	0				
			34	14	3	or 37	11	0	849 11 0
April.	Paid P. Bower's Allowance for March			—		348	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's do. for this Month			—		232	0	0	
	P. Laferte's do.	—		—		232	0	0	
	4 Duſtories Wages	A. R^{s}	34	0	0	or 36	11	6	848 11 6
May.	Paid P. Bower's Allowance for April			—		348	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's do. for this Month			—		232	0	0	
	P. Laferte's do.	—		—		232	0	0	
	Leather and Cloth for binding Books		0	1	0				
	4 Duſtories Wages for this Month		34	0	0				
			34	1	0	or 36	11	6	848 11 6
June.	Paid B. Rodrigue's Allowance for this Month			—		232	0	0	
	P. Laferte's do.	—		—		232	0	0	
	Wax, Cloth and Baſtah		2	2	6				
	4 Duſtories Wages for this Month		34	0	0				
		A. R^{s}	36	2	6	or 39	0	9	503 0 9
July	Paid B. Rodrigue's Allowance for July			—		232	0	0	
	P. Laferte's do.	—		—		232	0	0	
	A ſmall ſquare Lanthorn	—	2	8	0				
	Silk, Gurras, &c.	—	1	0	0				
	4 Duſtories Wages for July		34	0	0				
			37	8	0	or 40	8	0	504 8 0
Aug.	Paid P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month			—		232	0	0	
	B. Rodrigue's do.	—		—		232	0	0	
	1 Glaſs Ink Pot	—	0	13	0				
	1 Pair of Snuffers	—	1	1	3				
	Silk and Guzzy, Cloth, &c.		0	13	9				
	4 Duſtories Wages for this Month		34	0	0				
		A. R^{s}	36	12	0	or 39	11	0	503 11 0

1783.									
Sept.	Paid Mr. P. Bower's Allowance for May, July, and Auguſt, a 300 S[a] R[s]				1,200	0	0	or 1,392	0 0
	P. Laferte's Allowance for this Month							232	0 0
	B. Rodrigue's do.			—				232	0 0
	1 Red Skin for covering a Book				0	8	0		
	4 Duſtories Wages for this Month				34	0	0		
				A. R[s]	34	8	0	or 37 4 3	
									1,893 4 3
Oct.	Paid Mr. Bower's Allowance for Sept. and Oct.			S[a] R[s]	600	0	0	or 696 0 0	
	B. Rodrigue's do. for this Month			—			—	232	0 0
	P. Laferte's do.		—			—		232	0 0
	4 Duſtories Wages for this Month			A. R[s]	34	0	0	or 36 11 6	
									1,196 11 6
Nov.	Paid B. Rodrigues his Allowance for this Month							232	0 0
	P. Laferte's do.		—			—		232	0 0
	Cloth and Red Skin for binding Books				0	12	9		
	4 Duſtories Wages for this Month				34	0	0		
					34	12	9	or 37 9 3	
									501 9 3
Dec.	Paid P. Bowers his Allowance for November					—		348	0 0
	B. Rodrigue's do. for December					—		232	0 0
	P. Laferte's do. do.							232	0 0
	Silk for binding Books				0	4	0		
	4 Duſtories Wages for this Month				34	0	0		
					34	4	0	or 36 15 9	
									848 15 9
				Current Rupees					1,49,870 11 9

Fort William,
the 31ſt December 1783.

(Errors excepted.)

W[m] Larkins,
Acting Attorney for the
Honourable W. Haſtings Eſq.

DUPLICATE.

Abſtract of various Charges diſburſed by the Governor General, from 13th April 1772 to 1ſt of January 1784, for the Service of the Honourable Company, not before carried to their Account.

An Account of Sums diſburſed by the Governor General for the Salary of Lieutenant-colonel Gilbert Ironſide during the Period in which he acted as Military Secretary — — —		8511	7 6
An Account of Charges diſburſed in the Office of the Governor General, from 1ſt September 1772 to 1ſt January 1784 — — —		1,49,870	11 9
An Account of Sums diſburſed by the Governor General for the Hire of Houſes occupied by his Aides de Camp, from 1ſt December 1775 to 1ſt January 1784 — — — —		33,323	8 8
An Account of Sums diſburſed by the Governor General for the Diet and other Charges of Pundits employed in compiling the Code of Hindoo Laws; for the Salaries of Perſons employed in tranſlating Books of the Mahommedan Law, and other Charges incidental to the ſame; and for the Wages and other Expences of the Madriſſa, or Mahommedan Academy —		87,357	11 9
An Account of Sums diſburſed for Budgerows and Boats for the Governor General's Uſe — — —		59,156	5 9
	Current Rupees	3,38,219	13 5

Fort William,
the 31ſt December 1783.

(Errors excepted.)

W[m] Larkins,
Acting Attorney for the
Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſq.

DUPLICATE.

Account of Sums disburſed for Budgerows and Boats for the Governor General's Uſe.

1781. MARY YACHT.

March.	Bought from Captain Thornhill, as per Bill, —	Sa Rs	8,000	0	0		
	Batta 16 per Cent.		1,280	0	0		
						9,280	0 0
	Repairing and Stores, ſupplied by Captain Sampſon as per Bills,						
	In June 1781		1,310	6	6		
	July		2,012	3	9		
	December 1782		2,806	14	9		
	July 1783		1,706	13	3		
	Auguſt		4,200	14	0		
			12,037	4	3		
	Due to the Eſtate of the late Captain Sampſon on this Account —		303	5	0		
						12,340	9 3
							21,620 9 3

NEW BUDGEROW.

	Amount of Mr. David Cuming's Bill for building the ſame	Sa Rs	28,018	9	0		
	Batta 16 per Cent.		4,482	15	6		
						32,501	8 6
	Paid Mr. W. Williams as per Bill, for 1 Pair Vaſe Lamps,	Sa Rs	70	2	0		
	Batta 16 per Cent.		11	3	6		
						81	5 6
	Due to the Eſtate of the late Captain Sampſon for Sundries ſupplied to ditto —		—		—	630	1 6
							33,212 15 6

1783. Charges ſince incurred.

June.	500 Dunnah Mats	—			—		34	12 9
July.	A ſmall Lanthorn		1	8	0			
	1 Carpet —		4	0	0			
	1 Cheſt —		2	0	0			
	Gurrey Cloth —		0	7	0			
	Oil —		0	4	0			
	Making 2 Curbah Covering Cloths		23	10	0			
			31	13	0	or	36 14	3
	Wages to							
	1 Larang, for July 1783		15	0	0			
	11 Laſcars		77	0	0			
	1 Wooluck hired to attend the Budgerow in going to Chinſurah		26	11	0			
	A. Rs		118	11	0	or	128 2 9	165 1 0

1783.									
Aug.	Wages for this Month:								
	To 1 Larong				15	0	0		
	11 Laſcars				77	0	0		
	1 Wooluck hired to attend the Budgerow				44	8	0		
	Lamp Oil	—			0	6	6		
	Towels, 12	—			1	3	6		
					138	2	0		
					11	0	9		
								149	2	9
Sept.	Wages for this Month:								
	To 1 Larong				12	0	0		
	11 Laſcars				77	0	0		
	A. R^{s}				89	0	0	or 82	9	0
	1 Manjee, from 19th June to 30th September, is 3 Months and 12 Days, at 8 per Month A. R^{s}				27	3	0	or 25	2	9
	2 Golooyeas, for D° at 8	—			27	3	0	or 25	2	9
	32 Dandies, for D°, at 96 per Month							326	6	9
								459	5	3
	Deduct paid by Mr. Cuming							100	0	0
								359	5	3
	1 Dorogah, from 24th June to 30th September, is 3 Months 7 Days, at 10 per Month	—			32	5	3	or 30	0	0
	1 Froſh, from D° to D°; at 5	—			16	2	9	or 15	0	0
	1 Wooluck hired to attend the Budgerow		A. R^{s}		46	0	0	or 42	11	0
										447	3	0
								Batta 16 per Cent.		71	8	3
												518	8	6
Oct.	Wages for this Month:													
	To 1 Larong	—		—				12	0	0				
	11 Laſcars	—		—				77	0	0				
	1 Manjee	—		—				8	0	0				
	2 Golooyeas	—		—				8	0	0				
	32 Dandies	—		—				103	8	0				
	1 Dorogah	—		—				10	0	0				
	1 Froſh	—		—				5	0	0				
	Lamp Oil	—		—				0	4	0				
	1 Wooluck hired to attend the Budgerow for 14 Days			—				20	1	0				
										243	13	0		
								Batta 8 per Cent.		19	8	0		
												263	5	0
	Charges ſince incurred.													
Nov.	Wages for this Month:													
	To 1 Larong				12	0	0							
	11 Laſcars				77	0	0							
	1 Manjee				8	0	0							
	2 Golooyeas				8	0	0							
	32 Dandies				103	8	0							
	1 Dorogah				10	0	0							
	1 Froſh				5	0	0							
	Lamp Oil				0	4	3							
										223	12	3		
								Batta 8 per Cent.		17	14	6		
												241	10	9

1783. Dec. Wages for this Month:

To 1 Larang	12	0	0		
11 Laſcars	77	0	0		
1 Manjee	8	0	0		
2 Golooyeas	8	0	0		
32 Dandies	103	8	0		
1 Dorogah	10	0	0		
1 Froſh	5	0	0		
Lamp Oil	0	4	3		
				223 12 3	
Batta 8 per Cent.				17 14 6	
				241 10 9	
					1,614 3 6
Amount of Mr. Griffith's Bill for a Budgerow, purchaſed from him on June 1781		Sas	2500 0 0		
Deduct the Amount at which ſhe was ſold by public Auction — —		Sas	165 0 0		
				2335 0 0	
Batta 16 per Cent.				373 9 6	
					2,708 9 6
				Current Rupees	59,156 5 9

Fort William,
the 19th January 1784.

APPENDIX, N° XLI.

Book 112. Page 898.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 13th December 1779.

Fort William, the 13th December 1779.

Secret Dep. Monday.

At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,

Richard Barwell,
Philip Francis,
Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.

Sir Eyre Coote on a Viſit to the different Stations of the Army.

READ the following Letter from the Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. Members of Council.

Honourable Sir and Gentlemen,

I have delayed thus long addreſſing you on the Subject of the firſt Object of my Buſineſs at this Court, in the Hope of being able to inform you that I had obtained from his Excellency ſufficient Supplies for the Exigencies of the preſent Year. I have had frequent Conferences with him upon the Subject, but have found him uniform and determined in a Refuſal of any more Tuncaws than thoſe obtained by Mr. Middleton, prior to my having Charge of this Appointment. The incloſed Paper No. 1 will ſhew you what they are, and for what Services they are granted. No. 2. is an Eſtimate of the whole Demands upon the Nabob for this Year. From theſe Accounts it will appear, that the whole Amount required for the Expences of the Year is Rupees 1,36,12,108:12, and the Amount granted Rupees 68,82,000.

I have in vain laid before him the ruinous Conſequences of a Diſmiſſion of any Part of the Troops who are now employed under the Command of Britiſh Officers, the certain Deficiency in the Collections, and the laying of his Country open to foreign Marauders.

☞ (a) [I have in vain urged him on the glaring Impropriety of refuſing Tuncaws upon the ſame Diſtricts as laſt Year, and giving them to his own Troops without Diſcipline to ſupport his Government, and always ready to plunder every Country to which they had been ſent. His Anſwer has been invariably, that while he had the Means of providing for the Demands of the Company he has never refuſed it, but he is now deprived of that Ability by the Drought which has obliged him to give Deductions to the Amount of Twenty-five Lacks of Rupees, and even now the Aumils are deſirous of being releaſed from their Engagements, upon the Plea of Inability to comply with them. His Family, and that of his Father and Grandfather, after repeated Promiſes made to them and broken, are ſtill unprovided for; that he did not believe the Council meant to ſeize the Expences of his Table and Houſehold, which was all that was now left him. When I

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 541.

quitted him, I declared I did not imagine the Governor and Council would give Conſent to the Reform of the new Brigade, and the other preſent Eſtabliſhments for his Collections; that if they were not diſmiſſed they muſt be paid, and from the Sources of that Country, for the Protection of which they were raiſed. That I would leave him for the preſent to conſider the Means of granting the Supplies, in the Hope of an Anſwer more likely to be pleaſing to our Government. A Day or Two after I received a Letter from him, a Tranſlate of which, No. 3, I think it neceſſary to lay before you. As I have never been able to induce his Excellency to adopt any other Sentiments than thoſe he firſt declared, and have received another Letter from him, expreſſing much Diſſatisfaction at my Urgency on a Point he had determined on, and would not give up unleſs he ſhould be compelled by the Governor and Council, I have thought it needleſs to preſs him further at preſent, but, at his Requeſt, have tranſmitted a Letter from him to the Governor General, ſetting forth his Diſtreſs.

In this Situation it only remains for me to lay before you the following Extract of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton's Letter of the 5th Inſtant, the Day on which Charge was delivered to me.

" When I have of late preſſed his Excellency for further Aſſignments, he has pleaded Inabi-
" lity to anſwer the very heavy Demands which will this Year fall upon him, on account of
" the Drought which was unfortunately happened to the almoſt total Deſtruction of the Khur-
" reff Harveſt, and the conſequent Diminution of his Revenue. I am concerned to confeſs
" there are but too good Grounds for this Plea. The Misfortune has been general throughout
" the whole of the Vizier's Dominions, obvious to every Body, and ſo very fatal have been
" its Conſequences, that no Perſon of either Credit or Character would enter into Engage-
" ments with Government for farming the Country, without a very heavy Direction * in the laſt * Sic in Orig.
" Year's Jumma, which his Excellency has been compelled to allow to all who have hitherto
" been appointed to Farms; and ſome who have engaged under theſe Circumſtances, have, to
" my Knowledge, made moſt urgent Applications to the Nabob and his Miniſters to be releaſed
" from their Obligations, and allowed to relinquiſh their Farms, which they found they could
" not hold but at a certain Loſs to themſelves. You will be ſoon convinced by undoubted
" Teſtimony, and loud Complaints from every Quarter, of the Reality of this Misfortune,
" which has neceſſarily been the Means of delaying the general Settlement of this Country,
" and of preventing my hitherto getting Aſſignments for more than Rupees 68,82,000; but
" how far its Operation and Effects preclude the Nabob from anſwering the Demands upon him
" in public Account, you will be the beſt able to judge from the Statements you will obtain of
" his eſtimated Revenue."

As it appears from the whole of this Extract that Mr. Middleton had met with Obſtacles from a Reaſon aſſigned which no human Foreſight could prevent, I hope your Honourable Board will not imagine I have been remiſs and inattentive. Nothing but a compulſive Order from me upon an undefined Right could obtain the Collection of a Rupee, more than I have Tuncaws for; and nothing but a deciſive and ſpeedy Inſtruction from you, when the Time elapſed may not occaſion a material Loſs in the Revenue, can poſſibly procure the Grants neceſſary for the current Diſburſements from my Treaſury.

Upon this Principle it is needleſs to add, that no Bill from the Preſidency can poſſibly be anſwered, ſince the Demands on the Treaſury upon the preſent Eſtabliſhment exceed the expected Income, and the laſt Drafts of the Honourable Board, and their Order for the Payment of Two Lacks and a Half of Rupees to Captain Popham, which has been complied with, have ſo effectually drained the Treaſury, that I have not yet been able to pay the Firſt Brigade for October.] Upon the Eſtimate of the preſent Year, that of the Troops under the Command of Britiſh Officers, paid by Mr. Wombwell, exceeds the laſt Years by Rupees 4,25,533 : 12 : 6, and the Exceſs of the Eſtimate of the temporary Brigade is Rupees 8,13,559 : 13 : 9. The Paymaſters, upon being applied to by me, declare, that the Reaſon of this Exceſs is, that the laſt Year's was only what was ſuppoſed would be the Expence, and the preſent Year's Eſtimate is made upon the actual Diſburſements of laſt Year. As his Excellency did not ſtart any Objections to particular Articles of theſe Eſtimates, but to the whole, from a want of Revenue to pay them, I have not thought proper to curtail any Thing. Your Letter under Date the 25th Auguſt laſt has occaſioned the Incluſion of the Army's Donation, and the Loſs by Exchange I thought but a proper Demand.

Notwithſtanding what has paſſed, I ſhould not relax in my Endeavours to prevail upon his Excellency to grant the Tuncaws required, but he ſeems to be unmoveable in his preſent Reſolution. He is now preparing for his Departure to meet the General, and I imagine will not return before the Arrival of deciſive Inſtructions from your Honourable Board.

I have the Honour to be with Reſpect,

Lucknow,
the 19th November 1779. (Signed) E. Purling.

Ordered, That the Incloſures be entered after the Conſultation.

☞ (a) [" Governor General.—I underſtand the Subſtance of the Vizier's Letter to be a peremptory Refuſal to grant Aſſignments but for the Expence of the regular Brigade ſtationed

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 542.

at

at Cawnpore; a Demand for the Recall, or Reduction of the Troops ſtationed at Rohilcund for his Service in that Diſtrict, and his new-acquired Dominions in the Doaub; and for the Diſmiſſion of the Corps eſtabliſhed in his own immediate Service, under the Command of Britiſh Officers; viz. Thoſe ſeverally commanded by Major Hannay, Captain Oſburne, and the Body Guard under Captain Mordaunt, for the Purpoſe of ſubſtituting additional Eſtabliſhments of Horſe and Foot, under his immediate Command, for the Service of the Revenues. Theſe Demands, the Tone in which they are aſſerted, and the Seaſon in which they are made, are all equally alarming, and appear to me to require an adequate Degree of Firmneſs in this Board, in oppoſition to them. Without further Comment, I ſhall proceed to recommend the following Draft of a Letter to be written to Mr. Purling, which, if agreed to, may ſerve as the Subſtance of One to be written on the ſame Subject to the Nabob."]

Draft of a Letter to Mr. Purling.

To Mr. C. Purling, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Sir,

We have received your Letter of the 19th November, ſtating the Objections of the Nabob to the immediate Diſcharge of the Sums due from his Government, for the Expences of the current Year. The Principle on which theſe Objections are made appears to us ſo repugnant* to the Nabob's Engagements with the Company, and with the intimate Connection of his Intereſts and theirs, that we cannot heſitate a Moment to declare them totally inadmiſſible; and as we have no Doubt of the Nabob's Ability to furniſh the Sums abſolutely neceſſary for the Service of the Year, we require you to repeat the Demand in Writing. To give Weight and Efficacy to your Requiſition, we have judged it expedient to adviſe him formally, by Letter, of your being authoriſed to make it, and that we expect his ready and cheerful Acquieſcence in it. In the preſent Circumſtances of his Government and ours, to diſband any Part of the Troops that we maintain for his Service is a Meaſure no leſs improper for him to ſuggeſt than it would be for us to adopt. He ſtands engaged to our Government to maintain the Engliſh Armies which, at his own Requeſt, have been formed for the Protection of his Dominions; and it is our Part, not his, to judge and to determine in what Manner, and at what Time, theſe ſhall be reduced or withdrawn; but, were it otherwiſe, this is not the Time to propoſe it, when we are threatened with external Dangers common to both, which require rather an Augmentation than a Diminution of the Means which we poſſeſs for repelling them. That this gives us Cauſe for the moſt alarming Suſpicions, ſince he cannot be ignorant that the Marattas, our Enemies, and the ancient Enemy of his Government and Family, are in Arms, and a War unavoidable; that, at ſuch a Juncture, a Propoſition for diſbanding any Part of his Forces cannot fail to encourage them to attack his Dominions; that the Advice of his Miniſters, who have inſtigated him to make it, will, we perſuade ourſelves, appear to him as inſidious as it is dangerous; and that, we hope, he will diſmiſs them from his Service and Confidence, as unworthy of both.

* Sic in Orig.

Fort William,
the 15th December.

We are, &c. &c.

Governor General.—I would further propoſe that a Copy of this Letter, or ſuch other as it ſhall be agreed to write upon this Occaſion, be tranſmitted to the Commander in Chief, and that he be requeſted to aſſiſt with his perſonal Influence and Application to the Nabob, to give it Effect.

Ordered, That this Subject lie for Conſideration.

Warren Haſtings.
P. Francis.
Edwd Wheler.

Appendix to Consultation the 13th December 1779.

ACCOUNT of the Assignments granted by his Excellency the Vizier Asoph ul Dowlas, and for what Purposes.

List of Assignments.

Dooaub and Corah	26,00,000	0 0
Rohilcund	25,00,000	0 0
Azim Ghur	1,00,000	0 0
Khyzabad	3,32,000	0 0
Sundeelah and Mullihabad	2,00,000	0 0
Allahabad	3,00,000	0 0
Khyragur	2,00,000	0 0
Furruckabad	6,00,000	0 0
Mahoul	50,000	0 0
		68,82,000 0 0

For what Purposes granted.

Balance of the Vizier's Account of 1176	20,60,608	2 0
Army Subsidy	31,20,000	0 0
Saudit Allee's Stipend	3,00,000	0 0
Abdul Rahmaun Cawn's Roffallah	3,30,000	0 0
Pensions to the Rohillah Chiefs	61,578	0 0
		58,72,186 2 0
Balance in favour of the Tuncaws granted for Loss by Exchange and unavoidable Balances		10,09,813 14 0

(Errors excepted)
Lucknow, 19th November 1779.
(Signed) C. Purling.

ESTIMATE of the Funds to be required from the Nabob Aussoph ul Dowlah for the Public Services of the Year 1187.

Balance due to the Honble. Company the End of Bhaudun 1186		20,60,608 1 9
Army Subsidy		31,20,000 0 0
Temporary Brigade	26,13,559 13 9	
Cavalry Brigade	10,80,000 0 0	
		36,93,559 13 9
Vizier's Troops under British Officers as per Estimate		16,87,333 12 6
Saudit Allee's Stipend		3,00,000 0 0
Rohilla Stipend		61,578 0 0
Loss by Exchange		6,00,000 0 0
Abdul Rahmaun Cawn's Ruffaulah		3,30,000 0 0
Donation to the Army		10,00,000 0 0
Army Debts, viz.		
Brigadier General Goddard	3,44,478 0 0	
Major Webber	2,49,611 0 0	
Captain Bourke	30,464 0 0	
Lieutenant Collins	1,18,876 0 0	
Lieutenant Mc Intosh	15,680 0 0	
		7,59,109 0 0
Rupees		1,36,12,188 12 0

(Errors excepted)
Lucknow, the 19th November 1779.
(Signed) C. Purling.

A GENERAL ESTIMATE of the Expence of the Vizier's Troops under the Command of Britiſh Officers, agreeable to the Eſtimates received from the Gentlemen in the Service of his Excellency, for the Fuſſullee Year 1187.

	Per Month.	Per Annum.
Arrears of the Year 1186 — — —		1,28,436 14 6
The Arſenal — — —	8,951 0 0	1,07,412 0 0
Three Battalions of Sepoys (Major Hannay) —	48,402 0 0	5,80,824 0 0
Light Infantry — —	38,065 0 0	4,56,780 0 0
Body Guard — — —	21,962 2 8	2,63,456 0 0
Interpreter and Aid de Camp —	2,536 12 9	30,441 9 0
Commiſſary of Muſters — —	923 3 3	11,078 7 0
Paymaſter's Offices — — —	2,702 6 6	32,428 14 0
Auditor's Office — —	3,365 8 0	40,386 0 0
Surgeon — —	3,000 0 0	36,000 0 0
Total Expence for One Month — —	1,29,908 1 2	
Total Expence for One Year — —		16,87,333 12 6

(Signed) John Wombwell,
Paymaſter and Auditor.

Tranſlation of a Letter from the Vizier to the Reſident at his Court.

The Friendſhip between the Honourable Company, Mr. Haſtings Governor General, Supreme Council, and myſelf, has not the leaſt Shadow of Diſunion: Dominion, Property, and Honour are but one and the ſame to us.

The Situation of my Affairs, reſpecting the preſent Time, I informed Mr. Middleton of, both by Writing and Converſation, and I now proceed to lay the whole before you.

During theſe Three Years paſt, the Expence occaſioned by the Troops in Brigade, and others commanded by European Officers, has much diſtreſſed the Support of my Houſhold, inſomuch that the Allowance made to the Seraglio and Children of the deceaſed Nabob has been reduced to one-fourth Part of what it was, upon which they ſubſiſted in a very diſtreſſed Manner for theſe Two Years paſt; the Attendants, Writers, Servants, &c. of my Court have received no Pay for theſe Two Years; and there is at preſent no Part of the Country that can be allotted to the Payment of my Father's private Creditors, whoſe Applications are daily preſſing upon me. All theſe Difficulties I have for theſe Three Years paſt ſtruggled through, and found this Conſolation therein, that it was complying with the Pleaſure of the Honourable Company, and in hope that the Supreme Council would make Enquiry from impartial Perſons into my diſtreſſed Situation; but I am now forced to a Repreſentation. From the great Increaſe of Expence, the Revenues were neceſſarily farmed out at a high Rate, and Deficiencies followed yearly. The Country and Cultivation is abandoned; and this Year in particular, from the exceſſive Drought of the Seaſon, Deductions of many Lacks have been allowed the Farmers, who were ſtill left unſatisfied, and I have received but juſt ſufficient to ſupport my abſolute Neceſſities; and for this Reaſon many of the old Chieftains, with their Troops and uſeful Attendants of the Court, were forced to leave it, and now there is left only a few Foot and Horſe for the Collection of the Revenues; and ſhould the Zemindars be refractory, there is not left a ſufficient Number to reduce them to the Obedience of my Collectors. The late raiſed Brigade at Futtaghur is not only quite uſeleſs to my Government, but is moreover the Cauſe of much Loſs both in the Revenues and Cuſtoms, the detached Bodies of Troops under other European Officers being nothing but Confuſion to the Affairs of Government, and are entirely their own Maſters.

In this diſtreſſed State of my Affairs, it is juſt and requiſite that Mr. Haſtings, General Sir Eyre Coote, and the Supreme Council ſhould give me Relief. This Year I cannot poſſibly provide for the new Brigade at Futtyghur, the Corps of Horſe, and other detached Bodies of Troops in my Country. I hope you will conſider well theſe Repreſentations, and explain them in a Manner you may judge proper to the Governor General and Supreme Council. On my Part, Country, Property, and Life are devoted to the Will of the Honourable Company; and I hope they will therefore do Juſtice to theſe my Complaints, and prevent my falling into Diſtreſs, by not having wherewith to ſupport the neceſſary Expences of my Houſhold. For the Expence of the Brigade at Cawnpore, and other Diſburſements, I have given Tuncaws and Orders upon my Country. The Remainder of my Revenue, on account of the Drought, has fallen ſo ſhort as not to be ſufficient for my neceſſary Expences, being deficient to the Amount of Fifteen (15) Lacks, and the above Proviſion will bring upon me this Year very great Diſtreſs. What can I ſay more?

APPENDIX, N° XLII.

Book 115.

Letter from the Vizier to the Governor General.

69. From the Vizier: Received 21ſt April 1785.

Whatever you ſaid to Raja Gobind Ram upon every Point, the ſaid Raja has fully written it to me. My Friend, from the Beginning of the Friendſhip between the noble Chiefs of the Company, and the exalted Gentlemen of Council, and my deceaſed Father and myſelf, no Deficiency ever appeared; and after the Death of my deceaſed Father I have conſtantly remained, and ſtill remain, employed from my Heart and Soul in preſerving this Friendſhip more than formerly; and on the Part of the Gentlemen alſo the Syſtem of Intimacy was preſerved. In many Concerns, the Diſtreſſes which from various Cauſes had happened, the Governor General, Mr. Haſtings, after learning, applied himſelf to relieve my Situation, and ſettled a Plan by which the Company's Money would properly be paid by my Miniſters, and the Company and all the Engliſh Gentlemen would receive Credit.

After his Departure, you, from your Kindneſs, were favourable to my Concerns, and preſerved the Plan and Agreement which had been ſettled between him and myſelf, and with the greateſt Friendſhip you wrote to me the completeſt Confirmation; and Major Palmer, in obedience to your Orders, gave repeated Conſolation to me and my Miniſters. I am convinced that the good Situation of my Concerns will be increaſed by your Favour. Conformably to the Agreement to pay the Company's Money, which was ſettled between me and the late Governor General, my Miniſters have to this Time paid the Kiſts, and no Deviation has happened; you may learn this from Mr. Wombwell. And I, conſidering the Diſcharge of the Company's Debt to be the moſt neceſſary of all Affairs, pay it from the Receipts of the Country and the Loans of the Bankers, and I apply myſelf to nothing but the Diſcharge of the Company's Debt and the Preſervation of your Friendſhip. You told Raja Gobind Ram that to this Time the Money had not been regularly paid, according to the Agreement which had fixed Kiſts for the Company's Money: This Order aſtoniſhes and confounds me, becauſe from laſt Year to this Time, whatever Agreement had been made for the Payment of the Company's Money, my Miniſters have paid conformably to the Kiſts, and are in future ready to pay, by the Bleſſing of God, according to the Engagements of Payment; but your Favour and Countenance is requiſite. This Order muſt certainly have been cauſed ſolely by the Repreſentations of intereſted Perſons; and I from this am much afflicted, that notwithſtanding the regular Payment of the Money according to the Kiſts, you ſhould give ſuch an Order upon the Repreſentations of intereſted Perſons, otherwiſe ſuch Orders could not have proceeded from your exalted Mind, becauſe many Days have not elapſed ſince you, in Writing, gave me Confidence on every Point; and whilſt the Money were * regularly paid, you would not give ſuch Orders: At any Rate, I hope from your Favour the Obſervance of this Rule, never to liſten to the Repreſentations of intereſted Perſons, becauſe in ſuch Caſes the Affairs are diſgraced, and the Bankers and Miniſters are diſpirited. With reſpect to the Brigade at Futtyghur, you ſay that you had, agreeably to my Requeſt, ſent Orders for it to march to Behurghurra; but to this Time Hyder Beg Khan has not advanced the Money for their Expences. My Friend, my Requeſt, whatever it be, is known to you. In all Concerns there is One Word upon which I rely, that whatever Agreement was made between me and Mr. Haſtings, and the Plan which was ſettled, and you have repeatedly written that you have approved of and preſerved that Engagement and Plan, in that Engagement†, out of Conſideration to my Diſtreſſes, whatever is promiſed with reſpect to the Removal of that Brigade is well known to you; and you alſo have written to Major Palmer, who has given me Confidence that you, from your Kindneſs for my Relief, do not approve of keeping an increaſed Army in this Country; but that now, until the Doubts from the Weſt are removed, the Futtyghur Brigade muſt remain. I alſo, who deſire only your Satisfaction, approved of this Advice, becauſe, as the Reduction of my Expences, and the Relief of my Concerns, is your Wiſh, it will be done at a proper Opportunity. When your Letter for the Futtyghur Brigade to remain a little Time longer here was received by Major Palmer, and the Major, agreeably to your Orders, told me, that this Year, beſides One Crore and Five Lacks of Rupees, which had been engaged for the Payment of the Company's Money, no more would be demanded, I was entirely ſet at Eaſe by your Kindneſs. You now order, that I ſhould make Advances for the Expences of the Brigade. My Situation is not hidden from you; why ſhould I for ever trouble you, that this Year I pay from the Receipts of the Country, and the Loans of the Bankers, for the Diſcharge of the Company's Money, what has been engaged. Do you yourſelf order, from your Favour and Kindneſs, whatever may be adviſeable towards the Relief of my Concerns. The Affairs of my Country and Property, and of the Company's Government, through Friendſhip are the ſame. Such Matters depend upon your Kindneſs. You will learn full Particulars from the Letters of

* Sic in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

Major

☞Major Palmer. (*a*) [With reſpect to the Expences of the Gentlemen who are here, I have before written in a covered Manner; I now write plainly, that I have no Ability to give Money to the Gentlemen, becauſe I am indebted many Lacks of Rupees to the Bankers for the Payment of the Company's Debt. At the Time of Mr. Haſtings's Departure I repreſented to him, that I had no Reſources for the Expences of the Gentlemen. Mr. Haſtings, having aſcertained my diſtreſſed Situation, told me, that after his Arrival in Calcutta he would conſult with the Council, and remove from hence the Expences of the Gentlemen, and recall every Perſon except the Gentlemen in Office here. At this Time, that all the Concerns are dependent upon you, and you have in every Point given Eaſe to my Mind, according to Mr. Haſtings's Agreement, I hope that the Expences of the Gentlemen may be removed from me, and that you may recall every Perſon reſiding here beyond the Gentlemen in Office. Although Major Palmer does not at this Time demand any Thing for the Gentlemen, and I have no Ability to give them any Thing, yet the Cuſtom of the Engliſh Gentlemen is, when they remain here they will in the End aſk for ſomething. This is beſt, that they ſhould be recalled.] Mr. Haſtings wrote to me for the Abolition ☞ of Captain Frith's Battalion. At that Time the Diſturbances of the Seiks exiſted in the Neighbourhood of Berelly, and my Army was ſtationed on the Ghauts of the River, at thoſe Places, which at this Seaſon are always fordable. This Year many other Ghauts were fordable, and the Seiks croſſed over to plunder, which is their Cuſtom. My Army, which was already there, came upon them, and puniſhed them, and they, finding no Strength to remain, croſſed back again, and returned; but it became neceſſary to guard all Ghauts, and I therefore ſtationed for the Defence of the Berelly Ghauts, my old Battalions, which were fixed at Kherrabad, and the other Mahuls; and I ſent the Battalions of Captain Frith, which were newly raiſed for the Settlement of the Mahuls of Kherrabad, &c. Thoſe Battalions went under the Command of a Commandant belonging to me, and no Engliſh Gentlemen went there. In theſe Four Battalions, according to the Rule of all my Battalions, there are Three thouſand Men, and the Expence of them, including the Artillery, is 35,000 Rupees in each Month. For a little Time I thought this Expence adviſeable for the Execution of Two important Objects, the Settlement of the Country, and the Expulſion of the Seiks, which by the Bleſſing of God have both been effected: I have now determined to diſband them after ſatisfying them; but I conſider it proper to guard the Ghauts until Chyte; till when the Fords continue; after that, when the River be full, ſo large an Army will not be wanted at the Ghauts. In this Caſe I requeſt your Advice, that as the Army is on a reduced and ſaving Eſtabliſhment, if you chuſe, I will keep the Battalions until Chyte; or if you order, I will diſmiſs them immediately. Captain Frith will have no Concern in the Battalions, Commandants belonging to me will command them. With reſpect to Lieutenant Polhill's Battalion, which with other Gentlemen, is in Attendance on the Prince, you ordered me to learn his Royal Highneſs's Wiſh, and that if he ſhould be deſirous to keep them they might remain a little Time with him. Upon learning his Deſire, I, conformably to your Inſtructions, have conſented to retain the Battalion a little Time, but I did not ſpeak about retaining Lieutenant Polhill, and the other Gentlemen, nor does he continue with me in this Command; I merely wrote to you in Obedience to his Royal Highneſs's Deſire, requeſting that Lieutenant Polhill alone might remain; the Approbation and Refuſal of which depend entirely upon your Pleaſure; I have no Ability to maintain the Battalion with the Gentlemen: I deſire nothing but your Satisfaction, and hope that ſuch Orders as relate to the Friendſhip between the Company and me, and as may be your Pleaſure, may be written in your own private Letters to me, through Major Palmer, or in your Letters to the Major, that he may, in obedience to your Orders, properly explain them to me, and whatever may be ſettled, he may firſt in ſecret inform you of it, and afterwards I may write to you, having learnt your Pleaſure: In this Way the Secrets will be known to your Mind alone, and the Advice upon all the Concerns will be given in a proper Manner.—For further Security, I trouble you again with my Requeſt, that you will not liſten to the Repreſentations of intereſted Perſons with reſpect to my Concerns; for in this Caſe, my Affairs are diſgraced, and the Bankers, from whom I have borrowed many Lacks towards paying the Kiſts to the Company, are alarmed.—I labour from my Heart and Soul to preſerve your Satisfaction, and you from your Kindneſs are inclined to maintain the Plan and Agreement which has taken place; therefore to give Entrance to intereſted Perſons, is laying the Baſis of Diſagreement. I hope from your Favour that in the Concerns between me and you, no intereſted Perſon may be admitted to hear the Secrets between the Company and myſelf, and your Orders.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 544.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, N° XLIII.

Book 81. Page 51.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 28th July 1783.

Fort William, 28th July 1783.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,
Edward Wheler, } Eſqrs.
John Staples, }
Mr. Macpherſon indiſpoſed.

Secret Dep. Monday.

THE Governor General.—Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon having ſent in their Anſwers to the Charges againſt them, which I underſtand are now in Circulation, I hope the Board will allow me to propoſe that their ſeveral Opinions ſhould be given upon thoſe Charges before my own, on account of the peculiar Circumſtances of theſe Accuſations in their relation to myſelf.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. Members of the Supreme Council.

Mr. Middleton's Defence. Mr. Johnſon's Defence.

Honourable Sir and Sirs, Fort William, 28th July 1783.

I have been honoured with your Commands of the 12th Inſtant, through your Secretary, accompanied with a Paper of Charges againſt me, arranged under Sixteen ſeparate Heads, which I am required to anſwer.—

At a Period ſo diſtant from that at which I delivered over the Charge of my Office to Mr. Briſtow, I muſt be permitted to obſerve I was as little prepared to receive as to anſwer Charges againſt me for my Conduct in the Diſcharge of that Office, as the Honourable Board, when they informed me of that Gentleman's Appointment to ſucceed me, communicated not the leaſt Hint of Diſpleaſure, or Diſapprobation of my public Conduct; and unconſcious myſelf of having merited Cenſure, I had not a Doubt but my Removal was in conſequence of the Orders, which I underſtood had been received from the Honourable the Court of Directors for the Reſtoration of Mr. Briſtow to the Reſidency at Oude.—But however unexpected this Call upon me may be, I am very far from complaining of any Occaſion afforded me of explaining my Conduct where it may have been miſunderſtood: On the contrary, I acknowledge my Obligation to the Honourable Board, for permitting me to ſtate collectively my Conduct in the Cloſe of the important Truſt I have been honoured with for ſuch a Series of Years. If I cannot vindicate my Conduct for the Period I ſtand accuſed, I ſhall be leſs forward in claiming Indulgence from the Honourable Board; as a Succeſſion (with ſome Interruptions) of Nine Years Reſidence and Intercourſe with the Court and Provinces of Oude, muſt impreſs an Idea of local Experience and continued Approbation, which would leave no other Conſtruction upon Miſconduct than a wilful Neglect of my Duty, amounting to little leſs than a premeditated and determined Breach of Truſt, loaded with Ingratitude and Treachery to the Intereſts of my Employers.

The Charges before me regarding my Conduct for the Fuſſullee Year 1189—that is, from the 23d September 1781, when my Inſtructions upon the Chunar Treaty were delivered to me, to the 23d of October 1782, when I delivered over Charge to my Succeſſor Mr. Briſtow.

They generally aim to eſtabliſh, 1ſt. That I did not effect the various Objects of the Treaty. 2dly. Diſobedience of ſome ſubſequent, though connected Orders; and, 3dly. Inattention to my Duty upon ſome Heads more connected with a Diſcharge of current Buſineſs, than bearing any relation to the Treaty.

Conceiving theſe Three Diviſions to involve and deſcribe the Outline of my Charges, I ſhall take them up in this Succeſſion to ſpeak to them collectively, as my Correſpondence during that Year to which I ſhall occaſionally refer, will on Examination, I think, be found to have anſwered in Detail the major Part, if not the whole, of what is now before me.

In replying to my firſt Diviſion of the Charge, Non-execution of the Treaty, and Inſtructions that accompanied it, I ſhall beſt avoid Confuſion, and ſhorten what I wiſh to urge, by taking up unitedly the Treaty and Inſtructions, and briefly ſtating, in the oppoſite Column, what was done upon them, premiſing to lead the Attention of the Board, that the grand Object was to liquidate the Nabob's Debt of accumulating Balance to the Company, which the Governor General's Recollection will confirm. To obtain this Liquidation, the Nabob was perſuaded to agree to ſundry Arrangements in his Government and Finance, without which it was deemed impracticable to provide adequate Reſources to accompliſh it within the Year 1189, which, although unexpreſſed, was underſtood to be the Period for the Attainment of this grand Object; nor could it poſſibly be expected to take leſs, becauſe the

Vide Preamble to the Governor General's Inſtructions on the Treaty.

Regulations of a Land Revenue (other Resources there are not in Oude) can scarcely operate within the Period of a Year.

For a clearer understanding of my Conduct, it may not be unnecessary to advert to the Situation and Power of a Resident at the Court of Oude, that his Success or Failure in the Services expected from him, may be measured by the Means he shall appear to possess—the only just Criterion.

The Resident, from his Appointment, is the sole Agent from an Ally to the Court he resides in, with Two obvious and peculiar Lines of Duty. One is the political Correspondence for Information of our Government, and the Preservation of a good Understanding between the allied Parties. In addition to this, within these few Years another Object of very material public Concern has become an Appendage of his Office—the receiving the current Claims and Balances due to the Company.

To effect this last Object, he is competent to no positive Act of his own Authority, but is limited to obtain what Success he may, from his Influence over the Nabob's Chief Minister.

The current annual Claims varied from 70 to 130 Lacks of Rupees, which the Revenues of the Country, as will appear by Reference to former Accounts, never answered to, seldom yielding to the Resident's Treasury beyond from 60 to 80 Lacks; the Consequence of which was, that the Balance was annually accumulating, instead of decreasing, by the annual Receipts *(a.)* [When I took charge of the Office of Collector of the Vizier's Assignments to the Company, this Balance upon the Resident's Book, closed to the End of the Fussullee Year 1187, was 32 Lacks, exclusive of 10½ Lacks, Army Donation. In the Year 1188 it encreased 12 Lacks, making 44 Lacks, when the Governor General arrived at Benares the Beginning of 1189. To discharge so much of this Balance as was due to the Company therefore was the Object of the Treaty; and to insure the Accomplishment of it in the shortest Time possible, a Plan was laid down, one Part of which was the Suspension of sundry Current Claims upon the Nabob, such as Mr. Wombwell's Office, and the temporary and Cavalry Brigades, which together amounted to so heavy an Expence, that, with the Continuance of them, even the current annual Claim could not be answered, much less the abovementioned Balance liquidated. *(b)* [But the Year 1180, from unforeseen Events, was already began ere the Treaty was signed, and these large Bodies could not be removed without some previous Notice; between Two and Three Months were assigned them for Preparation, in which Time it was supposed sufficient Funds would have been forthcoming for their Discharge. The paying them off involved another Balance of Arrears to them respectively, not included in the Balance of 1187 and 1188 to the Company. These Arrears farther swelled in their Amount, because the monthly Collections, to the Period of their Discharge, were not equal to their Pay and Arrears, and a Provision for the other indispensable Disbursements of my Office, which obliged me to devise other Means of liquidating them; accordingly, after a long Negociation, attended with much Difficulty, I accomplished a Loan at the Beginning of the Year, on my own Credit, of 10 Lacks, without which Exertion the Resources of the whole Year would have been clogged with the encreasing Amount of these Arrears.] While the Effect of my Negotiation was yet in Suspense, another Balance, before * we heard of, amounting to upwards of 26 Lacks, was sent up from the Presidency. Why this Balance was unknown to the Resident, to the Governor General, and consequently not included at the signing the Treaty, will be shewn in its proper Place. I had pledged myself to the Governor General for realizing the Company's Balance, which of course meant the Balance in Agitation before us at the signing of the Treaty, which had this for its declared Object.]

* Sic in Orig.

Notwithstanding which I realized both, as well as the Arrears, then also unknown, and further replaced the Failure of the Assignment on Furruckabad, &c. amounting altogether to 138 Lacks of Fyzabad Siccas, near a Crore and a Half of Current Rupees, instead of 60, 70, or 80 Lacks, which had been the utmost Exertion of the Management of former Years.

The following short Sketch of the gross Amount realized by me, will now clearly explain the foregoing.

Amount Assignments for current Claims, the first Instalments of which I was forced to anticipate by an Advance of 10 Lacks,	— —	76,00,000
Amount Balance, agitated at the signing of the Treaty, deducting Army Donation,		44,00,000
Amount further Balance from the Presidency,	— —	26,00,000
	Rupees of Shorts,	1,46,00,000

This might suffice to shew, that the main Object of the Treaty and my Instructions was fulfilled.—But I now proceed to the separate Heads of them.

(a) Vide supra, P. 546. *(b)* Vide supra, P. 544.

1ſt Par. Regards the Separation of the Vizier's perſonal Diſburſements from the public Accounts.

This was attended to. Vide Letter from the Reſident, N° 2, and Tranſlation of a Letter from the Miniſter, N° 3.

2d Par. Regarding the Reform of the Sebundy and Moteyna Troops into regular muſtered Eſtabliſhments.

This was alſo done. Vide the above Vouchers.

3d Par. Regarding the Reduction of the Nabob's Moteyna Troops.

This alſo was done; proved by the Miniſter's Offer of Nine Lacks (expreſsly Savings from the Moteyna Reductions) for the Maintenance of Three of the Company's Regiments propoſed to be introduced in their Stead. Vide Reſident's Letter, N° 4.

4th and 5th Pars. Regarding the Vizier's Selection and Appointment of his Commander, under certain Proviſions, and the Reſident's Concurrence with the Miniſter in the Choice of Aumils and Collectors.

Theſe Paragraphs convey eventual Directions, to enforce which no Contingency occurred. They were my Guide in concurring with the Miniſter in the Choice of Aumils and Collectors, when any new ones were appointed, and dictated the Principle on which I concurred with the Miniſter in the Meaſure of increaſing the Farms of Almaſs Ally Cawn, or rather, which was the Fact, reſtoring to him what he had before held. His Reſponſibility was unqueſtionable, and his Attachment to the Engliſh, of which he gave ſeaſonable and unequivocal Proofs during the Benares Inſurrection, proved him worthy of our Confidence.

The Governor General diſtinguiſhed him on this Occaſion with honorary Teſtimonies of his Approbation.

6th Par. Regarding the Inſtitution of Court of Adawlut.

My Inſtructions on this Head, recommending this rather as a Matter for the future Conſideration than immediate Adoption, I did little more in it than lay the Foundation of ſuch Inſtitution.

7th Par. Authorizing Military Aid to be required from Cawnpore, when Emergency ſhould require it.

This I availed myſelf of, as explained at length hereafter in my Reply to the Third Diviſion of my Charge.

Major Scott's was the only Regiment undirected by any immediate Order of the Board. And the Neceſſity of this aroſe from the Execution of my Orders to Fyzabad.

8th Par. Regarding the Removal of unlicenſed Europeans from Lucknow.

This was attended to; vide Reſident's Letter, N° 5 and 6.

The foregoing appears to me to comprehend the Subſtance of the Chunar Treaty, and the Inſtructions given me upon it, which I have in this Place abſtracted, for the ſake of ſhortening my Addreſs, but ſubjoined at large in the Appendix. I have ſtated what was done; I muſt reſt with the Honourable Board to decide how far I have performed my Orders.

I ſhall now ſtate the Circumſtances of the Balances which I am charged for not realizing. I have ſaid, that the Balance, as it ſtood on the Reſident's Books at the ſigning of the Treaty, was the Balance I ſtood pledged to the Governor General to realize. It afterwards appeared, that upon adjuſting the general Books at the Preſidency, a ſeparate Balance, accumulated in a Courſe of Seven Years, was due from the Nabob for Military Stores, &c. ſupplied from the Company's Magazines, Difference of Coinage, and other Heads therein particularized, amounting to 26 Lacks, to the 30th of April 1779. But from Circumſtances unknown to me, no Intimation of any ſuch Claim had ever before been given to me or my Predeceſſors. Notwithſtanding this, and its coming to me unaccompanied with any Order of the Board, I propoſed in my Letter of 21ſt February 1782, N° 8, to recover it, and did actually bring the Amount to Credit in my Accounts for 1189, as ſtated in my Addreſs to the Honourable Board of the 7th September 1782, N° 9.

But after this, when the General Books at the Preſidency were brought up another Year, a further ſimilar Claim appeared for 14 Lacks * for Military Stores, &c. ſupplied the Nabob to that Period, the 30th April 1780. This came too late to be included within the Year 1189 †. I had already exceeded my Pledge, and accepted Reſponſibility from 44 to 70 Lacks, above Half as much again. I could not venture, at ſo advanced a Period, or more properly the Cloſe of the Collections, to extend to 84 Lacks. The new Reſources, formed on new Savings, could not operate without End, nor in ſuch great Proportions, within the firſt Year. Moreover, had I been poſſeſſed of Reſources to enable me to include it, I met a greater Oppoſition from the Nabob and his Miniſter, on the ſecond Claim, than I had experienced on the firſt. Upon explaining the firſt Account to them, when I came to the Charge of Military Stores, they

* This is the groſs Difference; but after reducing the total Balance, by deducting the Batta, it would become ſomething ſhort of 7 Lacks.

† It reached me at Patna in Auguſt. The Year begins in September.

they demanded to have their Deliveries of Military Stores, and the Charge of the Candahar Horſe with the Bombay Detachment, ſet againſt it. When * much Difficulty I prevailed ſo far, as to induce them to ſuſpend this Claim, aſſuring them that it would be duly and equitably conſidered in future Accounts, which the Governor General's Aſſurances afterwards to the Nabob confirmed.—This ſerved once, but would not a ſecond Time; when the Demand of 14 Lacks became repeated on the ſame Grounds, ſo far from acquieſcing, they called on me then to perform the Aſſurances I had given them on the former Occaſion, by ſetting againſt the Account the Amount of their Delivery of Stores, &c. which they would be ſatisfied to have eſtimated by any Mode of Valuation the Board would preſcribe. They agreed, that if I would not agree to this, they muſt conclude that their Claims were not meant to be conſidered, in which Caſe, "I might at once take the Country, ſince Juſtice was out of the Queſtion." This was their paſſionate Language. I for the preſent yielded to it, and referred the Claim to the Conſideration of the Board, who alone could decide upon it.

* Sic in Orig.

Vide full Explanation in Letter 7th Sept. N° 9.

(a) [Let me here be permitted to obſerve, that had the whole Claims and Expectations of the Year been perſiſted in, they would have amount † to near double the Nabob's net Revenue, viz.

† Sic in Orig.

Current Claims, — — —	76,00,000
Chunar Balance, including Donations, — —	55,00,000
Further Balance to April 1779, — —	26,00,000
Ditto, April 1780, — —	14,00,000
Major Palmer's Claims — —	82,00,000
	2,53,00,0000

Groſs Settlement,	2,25,00,000
Deduct Charges,	80,00,000
Net Revenue, -	1,45,00,000

of nominal Revenue never completely realized.

Upwards of Two Crores and a Half, beſides Arrears to Troops recalled, and Failures above explained, for which the Miniſter raiſed 25 or 26 Lacks more. The Nabob's net Revenue, to my Knowledge, never exceeded a Crore and a Half, but generally fell very ſhort of that Sum.]

The ſecond Diviſion which I have made of my Charges, is Diſobedience of ſubſequent, though connected Orders, which alludes to my Conduct at Fyzabad. In this I ſtand accuſed of diſobeying the Governor General's peremptory Commands, which I now proceed to reply to.

Upon the Nabob's Letter to the Honourable the Governor General, forwarded under Date the 2d December 1781, I received the Orders under Date the 26th of the ſame Month; my Diſobedience whereof is made the Foundation of this Charge.

I had given the ſtrongeſt Hopes of liquidating the Company's Balance, for which I ſtood pledged, from the Fruits of this Negociation; and that I ſhould be able to conclude it in Fourteen Days. I performed it within Ten Days after my Arrival at Fayzabad; and I truſt, when the Nature of this Buſineſs becomes duly conſidered, my Conduct in the Execution of it will not appear any more a criminal Diſobedience of Orders, than it was a Breach of Promiſe on theſe Orders; as I underſtood the Caſe, the Nabob had a Claim of Inheritance of his Father's Treaſures upon the Begums. The public Treaſury was unqueſtionably his Right, with the Dominions and Government that devolved upon him at his Father's Death. However, from Conſiderations of Reſpect and Attention to the Begums, the Company (upon their yielding up a Part of the Treaſures of the Deceaſed, declaring it to be the whole) agreed to ſtand between them and any Attack from the Nabob, and further guaranteed Jagheers for their Subſiſtence. The Influence of the Company's Reſident at the Court of the Vizier became the Pledge and Security of his Excellency's Agreement with his Family, and would probably have continued to the preſent Hour, had it not appeared that theſe Begums and their Agents had uſed the Property and Power, thus increaſed and preſerved by our Mediation, as Inſtruments againſt us. They fomented and joined in the Plan of a general Extirpation of the Engliſh. In return for which, the Company's Guarantee was withdrawn. I was no longer to yield to them the Protection of my Office, but leave the Nabob to the Recovery of his Rights; my Part being to take effectual Care that ſuch Recovery ſhould be converted to the Liquidation of the Company's Balance, and generally to aſſiſt the Nabob in effecting the Object. All this I did. I arrived at Fayzabad the 10th January, in Three Days; on the 13th, at Day-break, I put the Nabob in full and quiet Poſſeſſion of the Kella and Palace of the Begums, who were conſequently at his entire Mercy and Devotion. In Seven Days more, on the 20th, the Buſineſs was concluded. Under that Date, I informed the Governor General of my Succeſs, to which he replied in Terms that encouraged me to hope my Conduct and complete Succeſs in that very delicate Buſineſs had met his Approbation; and that the Juſtification of my firſt Proceedings, offered in my Addreſs of the 5th February, would be admitted. The whole Buſineſs took up but Ten Days. I had promiſed Fourteen from the Day of March.

Vid. my Letters from Fayzabad.

Vide Letters N° 10 & 11.

Vide Letter N° 12.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 551.

I ſet

I ſet out the 4th from Lucknow, which carries me Two Days beyond my Promiſe: But had it taken Twenty Days, or even a Month, it could not, I flatter myſelf, be termed a long or unwarrantable Delay, when the Importance of the Buſineſs, and the peculiar Embarraſſments attending the Proſecution of it to its deſired End, are conſidered. The Nabob was Son to the Begum we were to proceed againſt. A Son againſt a Mother muſt at leaſt ſave Appearances in his Mode of proceeding. The Produce of his Negociation was to be received by the Company. Receiving a Benefit, accompanying the Nabob, withdrawing their Protection, were Circumſtances ſufficient to mark the Engliſh as the principal Movers in this Buſineſs. At a Court where no Opportunity is loſt to throw Odium upon us, ſo favourable an Occaſion was not miſſed to perſuade the Nabob that we inſtigated him to diſhonour his Family for our Benefit. The Impreſſions made by ſuch Suggeſtions conſtantly retarded the Progreſs, and more than once actually broke off the Buſineſs, which rendered the utmoſt Caution on my Part neceſſary, eſpecially as I had no Aſſiſtance to expect from the Miniſters, who could not openly move in the Buſineſs. In the Eaſt, it is well known that no Man, either by himſelf or his Troops, can enter the Walls of a Zenanâ, ſcarcely in the Caſe of acting againſt an open Enemy, much leſs of an Ally, an Ally acting againſt his own Mother. The outward Walls, and the Begum's Agents, were all that were liable to immediate Attack. They were dealt with, and ſucceſsfully, as the Event proved. I therefore confidently truſt, if it ſhall appear to the Honourable Board, as it does to me, that the Spirit and main Object of my Orders were ſtrictly adhered to and fulfilled, that they will not longer hold me criminal for a Deviation from the preciſe Letter of them.

Of this Delicacy a noble Inſtance was ſhewn to our infinite Credit at Bidjey Gheer,

The Third and laſt Diviſion of my Charge relates to the current Buſineſs of my Office, unconnected with the immediate Objects of the Treaty; this includes Want of political Information, exemplified in the Flight of Almaſs Ally Cawn; Employment of Troops; Diſorders in the Nabob's Country, &c.

In Anſwer to this Charge, I muſt be permitted to obſerve, that beſides the general Information contained in my Liſt of my Public Correſpondence hereto ſubjoined †, immediately after my Arrival at Lucknow, on the 2d October 1781, I gave a complete and particular Detail ‡ of the ſpreading of the Rebellion (influenced by Rajah Cheyt Sing) throughout the Country, with the Teſtimony of Colonel Hannay and other Officers, which was afterwards confirmed in fuller Detail, by the Depoſitions taken on the Spot by Sir Elijah Impey. After this nothing new in that Line occurred, the Rebellion every Day, and in every Quarter, ſubſiding, not encreaſing. Thoſe who roſe in ſupport of the Begum, my Letters from Fayzabad ſtated, but they roſe and fell with the Buſineſs; excepting One of the Aids ſought by the Begums in Bulbudder Sing, who, in ſpite of all our Efforts to cruſh him, continued his Reſiſtance, and fell only Two Months ago.

† N° 13.

‡ Vide Letter 17th October N° 14.

The Death of Nudjiff Cawn, with all the Conſequences, probable and actual, attendant on that Event, I duly noticed in a Series of Letters, to which I beg leave to refer §.

§ N° 15, containing Letters of the following Dates; viz. 24th Feb. 9th April, 10th April. Two Letters, 15th ditto. 14th Sept. 15th ditto. 19th ditto.

The ſuppoſed Rebellion and Flight of Almaſs Ally Cawn, I informed the Board, upon my Return to Lucknow in September, was a premature Report, as I had always conſidered and treated it. ‖

The only material Occurrence worthy the Honourable Board's Information relative to the Nabob's interior Government, was the Aſſaſſination of Mirza Abdoola Beg, Aumil of Gorruckpore; which proceeded not from any Diſorders in the Country, but an unfortunate Diſpute with Two of his own immediate Dependents. This Accident was duly communicated to the Board, as well as the Meaſures that had been taken to avert any bad Conſequences, under Date the 27th May 1782 ¶.

‖ Vide Letter of the 7th Sep. N° 16.

¶ Vid. Letter N° 82.

To the other Article, Employment of Troops, I have to obſerve, that there were fewer Regiments on Service in the Nabob's Country, during the Year 1189, than in many, I believe I might affirm any, the preceding Years ſince the preſent Nabob's Acceſſion to the Muſnud, although more might in Reaſon have been expected to be wanted, upon withdrawing of the Stations of Futty Ghur and Daranaghur. The Engliſh Regiments under Colonel Hannay acroſs the Gogra, Captain Gall in Rohilcund, Major Clarke at Allahabad, and Captain Plowden at Lucknow;—theſe regular and other Troops occupied the whole Country in every Direction in former Years. Notwithſtanding Major Crabb's Regiment at Khyrabad, Major Lucas's acroſs the Gogra, Two Regiments in the Doawb, and others were employed, and ſtill more wanted; inſtead of all theſe, in a very turbulent Year, when a Rebellion had ſpread acroſs the Country, only Four Regiments were employed; of theſe Four, Major Nailor's had been called over during the Heat of the Inſurrection at Benares, and ſent to Colonel Hannay's Relief, even before I reached Lucknow.—Another, Major Griffin's, was, in conſequence of the Orders regarding the Fayzabad Buſineſs, called in to put the Begums Jaghires into the Nabob's Hands. A Third moved in conſequence of the Orders of the Board reſpecting Furruckabad, although firſt called in by me in conſequence of the Fayzabad Buſineſs; which had brought Bulbudder Sing into the Begum's Jaghire. The Fourth was obtained by my Aſſiſtant Mr. Johnſon, on an Application to Colonel Blair, in my Abſence, upon his having returned the 23d Regiment (late Major Naylor's) to Dinapore.

Theſe

These are all the Regiments that I directly or indirectly used *(a)*. I say all, because I take it for granted the new Treaty Regiments stationed at Lucknow, for particular Purposes explained in the Treaty, can have no Reference to my Charge.

In a State of almost general Revolt, and the total Recall of 18 Regiments and Battalions of Infantry, and Two of Cavalry, I might, without exposing myself to the Charge of making too free an Use of the Power given me by my Instructions *(b)*, have called in as many Troops at least as were used in Times of Peace and Quiet, when all these were in being, and fully stationed for the Nabob's Service; consequently I must hope, I shall not appear criminal in the Judgment of the Honourable Board, when I shew that myself and Assistant in my Absence, of our own Motion only called in Two Regiments, and One of those in Exchange for another returned into Cantonments.

I cannot conclude this Address without offering my Apology to the Honourable Board for the long Intrusion I have been compelled to make upon them. I will not trespass longer on their Time; but here close what I have to urge in Vindication of my Conduct on the Charges preferred against me.

If in the course of the foregoing Recital, supported by the several Vouchers I have annexed, I shall have shewn, that I accomplished the grand Objects of the Treaty by liquidating not only the Balance I stood pledged for, but the new Claim from the Presidency; that I effected the several Regulations prescribed by my Instructions to bring about this Liquidation by the total Resumption of the Jaghires (excepting Fayzoola Cawn's only), and the Arrangement and Reduction of the Mooteyna; that I further fulfilled the Objects of my Orders respecting the Begums at Fayzabad, within Ten Days after my Arrival there; and finally that I discharged the current Business and Duties of my Station by realizing the current Claims, quelling the Insurrection extending from Benares to the Extremity of Rohilcund, and subduing such other Disturbances as are perpetually arising from the Turbulence of the Zemindars without the Aid of more Troops than shall be found to have been employed in former Years; I assure myself, from the Justice of the Honourable Board, that they will declare me fully acquitted of the Responsibility with which I was charged at the Conclusion of the Treaty, and deem me warranted in the Belief I had formed, that my Recall was the necessary Consequence of Obedience to the Orders of the Court of Directors in favour of my Successor, and not for any Delinquency or Misconduct on my Part.

Earnestly intreating the Honourable Board to relieve my anxious Suspense, by indulging me with as early a Decision on my Conduct as may suit with their more important Occupations,

I have the Honour to subscribe myself, with the highest Respect,

Calcutta, 30th June 1783. (Signed) Nath. Middleton.

P. S. I have thought it unnecessary to mention that I have made no Distinction, in quoting my Public Correspondence, between Letters addressed to the Board and to the Governor General; the Orders of the Honourable Board of the Third July 1781 (never since revoked) precluding the Necessity of such Distinction. *Vide Orders N° 21.*

Such Subjects as could not, without Interruption, be brought into this collective Statement of my Conduct, I have placed opposite the Charges they respectively regard, and request they may be received as a Part of my Answer to the Charges.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

List of Appendix.

No. 1. Charges against Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, with his Answers.
2. Letter from Resident, 11th February 1782, inclosing Letter from Vizier respecting Revenue and Mooteyna Reform.
3. Translation of a Letter from the Minister to Resident on the same Subject.
4. Letter from Resident, 10th March 1782, proposing Three English Regiments to be maintained from Mooteyna Savings.
5. Ditto, 25th March 1782, explains of what had been done in the Treaty and Instructions.
6. Ditto, 17th August 1782, respecting Removal of unlicensed Europeans from Lucknow.
7. Chunar Treaty, and Instructions to the Resident.

(a) I should have mentioned that Major Nicol's Regiment when relieved at Lucknow, was directed to take the Route of Khysabad, on its Return to Cantonments, instead of proceeding the direct Road. Such Alteration of the Route was of Importance to the new Aumil, who was then entering on his Charge, and could not make more than Three or Four Days Difference in the Arrival of the Regiment at Cawnpore.

(b) Of calling for Troops when I wanted them.

8. Letter from Reſident, 21ſt February 1782, noticing Company's new Balance 26 Lacks, and Propoſal to realize it.
9. Letter from Reſident, 7th September 1782, Anſwer to Board's Letter of 11th July 1782; Recapitulation of my Conduct in the Execution of the Treaty, and Anſwer to Board's Complaints.
10. Ditto, 20th January 1782, informing of the Concluſion of the Fayzabad Negociation.
11. Letter from the Governor General, in Reply to the above, dated 27th January.
12. Letter from Reſident, 5th February 1782, Exculpation of my firſt Proceedings at Fayzabad.
13. Liſt of Reſident's Public Correſpondence, from Concluſion of Chunar Treaty to my Recall.
14. Letter from Reſident, 17th October 1781, Narrative of Rebellion ſpread by Cheyt Sing.
15. Series of Letters from Reſident, different Dates, reſpecting Nudzif Cawn's Death, and Conſequences.
16. Letter from Reſident, 7th September 1782, Refutation of the Report of Almaſs Ally Cawn's Flight.
17. Letter from Reſident, 17th September 1782, adviſing complete Execution of Mooteyana Reform by ſtationing an Agent of my own in each Aumildarry, ſuggeſting the Expediency of carrying the Article of the Treaty reſpecting Fayzpola Cawn into Execution.
18. Letter from Reſident, 30th December 1781, forwarding Account of Current Claims and Liſt of Aſſignments taken to ſatisfy them for the Year 1189.
19. Extracts of Letters from Reſident, under ſeveral Dates, communicating the Intrigues and ſuſpicious Conduct of Fayzoola Cawn.
20. Extract of Letter from the Honourable Board, 11th July 1782, reſpecting Furruckabad.
21. Letter from the Honourable Board, dated 3d July 1781, informing of the Honourable the Governor General's intended Expedition, and ordering me thenceforward to conſider him as the Board.
22. Letter from the Reſident, 27th May 1782, Aſſaſſination of the Aumil of Gorruckpore—Meaſures taken in conſequence.

No. I.

Charges againſt Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, with his Anſwers.

Charge the 1ſt.

For leaving unexecuted the ſeveral Articles of the Governor General's peremptory Orders and Inſtructions to you, dated at Chunar the 20th September 1781, notwithſtanding theſe Inſtructions enjoined and commanded your ſtricteſt Obedience, and were, both by the Vizier's formal Agreement, on which they were founded, and by the Tenor of them, intended to be carried into immediate Effect, the Object of them being the Reduction of the Vizier's Debt to the Company, which was in a conſtant State of Accumulation; and a conſciouſneſs of it ſeemed implied in your Firſt Letter from Lucknow, dated 4th October 1781, which contained the following Words: "We have "not yet been able to enter on any Buſineſs of "any Moment, but you may reſt aſſured no "Time ſhall be unneceſſarily conſumed." And in your Letter of the 12th October, where you write in the moſt preſſing Terms for the Recall of the late temporary Brigade, as being a Part of the Reform; and notwithſtanding the Governor General, on the 26th December following, finding that you had not to that Time

Anſwer to the 1ſt Charge.

This I have fully anſwered in my Firſt Diviſion of my Charges in the accompanying Addreſs. I arrived at Lucknow only on the 2d of October; a Letter therefore of the 4th, however expreſſed, could not mean to acknowledge a Conſciouſneſs of Neglect or unneceſſary Delay; ſince it muſt be evident to every one that much more than Two Days would be required to concert the Means of carrying ſuch weighty Points into Execution. If I wrote preſſingly on the 12th, reſpecting the Troops removed by Treaty, it muſt be adverted to, that I could not with Propriety enforce our Claim upon the Nabob for his Part of the Treaty whilſt it was in his Power to plead that the previous Steps, upon which his Conditions were founded, had not yet taken place; and further, if on the 26th December it did appear that the Regulations had not been fulfilled, it muſt be remembered that I had the whole Year before me, within which Period I entertained the moſt ſanguine and well-grounded Expectations of accompliſhing the grand Object of the Treaty. Rough and haſty Meaſures might have

Time taken any Steps towards accompliſhing the Treaty in the Points in which the Vizier had engaged the Interference of our Government, wrote to you, that "the Reformation "of the Vizier's Army, and the new Settle- "ment of his Revenues, were Points of im- "mediate Concern, and ought to be imme- "diately concluded;" and added, "I now "demand and require you moſt ſolemnly to "anſwer me: Are you confident in your own "Ability to accompliſh all theſe Purpoſes, and "the other Points of my Inſtructions? If you "reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet "and aſſured Mind to the Preſidency, but "leave you a dreadful Reſponſibility if you "diſappoint me. If you tell me that you "cannot rely on your Power, and the other "Means which you poſſeſs, for performing "theſe Services, I will free you from the "Charge. I will proceed myſelf to Lucknow, "and I will myſelf undertake them."—"I "confidently reply that I am fully competent "to undertake and effect the Completion of "the Reform upon the Grounds ſtated in my "Anſwer to the Fourth Paragraph, and there- "fore again repeat that your coming here is "unneceſſary." Your Anſwer to the Fourth Paragraph admits, that you have erred in ſuppoſing that the Reform was not meant to take place that Year; and adds, that "the Inſtant "the Fyzabad Buſineſs is finiſhed, which can- "not take more than One Fortnight from the "Day of marching there, I ſhall take ſuch "Steps as the Means in my Power will admit "of, towards procuring from the Nabob Or- "ders to each Aumil to pay his groſs Reve- "nues to the Miniſters, and to receive the Pay "of their Troops, being reduced into regular "muſtered Eſtabliſhments, from the General "Treaſury; and ſhould he refuſe, I will iſſue "my own, together with thoſe of the Mini- "ſters to that Purpoſe;" and further, "that "theſe Three Points complete the Heads of "your (the Governor General's) Recommenda- "tion to the Nabob." Upon the Strength of theſe Aſſurances, the Governor General deſiſted from his Intention to viſit Lucknow, as he hoped it would be unneceſſary, and returned immediately to the Preſidency, leaving upon you the Reſponſibility he had denounced.

Charge the 2d.

For giving not only precipitate and unwarranted Aſſurances, as above quoted, but contradictory Information of Facts; for, by your Letters of the 11th February 1782 to the Governor General, you ſay, you encloſe from the Vizier, "informing him of the Compli- "ance with the only Points that remained un- "finiſhed of his Part of the late Agreements, "&c." and add, "I have, in Confirmation of "the above-mentioned Letter, received One "from the Miniſter, informing me of the Ac- "compliſhment of this Reform; from which, "with the total Reſumption of all Jagheers, "which is now perfectly completed, I have every "Reaſon to hope for the moſt beneficial Re- "ſult,

* Sic in Orig.

have cauſed a total Failure—I ſucceeded without them—I was confident I ſhould ſucceed—I therefore, without a Moment's Heſitation, made the Anſwer ſtated in this Charge; and the Event, when weighed upon my preſent Repreſentation, will, I truſt, ſhew that I was well grounded and juſtified in ſo doing. With regard to the Meaſures preſcribed by the Treaty, I * underſtood that I was directly to interfere in the Nabob's Management further than might be neceſſary to enſure the Liquidation of the Company's Balance, which my Inſtructions hold out to me as the Drift and chief Aim of the Treaty. This End I obtained; the Reſponſibility I muſt therefore again expreſs my Hope ſtands diſcharged by my Accounts of 1189 having not One Anna Balance upon them all. Preceding annual Accounts had many Lacks Balance on them.

Anſwer to the 2d Charge.

However my Anxiety to diſcharge my Duty to the Public, and acquit myſelf of the Reſponſibility with which I ſtood charged, may have made me precipitate in ſtating my Proceedings, or however Inaccuracy of Style, or the Want of connecting Expletives, may have cauſed my Informations ſometimes to appear contradictory, I ſhall not ſeek to occupy much of the Honourable Board's Time in attempting to give a better Gloſs to my Words. My chief Study and Hope have been to obtain their Approbation to my Actions; for which Reaſon I have endeavoured to bring them in a collective View before them as clearly as it has laid in my Power; for any Inaccuracies, Omiſſions;

or

" ſult, and that every Part of this Govern-
" ment will now be in a State of Regularity
" and Tranquillity ſcarcely ever before ex-
" perienced."

" I alſo truſt that you will now deem every
" Wiſh expreſſed in your Inſtructions to me
" performed." Again, in your Letter to the Governor of the 10th March following, you ſay, " Having ſucceeded in the Impreſſion
" which I wiſhed to make on the Miniſters,
" and the Reduction which has been made in
" the Nabob's Mooteyana Troops ſtrengthen-
" ing the Ground I had argued on, I availed
" myſelf of this Opportunity to propoſe an
" Eſtabliſhment of the Company's Troops." In your Letter to him of the 20th of that Month, you ſay, " In order to complete the
" Check you have directed over the Mooteyana and their Payment, I have been neceſ-
" ſitated to appoint an Aumeen to receive and
" remit to me the Collections of Letafut Ally
" Cawn's Jaidads, &c." And in your Letter of the 25th March 1782, addreſſed to the Governor General, you defined the particular Manner in which the ſeveral Parts of your Inſtructions had been carried into Execution; but by your Letter of the 17th September 1782, addreſſed to the Board, you only then declare, that you had ſtationed an Agent of your own in each Aumildarry throughout thoſe Provinces as Muſter-maſter of the Mooteyana Troops, and ſay, " that you could not with
" Propriety have taken ſo deciſive a Line in
" this Buſineſs at an earlier Period, as the
" Nabob and Miniſters returning to the Ca-
" pital ſo late as the Month of October, found
" themſelves obliged to continue the Aumils
" already in Employ in their reſpective Truſts,
" or riſk by new Appointments at that ad-
" vanced Seaſon, the Loſs of the whole Collec-
" tions on the Keeriff or Firſt Crop, amounting
" to Two Fifths of the Aumial Revenue, and
" the ſame Circumſtances involved the Neceſ-
" ſity of leaving their Agreements nearly in the
" Form in which they ſtood in the preceding
" Year. Hence it became difficult and danger-
" ous to take any immediate Steps for the In-
" troduction of the Governor General's Ar-
" rangements, beyond laying the Foundations
" of a future Reform, which was duly at-
" tended to; and theſe I can now ſecurely
" build upon, as, by availing myſelf of this
" early Period, every Amil is apprized of the
" Terms on which he embarks, and left with-
" out Excuſe for any Failure in his Engage-
" ments." And then deferring till September 1782, what you thought it too late in the Seaſon to carry into Execution in October 1781, although you had urgent and poſitive Orders for doing it immediately, and although you reported the actual Performance thereof to have been paſſed in your Letters above quoted.

or Contradictions, not affecting my eſſential Duty, I muſt crave their Indulgence. But as it is my ſincere Deſire to yield the Honourable Board the utmoſt Satisfaction I am able upon every Head on which I ſtand accuſed; I will intrude upon them a few Moments in reſpect to the Two contradictory Letters alluded to in this Charge. The Caſe was thus: On the 11th February * I addreſſed the Governor General, and encloſed the Nabob's Letters; ſtating that the Plan of œconomical Arrangements, directed by the Treaty, had been as far executed as it then could, that is, by the Court's having iſſued Orders throughout the Country conſonant to the Modes laid down. The Efficacy of thoſe Orders, and the Mode of executing them, could not be immediately apparent. In the Execution, the Irregularity and Confuſion, and in ſome Points the Duplicity, of Eaſtern Government, ultimately became too obvious; I then confirmed what they had done, by joining throughout Agents of my own. This I informed the Board of, under Date 17th September (*a*), without obſerving to connect it with had been written before, as now explained; which Omiſſion I truſt is the Extent of the Crime the Honourable Board will ſee fit to charge me with under this Article.

* Vide N° 2.

(*a*) Vide No. 17. Note, In this Letter it is propoſed that Four of the Company's Regiments ſhould be introduced, amounting to 12 Lacks *per annum*, in lieu of the reduced Mooteyana, the Savings of which had before been declared only equal to the Maintenance of Three Regiments.

Charge

Charge the 3d.

For theſe and other Contradictions and Inconſiſtencies particularly pointed out to you in the Governor General's Letters, dated 1ſt and 3d January 1782.

Anſwer to the 3d Charge.

This being a Part of the foregoing Charge, containing no new Matter, my Anſwer of courſe includes it.

Charge the 4th.

For not reporting to the Governor General, or to the Board, the Progreſs which you had made from Time to Time in your Endeavours to comply with his Inſtructions; and if you met with any Impediments in the Execution of them, for omitting to ſtate theſe Impediments, and to apply for freſh Orders upon them.

Anſwer to the 4th Charge.

Annexed is my Liſt of Public Correſpondence. It contained Information of all the Impediments I met with. I do not recollect meeting with any material Difficulties or Impediments, or I ſhould undoubtedly have repreſented them, and applied for freſh Orders.

Charge the 5th.

For Diſobedience to the Governor General's peremptory Orders of the 26th December 1781, contained in the following Words: "I "approve the Nabob's Reſolution to deprive "the Begums of their ill-employed Treaſures. "In both Services it muſt be your Care to "prevent an Abuſe of the Power given to "thoſe that are employed in them. You "yourſelf ought to be perſonally preſent. "You muſt not allow any Negociation or Forbearance, but muſt proſecute both Services "until the Begums are at the entire Mercy of "the Nabob, &c." Whereas by a Letter from Major Naylor to the Governor General, dated at Camp Kella Fyzabad, 14th January 1782, it is declared as follows: "After my Arrival, "a Couple of Days paſſed in Negociation, but "without Effect; and the Party in the Town, "collecting and hourly gaining Strength, at "length, after mature Deliberation, it was re"ſolved that I ſhould, with my Regiment and "Four Guns, ſtorm the Town, which I ef"fected the 12th in the Morning." And by this Diſobedience of the Order, which forbade any Negociation or Forbearance, you allowed Time for Oppoſition, which evidently had been meditated, to take its full Effect, and for the Concealment of the Wealth *(a)* which was in the Begum's Poſſeſſion, as is acknowledged by your Letter of the 18th January to the Governor General. Your Letter of the 5th February is not a ſufficient Exculpation from this Charge, as the Forbearance alluded to was before the Attack of the Kella, and not "after "the Begums were to be conſidered as entirely "at the Mercy of the Nabob," which is the Time it alludes to. It might be good Policy, after they were ſo reduced, to obſerve a temporizing Conduct, becauſe the Treaſure was then concealed, and none but the Acceſſaries to its Concealment were acquainted with the Places where it was depoſited.

Anſwer to the 5th Charge.

This ſtands fully anſwered and explained in my Second Diviſion of my Charges in the accompanying Letter.

(a) Note, The Treaſure of the Begums had been concealed long before we arrived at Fayzabad, and the Two principal Eunuchs, who alone were privy to its Concealment, had taken refuge in the Begum's private Apartments upon the Alarm of our Approach; from whence, under the Circumſtances ſtated in my Anſwer to the Second Diviſion of my Charge, it would have been extremely difficult, perhaps abſolutely impoſſible, to have ſecured them by any other Means than by Negociation. Their Eſcape would probably have defeated One great Purpoſe of this Buſineſs, as even the Begums themſelves did not know where their Treaſures were concealed.

Charge the 6th.

For neglecting to realize the whole of the Vizier's Debt to the Company at the End of the Year 1189 Fuſſulee, notwithſtanding your repeated Aſſurances that it ſhould be completely liquidated by that Time, and in particular the Aſſurances contained in your Letter to the Governor General, dated 6th December 1781, "that from the Begums alone "you had no Doubt of the complete Liqui-"dation of the Company's Balance."

Anſwer to the 6th Charge.

A Reference to my Accounts for 1189 would leave me little to ſay in Anſwer to this Charge; I have however further explained myſelf on this Subject in my Reply to the Firſt Diviſion of my Charges. The Amount received from the Begums did preciſely diſcharge the Balance alluded to on the 6th December. It amounted to 44 Lacks, and was the Balance I had pledged myſelf for.

Charge the 7th.

For neglecting to ſecure the Means of liquidating this Debt, by only taking Tuncaws, or Aſſignments upon the Country for the Sum of Rupees 76,37,458, when you muſt have known that the Demand on the Vizier for that Year (1189) would amount to more than double that Sum.

Anſwer to the 7th Charge.

My Reaſons for limiting the Company's Aſſignments for the Year 1189 to Rupees 76,37,458, are ſtated at large in my Addreſſes of the 30th December 1781, and 7th September 1782*, to which I refer. They were equal to the eſtimated Amount of the Current Claims. The Company's Balance was to be paid from Fayzabad; and theſe Two comprehended all the then known Company's Claims upon the Nabob.

*N° 18 and 9.

Charge the 8th.

For omitting, according to annual Cuſtom and the poſitive Orders of the Board, to ſend down to them a regular Account of the Demands upon the Vizier for the Year 1189, and of the Aſſignments taken to ſatisfy thoſe Demands, and for accepting the Aſſignments without the Authority of the Board.

Anſwer to the 8th Charge.

Upon referring to my Addreſs of the 30th December 1781, No. 18, it will appear that the Account of the Demands on the Vizier for the Year 1189, together with a Liſt of the Aſſignments taken for the Satisfaction of them, were as uſual forwarded, and afterwards particularly referred to by me under Date the 7th September, No. 9, in Anſwer to a ſimilar Charge conveyed by the Board's Commands of the 7th July preceding; the Aſſignments not being objected to, I deemed an Authority for accepting them.

Charge the 9th.

For omitting to take any Notice of the additional Balance of Rupees 26,48,571, ſtated by the Accountant General to be due from the Vizier to the Company on the 30th April 1780, and not charged to him by the Reſident, although ſuch a formal Intimation of it from the Accountant General, as you received, was at leaſt a ſufficient Authority to have induced you to apply for the Board's Orders concerning *, had you been otherwiſe dubious about admitting it; and although it aroſe from poſitive Charges and Demands upon the Vizier, which ought to have been carried immediately to his Account, and could not be in the leaſt affected by any Counter-claims of the Vizier, which, if allowed to be juſt, he might equally receive Credit for in Account at any future Time after they had been ſo allowed.

*Sic in Orig.

Anſwer to the 9th Charge.

This Amount I recovered and brought to Credit, as ſtated in my Firſt Diviſion of my Charges. Upon referring to my Addreſs of the 21ſt of February 1782, No. 8, the Honourable Board will perceive, that I did at that Period notice this Balance, and that although unfurniſhed with any Orders for realiſing it, and the Claim itſelf oppoſed with Counter-demands, I did not neglect to make the beſt Proviſion I could for it. I am happy the Board notice the Nabob's Counter-claim, as it affords me their Sanction for the very ſame Words which I uſed to the Court at Lucknow on this Occaſion.

Charge the 10th.

For anticipating the Revenues of the Vizier's Country, and burthening them with an enormous Load of Intereſt, by mortgaging Aſſignments upon them to the Shroff, at the Uſury of 2 per Cent. per Menſem, in order to accompliſh a Remittance of the above additional

Anſwer to the 10th and 11th Charge †.

†Sic in Orig.

In Anſwer to this Charge ‡, I ſhall only ſtate the Particulars of the Tranſaction to which it § applies, and leave to the Juſtice of the Honourable Board to decide upon the Merits or Demerits of my Conduct in the Share I had in it.

‡Sic in Orig.

§Sic in Orig.

The

tional Balance to the Presidency by the Means of their Bills within the Year 1789*, after having omitted to include the said Balance in the regular Assignments.

*Sic in Orig.

Charge the 11th.

For loading the Vizier's Revenues in like Manner with the further usurious Charge of 2 per Cent. per Mensem, in order to anticipate the Liquidation of the Excess of Disbursements beyond the Amount which you had received Assignments for at the Beginning of the Year 1189, by mortgaging to the Shroffs the Balances of the Assignments uncollected at the End of the said Year 1189.

The last Collections of the Balances of the Assignments annually granted for the Satisfaction of the Company's Claims upon the Nabob usually run Two Months, and often more, into the new Year, which Time elapses before the Amils can adjust their Accounts at the Capital, and be ready to depart upon their new Agreements. In order therefore to prevent the Nabob from appearing to have failed in his Part of the Execution of the Treaty of Chunar, by which he was to liquidate his Debt to the Company within that Year, and to the Performance of which, this customary Delay would have given a false Appearance, this Agreement joining in its Issue with an Advantage to the Company by a more speedy Payment and Supply, it was mutually agreed (a) to raise the Amount of the outstanding Balances from the Shroffs, they to grant Bills or Pauts as wanted for Payment at Lucknow, or Remittance to the Presidency, in Exchange for, or in Advance upon, the said Balances, which thenceforward became payable to them, the Nabob allowing them the customary Interest of the Country for their Money while they remained out of it.

The Shroffs, upon the Strength of the English Faith, accepted the Proposal, and accordingly granted the Bills for the whole Balance, as brought to Credit in my Accounts to the last Day of August transmitted to the Board. The original Deed for the Security of the Shroffs was authenticated by the Seals of the Nabob and the Ministers; and, as a further Security and Satisfaction to them, I also was compelled to yield them an Obligation under my own Signature, by which, with the Nabob's Acquiescence, I stood pledged to see the Conditions of the Agreement, as stated above, duly performed. I think it necessary in this Place to observe, that I afterwards prevailed upon the Shroffs to return me the Obligation I had executed, upon Almas Ally Cawn's having, at the Solicitations of the Minister, become their Security.

The Balances thus realised by these Means, it was again proposed to the Shroffs to agree to a further Advance in like Manner of Twenty-six Lacks, to make up the Difference of Balance stated in the Nabob's Accounts at the Presidency; the Advance to be upon similar Terms with the Negociation for the Balances of the Assignments. To this they also agreed, pointedly repeating that they were stimulated by their Faith upon the English. The Nabob and Ministers signed this Agreement, but not the Resident.

The Security and Funds for Repayment of this latter, were chiefly the resumed Jaghires or alienated Estates from the Government Lands, which before formed no Part of the Nabob's Revenue, and consequently the assigning them, which in no Shape curtailed his Power or usual Resources, or interfered with those Lands upon which the Assignments for

(a) The Measure suggested and actually concluded by the Minister, I only gave my Sanction to it.

the Company were granted, could not, any more than in the preceding Caſe, be deemed an Anticipation of the Nabob's uſual Revenue; and that it did not affect his Powers, is proved by the ſeparate Grant of the Company's Aſſignments for the Year 1190, made at the ſame Time, and iſſued with the Orders for the Payment of the Shroffs.

Charge the 12th.

For endeavouring to conceal from us the Knowledge of the Rebellion of Almaſs Ally Cawn, the Vizier's principal Renter, by ſtudiouſly avoiding the Mention of his Diſobedience and Flight, which, from the Treaſures and Forces he carried with him, threatened to involve the Vizier's Country in a State of Warfare.

Anſwer to the 12th Charge.

This Rebellion and Flight I never believed, but always denied. When I left Lucknow with the Governor General's Permiſſion in June 1782, I left Almaſs Ally Cawn peaceably occupied in the Duties of his Aumildarry, and ſo I found him on my Return the Beginning of September following.

My Letter of the 7th of that Month, No. 16, informed the Board that I had found the Reports of Almaſs Ally Cawn's Flight premature. Under the Influence of this Statement I cannot be held criminal, ſince I could not endeavour to conceal what I did not know or believe exiſted.

Charge the 13th.

For afterwards purſuing Meaſures to increaſe the Power of Almaſs Ally Cawn (already too formidable for a Subject), by procuring for him, on his Return to Lucknow, a Grant of additional Diſtricts, on the Condition of his becoming bound to the Shroffs for the Payment of the Tuncaws or Aſſignments in their favour, and thereby realiſing your own Security to them for the Liquidation of thoſe Tuncaws.

Anſwer to the 13th Charge.

I purſued no Meaſure to this Effect. The Miniſter himſelf did this firſt, and aſked my Concurrence afterwards. This Concurrence I could not deny him upon the Grounds of the Treaty, and the 4th and 5th Articles of the Inſtructions I acted under. If he was too great for a Subject, it would ſeem to me it was ſo much to our Benefit, after the Proof he gave of his Attachment to the Engliſh when the Combination appeared, and was deemed univerſal againſt us. I at this Moment believe him poſſeſſed of the ſame favourable Sentiments towards us. I hope the Day is far off to prove this Aſſertion.

Charge the 14th.

For neglecting to adviſe us of the Diſturbance at Daranagur, when Two of the Vizier's Battalions were attacked and diſperſed by a Body of Fyzoola Cawn's Horſe; and the Conſequences might have been more ſerious from this Effect, although it appears to have proceeded from a private Fray, and was * authoriſed and unknown by Fyzoola Cawn.

* ic in Orig.

Anſwer to the 14th Charge.

This Charge has alſo been laid againſt my Aſſiſtant. He was at Lucknow when the Event happened—I was at Patna. He has given his Reaſons for not addreſſing the Board on this Head.

Charge the 15th.

For neglecting on every other Occaſion of Diſaffection or Diſturbance in the Vizier's Aumils to report them to the Board, although conſiderable Detachments were made from † Brigade to quell ſuch Diſturbances by your own Requiſition, or that of your Aſſiſtant, Mr. Richard Johnſon.

† Sic in Orig.

Anſwer to the 15th Charge.

I have ſaid that no conſiderable Events of the Nature here alluded to did occur, excepting what my Letters regarding Colonel Hannay, and the ſubſequent ones reſpecting the Begums and the Fayzabad Buſineſs, ſtated. The Detachments I obtained from the Brigade, I have alſo explained and ſtated at Length in my Third Diviſion of my Charge in the accompanying Letter.

Charge the 16th.

For concealing from us a Knowledge of the State of the Vizier's Dominions, and when you

Anſwer to the 16th Charge.

I know no eſſential Occurrence that I omitted to inform the Board of, far leſs that I attempted

you knew them to be under such precarious Dependance as to require the constant Awe of Military Force to prevent a Civil War, from the Machinations of rebellious Zemindars; when you knew likewise that we were surrounded by Enemies (the Peace of the Mahrattas not having then been ratified at Poona); for endeavouring at such a Crisis to increase the Number of our Enemies, and consequently an Expedition, in concert with the Vizier, to deprive Fyzoola Cawn of his Zemindarry, although you acknowledge in the same Letter, that "the Possession * of Fyzoola Cawn are so "situated, that there is no Possibility of cut-"ting off his Retreat whenever he might "choose to attempt it. And again, that there "can be no Doubt but Zabita Cawn, with "whom he is closely connected, and keeps up "a constant Intercourse, would seize any "Opening which might yield him the faintest "Hopes of recovering his hereditary Posses-"sions in Rohilcund."

* Sic in Orig.

Calcutta,
30th June, 1783.

tempted to conceal. No Force I ever employed during the Year was considered by me to be employed to prevent a Civil War, excepting what I stated from Fyzabad; and even there, no Part of the Country ever promised to rise exclusively of the Begum's own Jaguire. The Turbulence of the Zemindars or Jageirdars never to me bore the Appearance of tending to a Civil War; Disturbances arising from Disputes among the Zemindars themselves, or with the Officers of Government upon withholding their Revenue, could not deserve that Name. Such happened almost every Day, but they were never considered in any serious Light, and subsided with the first Efforts of Government to subdue them. With regard to Fyzulla Khan, he was particularly mentioned in the Treaty and my Instructions. He has long caused great Uneasiness to the Nabob, who constantly combats the Policy of that Chief's Position. I communicated in several Letters (vide No. 19.) my increasing Distrust of him: Nothing but a proper Time was understood to be required to delay the Change in his Situation, as agreed upon in the Treaty. The Inexpediency and Danger of continuing Jagheirs so fully proved in September 1781 applied most directly to his Situation: There appeared to me an urgent Necessity at all Events for checking the Conduct he was pursuing, which evidently aimed at Independency and an Increase of Strength, by Connections with Powers notoriously disaffected to the Vizier's Government. Early Periods are best to act upon well * Suspicions well grounded; and I was † no Obstacle which could, in my Judgment, operate as a valid Objection against the Measure I proposed. Hostilities with the Mahrattas on this Side of India (although the Peace was not ratified at Poona) had ceased, and our Detachment, which had been acting against Mahadajie Sindia, in consequence returned within the Provinces. The Powers to the Westward were too much occupied with their own Dissensions, and the Events succeeding the Death of Nudjif Cawn, to be able, or attempt, to afford any Assistance to Fyzulla Cawn. The Nabob's own Country was in Peace: This therefore, to my Judgment, appeared as favourable and unexceptionable a Conjuncture as was ever likely to occur, to enforce the Article of the Treaty respecting this Chief, which was to give him a Stipend in Money equal to the Income of his Jageer instead of Land. It did not absolutely follow that a Rupture was to ensue; and it would have been his own Fault if it had happened. These were my Motives for the Recommendation contained in my Letter of the 17th September, No. 17. To which I shall only further add, that I stated the Case, and left the Period, Mode, and Approbation, or total Rejection, to the Board.

* Sic in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

No. II.

No. II.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I have the Honour herewith to tranſmit a Letter addreſſed to you by the Nabob Vizier, informing you of his Compliance with the only Points that remain unfiniſhed of his Part of the late Agreement made with you, by having changed the Mode of the Receipt of his Revenues, now ordered to be all paid at the Huzzoor, to the Miniſters by whom all the Tuncawdars and Mooteynah, &c. are to be paid, the Nabob firſt paying himſelf the Expences of his private Purſe, eſtimated at the Medium Receipts of the laſt Three Years.

I have, in confirmation of the above-mentioned Letter, received one from the Miniſter, informing me of the Accompliſhment of this Reform, from which, with the total Reſumption of all Jagheers, which is now perfectly completed, I have every Reaſon to hope for the moſt beneficial Reſult, and that every Part of this Government will now be in a State of Regularity and Tranquillity before * experienced.

* Sic in Orig.

I alſo truſt that you will now deem every Wiſh expreſſed in your Inſtructions to me fully performed.

I have the Honour to be, with great Reſpect,
Sir, your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow, the 11th Feb. 1782.

A true Copy, Nath. Middleton.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn to Mr. Middleton.

I have been honoured with your Letter of the 1ſt Rubbee ul awal; you write, "That, correſpondent to the Tenor of the Purwannahs iſſued to the Aumils by his Highneſs, in conformity to the Treaty, to remit their Revenue to the Preſence, that the Pay of the Mooteyna and Tunkadars might in future be iſſued from thence, I alſo ſhould iſſue my Orders:" Correſpondent to his Highneſs's Perwannahs, I have written Letters to the Aumils. In future, the Pay of the Mooteyna and Tuncawdars will not be iſſued by the Aumils, but by the Officers of Government at the Preſence appointed for that Purpoſe. It is expedient that you alſo notice this to the Aumils in the ſame Manner.

A true Tranſlation.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

To the Honoourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Upon the Spirit of your former Orders, relative to the Appointment of a Detachment under Sir John Cumming, for the Support and Protection of the Vizier's internal Government, and your ſubſequent Letters declaratory of your Senſe of the Footing on which the ſubſidiary Brigade muſt be underſtood to remain with his Excellency, I have had repeated Converſations with the Miniſters, endeavouring to ſhew the Impropriety of making Detachments from the Frontier Brigade, originally intended ſolely for the Nabob's Dominions againſt a foreign Enemy, for the Aſſiſtance of the Aumils, or rather ordinary Services of the Collections, and to convince them of the Impoſſibility of continuing that Practice, now that the whole effective Force of the Country was reduced to One Brigade, without perverting the obvious Deſign of its Eſtabliſhment, and thereby riſking Conſequences to the Honourable Company's Arms and his Excellency's Government, which is † equally behoved them and myſelf to avoid; as, from the frequent Calls for ſuch Aid, the Nature of the Service, and the very remote Diſtance to which the Troops were occaſionally ſent, either ‡ the neceſſary Attention to their Diſcipline could be paid, nor their Rejunction effected upon any Emergency which might call for the immediate Exertion of the whole Force of the Brigade.

† Sic in Orig.

‡ Sic in Orig.

Having ſucceeded in the Impreſſion which I wiſhed to make on the Miniſters, and the Reduction which has been made in the Nabob's Mooteyna Troops ſtrengthening the Grounds I had argued upon, I availed myſelf of this Opportunity to propoſe an Eſtabliſhment of the Honourable Company's Troops, which ſhould at once obviate the Neceſſity of applying to the ſubſidiary Brigade for Aſſiſtance, and enable the Nabobs § make ſtill further Reduction on his Mooteyna and Sebundy Eſtabliſhments. Three Regiments, with their Guns and complete Artillery Eſtabliſhments, I am of opinion would anſwer this Purpoſe, and the Miniſters are now ſo thoroughly convinced of the Utility of it, that they have authoriſed me to ſubmit the Meaſure to your Conſideration, with an Aſſurance that they will cheerfully co-operate with me in carrying it into immediate Execution, ſhould it meet with your Approbation.

§ Sic in Orig.

To leave as little as poſſible for future Diſcuſſion, and that no Diſpute might ariſe about the Payment of this Eſtabliſhment, I propoſed a Subſidy of 25,000 Rupees per Menſem for each Regiment, or 75,600 for the whole; which Terms will be agreed to, and I hope be deemed ſatisfactory by you, as they will be fully adequate to every poſſible Expence of the Eſtabliſhment, without Staff or Commanding Officer, which, I preſume, you will not conſider neceſſary, as

the

the Regiments muſt of courſe always be ſtationed, and employed ſeparately, to make them anſwer the Purpoſe for which they are intended.

I loſe not a Moment, Sir, in communicating this propoſed Arrangement to you in its preſent Stage, that I may immediately receive your Sentiments and Commands upon it; and I am happy in the Opportunity which it, at the ſame Time, affords me of evincing to you the Attention which has been paid to your Orders reſpecting the Reduction of the Nabob's Mooteyna, as well as the inſtant beneficial Effect of them, ſince the Expence of the Eſtabliſhment I now propoſe it to be defrayed from that Fund, without the ſmalleſt additional Charge to the Nabob's Government.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect, Sir,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,

Lucknow, the 10th March 1782.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

True Copy, (Signed) Nath. Middleton.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I have received the Honour of your Commands, under Date the 27th February.

I had carried the original Treaty down with me, in obedience to your Orders of the 19th December, but having determined, upon Receipt of your Firſt above-mentioned Letter, to return immediately to my Station, I have brought it back with me, and ſhall now forward it by the firſt ſafe Conveyance.

In obedience to the Explanation you require of the general Aſſertion, that the Objects of the late Treaty have been fulfilled; I now proceed to recapitulate unitedly what I have hitherto in detached Letters taken the Liberty of ſubmitting to you; and for Regularity I ſhall take up the Paragraphs of your Inſtructions accompanying the Chunar Treaty, in the Order they ſtand.

Paragraph the Firſt requires the Execution of the ſeveral Articles of the Treaty, being Five in Number.

The Firſt has been fully effected by the complete Payment of all Arrears and the March of the temporary and Cavalry Brigade into the Provinces. Nothing remains but the Return or Adjuſtment of the Value of the Stores furniſhed by the Nabob when the temporary Brigade was firſt eſtabliſhed, of which only Nine Pieces of Field Artillery have yet been returned by Colonel Morgan. The encloſed is a Letter from the Nabob upon the Subject.

Mr. Wombwell's Office has been fully paid off and diſcharged, and all the Arms and Stores of the different Corps delivered to the Nabob; and aſſerts * for the Payment of the extra Regiment ſtationed at Lucnow included † the Aſſignments for the Current Year.

* Sic in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

The Second Article relates to the Reſumption of the Jaguire Lands. This has been fully effected. The Three moſt conſiderable are now under my Charge. The Bow Begums, Salar Jung and Letafutally Cawns, a Meaſure I was driven to enforce on account of the Mode on which the Firſt Reſumption of the Jaguires was conducted, which by leaving the reſumed Lands in the Farm of thoſe who before held them on behalf of the Jaghuirdars, little more than a Shadow of the intended Change was effected.

* Sic in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

The Third Article, which includes the Jaguire of Fizulla Cawn among the reſt, * hitherto been deferred by the Poſtſcript to your general Inſtructions, which forbids it until Circumſtance † may render it more expedient and eaſy to be attempted than the preſent more material Purſuits of Government make it appear. However, I beg leave to repeat, that a Stipend or Allowance in Ready Money to that Chief in lieu of his Jaguire Lands, ſituated and peopled as they are by his own Tribe, in Vicinity to Three capital Territories of the ſame Caſt, would be far more conducive to the Intereſts and Security of this Government; and as ſuch permit me to recommend it to your Conſideration.

The Fourth Article, as far as regarded this Office, was fulfilled h ee.

The Fifth and laſt Account, being only a Proviſion for a future eventual Contingency, was liable to no Exertion here.

The Counterpart of the Treaty, being the Arrangements which the Nabob pledged himſelf to effect towards introducing Œconomy into his Finances, conſiſting chiefly in Three Points, the Reduction and Regulation of his Mooteyenah Troops, the Reparation of his Private Purſe from the Public Funds, and placing the latter under the ſeparate Management of the Miniſters. The firſt of theſe Meaſures is in as great forwardneſs as it is poſſible; Pay and Muſter Maſters having been appointed to the whole, and the Saving already made produced a Fund equal to defray the eſtabliſhed Charge of Three Regiments, as propoſed in my Addreſs of the 10th Inſtant. The other, of ſeparating and limiting the Privy Purſe, was immediately effected upon my Return here from Chunar, and with that the ſeparate Public Funds placed under the Miniſters.

I now proceed to the Continuation of the Paragraphs of your Letter of Inſtructions.

The Second is only claiming my implicit Obedience to what follows, to fulfil which has been and ſhall be my conſtant Study.

The 3d Paragraph is a Recapitulation of the chief Object of the Treaty, being the ſhorteſt poſſible Liquidation of the Nabob's Debt to the Honourable Company. To this Purpoſe I have ſecured Aſſignments which I deem adequate to the full Diſcharge of all Demands by the End of the preſent Fuſſullee Year, which, conſidering the Greatneſs of the aggregate Amount, is, I apprehend, as ſoon * have been expected.

The 4th Paragraph is partly anſwered above. The Reduction has chiefly been in the Infantry, ſo as to bring in our Troops to ſupply the Deficiency, upon which Subject my Propoſal is before you. The Corps under this Denomination here, are chiefly Nudjeebs, and employ § for the Garriſons of the Aumils, Forts, Kutcherries, and Tanahs; the Corps of Cavalry could not ſo eaſily be diminiſhed, or immediately reformed: They conſiſt moſtly of Moguls, entertained for the State and perſonal Security of the Aumils, who they generally attend in Perſon; and ſuch is the refractory Diſpoſition of the People, who have never yet been properly controuled, that was not ſome immediate viſible ſtanding Force with the Aumil, at his Command, to enforce his Orders, he would neither be reſpected or obeyed, and conſequently unable to fulfil the Duties of his Charge.

* Sic in Orig.

§ Sic in Orig.

The Sebundy is a ſeparate Eſtabliſhment from the two above mentioned, being a Charge of generally about 4 per Cent. upon the Collections of the different Aumils, for a Duty executed by a Set of Peons, not military diſciplined Men, who are ſtationed upon the Corps † and Fields all over the Country for their Protection. Theſe, from the Nature and preſent State of this Government, appear to me abſolutely and indiſpenſably neceſſary for the Collections, and can neither be embodied or formed into any regular fixed Eſtabliſhment; but the new Year will afford an Opportunity of reducing their Numbers, and of bringing this Part of the Plan into greater Perfection.

† Sic in Orig.

The 5th Paragraph, regulating the Mode of paying the Mootteynah, has been completely eſtabliſhed, notwithſtanding the Complaints and Obſtruction brought againſt it by the Aumils, who are by it ſubject to a Check and Controul which they are not pleaſed with, and deprived of an ideal Proportion of Authority over their Men, by the Interference of the Pay and Muſter Maſter.

To the 6th Paragraph, which regards the Nabob's Choice of Officers, I have only to obſerve, that no Vacancies have occurred which can have afforded Room for an Exertion of its Clauſe.

The 7th, regarding the Choice of Aumils, can only come under Execution at the Commencement of the Year, when Aumils are named. The few Inſtances of Change which have accidentally occurred by the Reſumption of the Jaguire have been conducted under the Spirit of this Order.

Upon the 8th Paragraph I have written a ſtrong Letter to the Nabob, recommending moſt earneſtly to him to eſtabliſh Courts of Juſtice throughout his Dominions, beginning of ‡ a Sudder ul Hukk at the Capital, of the Effect whereof I ſhall hereafter inform you. I have not urged an inſtant Adoption of the Plan, as it appears more mentioned as a Point you wiſh to be brought about by degrees, than expect to ſee immediately enforced; nor is the Government here yet ſufficiently regulated, to promiſe juſt now the beneficial Conſequences which are the Objects of ſuch an Inſtitution.

‡ Sic in Orig.

The 9th Paragraph conveys a diſcretionary Power eventually to be exerciſed, an Occaſion for which hath not hitherto occurred.

The Notice directed by the 10th Paragraph, has been publicly given to every Perſon coming under its Deſcription, who have ſignified their having received the Order.

Theſe complete your Inſtructions; ſince which you have directed as an additional Article, that the Nabob ſhould be ſupported in his Claim upon the Bow Begum for the Inheritance of the late Vizier's public Treaſure. This has alſo been done, Forty-five Lacks have been recovered, and the Begum's chief Agents are now under ſevere Reſtraint for the Remainder of what they engaged to produce.

Truſting that from this Explanation you will be ſatisfied that I have done all that the Time I have had, and the Circumſtances I have been under, would admit, I remain with profound Reſpect, Sir,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow, the 25th March 1782.

(True Copy.)

Nath. Middleton.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I was duly honoured with your Commands of the 24th July, which a neceſſary Reference to Lucknow prevented my replying to before.

I have already had the Honour to inform you that your Orders had been repeatedly notified to all the unlicenſed Gentlemen reſiding at Lucknow, who ſeverally aſſured me of their Obedience thereto; and when I left that Place the End of June laſt, ſome had taken their Departure, and the reſt appeared to be preparing to do it with all poſſible Speed.

I learn

I learn from Mr. Johnſon, that on Receipt of your Letter Meſſrs. Scott, Orr, Marſack, Carvalho, and Darell, were yet at Lucknow; The two former Gentlemen were poſitively to depart by the End of this Month at furtheſt, and Meſſrs. Marſack and Carvalho were then on the Point of ſetting out. Captain Darell, whoſe Health I am informed is ſtill in a very indifferent State, having your Permiſſion, will remain till the End of the Rains.

Beſides the above-mentioned Gentlemen, Mr. Robert Grant and Mr. Bird are, I underſtand, reſident at Furruckabad; but I have not ſignified your Orders to them, being uncertain how far they might be conſidered to fall under their Deſcription. Theſe are all the Dependents of our Government that I know of, reſiding within the Vizier's Juriſdiction, without public Appointments, or the expreſs Licence of the Board.

I beg leave to aſſure you, Sir, that I never made any Promiſe whatever to Mr. Scott, or gave him any Hopes of continuing at Lucknow, excepting ſuch as he might have derived from my conſenting to forward a Recommendation to you in his Behalf.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,

Patna, the 17th Auguſt 1782.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

(True Copy.)

Nath. Middleton.

The Nabob's Treaty or Agreement with the Honourable the Governor General, original in the Perſian Language, was ſigned and ſealed by his Excellency. Having on my Behalf agreed to the Requiſitions of the Nabob Vizier, without Diminution or Reſerve, I muſt now repeat the Requeſt which I before verbally made to him, that he will be pleaſed to attend to ſuch Propoſals as I ſhall have to make to him; and to theſe I expect his Aſſent the more readily, as they have for their ultimate Object his Intereſt alone, that of the Company being no further concerned than in the Influence which they will eventually have in the Payment of the Debt due from the Nabob to the Company. I therefore recommend him to reduce the great Number of his Sebundy and other Troops to regular and complete Eſtabliſhment, not to be paid by Aſſignments of Revenue, but in Money from the Treaſury, and their Number not to exceed the certain Means of paying them; but as this may be difficult, without making a Separation of the Nabob's public and private Funds, I further recommend that he receive into his private Purſe no more than a fixed monthly Sum for the Expences and Houſehold; and that the Remainder of the Net Collections be left in a public Treaſure, under the Management of his public Miniſters, and the Inſpection of the Reſident, for the Diſcharge of his military and civil Diſburſement. This Advice is not meant to affect the Aſſignments annually made, and which muſt be annually renewed for the Payment of the paſt Debt, and the current Demands of the Company.

(A true Copy.)

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at the Court of the Nabob Vizier.

Sir,

Having on the 19th Inſtant entered into certain Engagements with the Nabob Vizier, tending to relieve his Finances of a Burthen they were no longer able to ſuſtain, with ſundry other Clauſes, the Execution of which is entruſted to you, I herewith encloſe an authentic Copy of the ſame for your Guidance. The Nabob on his Behalf has ſubſcribed and ſealed an Agreement in your Preſence, and in the Preſence of Mr. Richard Johnſon and Hyder Beg Cawn, reſpecting the better Adminiſtration of his Affairs, of which I alſo tranſmit you an authentic Copy.

To theſe Papers, and to the Points conſequently and neceſſarily dependent on them, I think it neceſſary to add the following Inſtructions, to which I require your moſt implicit Obedience.

I need ſcarcely inform you that my chief Object in my Negociations with the Nabob has been to induce and aſſiſt him to bring his Government and Finances into ſuch Regularity as to prevent his Alliance being a Clog inſtead of an Aid to the Company, and to enable him to diſcharge his Debt in the ſhorteſt Time poſſible. To this End the moſt eſſential Point is to limit and ſeparate his perſonal Diſburſements from the public Accounts; they muſt not in their total annual Amount exceed what he has received in any of the laſt Three Years; this Amount, in Twelve equal Parts, ſhould be paid him monthly out of the firſt Receipts, and the Remainder of the Net Collections placed ſeparately in a Public Treaſury, from whence his Public Military and Civil Eſtabliſhment muſt be paid under the ſole Management and Controul of the Miniſters with your Concurrence.—It is of courſe to be underſtood that this has no Connection, and is in no Shape to interfere with the Company's Aſſignments, and the Collections upon them, which are to be conducted as uſual; and as by the Addition of the Jaguire Lands, with their Revenues, to the Nabob's regular Collections, his Income will, or ought to be, conſiderably encreaſed, I ſhall expect that the whole of the Exceſs be appropriated to the Diſcharge of the Nabob's Debt to the Company.

After ſettling the Amount of the perſonal Diſburſements of the Nabob Vizier and his Houſehold, the next Point that will require your Exertions towards the general Arrangement of the

public Charges, is the Reform of the eſtabliſhed and Muttaena Troops, reducing them into One eſtabliſhed Corps for the whole Service. If this Corps could be brought to conſiſt ſolely of Cavalry, it would beſt anſwer mutual Benefits, leaving no Infantry in the Nabob's Service, but what may be neceſſary for his Body Guard; and to ſupply the Deficiency, ſhould any occur *ſuch Arrangement, our Infantry may be employed where Infantry are wanted. *Sic in Orig.

The Corps reformed and eſtabliſhed, their Pay muſt be iſſued from the public Treaſury; no Aſſignments upon the Revenues to be in future granted them, and thoſe already iſſued to be recalled: To complete this, all Numbers above what the real Service may require, or the actual net Receipts may be adequate to the full Payment of, muſt be diſbanded as faſt as their Arrears can be paid off.

The Nabob will ſelect and appoint his own Commanders; but if he ſhould nominate improper Perſons, ſuch as the Men commonly known by the Name of Orderlies, or other deriving their Influence from them, or of known Diſaffection to our Government; you are in ſuch Caſe to remonſtrate againſt, and if the Vizier ſhall perſiſt in his Choice, you are peremptorily, and in my Name, to oppoſe it as a Breach of his Agreement.

For the Management of the Collections, the Miniſters, with your Concurrence, are to chuſe all Amils and Collectors, and in their Choice to be guided by the Reſponſibility, good Reputation, and known Ability of the Perſons they elect, that as far as poſſible Changes ſhould be avoided.

Much is to be ſaid, though little may now ſuit, upon the Subject of the Diſtribution of Juſtice in the Nabob's Dominions; for the preſent I limit myſelf to direct you to urge the Nabob to endeavour, gradually, if it cannot be at once, to eſtabliſh Courts of Adawlet throughout his Diſtricts; the Darogas, Moulovies, and other Officers of which muſt be ſelected, as in the Caſe of the Aumils, by the Miniſters, with your Concurrence. The Want of theſe Courts is equally hurtful to the Revenue, Government, and the Reputation of the Nabob.

In conſequence of the Diſturbances which the rebellious Example of Rajah Chyte Sing has cauſed in the Nabob Vizier's Country, I have inſtructed Colonel Morgan to aſſiſt you on the Requiſition of the Vizier, communicated by you to him, or at your own ſingle Application, if any Caſe of Emergency ſhall make it needful, with ſuch Detachments as may be neceſſary, excluſively of the Regiment of Sepoys, which is ſtipulated to remain with you at Lucknow. This Power you are not to uſe, but in Caſes of the moſt urgent and manifeſt Neceſſity. It is directed, that the Regiment ordered for the immediate Protection of your Office and Perſon at Lucknow, ſhall be relieved every Three Months, and during its Stay there ſhall act ſolely and excluſively under your Orders.

It is finally my poſitive Order, that you do not permit any Britiſh Subject, or others claiming the Name and Protection of the Company, to reſide at Lucknow, or within any Part of the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier, except the Officers and Soldiers of the Army acting in their Duty, and ſuch Perſons as are officially appointed to remain there; and that to ſuch as are now at Lucknow, or in any other Part of his Dominions, not falling within the Deſcription of the above Exception, you give due Notice in Writing, that they quit the Country, allowing them a reaſonable Time, not exceeding Three Months, to ſettle their Affairs; and in caſe of their Refuſal, you are to inform the Nabob thereof, that he may uſe his own Authority to compel them to depart.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

Chunar,
23d September 1781.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

(A true Copy.)

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

It appearing by a Letter received from your Accomptant General, dated 23d Auguſt 1781, that the Nabob's Debt to the Honourable Company, agreeable to his Statement, exceeds the Amount at which it ſtands in my Office, owing to Entries made in the Account at the Preſidency, never before communicated to this Station, I have deemed it expedient, although unauthoriſed by the Sanction of your Orders, to avail myſelf of Aſſets nearly equal to the Exceſs, and ſhall retain them while the Accounts go through that Examination of the Nabob's Officers, for which Purpoſe they have been delivered to them; and as ſoon as they have finiſhed and given me their Report upon them, which they aſſure me ſhall be in a very few Days, I ſhall do myſelf the Honour to lay it before you, in order to obtain your final Inſtructions for the Liquidation.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,

Lucknow,
the 21ſt February 1782.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

(A true Copy.)

N. Middleton.

To

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, and the Members of the Supreme Council.

Honourable Sir and Sirs, Fort William.

I have been honoured with the Receipt of your Commands of the 11th July, directing,

1ſt. Sundry Entries to be made in the Nabob Vizier's Accounts, as additional Claims upon his Excellency, ariſing from a Difference of the Statement of his Balance, on the 30th April 1781.

2dly. Expreſſing your Surprize that I ſhould have limited my Aſſignments for the current Year to 76,37,458, while I had Information in the Middle of October, that 26,48,571 : 3 : 8 was claimed as a Difference of Balance on the 30th April 1780, and acknowledged on the Face of my own Account 55,28,512 : 12 : 11; making together a Sum of 81,77,084 : 0 : 7, unprovided for in the Aſſignments for 1189.

3dly. Noticing a Neglect of the preſcribed Line of my Duty, in having omitted to prepare and lay before the Honourable Board Eſtimates of Demands and Drafts of Aſſignments for the Year 1189, owing to which Omiſſion you could now only ſpeak upon them from accidental Information.

4thly. Requiring this preſcribed Rule to be fulfilled before the End of the current Year 1189, by preparing and tranſmitting you ſuch Eſtimates and Drafts for 1190.

5thly. Expreſſing your Diſappointment at the Proſpect of ſo large a Balance at the Cloſe of the current Year 1189, notwithſtanding the great Aids the Nabob's Finances had received from you, to enable him to liquidate the whole of his Balance in the Courſe of this Year.

6thly. Obſerving that I have received no Part of the Tunkaw upon Furruckabad, and have never intimated the Cauſe in my Addreſs either to the Board or the Governor General; and upon a Conception that the Payment withheld may have proceeded from an Advantage taken by the Nabob Muzzuffer Jung of your Mediation with the Nabob Vizier, you direct, in ſuch Caſe, that I immediately afford his Excellency effectual Aſſiſtance for the Recovery of what Money may be due to him from Muzzuffer Jung, and expreſsly to withdraw all other Interference with that Nabob.

In reply to theſe ſeveral Heads, which I have numbered for the Sake of Perſpicuity, I muſt beg leave to ſolicit the Attention of your Honourable Board to the particular Circumſtances I ſhall ſubmit to your Conſideration upon each Head ſeparately, taking them in the Order in which they ſtand in your Commands.

1ſt, Your Directions reſpecting the Entries in the Nabob Vizier's Accounts ſhall be punctually executed in the Manner following: In the Accounts of the current Year 1189, I propoſe entering ſuch Part of the new Claim as may fall within the Sum of Rupees 26,48,571 : 3 : 8, being
* Sic in Orig. the Difference of Balance firſt communicated to me as you * in the 2d Paragraph of your Commands the Middle of October. The remaining Fourteen Lacks (the whole Claim being Forty Lacks) I propoſe adding to the current Demands for the Year 1190, and I am encouraged to hope you approve the Motives which induce me to propoſe this Diſtinction, inſtead of making the whole Entry immediately as you are pleaſed to direct; they are theſe: In a ſubſequent Part of your Commands now before me, you call upon me to realize the Sum of Rupees 26,48,571 : 3 : 8, which I ſeparately reply to in regular Courſe, and in other Letters which I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to refer to, you are pleaſed to conſider and hold me reſponſible for the due Collection of this Sum within the Term of the Expiration of the current Year. If therefore I do not hold it ſeparated from the general Claim now tranſmitted, I cannot refer to what I have undertaken and executed relatively to it ſeparately, and ſhould involve and confound the Reſponſibility with which you juſtly charge me, upon the Grounds of my having had ſufficient previous Notice of this Claim, with a much larger Sum unknown in Amount or Exiſtence before the Receipt of your Letter. Further, were I to include the whole in the preſent Year, I ſhould, while only accepting, or meant to be charged with, the Reſponſibility of collecting ſuch Sum as I had timely Information of, lay myſelf open to the Proof of leaving a Balance this Year; which Proof I hope to obviate under the Reſerves hereafter explained. And finally, were I now to include the total new Claim of Forty Lacks in the Accounts of this Year, with the above Ob-
† Sic in Orig. jections, it would † of no Benefit or Uſe, as the Knowledge of it is come to hand at a Time
‡ Sic in Orig. when no Man can undertake ‡ it from a Country where the Collections ariſe ſolely and excluſively from the Two annual Crops, Kheriff and Rubby, both which were off the Ground long before the Receipt of your Commands, and no ſeparate Fund exiſting to recur to in Default of the Collections. Upon theſe Grounds I hope to ſtand excuſed, and meet Indulgence, for this
§ Sic in Orig. ſmall and immaterial Diviation § in the Mode of executing your Orders, eſpecially as it cannot be attended with any poſſible Detriment or prejudicial Conſequence to the Honourable Company,
‖ Sic in Orig. the Periods of the new and the old Years, being new ‖ ſo in ſtantaneouſly before us, that the Difference of Time between the divided Entries cannot exceed many Days.

Upon the Second Head, I muſt crave Leave to refer your Honourable Board to my Addreſs of the 30th December 1781; a Copy whereof is included a Number in this Packet, and ſtates

my

my Reaſon for a temporary Limitation of the Aſſignments for this Year to the Sum of 76,37,458; viz. my Expectations from the Aſſurances given me by the Nabob and his Miniſters of a Supply from Fayzabad equal to the Liquidation of the Balance of his Excellency's Account with the Honourable Company, as apparent upon the Face of my annual Account for 1188; which Expectation, in the Reſult, proved to have been well founded. The Sum of 26,48,571 : 3 : 8, additional Claim ariſing from the Difference between the Balance of the Honourable Company's Account, as ſtated by your Accountant General and the Reſidents, of the 30th April 1780, was not included in the then Arrangement, for Reaſons which I truſt will claim the Conſideration of the Honourable Board: Firſt, from the Situation of the Nabob Vizier's Country and Finances at the Beginning of the current Year, as ſet forth in my ſeveral Addreſſes at that Period, but particularly in Two of the 17th and 20th of October laſt; of which, to ſave the Honourable Board Trouble, I beg leave to tranſmit Copies. I was forced to defer taking Aſſignments for the Balance of 1180, until the Nabob ſhould recover ſo much of his paternal Eſtate at Fayzabad; conſequently the ſame Arguments were of equal Force againſt including any other Balance in the firſt-claimed Aſſignments, which were calculated merely to anſwer the actual current Diſburſements. But then reaſonably may be expected to follow the Queſtion, Why not at leaſt have taken a Bond for this Sum, as well as the Balance of 1188? To this I beg leave, in the Second Place, to anſwer, that together with the Information of this Claim, unſupported and unſanctified by any Order of the Honourable Board, ſignifying their Approbation of it, or their Intention that it ſhould be brought to the Nabob's Debit, until it had undergone the uſual Forms of Examination in his Excellency's Offices, and obtained his Sanction, which had been the Caſe with all former Demands, I received Notice that it was liable to a Reduction or Diminution of near One Half its Amount; and upon laying it before the Nabob and his Miniſters, they ſtated a Counter-claim, which has been referred by his Excellency to the Honourable the Governor General, and promiſed to be equitably conſidered. From the ſeveral Objections to this Amount as a decided Claim, I truſt the Honourable Board will not hold me deſerving of Cenſure for not realizing it; but will, on the contrary, be inclined to allow, that upon Receipt of their Order now before me, I have gone every juſt Length in demanding and obtaining from the Nabob a conditional Depoſit of the Money, while the Heads of the Claim undergo Inveſtigation. His Excellency has granted me Aſſignment for the Amount, which I have pledged and mortgaged the Collections of to Gopaul Doſs Sah, and other Shroffs, who have agreed to advance the full Amount of the above-mentioned Aſſignments. I ſhall have the Honour of remitting the Amount within the Year, which is the Period ſtipulated by your Board for the Execution of this Order.

The Nabob's Counter-claim, as already communicated to the Governor General by the Original of the incloſed Duplicate, is for Stores, Horſes, Ordnance, &c. and I have Authority from his Excellency to inform you, that he agrees to refer to the Evidence of the Returns of your own Commiſſaries, and the Eſtimations of your Board of Ordnance, or to wave all Amount and Valuation upon Return of the actual or equivalent Stores. Upon this Head I would ſubmit one further Propoſition, which is, that it appears the Honourable Company have ſtill a further Claim for a Difference of Balance to April 30th, 1781 (about Fourteen Lacks), at leaſt equivalent in its Aggregate to the Amount of the Nabob's Counter-claim; that the Examination and Adjuſtment take place upon this laſt Account, and the Payment of the 26,48,571 : 3 : 8 be concluded and received as a full and final Payment to the Date it alludes to; viz. to the 30th April 1780. I have no Doubt of being able to bring the Nabob to agree to this Adjuſtment. If this ſhould, as I think it will, meet with your Approbation, in this Caſe I muſt requeſt you will be pleaſed to order your Accountant General to ſeparate the Amount, particular and general, of this Second Claim from the former; and here, from a Knowledge of your Juſtice, and a conſequent Conviction that you only mean to charge the Nabob with the real Exceſs proved to be due from him, after deducting the Amount of any well-founded Counter-claim, I beg leave to recommend that you direct your Accountant General to draw up this Difference of Balance in Two ſeparate Statements, each agreeing with the other; one being that as it now ſtands drawn up to the 30th April 1781, the other cloſing the Statement on the 30th September 1780, and from thence carried on to the 30th April 1781. The Reaſon of my propoſing this Check is, that the Nabob's Accounts being all cloſed in September, it is much eaſier for him and his Officers to comprehend, admit, or anſwer, a Statement correſponding with the Period of their own Accounts, than one totally irreconcileable with it. Should you be pleaſed to think this a reaſonable Indulgence, I would ſolicit this adjuſted Statement to be made up to September 1779 and September 1780, as well as thoſe already made to April 1780 and April 1781.

The 3d Paragraph ſtands anſwered in the Firſt Lines of my Reply to the 2d, as in the Addreſs I there allude to I ſubmitted a Statement of the Nature of that you ſuppoſe to have been omitted. In further Exculpation of myſelf, I beg leave to recall to your Memory, that on the 15th March 1781, I was inſtructed, through the acting Secretary, to correſpond upon all Subjects of Accounts with the Comptroller of the Offices, who being a Member of your Honourable Board, I concluded it became unneceſſary to trouble you with Repetitions on theſe Subjects, eſpecially as, in obedience to Orders, I regularly tranſmitted Duplicates of all my Accounts to the Accountant General, until he informed me it was an unneceſſary and ſuperfluous * from the Copies forwarded to the Comptroller ultimately coming into his Office; but I ſhall now,

* Sic in Orig.

now, conceiving it to be your Intention, addreſs the Board directly and ſeparately upon whatever I may in future tranſmit to the Comptroller of the Offices, to which End,

4th. I am now preparing the Eſtimates for the new Year, which only wait your Deciſion upon the Propoſals in the 3d Paragraph of this Letter to be completed and laid before you.

Upon the 5th Article of your Commands, I have the Pleaſure, in alleviation of this Diſappointment you apprehend, to inform you, that I have, as per incloſed Treaſury Account, not only realized the total Amount of the Aſſignments taken at the Beginning of the Year, but alſo an additional Sum equal to a complete Diſcharge of the Exceſs of Diſburſement beyond the Amount eſtimated at the Commencement of the Year; which I have thus early effected by raiſing the Amount upon the Balances of the Aſſignments, which always run in their final Adjuſtment Two Months, at leaſt, into the new Year, as all former Accounts will teſtify; and this Advance I have extended to the Amount diſburſed, including the Exceſs beyond the eſtimated Sum abovementioned. This Meaſure will, I flatter myſelf, prove acceptable to the Honourable Board, as it will enable me to make very conſiderable Remittances, much within the Period of the final accuſtomary Adjuſtment. I muſt avert * that I have been able to accompliſh this alone by aſſuring the Shroffs that I ſhould receive the fulleſt Support from the Honourable Board in enacting ſuch Meaſures as ſhall appear neceſſary to ſecure to them the complete Collection of the Balances; and upon this I hope to have your full Approbation and Sanction.

*Sic in Orig.

Upon the 6th Article the Honourable Board have anticipated my Reply, by adverting to what they conjecture may have been the Cauſe of the total Failure in the Collections from Furruckabad, which was, as they have juſtly ſuppoſed, an improper Advantage taken by Muzzuffer Jung of the Mediation employed with the Nabob Vizier in his Behalf. I have therefore immediately, upon Receipt of your Orders, withdrawn all Mediation and Interference which ſtood between the Nabob Vizier and the Collection of the Tribute from Furruckabad, and afforded him the Aſſiſtance directed, by ſending a Regiment to ſupport the Sezawal appointed by his Excellency for the Collection of the Tribute of the enſuing Year, and have added my Inſtructions to the ſame Agent to collect the Aſſignment of Seven and a Half Lacks, firſt abovementioned, upon the Tribute and Balances due to the End of the Current Year; and as I have anticipated the Succeſs of this Truſt, by raiſing this Amount among the other Balances as above ſtated, I have the Satisfaction to reflect, that the Honourable Board will not even feel the Inconveniency ariſing from the Delay that the Mediation in favour of Muzzuffer Jung has occaſioned.

It may be proper to explain, that the Exceſs of Diſburſements beyond the eſtimated Amount has ariſen from Two Cauſes. The Firſt was, that the Troops of Futty Ghur, and Mr. Wombwell's Office and Eſtabliſhment, received their Pay and Allowances beyond the Date ſtipulated by Treaty (upon which the Eſtimate was made), becauſe the Nabob's Finances not being adequate to the immediate Diſcharge of their Balances, and this being a previous Condition of the Treaty, their Pay and uſual Diſburſement went on until they could be fully paid up. Secondly, the Army Debts were rated in the Eſtimate at Five Lacks, and have in the Reſult much exceeded that Sum, which unavoidably cauſed the Diverſion of Aſſets to that Channel which were expreſsly granted and intended for other Purpoſes. This unforeſeen Accumulation of the Army Debt, and the Preference which it was my Duty to ſhew to the Honourable Company's Claims, have neceſſarily retarded the Payment of the late Vizier's promiſed Donation to the Second Brigade, which I hope will meet your Approbation, as that Sum, as well as the Fourteen Lacks unliquidated of the Honourable Company's new Claim, will be an eaſy Proviſion, with the Current Demands of the enſuing Year; the full Amount of which I have not a Doubt of being able to realize.

I am willing to flatter myſelf, that, under your Indulgence, I ſhall appear to have acquitted myſelf of the Reſponſibility annexed to my Office; your public Teſtimony upon which I am the more anxious to merit, as the many unforeſeen and uncommon Obſtacles which have occurred in the Courſe of this Year rendered me apprehenſive that the Effects of my Exertions might fall ſhort of your Expectations.

I have the Honour to be, with great Reſpect,
Honourable Sir, and Sirs,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
the 7th September 1782.

(True Copy.) Nath. Middleton.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

The Begum having finally agreed to ſurrender to the Nabob the Treaſures of his late Father the Nabob Shujah ul Dowlah, which ſhe had hitherto retained in her Poſſeſſion, his Excellency deſired me to withdraw the Troops from the Killa, that the Begum might return into it, in order to deliver the Treaſure. To this I conſented, as alſo to the Re-delivery to the Nabob of the Two Eunuchs Bahar and Jowar Ally Cawn, without whoſe Preſence and Aſſiſtance nothing could be effected, as they were the only Agents employed by the Begum in the ſecreting and depoſiting it; they previouſly pledging themſelves to be preſent when called upon,

upon, to anſwer to the Accuſation which I have informed them was laid againſt them. In the mean while the Begum has delivered over her Chelah Shumſheer Cawn, who was Phouſdar of Tanda when Captain Gordon arrived there; ſo that I now hope the whole Buſineſs upon which I came here is in the moſt favourable Train.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,

Fayzabad, Sir,
20th January 1782. Your moſt obedient, and moſt humble Servant,

(True Copy.) Nath. Middleton. (Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Sir, Baugulpoor, 27th January 1782.

I have received your Letter of the 20th Inſtant. I thank you for the good News which it contains, and for the Proſpect which it has afforded me of a complete and proſperous Termination of the Meaſures impending.

I deſire that you will endeavour to diſſuade the Nabob from concluding any Settlement with the Begums until the Board or myſelf have been adviſed of the Amount of the Treaſure recovered from them, and of the Balance due at the lateſt Period from the Nabob to the Company.

I hope to receive from you a Report of the final Iſſue of this Buſineſs, and of a Sum realized and in your Poſſeſſion for our Relief, in time to ſend Advice of both, by the Packet now under Diſpatch; and I ſhall keep it open until the 7th of next Month, but no longer, for that Purpoſe.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,

(True Copy.) Nath. Middleton. (Signed) Warren Haſtings.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I have had this Day the Honour to receive your Commands of the 25th ultimo, and am extremely concerned that the Mode of conducting the Fayzabad Buſineſs, as ſet forth in my Addreſs of the 18th January, did not meet your entire Approbation. Permit me to aſſure you, Sir, it is with the greateſt Reluctance I ever ventured to deviate from the expreſs Letter of your Inſtructions, and I cannot accuſe myſelf of having done it on any Occaſion, where it did not appear to my Judgment that the Object and Spirit of them rendered it adviſeable, and that the apparent Neceſſity would juſtify ſuch Latitude.

In the preſent Inſtance, it was more in Appearance and Expreſſion, than in Fact, that any Deviation was made from your Orders of the 26th December; for although I was conſtrained, from ſtrict Regard to the Acoompliſhment of what I conſidered the firſt Object of this Undertaking, to admit of a temporary Forbearance for the Reaſons aſſigned in my Addreſs of the 18th ultimo, the Begums were at that Time to be conſidered as entirely at the Mercy of the Nabob; their Jagheers were in poſſeſſion of his Aumils; their Troops diſperſed at the Kella of Fayzabad, which included alſo the Bhow Begum's own Habitation, under the Guard of his Excellency's and our Troops.

It remained only to get poſſeſſion of her Wealth; and to effect this, it was then, and is ſtill, my unalterable Opinion, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to employ temporiſing Expedients, and to work upon the Hopes and Fears of the Begum herſelf, and more eſpecially upon thoſe of her principal Agents, through whoſe Means alone there appeared any probable Chance of our getting Acceſs to the hidden Treaſures of the late Vizier; and when I acquaint you, that by far the greateſt Part of the Treaſure which has been delivered to the Nabob, was taken from the moſt ſecret Receſſes in the Houſes of the Two Eunuchs, whence of courſe it could not have been extracted without the Adoption of thoſe Means which could induce the Diſcovery, I ſhall hope for your Approbation of what I did. I muſt alſo obſerve, that no further Rigour than that which I exerted could have been uſed againſt Females in this Country, to whom there can be no Acceſs. The Nabob and Salar Jung were the only Two who could enter the Zenanah. The firſt was a Son who was to addreſs a Parent, and of courſe could uſe no Language or Action but that of earneſt and reiterated Solicitation; and the other was, in all Appearance, a Traitor to our Cauſe. Where Force could be employed, it was not ſpared. The Troops of the Begum were driven away and diſperſed, their Guns taken, her Fort and the outward Walls of her Houſe ſeized and occupied by our Troops at the Nabob's Requiſition, and her Chief Agents impriſoned and put in Irons; no further Step was left, and in this Situation they ſtill remain, and are to continue (excepting only the Remiſſion of the Irons) until the final Liquidation of the Payment; and if then you deem it proper, no poſſible Means of Offence being left in her Hands, or thoſe of her Agents, all her Lands and Property having been taken, I mean with your Sanction to reſtore her Houſe and Servants to her, and hope to be favoured with your early Reply, as I expect that a few Days will complete the final Surrender of all that is further expected from the Begum.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow, Nath. Middleton,
the 5th February 1782. Reſt at the Court of the Vizier.

LIST of Mr. Middleton's Public Correſpondence with the Honourable Board, from the Period of ſigning the Treaty at Chunar, to the 23d October 1782, when he delivered over the Reſidency to Mr. Briſtow.

Of Date 17th October 1781, To the Honourable the Governor General.
20th } ditto 1781, To ditto ditto.
20th }
20th ditto 1781, To the Honourable Board.
23d ditto 1781, Ditto ditto.
28th ditto 1781, To the Honourable the Governor General.
29th ditto 1781, To the Honourable Board.
30th ditto 1781, To the Honourable the Governor General.
2d November 1781, Ditto ditto ditto.
14th ditto 1781, Ditto ditto ditto.
4th December 1781, Ditto ditto ditto.
12th ditto 1781, To the Honourable the Governor General.
17th ditto 1781, To the Comptroller of the Offices.
19th ditto 1781, To the Honourable the Governor General.
22d ditto 1781, Ditto ditto ditto.
24th ditto 1781, To the Comptroller of the Offices.
27th ditto 1781, To the Honourable the Governor General.
30th } ditto 1781, Ditto ditto ditto.
30th }
3d January 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
10th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
13th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
15th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
18th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
20th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
25th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
27th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
3d February 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
5th } ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
5th }
6th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
7th ditto 1782, To the Comptroller of the Offices.
8th ditto 1782, To the Honourable the Governor General.
10th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
11th } ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
11th }
16th ditto 1782, To the Comytroller of the Offices.
ditto 1782, To the Honourable the Governor General.
21ſt } ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
21ſt }
24th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
6th March 1782, To the Comptroller of the Offices.
10th ditto 1782, To the Honourable the Governor General.
11th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
14th ditto 1782, To the Comptroller of the Offices.
16th ditto 1782, To the Honourable the Governor General.
20th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
21ſt ditto 1782, To the Comptroller of the Offices.
22d ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
25th ditto 1782, To the Honourable Governor General.
27th ditto 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
3d April 1782, To the Comptroller of the Offices.
7th ditto 1782, To the Honourable Board.
8th ditto 1782, To the Comptroller of the Offices.
9th ditto 1782, To the Honourable the Governor General.
10th } ditto 1782, { Ditto ditto ditto.
10th } { To the Honourable Board.
12th ditto 1782, To the Secretary to the Hon. Governor General and Council.
12th ditto 1782, To the private Perſian Interpreter to the Hon. Governor General.
15th ditto 1782, To the Honourable Board.
26th ditto 1782, To the Honourable the Governor General.
9th } May 1782, Ditto ditto ditto.
9th }

Of Date 10th	May	1782,	To the Honourable the Governor General,
10th			
12th	ditto	1782,	Ditto ditto ditto.
17th	ditto	1782,	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
21ſt	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable the Governor General, &c. Members of the Supreme Council.
21ſt	ditto	1782,	Ditto ditto ditto
24th	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable the Governor General.
27th	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable Board.
4th	June	1782,	Ditto ditto ditto.
18th	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable Governor General, &c. Members of the Supreme Council.
	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable Board.
15th	July	1782,	To the Honourable the Governor General.
17th	Auguſt	1782,	Ditto ditto ditto.
2d	September	1782,	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Governor General and Council.
7th	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable the Governor General.
7th	ditto	1782,	To ditto, and the Members of the Supreme Council.
9th	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable the Governor General.
12th	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable Board.
14th	ditto	1782,	Ditto ditto.
15th	ditto	1782,	Ditto ditto.
16th	ditto	1782,	To the Secretary to the Hon. the Governor General and Council,
16th	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable the Governor General.
16th	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable Board.
16th	ditto	1782,	Ditto ditto.
16th	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable the Governor General.
17th	ditto	1782,	Ditto ditto ditto.
17th	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable Board.
18th	ditto	1782,	Ditto ditto.
19th	ditto	1782,	Ditto ditto.
20th	ditto	1782,	Ditto ditto.
20th			
22d	ditto	1782,	Ditto ditto.
3d	October	1782,	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Board of Inſpection.
8th	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable the Governor General.
15th	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable Board.
22d	ditto	1782,	Ditto ditto
22d	ditto	1782,	To the Comptroller of the Offices, &c.
23d	ditto	1782,	To the Honourable Governor General, and the Members of the Supreme Council.

(Signed) Nathaniel Middleton.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

When I had laſt the Honour of ſeeing you, I more than once urged my Reaſon for thinking that the Rebellion of Rajah Chyte Sing was but a Part of a larger and more extenſive Plan, which was, by the good Fortune of your Arrival, prematurely brought forward, before all the Parties to it were united, and properly Action *. In Support of this Belief, and to prove that I am far from being ſingle in the Eſpouſal of it, I beg leave to trouble you with ſome Extracts from the Letters I received from Colonel Hannay, written from the Time of the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion, to my Return to Lucknow. His Situation for obtaining the Knowledge he imparts, his Experience, and his Judgment to guide what he advances, muſt make his Sentiments of Weight and Authenticity.

* Sic in Orig.

In his Letter of the 8th of September from Fyzabad, ſcarcity † Ten Days after he had ſet about obeying the Nabob Vizier's Orders to march with his Force to your Aſſiſtance, he writes "that "the whole Country, on the Eaſt Side of the Gogra, was in Arms and Rebellion, his own "Troops deſerting, and the ſingle Companies ſcarcely able to join other Detachments. The Forts "of Gurruckpore, Bilma, and Dumreeagunge, taken from the Aumils by the Jemindars, and "that even Hircarrahs cannot paſs; ſo that all Communication of Intelligence from his other "Detachments under Major M'Donald, Captain Williams, and Lieutenant Gordon, was cut off. And at End he adds, "this Town (Fayzabad) has more the Appearance of belonging to Cheyt "Sing than the Vizier. The Begums have placed Guards to prevent any of my People going to "the Bazar in it. Within theſe few Days Shake Chaun, with near 1000 Horſe and Foot, has "marched from hence to Benaras. They were raiſed here; and I muſt confeſs that, for my "own Part, I have no doubt but Jewar Ally Cawn, and Behar Ally Cawn, through their Agents "have ſtirred up all the Diſturbances which extend from hence to Powey Azimgur. I have ſent "Hooleſs

† Sic in Orig.

" Hooleſs Ray to the Begum to enquire into the Reaſons of my People being prevented from
" going into the Town, Chyte Sing's being ſuffered to raiſe Troops here, and why her Servants
" attempted to prevent my getting Boats to tranſport the Company's Guns and Horſe from
" Amora? I have alſo deſired ſhe will give Orders for ſeizing the Family of Shake Chaan
" (above mentioned), and when Hoolaſs Ray returns I will write you his Anſwer. In Khyrabad,
" Sylack, and all the Country on the (Weſt) Sides of the Gogra between Fyzabad and Khyra-
* Sic in Orig. " bad Budamly, in Perfection.* The Aumils flying before the Gongwars, and Cannon firing at
" all Hours. Chyte Sing has ſent Money to Futtey Saw, Ghino Ray, Adjitmull, Zalem Sing,
" and all the refractory Rajahs, to enable them to raiſe Men. I this Moment received Gordon's
" Account of the Loſs of his Detachment, which puts my March to join you out of the queſ-
" tion. It happened by the Villany of the Phouzdar of Tanda, Shum Sheer Khan, a Cheelah of
" Behar Ally Khan, who turned his Guns upon the Detachment, and an unfordable Nulla in
" Front, and many Thouſands of Rajepoots, who had fought them all the Way from Chowra
" Gaut, made the Sepoys deſpair. Zalem Sing, and Pretty Paul Sing, mean to attack M'Do-
" nald To-morrow with 2100 Men. Behar Ally Khan deſerves Death; as the Loſs of Gordon's
" Detachment can only be imputed to him. His Chelah would never have acted ſo damning a
" Part without Orders from him. Jewar Ally Khan, in the Chocke of Fyzabad, aſks every
" Man who bears the Appearance of a Soldier, why he goes not to Chyte Sing for Service? I
" mention theſe Circumſtances that you may mention them to Mr. Haſtings and the Nabob,
" and the neceſſary Steps be immediately taken to prevent what Delay will render a very ſerious
" Matter. A few Days more will lead the Ferment which is here to Lucknow. If the Nabob
" inſiſts of my proceeding, I muſt bring every Body with me; for whoever is left behind will
" be ſacrificed."

On the 7th September Captain Williams writes: " Upon my Arrival here, I found that Part
" of Futty Saw's, Ghenoo Ray's, and Adjeet Mull's People had croſſed to Manjowlay. They
" have been urged to this Step by Cheyt Sing, who has ſupplied them with a conſiderable Sum
" of Money, and promiſed them great Sums if they will put the whole Country into Confuſion.
" 5000 Men are on the oppoſite Side of the River ready to croſs. Futtey Saw has written to all
" his Adherents to be up in Arms. Saadit Ally and the Begums are concerned deeply in the late
" Buſineſs."

In a ſubſequent Letter received immediately after the above, but without Date, Colonel Hannay ſays, " I have before told you how violently the Begum's People inflame the preſent Diſ-
" turbances; and in Addition to this, the principal Zemindars and Rajahs have all Certificates
" under the Seal of Chyte Sing, that he will ſupply them with whatever Money they may require
" for ſubſiſting all the Troops they can raiſe. In a very ſhort Time I apprehend the greateſt
" Part of the Nabob's Dominions will be in the State we are in here; and it is the general Belief
" of every Man in this Part of the Country, that the Conduct I have related is a concerted Plan
" for the Extirpation of the Engliſh. What may be the Situation of the reſt of the Nabob's Do-
" minions I know not; but it is moſt certain, that from Goonda to Manjee, and from Fyzabad to
" Benares Diſtrict, and croſs from the Gogra to the Ganges, the Country is in the utmoſt Ferment.
" Should the preſent Diſturbances proceed from a Plan of Policy, it will be concealed from you
" as much as poſſible, and therefore I take all poſſible Means of communicating to you what I
" really know to be Fact. I know not whether the Dauks paſs freely from you to Lucknow;
" but if they do not, and no Meaſure is immediately taken to bring about Order and draw the
" Troops together, we may be deprived of all poſſible Means of aſſiſting one another, and the
" Army loſt by detached Regiments. We have no Communication with Bengal; and the Troops
" on this Side Benares are at preſent too much ſeparated to yield one another timely Aſſiſtance.
" I hope to God a ſufficient Force is ordered for the Reduction of Chyte Sing, for the People
" who are daily ſent to him, Horſe and Foot, from Fyzabad, and the Seat of Rebellion I have
" before named, is very great." In his next of the 13th he ſays, " it is impoſſible, in the
" general Inſurrection which now reigns almoſt univerſally, for me to get the Force together the
" Nabob demanded, or to force my Way to you with a leſs. The greateſt Anarchy prevails.
" The preſent Inſurrection is ſaid, and believed to be, with an Intention to expel the Engliſh. I
" am compelled to give up all the Country below Goondah. Be upon your Guard againſt the Vi-
" zier, for there are many Circumſtances to make me believe he means to eſpouſe the Cauſe of
" Chyte Sing: The Begums have almoſt themſelves recruited for him."

In his next Letter of the 18th he ſays, " If you meet but with a Check at Benares every Man
" in the Country is ready to fall upon your ſcattered Parties. The State of the Vizier's Domi-
" nions is in general beyond Deſcription: The Inſurrection is not partial, but generally ſpread
" throughout the whole;" though it rages moſt violently in the Mahls of Sultanpoor, the Mahls from Fyzabad to the Banaris Country, the Mahls on this (Eaſt) Side of the Gogra, and in Koonry Khyrabad and Sylak; and if I may truſt to the Information I receive, it is already begun, and will ſoon rage as violently in Shajehanpore, Rohilcund, Kora, and the Doâb. I have already and repeatedly informed you of the Diſpoſitions of thoſe in Power in Fyzabad, which has in fact been one of the great Sources of the Inſurrection, and the Place of all others in the Vizier's Dominions which has ſupplied Chyte Sing with the greateſt Number of Troops. The old Begum does in the
† Sic in Orig. moſt open and violent Manner ſupport Chyte Sing's Rebellion, and the † Reſurrection; and the Nabob's Mother's accurſed Eunuchs are not leſs induſtrious than thoſe of the Burrac Begum.

Capital Examples made of Jewar Ally Khan and Behar Ally Khan would, I am perſuaded, have the very beſt Effect

On the 20th, he ſays, after relating his own imminent Danger, "I have already written you ſo "fully my Reaſons of being convinced of the Treachery practiſed at Fayzabad, and which I am "afraid extends to your Camp, that I need ſay no more on the Subject;" and again mentions the general Inſurrection.

The Truth of theſe Poſitions I found moſt fully proved upon my Return; but obſerved in particular that the moſt vigorous Efforts were limited to the Jaghuirdars, among whom the Begums, Fyzullah Cawn, and Luttafutt Ally Khan diſtinguiſhed themſelves. However, the Nabob's Return, the Victories gained by the Troops with you in the total Reduction of Chyte Sing's Country, and the March of Two Regiments from Cawnpore to our Aſſiſtance here, have unitedly contributed to reſtore Matters nearly to their uſual Tranquillity. The Example moſt neceſſary to be made of the Two active and turbulent Eunuchs mentioned by Colonel Hannay remains yet to be done, as well as of a Villain now in Confinement, who had aſſembled 5000 Gongwars for the avowed Purpoſe of reſcuing Two principal State Priſoners from their Confinement with the Nabob, and, as it is univerſally believed, to make an Attempt upon the Treaſury, for which he had fixed the Day of Duſſarâh, but was moſt happily detected, ſeized only a Day before by the Vigilance of the Cutwal, and the Fact proved by Papers found in his Houſe. Unleſs Spirits of this Sort be controuled, the moſt * of Conſequences may be expected from the Neglect, ſhould, which God avert, any freſh Opportunities occur.

* Sic in Orig.

I have the Honour to be with Reſpect,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath[l] Middleton.

Lucknow, the 17th October 1781.

True Copy.
(Signed) Nath[l] Middleton.

Num. XV. Q[rs] A, B, C, D, E, F, and G.

True Copies.
Nath[l] Middleton.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I have juſt received Intelligence, which I think may be relied on, of the Death of the Nabob Nudjiff Cawn.

It is impoſſible to pronounce with Certainty what may be the immediate Conſequences of this Event; the ultimate ones, I have no Doubt, will be the total Subverſion of that extenſive Government, acquired alone by his powerful Influence and high military Character, and by which, rather than any effective Force, he has been able hitherto to maintain it. I do not know any one of his Partizans whoſe Talents, Activity, or ſuperior Influence over the reſt, are likely to create an abſolute and permanent Authority. Diſſenſions therefore amongſt the principal Officers of his Army may be expected to enſue; and thoſe Rajas and Chiefs who have been deprived of their Territorial Poſſeſſions will ſcarcely omit ſo favourable an Opportunity of attempting to retrieve them.

Abdulahd Cawn, the late Miniſter, will probably be reſtored to Office; and his Object will naturally be the Extinction of every Shadow of Nudjiff Cawn's Power.

Upon the whole, however, I do not apprehend from this Event any Conſequences which can affect the Honourable Company's Intereſts, or the Security of the Nabob Vizier, unleſs Zabitta Cawn, who it appears has long entertained Views of attempting the Recovery of his former Poſſeſſions in Rohilcund, ſhould be prevailed on to conſider this † favourable Occaſion to proſecute them. In ſuch an Event I ſhould think it very probable he would be joined by Fazoola Cawn, who, there is ſtrong Reaſon to believe, is by no means well-affected to the Vizier's Government, and who has of late made ſuch Preparations and ſuch a Diſpoſition of his Family and Wealth as evidently manifeſt either an intended or expected ‡.

† Sic in Orig.

‡ The Senſe is imperfect in the Original.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath[l] Middleton.

Poppamow, the 24th February 1782.

To

A

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Intelligence was this Morning received from Delhy, which mentions the Death of Nudjiff Cawn; but no more authentic Account than the common Newſpapers having yet been received either by Mirza Khullul, or the Vizier, I cannot yield implicit * to the Report. To-morrow Intelligence will, no doubt, aſcertain it.

* Sic in Orig.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient and humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
9th April 1782.

B

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

The Intimation which I had the Honour to give you, in my Letter of Yeſterday's Date, reſpecting Nudjiff Cawn, has been confirmed To-day, through various authentic Channels; and I have been deſired by his Excellency the Vizier to forward you the encloſed Addreſs from him on the Subject.

I have the Honour to be, with the higheſt Reſpect,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
10th April 1782.

C

To the Honourable Board.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I have this Day received confirmed Information of the Death of the Nabob Nudjiff Cawn. My Opinion upon this Subject I had the Honour to ſubmit to the Governor General, under Date the 24th February laſt, upon a premature Information of the Deceaſe of that Nabob, which hitherto I find no Reaſon to alter; I therefore beg leave to refer your Honourable Board to that, as containing every Sentiment or Information that I can at preſent offer upon the Subject.

The Nabob Vizier ſeems to think it probable, or poſſible, that Mahadajee Scindia may be induced, either at the Inſtigation of his own Ambition, or at the King's Solicitation, to proceed to Delhi upon this Conjuncture; his Alarms and Apprehenſions upon this Head, he ſtates in his Letters, of this Day's Date, to the Governor General, and in order to prevent the only one of the Two aforementioned Inducements which lays within his Reach to attempt, he has written an Arzee to the King, aſſuring him of his Attachment to his Intereſt, declaring himſelf ready to march with his Forces to ſupport his Views, and mentioning your Government as equally well diſpoſed to his Majeſty; and finally, recommending to him to call in no other foreign Aid. He has alſo written Letters of Condolance to the late Nabob's Family; and others of Encouragement to the principal Commanders of his Armies, adviſing them to continue firm in their Duty and Allegiance to the King, whom he tells them he is marching to Delhi to ſupport. Moſt of theſe Chiefs were formerly the Servants of this Court, and many of them connected by Blood with the Vizier's Family. His Excellency has alſo made an Application to Colonel Morgan to move the ſubſidiary Brigade towards Etawa, to be in Readineſs to act in caſe any Emergency ſhould require it. I have ſent his Excellency's Application to the Colonel, but have only recommended his holding the Brigade in Readineſs to march to that central Station, either upon the Receipt of your Orders to this Effect, or ſome intermediate urgent Neceſſity occurring, which may preclude the Propriety of making any Delay whatever. This will, I hope, meet your Approbation.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,
Honourable Sir, and Sirs,
Your moſt obedient and humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
10th April 1782.

To

D

To the Honourable Board.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

On the 10th Inſtant I had the Honour to inform you of the Death of the Nabob Nudjiff Khan, ſince which, nothing material has occurred in that Quarter worth intruding upon you with. Through the Intereſt of the late Nabob's Siſter, Afraiſab Khan has received the Charcel, or Inveſtiture of Succeſſion from the King; but as many of the principal Officers of the Army refuſe or evade Submiſſion to the Authority of that Chief, it is not likely that he will be able to hold his Station.

Zabetta Khan, at Ghous Ghur, is arming and entering into Alliances with the Seiks. The Nabob Fyzoola Khan, from the beſt Intelligence I am able to procure, carries on a cloſe and ſecret Correſpondence with him. He has gone ſo far as to throw out ſome very inflammatory Diſcourſes in his Durbar; and by this Day's Intelligence, it appears ſome unuſual * Reſtraints have been impoſed upon my Agent, who hitherto had free Acceſs at his Durbar, to ſend Intelligence of what paſſed there. * Sic in Orig.

I ſhall be very watchful of his Conduct and Motions, and not fail to give your Honourable Board regular Information of every Thing that I may think worth your Notice.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſt †, † Sic in Orig.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
the 15th April 1782.

E

To the Honourable Board.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

The Contentions and Party Diſputes which have prevailed at the Court of Delhy, ſince the Death of the late Nabob Nudjiff Cawn, ſeem now to have taken a decided Turn in favour of Mirza Shuffee Cawn, whoſe Pretenſions to the chief Rule in the Adminiſtration, although acknowledged and ſecretly eſpouſed by the King, have hitherto met with violent and ſucceſsful Oppoſition from Affraſiab Cawn; but the latter having a few Days ago found it expedient to move with the main Body of his Army acroſs the Jumma, for the Defence of his own Poſſeſſions againſt the threatened Attacks of Mahomed Beg Cawn Amdâny, who is joined with the oppoſite Party, Mirza Shuffee availed himſelf of this Conjuncture to attempt, by Force, the effectual Eſtabliſhment of his Authority at the Capital. Accordingly, on the Eleventh Inſtant, he marched his whole Army into the Town, ſeized upon the principal Gates and Avenues, ſurrounded the Houſes of Mudjeed ul Dowla the Dewan, Nudjiff Cooly Cawn, and Luttauft Ally Cawn, all of whom were united in the Combination againſt him, and ſecured the Perſon of the former, as he has alſo, probably by this Time, that of Nudiff ‡ Cooly Cawn, who had, when my laſt Intelligence was diſpatched, loſt all his Artillery, ſeveral of his principal Sirdars, and was reduced, as a laſt Reſource, to the Neceſſity of defending himſelf with Muſketry only, within the Walls of his private Habitation. The Capture of his Perſon will leave Mirza Shuffee Cawn without any Competitor upon the Spot capable of oppoſing him, and enable him immediately to turn his whole Force, in conjunction with Mahomed Beg Cawn, againſt Affraſaib and his Party, with the faireſt Proſpect of Succeſs. ‡ Sic in Orig.

There can, I apprehend, be no Doubt but his Majeſty, upon this Turn of Affairs, will cheerfully and openly acquieſce in the Demands of Mirza Shuffee Cawn, which, it appears, have never extended beyond the Inveſtiture of ſuch Offices as he is univerſally allowed to have had an indiſputable Claim to upon the Death of Nudjiff Cawn; and as he is a Perſon attached both from Ties of Conſanguinity and Inclination to the Vizier's Government, as well as the firſt in Rank and Credit among the remaining Chiefs of the Empire; I preſume the Honourable Board will conſider his riſing Influence as a favourable Incident to the political Intereſts of the Company, being well aſſured that the ſmalleſt Encouragement given to this Chief, were it to conſiſt only in an Acknowledgment of his Title to the Aſcendency he has acquired, with the bare Name of our Support, would ſecure his Attachment to the mutual Intereſts of our own and the Vizier's Government, and render him not only a powerful Barrier to theſe Provinces, but a moſt uſeful Partizan, ſhould Motives of Neceſſity or Expedience, at any future Period, induce your Honourable Board to extend your Views beyond the Limits to which they are at preſent confined.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
14th Sept. 1782.

F

To the Honourable Board.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I had the Honour to inform you Yesterday, of the State of Affairs at Delhy, since which I have received Intelligence of the Surrender of Nudjiff Cooly Cawn, and the Probability of a speedy Settlement of the Government under the Administration of Mirza Shuffee Cawn.

I have the Honour to be, with the greatest Respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
15th Sept. 1782.

G

To the Honourable Board.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

You will have been informed by my Addresses of the 14th and 15th Instant, of the late Occurrences at Delhy, and of my Sentiments as to the probable Issue of them, which stand confirmed by Intelligence this Day received of his Majesty's having conferred upon Mirza Shuffee Cawn the Office of Meer Buxy, with all the other Employments held by the late Nabob Nudjiff Cawn.

This Measure appears to have yielded universal Satisfaction to all Ranks of People, excepting those few immediately attached to Affrasaib Cawn; and for the Reasons assigned in my First Address on this Subject, may, I flatter myself, prove acceptable to your Honourable Board; in which Case I would humbly presume to recommend a Letter of Congratulation from the Honourable the Governor General to Mirza Shuffee Cawn on his Advancement.

We hourly expect the News of an Action between the Forces of Affrasaib Cawn and Mahomed Beg Amdanny, unless the rapid and complete Success of Mirza Shuffee Cawn at Delhi should induce the former to Submission.

I have the Honour to be, with the greatest Respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient and most humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
the 19th Sept. 1782.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I had the Honour to receive your Commands of the 10th August, previous to my Departure from Patna, and delayed the Acknowledgment of them until my Arrival at Lucknow, only that I might be enabled to yield you the fullest Information and Satisfaction on the Subject of their Contents.

I have had the Pleasure to find upon my Arrival, that the Report of Almas Ally Cawn's Flight from the Vizier's Dominions was premature. His Conduct for some Time past, no doubt, indicated such an Intention, and* appears at one Time warranted a Belief that his Resolution was decidedly taken; but although he withdrew himself and his Naibs from the Charge of the Country, he never broke off his Correspondence with the Courts, or manifested any Disinclination to return to his Duty under his Excellency's Government, whenever he might be assured he could do it on Terms of undoubted Security to himself.

* Sic in Orig.

The hastily and ill founded Alarms with which the Misrepresentations of the Enemies of the Vizier's and our own Government had impressed him, having been removed by the fullest Assurances of Security and Protection, he has resumed the Charge of the Districts before held, and I trust his future Conduct will merit your Forgiveness and continued Patronage.

I must entreat, Sir, that you will suspend your Judgment upon the State of the Vizier's Administration, until I shall be able to lay before you a Review of the Measures already adopted, and now in Agitation, for the Regulation of this Country, which I have not a Doubt will afford the most satisfactory Evidence of the happy Effects of your Managements.

Upon the last Paragraph of your Commands, I must beg leave to refer you to my Address of this Date to the Honourable Board, which I confidently trust you will receive as an Acquittal of the Responsibility with which you charge me; and as you have candidly rested your Decision on my Conduct, on the ultimate Effect of my Exertions to realize the Honourable Company's Balance, conformably to the Assurances I had repeatedly given on that Head, I am encouraged to hope for that Testimony of your Approbation, which it has ever been equally my

my Study and Ambition to merit, and which with me muſt ever conſtitute an eſſential Part of any Satisfaction I could look for in the moſt ſucceſsful Diſcharge of my Duty.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
7th September 1782.

(A true Copy.) Nath. Middleton.

To the Honourable Board.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Conformably to the Spirit of the Inſtructions given to me for my Guidance by the Honourable the Governor General, upon the Concluſion of the Agreement with the Nabob Vizier at Chunar, I have the Honour to inform you, with his Excellency's Concurrence, I have ſtationed in each Aumildary throughout theſe Provinces an Agent of my own Nomination, in the Capacity of Daroga Taſſuah, or Muſter-maſter to the Mooteyna Troops, whoſe Duty it is to muſter and tranſmit to my Office regular monthly Returns of thoſe Eſtabliſhments, and upon whoſe Report and Signature alone their Pay is to be iſſued. This Meaſure will eſtabliſh a neceſſary Check upon the Conduct of the Aumils, and effectually obviate thoſe Abuſes and Miſapplications conſequent on the former irregular Mode of conducting this Branch of Expence. I could not with Propriety have taken ſ* deciſive a Line in this Buſineſs at an earlier Period, as the Nabob and Miniſters, returning to the Capital ſo late as the Month of October, found themſelves obliged to continue the Aumils already in Employ in their reſpective Truſts, or riſk by new Appointments at that advanced Seaſon the Loſs of the whole Collections on the Khereef, or firſt Corps; which amount of † Two-fifths of the annual Revenue and the ſame Circumſtance, involved the Neceſſity of leaving their Agreements nearly in the Form in which they ſtood the preceding Year. Hence it became difficult and dangerous to take any immediate Steps for the Introduction of the Governor General's Arrangements, beyond laying the Foundations of a future Reform, which was duly attended to; and theſe I can now ſecurely build upon, as by availing myſelf of this early Period, every Aumils ‡ is previouſly apprized of the Terms on which he unbarks §, and ſtands without Excuſe for any Failure in his Engagements. I ſhall have the Satisfaction of laying before you very ſhortly as correct a Return of the Troops actually employed, as it may be poſſible to make, after curtailing Numbers every where, as far as it can be done conſiſtently with the Security of the Collections; and out of the Savings, which I am confident of immediately producing, I have ſtipulated with the Miniſter for the Maintenance of Four complete Regiments of the Honourable Company's Troops, at the Rate of Twenty-five thouſand Rupees per Month each, as eſtabliſhed by the Chunar Treaty; ſhould this Meaſure meet your Approbation, and it be ſuitable to your Views to enlarge the Plan, I have no Doubt of being able by degrees to introduce as many more Regiments as you may wiſh to have employed, in lieu of the Government Troops now maintained for the Service.

* Sic in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

‡ Sic in Orig.

§ Sic in Orig.

I have the further Satisfaction to inform your Honourable Board, that I have at length prevailed on the Nabob Vizier to carry into effectual Execution the Meaſure recommended by the Honourable the Governor General, for the Inſtitution of Courts of Adawlut, under proper Regulations, throughout his Dominions. Molovy Mowbean, a very reputable, learned, and diſtinguiſhed Man of the Law, has been appointed Sudder ul Huck, and a Deputy on his Behalf is going out with each Aumil, accompanied with a proper and competent Eſtabliſhment for the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice, independently of the Phougedars and Collectors. This Meaſure will alſo, I flatter myſelf, meet with your Approbation.

It is incumbent upon me to inform you of the improper Conduct of Fyzula Cawn, who for ſome Time paſt has been carrying on a conſtant Correſpondence with the other Rohilla Chiefs, and maintains Diſcourſes in his public Durbar of a very contrary Tendency to the Line of his Duty and profeſſed Allegiance to the Vizier.

It is not very likely he would be able to effect any Thing that could materially endanger theſe Provinces; yet it muſt be obſerved that any Attempt, however unſucceſsful to himſelf, would to a Certainty occaſion a very heavy Loſs in the Vizier's Collections. And * Advantage gained by his Troops in a late unfortunate Diſpute with Two of his Vizier's Battalions at Darrangur, has had the natural Effect of exciting Inſolence and Temerity, and makes it now not very eaſy for that Chief, were he ſo inclined, to repreſs the turbulent Spirit of his Follows †.

* Sic in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

By the Third Article of the Treaty concluded between the Honourable the Governor General and the Vizier at Chunar, his Excellency is empowered to place Fayzula Cawn upon the ſame Footing with the other Jagheerdars, giving him his Allowances in Money inſtead of Lands; but the Honourable the Governor General, though acceding to the Nabob's Propoſal, deeming it ‡ inadviſeable that the Meaſure ſhould be attempted in the then Situation of this Government, and during the active Scene which occupied the Company's Troops, I, in conſequence, prevailed on the Nabob to ſuſpend it until a more convenient Opportunity might offer. Theſe Objections to the Meaſure being now, I conceive, removed, and this being the only Jagheer exiſting under the Vizier's Government, I would, if the Honourable Board are pleaſed to approve, venture to adviſe the Reſumption of it as ſoon as the Ceſſation of the Rains will permit. For this it will be neceſſary

‡ Sic in Orig.

neceſſary the Nabob ſhould obtain not only your previous Sanction, but Aſſurance of your Support, in caſe, which I think very probable, his own Strength ſhould be found unequal to the Undertaking.

The Poſſeſſions of Fayzula Cawn are ſo ſituated, that there is no Poſſibility of cutting off his Retreat, whenever he might chooſe to attempt it; and, ſhould it ever ſo happen, the great extra Collections he has for ſome Years paſt made beyond the Amount for which the Jagheer was originally granted, now ſuppoſed to be accumulated to One Crore and an Half of Rupees, muſt prove a total and irreparable Loſs to this Country. It ſeems therefore worthy the Attention of your Honourable Board to co-operate with the Vizier in ſuch Meaſures as may be moſt effectual in obviating the Miſchiefs which his Excellency juſtly apprehends from leaving Fayzula Cawn in his preſent unreſtricted Situation, eſpecially as the propoſed Change cannot, in my Conception, be conſidered as any actual Innovation on the Rights of that Chief's Treaty with the late Vizier, which ſecure to him an annual Income of Fifteen Lacks; and this the Nabob by no means deſigns to deprive him of, but wiſhes to pay it in Money inſtead of allowing him to collect above Thrice
* Sic in Orig. that Sum from Lands, by Means which drain the other Parts of Rohilchund of their Recates * and Revenues, and enable him to maintain a large Force ready upon all Occaſions to join any internal
† Sic in Orig. or foreign Enemy which might † up in Oppoſition to his Excellency's Government; and there can be no Doubt but Zabitta Cawn, with whom he is cloſely connected, and keeps up a conſtant Intercourſe, would ſeize any Opening which might yield him the faineſt Hopes of recovering his hereditary Poſſeſſions in Rohilchund.

I have encloſed an Addreſs from the Nabob Vizier to the Honourable the Governor General on this Subject, and am, with the higheſt Reſpect,

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Your moſt obedient and humble Servant,

Lucknow,
the 17th September 1782.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

(True Copy.) Nath. Middleton.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I have herewith the Honour to ſubmit to you an Account of my Current Claims for the preſent Year upon the Nabob Vizier, amounting to Rupees 70,99,882, for which Amount I have received Aſſignments, as per the encloſed Liſt, for Rupees 76,38,114, in which I have been neceſſitated to include the Nabob's Demand for the current Year upon Furruckabad; and as his Excellency has now totally withdrawn his Sezamul from the Collection of it, as well as every Interference whatever, I beg I may be honoured with your Inſtructions whether Muzuffer Jung is to pay the Amount at the Preſidency, or as uſual to me. Khyragur is in the ſame Predicament, the Vizier having no Authority over the preſent Aumil. The reſt I have little Doubt of receiving; for the large Balance now due from the Nabob, I am given ſtrong Hopes of receiving Aſſets from the Funds expected by the Recovery of the Nabob's paternal Eſtate, hitherto withheld by his
‡ Sic in Orig. Mother, but which he has now demanded. The Reſult is yet in Suſpence ‡: As ſoon as any Certainty of the Grounds of this Expectation can be determined, and may come to my Knowledge, I ſhall not fail to impart it to you.

The new Regulation of reſuming the Jaguires is carrying into Execution in every Part of theſe extenſive Provinces, and, when effected, will afford a very material Increaſe in the Nabob's Revenues.

The Order of Seven Lacks upon them could not be encreaſed this Year, as, before the Seizure
§ Sic in Orig. can be compleated, the Collections upon the Firſt Corp § will be over; beſides which, many of the Jaguirdars having ſtrong Family Claims upon the Nabob, he has been obliged to aſſign Ready Money Payment in lieu of the Rents of the Lands.

I have the Honour to be,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,

Lucknow,
the 30th December 1782.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

(True Copy.)

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

LIST

LIST of current Claims upon the Nabob for the Year * 1789. *Sic in Orig.

Balances due to the Paymaſters, as per their reſpective Statements for 1188	14,88,304	0	0
Two Months Pay (as per Stipulation) on Mr. Wombwell's Office —	3,00,000	0	0
Two and a Half ditto ditto, temporary Brigade and Cavalry —	7,50,000	0	0
Subſidy — — — — —	31,20,000	0	0
Extra Regiment, as per Agreement, at 25,000 Rupees per Month for 10 Months — — — — —	2,50,000	0	0
Abdul Reheman Cawn — — — — —	3,30,000	0	0
Sadit Ally — — — — — —	61,578	0	0
Claims of Mr. Fraſer, Mr. Marſack and Co. — — —	5,00,000	0	0
	70,99,882	0	0

(True Copy).
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

ASSIGNMENTS received for the Year 1189 on the following Diſtricts.

Rohilcund — — — — — — —	31,00,000	0	0
Corah, Doaub, &c. — — — — —	12,00,000	0	0
Furruckabad — — — — —	7,58,000	0	0
Jaguires — — — — — —	7,00,000	0	0
Bahrack and Gurrackpore — — — —	6,50,000	0	0
Goonda — — — — — —	3,50,000	0	0
Allahabad — — — — —	4,35,000	0	0
Khyragur — — — — —	1,95,000	0	0
Azimgur — — — — —	1,30,000	0	0
Sundeila Milliabad — — — —	1,20,000	0	0
	76,38,114	0	0

(True Copy).
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Reſpecting the Conduct of Fayzula Cawn.

Extracts of Letters from the Reſident at Oude to the Governor General and Council.

Extract, dated the 27th December 1781.

" I muſt alſo take the Liberty to add my Opinion, that unleſs Fyzoola Cawn, remotely ſituated
" as he is, out of reach of Interruption, in the Center of his own Tribe and Country, connected unin-
" terruptedly with the other Two remaining Patan Powers, becomes included in this general Re-
" form of the Jagheers, or ſome effectual Check impoſed upon him, the whole may prove abor-
" tive, while, if fully enforced, † may ſave this Country, and with it, poſſibly much of our own † Sic in Orig.
" Blood and Treaſure."

Extracts of ditto, dated the 24th February 1782.

" In ſuch an Event, I ſhould think it very probable he would be joined by Fyzoola Cawn,
" who, there is ſtrong Reaſon to believe, is by no means well affected to the Vizier's Govern-
" ment, and who has of late made ſuch Preparations, and ſuch a Diſpoſition of his Family and
" Wealth, as evidently manifeſt either an intended or expected Rupture."

Extract of ditto, dated the 25th March 1782.

" The Third Article, which includes the Jaguire of Fyzulla Cawn among the reſt, has hither-
" to been deferred, by the Poſtſcript to your General Inſtructions, which forbids it until Circum-
" ſtance‡ may render it more expedient and eaſy to be attempted, than the preſent more material ‡ Sic in Orig.
" Purſuits of Government make it appear. However, I beg leave to repeat, that a Stipend or
" Allowance in Ready Money to that Chief, in lieu of his Jaguire Lands, ſituated and peopled
" as they are by his own Tribe, in Vicinity to Three capital Territories of the ſame Caſt, would

" be

" be far more conducive to the Intereſts and Security of this Government; and, as ſuch, permit " me to recommend it to your Conſideration."

Extract of Ditto, dated the 15th April 1782.

" Zabitta Cawn at Ghous Ghur is arming and entering into Alliances with the Seiks. The " Nabob Fyzula Cawn, from the beſt Intelligence I am able to procure, carries on a cloſe and ſe- " cret Correſpondence with him. He has gone ſo far as to throw out ſome very inflammatory Diſ- * Sic in Orig. " courſes in his Durbar; and by this Day's Intelligence, it appears that ſome * uſual Reſtraints " have been impoſed on my Agent, who hitherto had free Acceſs at his Durbar, to ſend In- " telligence of what paſſed there. I ſhall be very watchful of his Conduct and Motions, and not " fail to give your Honourable Board regular Information of every Thing that I may think worth " your Notice."

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,
(True Extracts.)

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Orders reſpecting Furruckabad.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor General and Council to Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at Oude, dated the 11th July 1782.

" We obſerve that you have not received any Part of the Sum expected from Furruckabad; " and are ſurpriſed that you have not intimated, either in your Letters to the Board or to the " Governor General, the Circumſtances which have prevented you from receiving any Part of " the Sum expected from the Nabob Muzuffer Jung; ſhould they proceed from an Advantage " taken by him of our Mediation with the Nabob Vizier, we direct that you immediately afford " him effectual Aſſiſtance for the Recovery of what may be due to him from Muzuffer Jung, " and expreſsly withdraw all other Interference with that Nabob."

(True Extract.)

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Collector of his Excellency the Vizier's Aſſignment to the Honourable Company.

Sir,

The Governor General intending to viſit the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier, we therefore direct you to obey all ſuch Orders and Inſtructions as he may from this Time think proper to iſſue to you in his own Name, and in all Reſpects to conſider his ſingle Authority as of the ſame Force, until this Order ſhall be revoked, as that of the Governor General and Council collectively,

We are, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servants,

Fort William,
the 3d July 1781.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.
Edward Wheler.

To the Honourable Board.

Hon. Sir and Sirs,

I am ſorry to communicate to your Honourable Board the Aſſaſſination of Mirza Aboola Beg, Aumil of Goruckpore and Bahrach, by Two diſcontented Men among his Troops, who alſo paid the Forfeit of their own Lives for their Temerity.

I cannot help being under ſome Alarm for the poſſible Effects which this Accident may produce on the general State of thoſe Countries, and particularly on the Nabob's Aſſignment upon them in favour of the Honourable Company, it unfortunately happening at a moſt critical Period of the Rubbee Harveſt, upon which the heavieſt Collections fall; nothing, however, has been left undone which Prudence could ſuggeſt to prevent Confuſion or Loſs; Rajah Soorut Sing, Dewan to the preſent and late Vizier, a Man of the firſt Repute and Conſequence in this Country, having been deputed to take charge of the Collections, and by his Influence to endeavour to prevent thoſe Inſurrections which might be apprehended among a People naturally prone to Rebellion. I have, with the Vizier's Concurrence, ordered Major Naylor's Regiment to move Northward from Goonda to the Diſtricts moſt likely to be diſturbed; and Major Gilpin's Regiment being at § Sic in Orig. Fayzabad,§ the ſmall Balance yet due on the Nabob's Aſſignment upon the Bhow Begums, is alſo conveniently poſted to act upon an Emergency; ſo that I have every Reaſon to flatter myſelf the Country will ſoon be reſtored to Peace and Tranquillity, ſhould, contrary to my Hopes, theſe Meaſures not prove effectual in entirely preventing Diſorders.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect;
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your moſt obedient, and moſt humble Servant;

Lucknow,
the 27th May 1782.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Reſident, &c.

To

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. Members of the Council.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I received the Honour of your Commands of the 25th November, conveying the Proceedings of the Seventh September againſt me, founded upon Two Letters of as Perſons* ſo general and ſo unſupported by any defined Act, that I could not anſwer them otherwiſe than by a Negative, as unqualified and equally general. This uſeleſs Reply I ſuſpended until I ſhould receive the Charges on that Date, promiſed to be drawn up from theſe Letters, and other Matter not then recorded. Theſe I have now received, under Seven Heads: The Two firſt immediately from the Letters, as recorded on the 7th September; the Third upon a Part of the ſame Letter, not then entered, and the Four laſt, Complaints of Neglect of Duty, under Heads particularized.

* Sic in Orig.

Encloſed I have the Honour to ſubmit my Anſwers to each Charge. Anxiouſly waiting your final Deciſion upon them, I have the Honour to ſubſcribe myſelf, with the greateſt Reſpect,

Calcutta, the 14th June 1783. Delivered in 5th July.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your moſt obedient, and moſt humble Servant,
(Signed) R. Johnſon.

First Charge from Hyder Beg's Letter, entered, Conſultations the 7th* September 1782.

* Sic in Orig.

For aſſuming an unlicenſed Authority in Prejudice of the Vizier's Government, and interfering in the Management of his Country in oppoſition to his Will, and to the Endeavours and Remonſtrances of his Miniſter. The particular Inſtances alledged are, by appointing Amils of your own Choice, and in ſuch a Manner that no one either attended the Preſence of the Nabob or viſited his Miniſters.

(See N° 1. Mode of appointing Amils.)

(See N° 2. Orders.)

Anſwer.

I am nearly as much difficulted to anſwer this Abſtract, as I am the Letter it is taken from, and for the ſame Reaſons. It contains no defined Act except in the laſt Words, by which it is ſtated that I have appointed Amils, but not one is named.

I appointed no Amils; I recommended more than One, and urged the Miniſter to obtain their Appointment from the Nabob (who alone is competent to this Act) by every Means in my Power. Theſe Means were limited to Reiteration of Requeſt. My Duty, as well as my Orders, directed me in this. I ſhould have been influenced by either ſeparately, had they not united in one Iſſue. I never recommended but upon ſelf-evident Neceſſity. Had any one Inſtance been named, I ſhould thereby have been called upon to trouble the Honourable Board with a full Explanation of that Inſtance. As the Charges* now ſtands, a general Hiſtory would be as vague in its Effect, as the Miniſter's general Accuſation is. Other Aſſumption of unlicenſed Authority is undefined. I deny any:—And with it "the Prejudice to the Nabob's Government," equally unexplained. The Interference, the Oppoſition to the Nabob's Will, and the Endeavours and Remonſtrances of his Miniſter, are all as unknown to me as they are unſupported. I can only oppoſe my Negative to them. The particular Inſtances alledged, I have anſwered; to which I muſt add, that if "the Manner of appointing Amils of my own Choice, ſo that no one attended the Nabob's Preſence, or viſited the Miniſter," alludes to the Non-attendance of the Amils themſelves, the very Nature of the Act (explained in N° 1) refutes it. If it alludes generally to all Ranks of People being deterred from going to the Nabob and Miniſter, I muſt aſſert the contrary, and will ſtand by the Proof.

* Sic in Orig.

Second Charge from Hyder Beg's Letter, Conſultations 7th September 1782.

By exacting Sunnuds and Orders from the Preſence at your own Pleaſure, and iſſuing the Sunnuds on your own Part,

Anſwer.

This is as general as the firſt, which it muſt be if my Deſcription of the Letter it is taken from be true.

Exacting,

as if this Duty had been held independent of the Vizier's Authority.

Exacting, is a very vague Term. The Mode, Degree, and Aim of an Act, conſtitutes its Criminality: Its Name does not. I have before ſaid, that urgent and reiterated Solicitation, Importunity through the Miniſter himſelf to the Nabob, were the only Means I had. I repeat that I employed no other. I obtained Sunnuds for the Amils I recommended; they could not have become Amils without them. I deemed this a Diſcharge of my Duty. I deemed the Succeſs a Merit; and until an unjuſtiiable * Mode of ſuch Obtention* is proved, or any unjuſtifiable Purpoſe in the ſubſequent Uſe of them eſtabliſhed, I muſt continue in this Error. This Act of Independency is diſproved by the Sunnud itſelf, by the iſſuing of it, and ſupporting it.

* Sic in Orig.

3d Charge, Con'. 7th September 1782.

Major Palmer's Letter "for ſending repeatedly to the Vizier, and to his Miniſter Hyder Beg Khan, to adviſe them againſt transferring the 10 Lacs of Rupees intended as a Preſent to the Governor General to the Company's Account, as it would be a Precedent for further Demands, which, if the Vizier did not reſiſt in the firſt Inſtance, this Government would never ceaſe to haraſs him for Money."

* Sic in Orig.

60 a Loan.
12 for Four additional Regiments.
10 the Sum in this Charge.
—
Total 82
—

Anſwer.

This Extract, and the Matter of the remaining Charges, are not in the Copy of the Proceedings of the 7th September ſent to me in December laſt. I am not the leſs ready to meet them here.

The Act and Intention, as far as I ſhall limit them, in admitting myſelf the Cauſe of preventing the 10 Lacs mentioned from being, at that Time, paid to the Company, are true. The Reaſons aſſigned for ſuch Prevention, "left* the Nabob ſhould be again haraſſed," &c. are the Miniſter's own Words and Objections, made to me, transferred into my Mouth. The Mode alſo, by Meſſage, is likewiſe miſrepreſented. But that is immaterial. Suffice it for me to explain the Act. I acknowledge Fifty Lacs were due in Balance. All the Nabob's Reſources not promiſing to prove equal to diſcharge this Balance, a new Claim was at this ſame Inſtant made of 82 Lacs. The Reſources in my Hands, the ſole Fund exiſting to anſwer both, the Means unequal to this End, the Queſtion remained, which of the Two Claims, the new or the old, ſhould be firſt paid? I did not heſitate one Inſtant to declare, that if any of the Aſſets placed in my Hands ſhould be attempted to be eſtranged from the Purpoſes for which they were aſſigned, I ſhould declare it a Breach of Treaty. They were to diſcharge the Balances of Years. The ſole Object of the late Treaty, and all the Meaſures connected with it, had this ſingle Point for their End. Could I, deeply pledged for the Fulfilment of this Treaty, ſubſcribe to the total Subverſion of theſe Meaſures at the very Moment of their Completion, in the Termination of the Year preſcribed and allotted for their Operation? I could not; I ought not; therefore, I thus obſtructed the whole; of courſe, the Parts of that whole, for the Reaſons above aſſigned, and no other whatever. Whether ſuch a Preference, ſo given to a previous Claim, was criminal or meritorious, reſts with the Honourable Board to declare, when they recollect that retarding neither expunges or diminiſhes a Claim. Permit me here to ſubjoin, had the 10 Lacs been uninvolved with the 72, or had the aggregate Sum not been required within the Period left for liquidating the Balances intruſted to me, or had not the Aſſets lodged in my Hands for this Purpoſe been the ſole Funds from which ſuch Payment could be attempted, ſo far from impeding even for a Moment ſuch a Claim, I ſhould have been the firſt to ſupport and urge it to its Completion.

4th Charge.

For Neglect of Duty, in not having communicated to this Government any Measures which the State of Affairs in the Vizier's Country might render it necessary for you to adopt, if such Necessity prevailed.

Answer.

No defined Measures, under this Description, being asserted in my Accusation, or acknowledged by me, the Necessity supposed is not in Agitation; and the Neglect of communicating any such falls until the Affirmative becomes established. I adopted no new Measures, but I earnestly and unremittingly pursued the usual Track of the Rules laid down to answer the Ends they were originally intended for. I allude to the Instructions for the Resident.

5th Charge.

For further Neglect of Duty in not having written a single Letter to this Government during the Absence of Mr. Middleton from his Station at Lucknow; to report the State of the Upper Provinces, or of the Vizier's Dominions; or to mention any one Occurrence of those Parts, notwithstanding the important Events which took place during that Interval, from the Contentions which ensued upon the Decease of Nudjif Cawn, and the Disturbances in the Vizier's Country from the Defection and Flight of Allmas Ally Khan, one of his principal Zemindars, with a considerable Treasure and Force; from the Refractoriness and Disobedience of other Zemindars, and from other Causes which the Board have since been informed of; and for not mentioning the Disaster which happened to Two Battalions of the Vizier's Troops at Daranagur; all which the Board obtained no Knowledge of but from private Information.

Answer.

Mr. Middleton left Lucknow the 18th June, and returned the last of August. The Duty he entrusted to me was limited and restricted to closing the Balances; in which he requested Major Palmer, to whom he made over the political Department, to assist me with his Support, if I called for it. The Line was specially drawn; the political Information, of course, rested with the political Agent. He attended the Durbar, where my Business never called me. In my Line, nothing new or remarkable occurred during the Period above mentioned. The Death of Nudjiff Khan, with all its Consequences, actual and probable, had been fully laid before the Board and the Governor General in the Resident's Letters of the 9th, 10th April, to the Governor the same Date, and, the 15th, to the Council; and again, in several Letters immediately after his Return, upon resuming the respective Charges entrusted to Major Palmer and me. With respect to the Vizier's Dominions, nothing new happened in the constantly turbulent State of the Zemindars of a Country where the Rents are collected at the Point of the Sword. Many Rumours were spread of the intended Disaffection and Flight of Allmass Ali Khan. The Resident, immediately after his Return, informed the Governor General, Date 7th September *, that he had ascertained them to be groundless Reports. While I was acting, during which Time the Rumour first began, I had always an Agent with him. His chief Manager, and most confidential Agent, was always with me, and with the Minister, who likewise had an Agent constantly with Allmass. The Minister's Intelligence uniformly agreed with mine. I never lost an Opportunity to compare them; and neither of us, I will confirm by Oath, ever believed him beyond the Nabob's Limits. What I offer to confirm and attest, is my own Belief, with the Minister's consonant Declarations made to me. And I trust, that the united Testimony of Mr. Middleton, the Minister, and myself, will be received by the Board as equal, if not superior in Weight, to that of others, who cannot have had Channels of Information so much to be depended upon as those I have stated. However, my Belief, well or ill grounded, being what I have stated, I could not have informed the Honourable Board of an Act I discredited.

* See No. 4. Extract Ref. Letter.

The Fray at Daranagur was the Result, immediately brought to an Issue, of a Dispute between Two Individuals in the Bazar. The Cause, Progress, and Result, were fully ascertained. The Chiefs of the respective Parties rejected all Knowledge of, and Interference in it. Any public Question, or Discussion of it, might have proved dangerous. Fyzulla Khan is the most timid of Men. The Court of Lucknow were

were ſo ſenſible of this, that they offered not a Word about it. Such Frays, termed Khanna junghee, occur perpetually under the beſt-regulated of the Up-country Governments. Under all theſe Circumſtances, in Explanation of the Heads mentioned in the Charge, I hope it will no longer appear criminal my not having correſponded upon them to the Board, even had my Situation, and diſtinct Truſt, not carried upon the Face of it the general Objection firſt above ſtated in the Beginning of the Anſwer to this Charge.

6th Charge.

For applying, on different Occaſions, to Colonel Morgan, commanding the Brigade at Cawnpore, for military Aid to enforce the Orders of Government, and quell Diſturbances in different Parts of the Vizier's Dominions, without any Reference, or even Information given, to the Board of ſuch Applications, or the Occaſion for them.

Vide No. 5 and 6. The March and Deſtination of which the Reſident informed the Board with the 7th September. No. 5 further explained in Major Scott's Inſtructions, No. 6, dated 9th September.

Anſwer.

I obtained no Regiment, or military Aid, from Colonel Morgan. One Regiment was wanted in conſequence of the Board's Letter of the 11th July. Colonel Morgan could not ſpare one. Of the only Three Regiments employed during this uncommonly buſy Year, One, the 23d, had been returned to Dynapore; another, the 20th, remained employed at Fyzabad; the Third, which was the 3d Regiment, Major Scott, appeared to have a Moment's Reſpite at Sahlone; he was therefore ſent.—The Cauſe and Object of his March ariſing from the Orders of the Board, the immediate Communication of it did not ſeem to me ſo very urgently neceſſary. If the Honourable Board judge differently, I ſtand liable to the Cenſure that ſuch an Error of judging of the immediate Neceſſity of ſuch Communication may be thought to deſerve. After the Departure of the 23d Regiment, and the March of the 3d, the Reſpite Bulbudder had given threatened but ſhort Continuance. To prevent any Riſk from this, I availed myſelf of Colonel Blair's Offer (N° 8.), grounded on the Governor General's Tender of the Troops at the Jaunpore Station (N° 7.), and obtained Two Battalions, which was equal to the One Regiment that had been returned. But upon this I ſhall trouble the Board with no further Detail, as it is not included in my Charges. And in Truth, the Movement was of little Conſequence. The frontier Camp was neither weakened or affected by it. The Number of Troops on Service were not increaſed, and they acted very little beyond their immediate Stations.

7th Charge.

But particularly for detaching, by the Means of your Application to the Commanding Officer at Cawnpore, One Regiment from that Brigade, to enforce the Vizier's Demands upon the Nabob of Ferockabad, notwithſtanding the poſitive Prohibition of any Interference from the Reſident in the Vizier's Claims upon that Nabob, and notwithſtanding the further poſitive Prohibition of Detachments being required from the Brigade, except in Caſes of extreme Neceſſity; and, on all theſe important Occaſions, for neglecting to make any Communications to this Board.

Anſwer.

I have ſtated in the foregoing Anſwer, that I obtained no Regiment from Colonel Morgan's Brigade. Major Scott's March was laid before the Honourable Board in the annexed Letter (N° 5.) from the Reſident, wherein the whole Nature of this Tranſaction is fully explained, ſo as, I truſt, to remove every Ground of the Criminality couched in this Charge, proving it to have been done in conformity with the Spirit of the Board's Letter of 11th July 1782. The Governor General * Orders alluded to, were of a much anterior date. They were ſuperſeded by the Letter 11th July, founded upon Circumſtances that aroſe after the Date of the Governor's firſt Orders, and totally changing the Grounds of them. The ſecond Prohibition, herein mentioned, muſt of courſe give way, when the Board direct effectual Aſſiſtance to be give † to the Vizier, to realize his Claims upon Mozuffer

* Sic in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

Mozuffer Jung. The leaſt * Step towards effectual Aſſiſtance was to enſure the Arrival of the Vizier's Negociator at Furrackabad, which was the End of Major Scott's March. The concluding Sentence of this Charge is a Recapitulation of what I have anſwered in Detail in the Four preceding Articles. * Sic in Orig.

I have offered to the Indulgence of the Board all that my immediate Self-juſtification ſeemed indiſpenſably to require againſt the Charges, as I find them ſtated: But ere I can call for their Deciſion, I muſt proceed to explain a Point with which I am not charged, but with which I muſt now charge myſelf, as I find it ſolely laid to Mr. Middleton. He is accuſed with anticipating the Revenues, and loading them with an uſurious Intereſt upon an Advance made to him, and brought to Credit in his Accounts. This Crime originated with me. He only ſanctified it by his Authority. The greater Share, if not the whole of the Blame, it may incur, muſt therefore reſt on me. The total Sum conſiſted of Two Parts, nearly Halves, 25 Lacks each; one was a Negociation of the Balances due from the different Amils, agitated and ſettled by the Miniſter himſelf: The other an Anticipation of Rents aſſigned to pay a Banker for the Advance he made of the Amount required and negociated. The Charge is or ſhould be therefore confined to this laſt. The whole Tranſaction will of courſe be fully ſtated by Mr. Middleton, as it ſtands included in his Charges. All that I here mean to explain, is, that the Rents anticipated by Aſſignment to the Banker, in other Words the Funds upon which the Advance was made, were not the Rents of Lands upon which the Company had ever received their Aſſignments, or which had ever ſupplied the Nabob's Treaſury and Wants, but the reſumed Rents of rebellions * and other Jagueerdars (chiefly Letafuts, Begums, and Salar Jungs), forming an entire new Fund, now and never before brought into the Nabob's and Company's Coffers. By this Plan it became therefore in ſo much a net Gain to the Nabob. The Plan in other Reſpects, had it met with Encouragement, opened a new Channel of Reſource, upon emergent Occaſions, to the Nabob and Company. The Bankers, properly noticed and rewarded for an Advance of 50 Lacks (an Inſtance I believe never before equalled), would have been ready upon a Repetition of the Call. The Intereſt termed Uſury by the Board, was the uſual Intereſt of the Country where the Loan was made. The eſtabliſhed Intereſt of a Country is no Uſury in that Country, whatever it may be deemed in others. But had the Intereſt been uſurious or high, the Nabob paid it; not from his own Reſources, Deficiencies in which could afterwards † b felt by his Allies, but from new Funds. He would gladly have paid it from his own, to anſwer the great Purpoſes effected by it. * Sic in Orig. † Sic in Orig.

It enabled him to fulfil a Treaty, a Treaty of the higheſt Concern to him; a Treaty, for the Performance of which himſelf, his Miniſter, and the Reſident, ſtood pledged; the Completion of which, compriſed a great Benefit to the Company. They were in want of Money. The Treaty was calculated to anſwer this Want, and this Plan to fulfil the Treaty. Therefore, had even the Nabob's own uſual Reſources, or even thoſe uſually aſſigned to the Company, been in Reality anticipated, ſuch Anticipation would have been an Advantage to the Company, by an advanced Payment, and not a Detriment or Injury, upon which alone the Diſapprobation of the Board can be grounded. I therefore now hope, that this Explanation will induce the Approbation, inſtead of Cenſure, of the Board upon this Meaſure.

(Signed) R. Johnſon.

Mode of appointing an Aumil at the Court of Owde.

After the Petition of an Amil to be appointed, either from himſelf or the Introduction or Influence of others, and the Election adopted by the Miniſter and Nabob, the old Accounts of former Years of the Province to be delivered in charge are produced by the Miniſter from the Dewannee and other public Offices, and upon theſe, after they have guided the Agreement of groſs Jumma, he examines the Wajeb ub Arz, a Paper written under diſtinct and widely ſeparated Heads, expreſſing every Requeſt and Stipulation propoſed by the intended Amil. Between theſe ſeparate Articles the Miniſter writes in his own Hand his Adoption or Rejection of the reſpective Claims, in Whole or in Part. The Paper thus prepared goes through the Dewannee, Bukſhygaree, Taſſeah, &c. inferior Officers, to be examined and regiſtered. After all theſe clear and well-known Forms, the Amil receives his Sunnuds and Shukkahs under the Nabob's great Seal, with the other Checks, Counterparts, and Confirmations of inferior Officers. The Nabob then grants him ſome of his own Troops to eſtabliſh and ſupport him, if neceſſary; and finally in Preſence of, and from the Nabob's own Hands, the confirmed Amil receives his Tebberuck or Khelat, upon which he preſents to the Nabob a Nezar, and is at Liberty to proceed the firſt fortunate Day upon his Commiſſion. He then viſits the Miniſters and other high Officers, to whom he likewiſe preſents Nezars, and expects Beetle, Otter, Shauls, or Marks of Approbation, Favour, and Protection, from them, without which he does not think it ſafe or prudent to ſet out. Of late Years, ſince a Reſident has been in that Court, who generally has ſo much to do with many of the Amils (that is, thoſe upon whom the Honourable Company's Aſſignment ‡ are granted) the newly appointed Amils, if under this Predicament, and not otherwiſe, ‡ Sic in Orig.

wiſe, think it alſo right to receive a Betle or Shaul from him, either at the Time of his ſigning and delivering his Acknowledgments of the Aſſignment upon him, or any other more convenient Period before his Departure.

Extract from printed Orders, dated Chunar, 19th September 1781.

In the Management of the Collections, the Miniſters with your Concurrence are to chuſe all Amils and Collections *; and in their Choice to be guided by the Reſponſibility, good Reputation, and known Abilities of the Perſons they elect, that Charges may as far as poſſible be avoided.

* Sic in Orig.

Again: That if the Nabob ſhall perſiſt in appointing improper Officers diſaffected to our Government, it is peremptorily to be oppoſed.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Intelligence was this Morning received from Dolhy, which mentions the Death of Nudjiff Cawn; but no more authentic Account than the common Newſpapers having yet been received, either by Mirza Khullub or the Vizier, I cannot yield implicit Credit to the Report. To-morrow's Intelligence will no doubt aſcertain it.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,
Sir, your moſt obedient and humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
9th April 1782.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

The Intimation which I had the Honour to give you in my Letter of Yeſterday's Date, reſpecting Nudjiff Cawn, has been confirmed To-Day, through various authentic Channels, and I have been deſired by his Excellency the Vizier to forward you the encloſed Addreſs from him on the Subject.

I have the Honour to be, with the higheſt Reſpect,
Sir, your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
10th April 1782.

To the Honourable Board.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I have this Day received confirmed Information of the Death of the Nabob Nudjiff Cawn.

My Opinion upon this Subject I had the Honour to ſubmit to the Governor General under Date 24th February laſt, upon a premature Information of the Deceaſe of that Nabob, which hitherto I find no Reaſon to alter. I therefore beg leave to refer your Honourable Board to that, as containing every Sentiment or Information that I can at preſent offer upon the Subject.

The Nabob Vizier ſeems to think it probable, or poſſible, that Mahadajee Scindia may be induced, either at the Inſtigation of his own Ambition, or at the King's Solicitation, to proceed to Delhi upon this Conjuncture. His Alarms and Apprehenſions upon this Head, he ſtates, in his Letter of this Day's Date to the Governor General; and in order to prevent the only one of the Two aforementioned Inducements which lays within his Reach to attempt, he has written an Arzee to the King, aſſuring him of his Attachment to his Intereſts, declaring himſelf ready to march with his Forces to ſupport his Views, and mentioning your Government as equally well diſpoſed to his Majeſty, and finally recommending to him to call in no other Foreign Aid. He has alſo written Letters of Condolance to the late Nabob's Family, and other of Encouragement to the Principal Commanders of his Armies, adviſing them to continue firm in their Duty and Allegiance to the King, whom he tells them he is marching to Delhi to ſupport; moſt of theſe Chiefs were formerly the Servants of this Court, and many of them connected by Blood with the Vizier's Family. His Excellency has alſo made an Application to Colonel Morgan to move the ſubſidiary Brigade towards Etawa, to be in Readineſs to act in caſe any Emergency ſhould require it. I have ſent his Excellency's Applications to the Colonel, but have only recommended his holding the Brigade in Readineſs to march to that central Station, either upon the Receipt of your Orders to this Effect, or ſome intermediate urgent Neceſſity occurring, which may preclude the Propriety of making any Delay whatever. This will I hope meet your Approbation.

I have the Honour to be, with great Reſpect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your moſt obedient and humble Servant,
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
the 10th April 1782.
Again, 14th, 15th, 19th, and 8th October.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I have the Honour to receive your Commands of the 10th Auguſt, previous to my Departure from Patna, and delayed the Acknowledgment of them until my Arrival at Lucknow, only that I might be enabled to yield you the fulleſt Information and Satisfaction on the Subject of their Contents.

I have

I have had the Pleaſure to find upon my Arrival that the Report of Almas Ally Cawn's Flight from the Vizier's Dominions was premature. His Conduct for ſome Time paſt no doubt indicated ſuch an Intention, and appears at one Time warranted a Belief that his Reſolution was decidedly taken; but although he withdrew himſelf and his Naibs from the Charge of the Country, he never broke off his Correſpondence with the Court, or manifeſted any Diſinclination to return to his Duty under his Excellency's Government whenever he might be aſſured he could do it on Terms of undoubted Security to himſelf.

The haſty and ill-founded Alarms with which the Miſrepreſentations of the Enemies of the Vizier's and our own Government had impreſſed him, having been removed by the fulleſt Aſſurances of Security and Protection, he has reſumed the Charge of the Diſtricts he before held, and I truſt his future Conduct will merit your Forgiveneſs and continued Patronage.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

Lucknow,
the 7th September 1782.

Extract from the Reſident, dated 7th September 1782, to the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, and the Members of the Supreme Council.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I have received the Honour of your Commands of the 11th July, obſerving "That I have received no Part of the Tunkaw upon Furruckabad, and have never intimated the Cauſe in my Addreſſes either to the Board or the Governor General, and upon a Conception that the Payment withheld may have proceeded from an Advantage taken by the Nabob Muzuffer Jung of your Mediation with the Nabob Vizier, you direct in ſuch Caſe, that I immediately afford his Excellency effectual Aſſiſtance for the Recovery of what Money may be due to him from Muzuffer Jung, and expreſsly to withdraw all other Interference with the Nabob."

Upon this Article, the Honourable Board have anticipated my Reply by adverting to what they conjecture may have been the Cauſe of the total Failure in the Collections from Furruckabad, which was, as they have juſtly ſuppoſed, an improper Advantage taken by Muzuffer Jung of the Mediation employed with the Nabob Vizier in his Behalf. I have therefore, immediately upon Receipt of your Orders, withdrawn all Mediation and Interference which ſtood between the Nabob Vizier, and the Collection of his Tribute from Furruckabad, and afforded him the Aſſiſtance directed, by ſending a Regiment to ſupport the Sezawal appointed by his Excellency for the Collection of the Tribute of the enſuing Year, and have added my Inſtruction to the ſame Agent to collect the Aſſignment of Seven and Half Lacks firſt above mentioned, upon the Tribute and Balances due to the End of the Current Year; and as I have anticipated the Succeſs of this Truſt by raiſing this Amount among the other Balances as above ſtated, I have the Satisfaction to reflect that the Honourable Board will not even feel the Inconveniency ariſing from the Delay that the Mediation in favour of Muzuffer Jung has occaſioned.

Tranſlation of a Letter from the Reſident at the Vizier's Court to the Nabob.

To Muzuffer Jung.

After the uſual Compliments: I have received your Letter (recapitulates the Contents). The generous and liberal Motives which induced the Governor General to employ the Mediation of the Company between the Nabob Vizier and you, are known to the whole World, and require from me no Explanation. It is equally notorious what has been the Effect produced by that Mediation, which, however you may have underſtood it, I am well aſſured was never meant to impede, ſtill leſs wholly to preclude the Collection of the Nabob Vizier's juſt Claims upon you; the Communication I have received from the Governor General from the firſt to the laſt reſpecting the Nature and Object of his indulgent Mediation in your Behalf have correſponded invariably with my own Opinion on the Subject. In his Firſt Letter relative to this Matter, he informs me, that he has conſented to exert his Endeavours with the Vizier to remove the Reſtraint and Controul which had been laid upon you for the Collection of the Tribute, and to prevail on his Excellency to receive his Dues through your Agents, inſtead of employing his own, for which Purpoſe he has given the neceſſary Inſtructions to Meer Suftoola Cawn, and diſpatched him to the Nabob Vizier and myſelf, to adjuſt the Amounts depending between you * his Excellency, and ſettle the future Mode of Payment. The Vizier moſt readily acceded to the Governor General's Wiſhes on this Point, and his Excellency's Agents and all Sort of Interference with the Government were in conſequence inſtantly withdrawn. But this was done upon the Faith of the Governor General's Aſſurances that you would take effectual Care to prevent a Meaſure which had been adopted principally for your Relief, from impeding the Liquidation of the Vizier's legal and juſt Claims; and agreeably to the Intimation I had from the Governor General, I waited patiently the Arrival of Suftoola Cawn; but to my utter Surprize I learnt, that inſtead of coming here as directed, he went ſtreight to Furruckabad, and publicly declared you excuſed from any further Claim of the Vizier. This being ſo contrary to the Tenor of the Governor General's Advices and Commands to me, that I con-

* Sic in Orig.

* Sic in Orig. I considered it merely a Piece * Artifice of Suftoola Cawn's to raiſe his own Credit and Conſequence, and ſuppoſed you as well as myſelf impoſed upon. Having repeatedly written to you, in conſequence of the Vizier's Claim upon you having become a Part of the Funds aſſigned for the Liquidation of his Excellency's Engagements to the E. Company, without receiving any explicit or ſatisfactory Anſwer, and no Payments either made or ſeemingly intended, I was under the Neceſſity of referring the Matter to the Conſideration and Deciſion of the Governor General, who, ſeeing the improper Advantage which had been taken by you and your Agents of his well-intended Mediation, to the great Prejudice of the Vizier, and the conſequent Injury of the Company's Engagements with him, thought proper to withdraw any further Interference between you, and to leave the Vizier again uncontrouled in the Proſecution of his juſt and reaſonable Claims upon you. The Vizier has thereupon been pleaſed to appoint a Sizawal for the Proviſion of Funds for the Payment of the enſuing Year's Tribute, and it is proper I inform you, that, as before it was my Duty to uſe every Means in my Power to prevent any Interference with your Government; ſo it now becomes incumbent upon me to yield every Aſſiſtance I may be able to the Nabob Vizier to enable him to aſſert and recover thoſe Rights which the Perverſion of an Indulgence ſo generouſly procured for you, has hitherto withheld from him.

What more ſhall I ſay?

N. B. Muzuffer Jung, inſtead of tendering Payment of his Tribute through his own Agents, conſtantly denied owing any Thing to the Vizier. He and his Agents during the whole Year appear totally to have miſtaken the Governor General's humane Interpoſition.

The Vizier and his Miniſters, foreſeeing this probable Conſequence, inſiſted upon the Furruckabad Tribute being included among the Company's Aſſignments, as appears in the following Letter.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

I have herewith the Honour to ſubmit to you an Account of my current Claims for the preſent Year upon the Nabob Vizier, amounting to Rupees 70,99,882, for which Amount I have received Aſſignments as per the incloſed Liſt, for Rupees 76,38,114, in which I have been neceſſitated to include the Nabob's Demands for the current Year upon Furruckabad; and as his Excellency has now totally withdrawn his Sezawal from the Collection of it, as well as every Interference whatever, I beg I may be honoured with your Inſtructions, whether Muzuffer Jung is to ſay † the Amount at the Preſidency, or as uſual to me. Khyragar is in ‡ ſame Predicament, the Vizier having no Authority over the preſent Aumil. The reſt I have little Doubt of receiving. For the large Balance now due from the Nabob, I am given ſtrong Hopes of receiving Aſſets from the Funds expected by the Recovery of the Nabob's paternal Eſtate, hitherto withheld by his Mother, but which he has now demanded. The Reſult is yet in Suſpence; as ſoon as any Certainty of the Grounds of this Expectation can be determined and may come to my Knowledge, I ſhall not fail to impart it to you.

† Sic in Orig.
‡ Sic in Orig.

The new Regulation of reſuming the Jaguires is carrying into Execution in every Part of theſe extenſive Provinces, and when effected will afford a very material Increaſe in the Nabob's Revenues.

The Order of Seven Lacks upon them could not be encreaſed this Year, as, before the Seizure can be completed, the Collections upon the firſt Crop will be over; beſides which many of the Jaguirdars having ſtong§ Family Claims upon the Nabob, he has been obliged to aſſign Ready Money Payment in lieu of the Rents of the Lands.

§ Sic in Orig.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow,
the 30th December 1781.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

No. VI.

To Major Thomas Scott, commanding the 8th Regiment marching to Furruckabad.

Sir,

‖ Sic in Orig. The Duty you are marching upon to Furrackabad is to eſtabliſh an Agent going on Chief ‖ of the Nabob Vizier to demand and collect the Tribute due from the Nabob Muzuffer Jung.

By the laſt Advices the Chief Manager of the Nabob Mozuffer Jung's Affairs, named Subkt ulla Khan, has reſolved to oppoſe this Meaſure; but no Information upon this Subject is to be relied upon, but what you may obtain upon your Arrival, or from Mahomed Syed Khan and Ray Hananund, the Agents going from the Nabob Vizier.—The letter ¶ of theſe Two is the Man upon whoſe Knowledge and Exertion Dependance is placed in the Execution

¶ Sic in Orig.

of

of this Truſt; and with him you will be pleaſed to conſult upon the Nature of ſuch Support as he may require in his Buſineſs.

Lucknow, I have the Honour to be, Sir,
the 9th September 1782. § Your moſt obedient humble Servant, § Sic in Orig.
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I was this Day honoured with your Commands of the 10th Inſtant, informing me of the military Station you have eſtabliſhed at Juanpore, with the Liberty you grant the Nabob Vizier of claiming their Aid to quell any Diſturbances in the adjacent Parts of his Province. I have accordingly communicated it to his Excellency, who with great Juſtice was highly pleaſed with the Diſpoſition; as in Truth the Diſtricts bordering upon the Zemendary of Benares have for a long Period of Time been of all others the moſt turbulent and diſaffected, and nothing leſs than the Arrangement you have now formed could effectually ſecure the Peace and Tranquillity in that Neighbourhood, ſo eſſential to the Proſperity of the Nabob's Government and Revenues.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,
Sir,
Fayzabad, Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,
13th January 1782. (Signed) Nath. Middleton.

P. S. I have the Honour to encloſe you a Letter from the Vizier in Reply to your laſt to his Excellency.

To Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at Lucknow.

Sir,

I beg to acquaint you that the Officer commanding the Troops at preſent poſted at or near Juanpore, conſiſting of Two Regiments of Sepoys, the Second Regiment of Cavalry, with a Detachment of Artillery and Five Pieces of Ordnance, is inſtructed by me to ſupply you with a military Force ſhould you require one on any Emergency in the Nabob Vizier's Provinces; and he is further directed, in caſe of any ſuch Requiſition, to furniſh you with neceſſary Aſſiſtance without Delay or waiting for any further Orders from me.

I am to requeſt, in caſe you find it neceſſary to apply for any Part of the Troops under my Command, that you will be pleaſed as ſoon as convenient to acquaint me with the Nature of the Service they are required to perform.

Chunar, I am, Sir,
29th January 1782. Your moſt obedient, &c.
(Signed) William Blair.

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at the Court of the Nabob Vizier.

Sir,

When his Highneſs the Vizier did me the Honour of a Viſit at Chunar, he made me a Requeſt that we might have an Interview once in every Year, for the Purpoſe is * of diſcuſſing and adjuſting the mutual Concerns of the Company and himſelf, and of improving the Harmony and Confidence which ſubſiſted between the Two Governments. To this Requiſition I readily aſſented, and greatly lament that the Situation of Affairs make it impoſſible for me to effect a Meeting at this Time. The preſent important † demands the united †, vigorous Exertions of both Governments for the common Safety and Succeſs; and in this Situation, whilſt the greateſt Cordiality is requiſite, you inform me that his Highneſs is much diſſatisfied on many Points contained in our late Agreement, and which he made his own Requeſt. To remove his Uneaſineſs on theſe Subjects, and to give him entire Satisfaction on others which may be Objects of his Fears or Suſpicions, and to give a laſting Comit‡ and Increaſe of Strength and reciprocal Advantage to our Alliance, would be impracticable by any other Mode than verbal Communication, Explanations, and Aſſurance; and as for the Reaſon above aſſigned I cannot make this in Perſon, I think it indiſpenſable to delegate the Truſt to another; for theſe Purpoſes I have deputed Major Palmer to attend his Highneſs and his Miniſters at Lucknow. Major Palmer, as you know, has been my confidential Secretary for ſeveral Years; I have diſcloſed to him without Reſerve my Sentiments on every Point of the relative Connection between the Company and the Court of Owde; and I can only rely upon him for a faithful Explanation of him.

* Sic in Orig.
† Sic in Orig.
‡ Sic in Orig.

I have the ‖ alſo inſtructed Major Palmer to give the moſt expreſs Aſſurances to the Miniſters of my Approbation of their Conduct, and Determination to protect and ſupport them ſo long as they preſerve their Attachment to this Government and purſue the real Intereſts of the Vizier.

‖ Sic in Orig.

Major Palmer has the public Objects in charge, which he will perſonally communicate to you; and I moſt earneſtly require of you the ſtrongeſt Co-operation of your Authority and Influence

Influence towards his attaining them; I think his Succeſs almoſt certain if he meets with your cordial Support and Aſſiſtance. Whatever may be the Event, a conſiderable Share in producing it will be attributed to you, and affect you accordingly.

Such Explanations as are intended ſolely for the Satisfaction of the Nabob, and coming from myſelf, I have directed Major Palmer to communicate ſeparately to him; but in doing this, to uſe every Precaution to avoid any Diminution of your Authority or Influence.

I have ſent Major Davy as a confidential Aſſiſtant to Major Palmer; and in caſe any Accident ſhould happen to the latter, to execute his Commiſſion.

Fort William,
7th May 1782.

I am your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

Ordered, That theſe Papers be circulated to the Members of the Board for their Opinions of them.

APPENDIX, N° XLIV.

Vide Appendix, N° XLIII.

APPENDIX, N° XLV.

Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

APPENDIX, N° XLVI.

Vide Appendix, N° XLIII.

APPENDIX, N° XLVII.

Vide Appendix, N° XXXVIII.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, N° XLVIII.

Book 20.

☞ (a) [An ACCOUNT of Sums received on the Account of the Honourable Company, by the Governor General, or paid to their Treasury by his Order, and applied to their Service.] ☜

1780.
October. The following Sums were paid into the Treasury, and Bonds granted for the same, in the Name of the Governor General, in whose Possession the Bonds remain, with a Declaration upon each, indorsed and signed by him, that he has no Claim on the Company for the Amount either of Principal or Interest, no Part of the latter having been received:

One Bond, dated the 1st October 1780,			N° 1539,	1,16,000	0	0	
One	—	2d — —	N° 1540,	1,16,000	0	0	
One	—	23 November,	N° 1354,	1,74,000	0	0	
						406,,000	0 0

November. Paid into the Treasury, and carried to the Governor General's Credit in the 12th Page of the Deposites Journal of 1780-81, Mohrs of Sorts which had been coined in the Mint, and produced, as per 358 and 359 Pages of the Company's General Journal of 1780-81, Gold Mohrs 12,861 12 11, or

Calcutta Siccas	—	—	2,05,788	14	9
Batta 16 per Cent.	—		32,926	3	6
				2,38,715	2 3

1781.
30 April. Paid into the Treasury, and credited in the 637th Page of the Company's General Journal, as Money received from the Governor General, on Account of Durbar Charges

—	—	Sicca Rup[s]	2,00,000	0	0
Batta 16 per Cent.	—		32,000	0	0
				2,32,000	0 0

August. Received in Cash, and employed in defraying my public Disbursements, and credited in the Governor General's Account of Durbar Charges for April 1782 — — 58,000 0 0

☞ (b) [Produce of the Sum mentioned in the Governor General's Letter to the Honourable Secret Committee, dated 20th January 1782, and credited in the Governor General's Account of Durbar Charges for April 1782 — — 10,30,275 1 3] ☜

Current Rupees — 19,64,990 3 6

Fort William,
22d May 1782.

(Errors excepted.)
Warren Hastings.

☞ (c) [I William Larkins do make Oath, and say, That the Letter and Account to which this Affidavit is affixed, were written by me, at the Request of the Honourable Warren Hastings Esquire, on the 22d May 1782, from rough Drafts written by himself in my Presence: That the Cover of the Letter was sealed up by him in my Presence, and was then intended to have been transmitted to England by the Lively, when that Vessel was first ordered for Dispatch; and that it has remained closed until this Day, when it was opened, for the express Purpose of being accompanied by this Affidavit.

So help me God.

Calcutta,
16th December 1782.

William Larkins.

Sworn this 16th Day of December 1782, before me,
J. Hyde.] ☜

(a) Vide supra, P. 558. (b) Ibid. (c) Vide supra, P. 559.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, N° XLIX.

Letter from W^m Larkins, Eſquire, Accountant General in Bengal, to the Chairman of the Eaſt India Company, dated Calcutta, 5th Auguſt 1786.

DUPLICATE.

☞ *(a)* [To William Devaynes, Eſquire, Chairman, or to the Chairman for the Time being, of the Honourable the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies.]

Sir,

Par. 1. In conformity to the Directions which I had the Honour to receive by the Talbot, on the 28th April 1786, from my much-reſpected Friend Mr. Haſtings, dated Cheltenham, 18th July 1785, I have the Honour to tranſmit you Copies of the Papers, which I kept as Memorandums of the Particulars of the Dates on which the Sums contained in Mr. Haſtings's Account of 22d May 1782 were received.

2. Should it ever be required of me to authenticate the Veracity of theſe Copies upon Oath, I ſhall at all Times be ready to afford that Solemnity to the Fidelity with which they have been made; but it cannot be expected that I ſhould at preſent, by voluntarily making this ſerious Appeal to the Omniſcient, incur the Suſpicion of wantonly proſtituting ſuch ſolemn Aſſurances with Indifference; which is an Idea that would moſt probably be encouraged by thoſe who were pleaſed to inſinuate, in the Eleventh Report of the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons, that becauſe there were other Modes, by which the Neceſſity of that which I did take on 16th December 1782, which accompanied Mr. Haſtings's Letter of that Date, might have been precluded, yet, as theſe were not taken, my Affidavit merited little Credit in the Eſtimation of Mankind.—And that the Juſtice of this Inſinuation may no longer be inferred, from my not having explained the Circumſtances which, as I thought, rendered that Affidavit neceſſary, I ſhall now ſtate them with the utmoſt Fidelity.

3. Mr. Haſtings returned from Benares to Calcutta on 5th February 1782: At that Time I was wholly ignorant of the Letter which, on 20th January, he wrote from Patna, to the Secret Committee of the Honourable Court of Directors: The rough Draft of this Letter, in the Hand Writing of Major Palmer, is now in my Poſſeſſion. Soon after his Arrival at the Preſidency, he requeſted me to form the Account of his Receipts and Diſburſements, which you will find journalized in the 280th, &c. and 307th Pages of the Honourable Company's General Books of the Year 1781-2. My official Situation, as Accountant General, had previouſly convinced me, that Mr. Haſtings could not have made the Iſſues, which were acknowledged as received from him, by the Accounts of ſome of the Paymaſters to the Army, unleſs he had obtained ſome ſuch Supply as that which he afterwards, viz. on the 22d May 1782, made known to me; when I immediately ſuggeſted to him the Neceſſity of his tranſmitting that Account which accompanied his Letter of that Date; till when, the Promiſe contained in his Letter of 20th January had entirely eſcaped his Recollection.—The Particulars of the Paper N° 1 were read over to me, from a Bengal Paper, by his Banyan Cauntoo Baboo; and, if I am not miſtaken, the Three Firſt Lines of that N° 2, were read over to me, from a Perſian Paper, by his Moonſhy. The Tranſlation of theſe Particulars, made by me, was, as I verily believe, the firſt complete Memorandum that he ever poſſeſſed of them in the Engliſh Language; and I am confident, that if I had not ſuggeſted to him the Neceſſity of his taking this Precaution, he would, at this Moment, have been unable to have afforded any ſuch Information concerning them.

4. The rough Draft of this Letter and Account having been made by Mr. Haſtings, in my Preſence, at his Garden Houſe at Alleypore, I wrote the fair Copies of them. After theſe were ſigned by him, they were put into a Cover, directed by me, which he ſealed up. I then took the Letter with me into Town, for the Purpoſe of being delivered to the Secretary, when the Cloſe of the Lively's Packet might be near at hand, not deeming it eligible to deliver it before, as I had known Inſtances of Letters that were delivered to the Secretaries any Length of Time before the Departure of a Packet, eſcape their Recollection at the Cloſe thereof.

5. On 21ſt Auguſt 1782, I was taken alarmingly ill, and when I was ſufficiently recovered to be put into a Budgerow for the Change of Air, apprehenſive that the Packet might be cloſed ere I returned to the Preſidency, I ſent the Letter by my Jemmautdar, with a verbal Meſſage to Mr. Secretary Auriol, requeſting that he would take care that it was put into the Lively's Packet; but Mr. Auriol not knowing that it was a Letter from the Governor General, declined taking charge of it for this Purpoſe, alledging that it was repugnant to the Standing Regulation of the Service, for any Servant to correſpond with the Court of Directors, but through

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 560.

the

the Governor General and Council. I was at this Time unable to write, and not having then any Perſon about me, who could have wrote what I dictated, I ſent the Letter by my Jemmautdar to Mr. George Neſbitt Thompſon, Mr. Haſtings's Private Secretary, with the ſame Requeſt as that by which it had been tendered to Mr. Auriol; I returned to Calcutta on 13th December 1782, and immediately ſuggeſted to Mr. Haſtings the Neceſſity of his accompanying this Letter with the Affidavit which I took before Mr. Juſtice Hyde, and a Letter explanatory of the Apprehenſions which ſuggeſted this Precaution.

6. Upon referring to the Liſt of Packet ſent by the Reſolution, it will be found to have been dated on 9th May 1782: And although the Public Department Proceedings of the 30th May will be found to ſtate, that the Commander reported, in a Letter dated 26th of that Month, that his Diſpatches had been delivered to him, but that he could not proceed to Sea until he had replaced the Anchors and Cables which he had loſt, there will not, I believe, be found any Letter or Paper, tranſmitted either to the Honourable Court, or to their Secretary, either by the Governor General and Council, or by either of their Secretaries, of a later Date than that of 9th May 1782, when I had not been made acquainted with the Tranſaction alluded to in Mr. Haſtings's Letter of 20th January 1782: And although the Statement of 22d May 1782 might have been deemed in 1783 "a new Diſcovery," yet it will appear, that the Second Article of it had been communicated to the Secret Committee of the Honourable Court of Directors on 29th November 1780, and that the laſt Article of that Statement had been reported to them on 20th January 1782. The Firſt of theſe Dates will, I believe, be found prior to the Inſtitution of any Parliamentary Enquiry into the Tranſactions of the Governor General and Council, and the laſt of them will alſo be found to be prior to any of the Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons that were paſſed, which affected Mr. Haſtings; and it cannot require an Argument to prove, that it was not poſſible for him to have known in Bengal, what had not paſſed in England a Month, when I recommended the Formation of that Account and Letter which were wrote on 22d May 1782, when we had every Reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Reſolution had taken her Departure; but had it been known that there was an Opportunity of writing by her, yet, as that Ship was ſo badly manned, ſhe was not likely, at ſo unfavourable a Seaſon of the Year, to make any other than a very tedious Paſſage, and as we were then in daily Expectation of the Maratta Treaty arriving from Mr. Anderſon, when it was intended to diſpatch a Packet to England, I certainly ſhould not have adviſed Mr. Haſtings to tranſmit any ſuch Papers by her, unleſs I could have foreſeen that Neceſſity, which did not occur until after the Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons of 15th April 1782 had become known in Bengal, when the Affidavit became neceſſary; but which could not have been the Caſe, had the Letter of 22d May 1782 been previouſly tranſmitted, either by the Reſolution or by any other Conveyance; ſince it could not have been required to prove what had already been eſtabliſhed.

7. While Mr. Haſtings filled the Station of Governor General, I had too much Reaſon to apprehend that any Explanation which I could have given of theſe Circumſtances, whatever might have been the Solemnity of the Aſſurances under which they could have been given, would have been attributed to the moſt abandoned, as well as the moſt ſelfiſh Motives; and it is only upon the Confidence which I deem myſelf entitled to place upon the Eſtimation in which my Character has hitherto been held, during the Fourteen Years that I have had the Honour to ſerve the Honourable Company, Nine of which have been paſſed in executing the Duties of One of the moſt important Offices under this Government, that I can venture to incur the Suſpicion of having ſacrificed the Duty which I owe to my Honourable Employers, and to my own Character, to Motives of Gratitude for one who was my Patron, by attempting to refute the implacable Reflections that affect my Character in the Fifth Page of the Eleventh Report of the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons.

8. I ſhall now proceed to ſtate the Explanations which are required to elucidate the Correſpondence between the Papers No. 1 and 2, which accompany this Addreſs, and Mr. Haſtings's Account of 22d May 1782.

9. Although the Two firſt ſtated Sums are, in the Paper marked N° 1, aſſerted to have been paid to Mr. Croftes in 18th and 19th Aſſin 1187, which correſponds with the 1ſt and 2d November 1780; yet the Copy of the Bengal running Treaſury Account, which is now in England, will not be found to contain any ſuch Sums as received from Mr. Haſtings under theſe Dates; becauſe theſe, together with another Sum of Sicca Rupees One Lack, which were taken from his own Caſh at that Time, made up the firſt Supply that was ſent to the Maratta Army under Chimnajee Booſla, which the Sub-Treaſurer could not bring to Account, until he was authorized by an expreſs Order of Council upon the Treaſury for that Purpoſe, which was not granted until 5th January 1781; after which, viz. on 15th of that Month, the Head of Secret Service was debited for the Amount of that Supply, and the Head of Money borrowed at Intereſt 1780, credited for theſe Sums, for which the Bonds N° 1539, dated 1ſt October 1780, and N° 1540, dated 2d October 1780, each for the Sum of Current Rupees 1,16,000, or Siccas One Lack, were granted. The Remainder of that Amount was carried to the Credit of the Head of Four per Cent. Remittance Loan; Mr. Haſtings having taken a Bond, N° 89, which has been ſince completely liquidated conformable to the Terms of that Loan.

10. The Third Sum contained in Mr. Haſtings's Account, for which the Bond N° 1354, dated 23d November 1780, for Current Rupees 1,74,000, or Siccas 1,50,000, was granted, was for the

the Payment ſtated in the Paper N° 1 to have been made to Mr. Croftes on 11th Augun 1187, which correſponds with 23d November 1780.

11. The Fourth Sum ſtated in Mr. Haſtings's Account was the Produce of ſundry Payments made to me, by Sadamund, Cheyte Sing's Buxey, who either brought or ſent the Gold Mohurs to my Houſe, from whence they were taken by me to Mr. Croftes's, either on the ſame Night or early in the Morning after; they were made at different Times, and I well remember that the ſame People never came twice.

12. On 21ſt June 1780, Mr. Haſtings ſent for me, and deſired that I would take charge of a Preſent that had been offered to him by Cheyte Sing's Buxey, under the Plea of atoning for the Oppoſition which he had made towards the Payment of the extra Subſidy for defraying Part of the Expences of the War; but really in the Hope of its inducing Mr. Haſtings to give up that Claim; with which View the Preſent had firſt been offered. Mr. Haſtings declared, that although he would not take this for his own Uſe, he would apply it to that of the Company, in removing Mr. Francis's Objections to the Want of a Fund for defraying the extra Expences of Colonel Camac's Detachment.

13. On my Return to the Office, I wrote down the Subſtance of what Mr. Haſtings had ſaid to me, and requeſted Mr. James Miller, my Deputy, to ſeal it up with his own Seal, and write upon it that he had then done ſo at my Requeſt. He was no further informed of my Motive for this, than merely that it contained the Subſtance of a Converſation which had paſſed between me and another Gentleman, which, in caſe that Converſation ſhould hereafter become the Subject of Enquiry, I wiſhed to be able to adduce the Memorandum then made of it, in corroboration of my own Teſtimony; and, although that Paper has remained unopened to this Hour, and notwithſtanding that I kept no Memorandum whatever of the Subſtance thereof, yet, as I have wrote this Repreſentation under the moſt ſcrupulous Adherence to what I conceive to be Truth, ſhould it ever become neceſſary to refer to this Paper, I am confident that it will not be found to differ materially from the Subſtance of this Repreſentation.

14. As this Preſent paſſed through my Hands, called upon as I was by the Perſon for whom it was deſtined, and who requeſted me to receive it for the Purpoſe of being applied to the Honourable Company's Uſe, I conceived it was incumbent upon me to relate circumſtantially the Part which I had taken in the Tranſaction.

15. The Fifth Sum mentioned in Mr. Haſtings's Account, is the Amount of the Payments ſtated by the Paper N° 1 to have been made to Mr. Croftes on 15 and 16 Byſack 1188, and will be found credited for, in the Copy of the Bengal running Treaſury Account, now in England, under 26th April 1781, which correſponds with 16 Byſack 1188; and as it will be found to have been moſtly made in Silver, it muſt have taken up more than One Day to count, as the Soucars at the Treaſury ſeldom can count more than One Lack of Sicca Rupees in One Day; of courſe, the whole Payment was brought to Account on the Date on which it was completely made.

16. The Sixth Sum ſtated in Mr. Haſtings's Account appears, by the Paper N° 2, to have been received of Nundoolol, and may, I ſhould ſuppoſe, be conſidered as a Part of the Balance of the Peſhcuſh of Dinagepore, which is ſtated in the Paper N° 1, at Siccas 1,00,000, which would conſequently become reduced to 50,000—but this was an Alteration which I did not chuſe to make, that I might be enabled at all Times to ſwear that theſe Papers have continued in their original State.

☞ *(a)*[17. The Dates on which this Payment was made to Mr. Haſtings, as well as thoſe made in Part of the Produce of the Preſents enumerated in the Paper N° 2, are ſtated the ſame in the 280th and 281ſt Pages of the Honourable Company's General Journal of 1781-2, as they are brought to Account in Mr. Haſtings's private Books; but as neither of the other Sums paſſed through his Hands, theſe contained no ſuch Specification, and conſequently could not enable him to afford the Information with which he has requeſted me to furniſh you; and it is more than probable, that if the Affidavit which I took on the 16th December 1782, had not expoſed my Character to the Suſpicion of my being capable of committing one of the baſeſt Treſpaſſes upon the Confidence of Mankind, I ſhould, at this Diſtance of Time, have been equally unable to have complied with his Requeſt; but after I became acquainted with the Inſinuation ſuggeſted in the Eleventh Report of the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons, I thought it but too probable, that, unleſs I were poſſeſſed of the original Memorandums which I had made of theſe Tranſactions at the Time when I became acquainted with them, I might at ſome diſtant Period be unable to prove that I had not deſcended to commit ſo baſe an Action.—I have, therefore, always moſt carefully preſerved every Paper which I poſſeſſed regarding theſe Tranſactions.] ☜

18. Although Mr. Haſtings was extremely diſſatisfied with the Excuſes which Gunga Govind Sing aſſigned for not paying Mr. Croftes the Sums ſtated by the Paper N° 1 to be in his Charge, he never could obtain from him any further Payments on this Account.

19. Conſcious that the Concern which I have had in theſe Tranſactions need neither an Apology nor an Excuſe, and that I have in no Action of my Life ſacrificed the Duty or Fidelity which I owed to my Honourable Employers, either to the Regard which I felt for another, or to the Advancement of my own Fortune, I ſhall conclude this Addreſs, firmly relying upon the

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 560.

Candour

Candour of thoſe before whom it may be ſubmitted, for its being deemed a ſatisfactory as well as a circumſtantial Compliance with the Requiſition in conformity to which the Information it affords has been furniſhed, without which it would have been as baſe as diſhonourable for me ſpontaneouſly to have afforded it; for though the Duty which every Man owes to himſelf ſhould render him incapable of making an Aſſertion not ſtrictly true, no Man actuated either by virtuous or honourable Sentiments could miſtakenly apprehend, that unleſs he betrayed the Confidence repoſed in him by another, he might be deemed deficient in Fidelity to his Employers.

I have the Honour to be, with the utmoſt Reſpect, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) Wm Larkins.

Calcutta,
5th Auguſt 1786.

No. I. DUPLICATE.

COPY of the Particulars of the Dates on which the component Parts of ſundry Sums included in the "Account of Sums received on the Account of the Honourable Company by the Governor General, or paid to their Treaſury by his Order, and applied to their Service," were received for Mr. Haſtings, and paid to the Sub-Treaſurer.

DINAGEPORE.

From 29 to 31	Sanwun 1186 or —	—	89,999 0 0	
17 to 21	Bhaudun —	—	49,974 0 0	
1 to 5	Aſſin —	—	27,000 0 0	
8	Pooſe —	—	25,000 0 0	
10	— —	—	15,000 0 0	
27	— —	—	10,000 0 0	
29	Maug —	—	20,000 0 0	
2	Faugun —	—	20,000 0 0	
4	— —	—	9,000 0 0	
12	— —	—	1,000 2 0	
9	Saurvum —	—	40,000 0 0	
			3,06,973 0 0	
	18 and 19 Aſſin paid Mr. Croftes	—	2,00,000 0 0	
	Remains	—	1,06,973 0 0	
	Charges	—	9,310 0 0	
	Balance in Charge of G. G. S.	—		97,663 0 0

PATNA.

12	Cheite —	—	15,000 0 0	
18	— —	—	10,000 0 0	
22	— —	—	60,000 0 0	
23	— —	—	5,000 0 0	
23	— —	—	10,001 0 0	
28	— —	—	60,000 0 0	
10	Byſack —	—	10,000 0 0	
10	— —	—	26,000 0 0	
12 to 14	— —	—	20,000 0 0	
14	— —	—	4,000 0 0	
2	Aſſin —	—	1,800 0 0	
			2,21,801 0 0	
	15 and 16 Byſack paid Mr. Croftes	—	2,00,000 0 0	
	Balance	—		21,801 0 0

NUDDEA.

15	Cawtic 1187, or	—	16,001	0	0		
27	—	—	20,000	0	0		
28	—	—	20,000	0	0		
30	—	—	10,000	0	0		
4	Augun	—	7,749	0	0		
7	—	—	5,000	0	0	5,000 too much.	
9	—	—	25,000	0	0		
	No Date	—	1,250	0	0		
24	Augun	—	15,000	0	0		
17	Poose	—	15,000	0	0		
22	—	—	20,000	0	0		
						1,50,000	0 0
	11 Augun paid to Mr. Croftes	—				1,50,000	0 0

Paid to Mr. Croftes

19	Affin	2,00,000	
16	Byfack	2,00,000	
11	Augun	1,50,000	
			5,50,000

Memorandum of the Cabooliats attended to in the above.

		Cabooliats.			Received.			Balance.		
Dinagepore Peifhcufh		4,00,000	0	0	3,00,000	0	0	1,00,000	0	0
Nuddea	—	1,50,000	0	0	1,50,000	0	0			
Patna	—	4,00,000	0	0	2,00,000	0	0	2,00,000	0	0

(A true Copy.)

(Signed) Wm Larkins.
5th Auguft 1786.

☞ (a) [No. 2. DUPLICATE.

COPY of the Particulars of the Presents taken from the Nabob Vizier and his Ministers, and from Nundoo Delol, carried to the Honourable Company's Credit, in the Account of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Governor General, during his Absence from the Presidency, on a Visit to the Northern Provinces, and included in Mr. Hastings's Account of 22d May 1782.

From the Nabob to the Governor General	—	6,00,000	0	0				
Hussein Zeza Cawn, and Hyder Beg Cawn, to ditto	—	3,50,000	0	0				
Ditto and Ditto, to Mrs. Hastings		1,00,000	0	0				
Lucknow Siccas		10,50,000	0	0				
Hoondeawun deducted		1,25,205	13	6				
Lucknow Siccas	—					9,24,794	2	6
Received in the following Species:								
Calcutta Siccas —	—	—	2,76,573	12	0			
Patna Sunwants —	—	—	4,12,528	11	0			
Moorshedabad Bazar Chillawn	—	—	43,383	15	6			
Lucknow Siccas —	—	—	1,92,307	12	0			
						9,24,794	2	6
Converted into Benares Siccas, valued at 12 per Cent. + Cr^s								
2,76,573 12 0								
32,975 0 0 taken for Expences; valued as usual	—	—				—		38,251 0 0
2,43,598 12 0 + 3 9 3	1 per °	—	8,702	15	3	2,52,301	11	3
4,12,528 11 0 + 0 8 0		—	2,062	10	3	4,14,591	5	3
43,383 15 6 + 1 12 0		—	759	3	6	44,143	3	0
1,92,307 12 0 — 9 2 6		—	17,608	3	0	1,74,699	9	0
		Benares Siccas —				8,85,735	12	6
		Batta 12 per ° —				1,06,288	4	9
						9,92,024	1	3
		Current Rupees —				10,30,275	1	3
From Nundoo Delol —	—	—	—			58,000	0	0
		Current Rupees —				10,88,275	1	3

(A true Copy.)

(Signed) W^m Larkins.
5th August 1786.] ☜

(a) Vide supra, P. 560.

APPENDIX, N° L.

Book 36. Page 617.

Extract of a Consultation of the 18th October 1781.

Fort William, 18th October 1781.

At a Council; Present,
Edward Wheler, and
John M'Pherson, } Esquires.
The Honourable Governor General absent on a Visit to the Northern Provinces.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote absent on Service at Fort St. George.

MR. Wheler begs leave to inform the Board that he has been favoured with sundry Letters from the Governor General since his Arrival at Benares, most of them appearing as detached Accounts of the various Events that have happened subsequent to 16th August, which was occasioned by the Interception of the Dawk. Mr. Wheler judged it necessary to record them at the Time they came to hand, expecting a more particular Narrative from the Governor General of the various Occurrences on which they treat; but as it may be necessary at this Time to furnish the Court of Directors with such Particulars as are yet come to hand, Mr. Wheler begs leave to record the following Letters, and to recommend that the Letter dated 29th September, being a Recital of the others, be copied and sent to the Court of Directors via Fort St. George.

Governor General. 27th August.

Sir,

I have written to you many Letters, all probably intercepted. I arrived 14th at Benares; on 16th the Rajah having been put under an Arrest, a numerous Body of armed Men suddenly crossed, attacked, and massacred the whole Party which had him in Custody, consisting of Lieutenant Stalker, Scott, and Symes, and Two Companies of Major Popham's Grenadier Sepoys. These having no Ammunition fell without Resistance; the Rajah escaped and fled to Luteefgur. On 19th a large Force returned to Ramnagur; Captain Blair with his Battalion, and Captain Mayaffre with the Remainder of Major Popham's Detachment were ordered to assemble for the Attack of that Place, and Major Popham to join and conduct the Operations according to a concerted Plan. The Two Corps having joined Captain Mayaffre, the Senior Officer, without waiting for Major Popham, and against Orders, on the Morning of 20th marched precipitately into the narrow Streets of the Town, where in an Instant he fell with Captain Doxat and 33 Rangers and almost all the Sepoys of Captain Blair's Battalion that had entered with him; the rest of the Detachment returned to Chunar with the Loss of Two Guns, one Howitz, and 103 Men of all Denominations killed. I was in Benares with the broken Remains of Major Popham's first Party, consisting of about 400 Men in a Place incapable of Defence, even with equal Numbers. Preparations were making to attack me; I waited till the Evening for a Battalion ordered from Chunar to reinforce our Party; at Seven repeated Intelligence arrived, that the Rajah's Boats were in Motion. No News had arrived of the Battalion from Chunar; it was resolved to meet it, and march with it to Chunar. The Resolution was instantly carried into Execution. We passed the Battalion, which returned, and overtook us, and on 22d at Day-break we gained the Banks of the River opposite to Chunar, having met no Opposition. The Detachment crossed on the Morning of 23d. The Rajah's Forces are divided between Ramnagur and Luteefgur. His Family is at Beejygur. His fixed Establishment exceeds 10,000 Men, and all his Reiats bear Arms. Major Popham is encamped on the Plain East of the Fort. I expect to be joined by a Regiment from Cawnpoor, one arrived for my Guard at Lucknow, Lieutenant Polhill with Six Companies of the Nabob's Guard now at hand, and Major Moses Crawford's Battalion. My only Distress is the Want of Money, and is great. Baboo Ossaun Sing, Derbijey Sing, and his Son Meyipnarain, are with me.

I am, &c.

Lieutenant Polhill is arrived.

Warren Hastings.

Sir,

Chunar, 31st August 1781.

Enclosed are Copies of Two Letters which I have had the Honour to write to you; the first in Duplicate from Banaris, and the last from this Place. I doubt the Possibility of the first having escaped the Vigilance of the People who are stationed in every Part of this Zemeedary to intercept my Letters. For the Conveyance of this Packet I shall trust to a light Boat, which, with a strong West Wind aiding the Rapidity of the Stream, will certainly pass without Interruption, if the Fears of the Dandies do not urge them to quit the Boat. In the enclosed Letters you will receive a connected Relation of the Events which had befallen me to the 27th Instant, though purposely abbreviated in my last, for the safer Means of Conveyance.

The Arrival of Lieutenant Polhill, whoſe Activity cannot be too much applauded, has proved of very great Service in freeing the Communication with the oppoſite Shore. Our greateſt Diſtreſs has been in the Want of Money and Proviſions; the latter has been effectually removed, and with it the former in a Degree, by the Seizure of a large Store of Grain made by Lieutenant Polhill Yeſterday Morning, in a Village about Three Miles diſtant, Information having been given me of it the preceding Evening. He was oppoſed by a conſiderable Body of the Enemy, reported to conſiſt of 150 Horſes, Two Companies of Sepoys, and more than 2000 Match-lock-Men, and Gawarras, or armed Villagers; but they were repulſed and diſperſed with ſome Loſs on their Side: On ours none. The Quantity of Grain ſecured is eſtimated at 5000 Maunds, which in our Situation is a moſt important Acquiſition, as we have every Reaſon to apprehend a total Failure of our Supplies when the Troops of this Place are reduced, which they ſoon muſt be, to the Complement of the Garriſon. Numbers are yet aſſembling to reinforce the defeated Party of the Enemy, and they have been ſtrengthened by Four Guns from Ramnagur, with the profeſſed Determination of making one more Effort.

I have received no Anſwers to the Letters which I have diverſly and repeatedly written to Colonel Morgan, to Mr. Middleton, to Lieutenant Colonel Ahmuty, and to Major James Crawford, to whom it eſcaped me in my laſt to inform you that I had ſent Orders to march to the Borders of Bidjeygur; but I have received a Letter from Colonel Morgan, written with a Knowledge of the late Events, and cannot doubt that his Prudence will dictate to him the obvious Neceſſity, on an Occaſion of ſuch Emergency, of ſending a Party to my Relief, without waiting for the Formality of Orders, which he will know can with Difficulty reach him. I have Accounts, which I truſt to as authentic, that Major Moſes Crawford with his Regiment is on the Way; and my later Letters to Mr. Middleton have been ſafely paſſed beyond the Borders of this Zemeedary. Upon the whole, I can venture to aſſure you, that my Situation is actually ſuch as, with the Reſervation of that Influence which under every Circumſtance muſt be allowed to Fortune in the Events attendant on a State of Warfare, will warrant the Expectation of an eaſy and complete Succeſs.

Major Popham continues encamped on the Plain lying to the Eaſtward of the Fort, where he will be ſtrengthened by all the Men that can be ſpared from this Garriſon; and as ſoon as the Preparations are completed for that Service, he will march to the Attack of Ramnagur.

In the mean time I have not been inattentive to our more remote Concerns, which I ſhall reſerve for a future Detail and a more ſecure Conveyance.

The Rajah's Situation, and the Diſpoſition of his Forces, except the Detachment which is oppoſed to Lieutenant Polhill, are much the ſame as they have been deſcribed in my laſt.

Hyder Beg Khan has been ſome Time arrived at Banaris, but prevented from joining me by the Deſtruction of the Bridge laid over the Burna Nulla, on the lower Bank of which he is encamped, and by the ſudden great Swell of the Waters, which has made it unfordable. Yet I expect him ſoon, and his Preſence will afford me material Service. I have ordered to be encloſed Copies of Major Popham's Return of the Loſs ſuſtained in the Maſſacre of 16th; of a Letter which has been written to me by Captain Spark, and the Returns accompanying it, of the Killed and Wounded in the Attack of Ramnagur on 20th Auguſt; and of a Letter from Captain Blair, containing the Particulars of that ill-fated Enterpriſe; alſo a Liſt of the Gentlemen who were with me in Banaris on 21ſt, and who accompanied me to this Place.

I cannot cloſe this Letter without teſtifying my Satisfaction with Lieutenant Colonel Blair, for his Zeal and Attention, and for the Alacrity with which he executed the Orders ſent to him for the different Movements of the Detachments from his ſmall Garriſon; and my entire Reliance on the ſteady Conduct and approved Experience of Major Popham. My Regrets for the paſt are perſonal. I ſhall ever retain a painful Remembrance of that Scene of Blood, of which I have been too near a Spectator, and which no future Return of Proſperity can ever efface from my Mind; but in the Proſpect before me, I think that I have every Reaſon to expect the happieſt Termination of it, in the Extenſion of the Powers and Influence of the Company; and that the paſt Example may contribute to the Permanency of both, by prompting us to guard againſt the ſecret Growth of the like Evil which has produced it.

I have the Honour, &c.

Warren Haſtings.

REVIEW of the Killed and Wounded of a Detachment from the 35th Regiment of Sepoys, on Service at Benares, 16th Auguſt 1781.

	Commiſſ[d] Officers.	Soubahdars.			Jammadars.			Havildars.			Naicks.			Drums and Fifers.			Sepoys.		
35th Regiment.	Killed.	Killed.	Wounded.	Miſſing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Miſſing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Miſſing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Miſſing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Miſſing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Miſſing.
1ſt B[n], Grenadier Company, Lieut. A. Scott.	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	1	4	0	1	1	0	36	35	0
2d B[n], Lieut. J. Symes.	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	4	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	30	39	0
Grand Total	2	3			2			10			8			4			140		

Wm. Popham, Major.

Incloſed in the Governor General's Letter.

Honourable Sir,

Incloſed I take the Liberty of tranſmitting you Returns of the Killed and Wounded in the Action before Ramnaghur, 20th Inſtant, as given in by the Officers commanding the different Corps then under my Comand; I am ſorry that ſeveral intervening Accidents prevented my ſending them ſooner; the Delay was owing to a Deſire of having it in my Power to tranſmit the Returns as genuine as I poſſibly could; thoſe now incloſed you may depend on as authentic.

I have the Honour, &c.

Camp near Foolwary,
26th Auguſt 1781.

Thomas Spark, Capt.
Commanding 1ſt Batt[n] 35th Reg[t].

Return of the Killed and Wounded of the Corps of Rangers, Auguſt 21ſt, 1781.

Killed.
The Captain.
1 Serjeant.
1 Corporal.
20 Private.

Wounded.
1 Lieutenant.
1 Serjeant.
1 Corporal.
7 Private.

(Signed) John Grey,
Lieut. Commanding.

Return of the Killed and Wounded of the Artillery Corps, on 20th Auguſt, at the Town of Ramnagur.

Camp Chunarghur, 21ſt Auguſt 1781.

Killed.
Captain James Mayaffre.
Matroſs John Thompſon.
Ditto John Johnſon.

Wounded,
Lieutenant Charles Vernon.
Matroſſes, { John North. / John Hickey. / Robert Walton.
Laſcars killed.
Laſcars wounded.

(Signed) C. Vernon,
Lieutenant of Artillery.

N. B. From not being able to find the Jammadar Tindal, who had the Laſcars under his Command, I have not been able to aſcertain for a Certainty the Number killed and wounded, as Lieutenant Vernon is wounded, and unable to go abroad to make the proper Enquiry.

The above Memorandum written by Capt. Spark, but not ſigned.

Return of the killed and wounded Officers and Sepoys attached to the 4th Battalion Companies, 35th Regiment, in the Action of 20th Auguſt, at Ramngghur *. *Sic in Orig.

Killed,		Wounded,	
	1 Havildar	1	Soubadar
9	Sepoys	2	Jammidars
		1	Havildar
		12	Sepoys
Total	10	Total	16

Total killed and wounded, 26.

(Signed) Thomas Spark, Captain,
Commanding 1ſt Battalion 35th Regiment.

Camp, Pulwary,
23d Auguſt 1781.

Sir,

Captain Mayaffre joined me, and took the Command of the Detachment the Evening of 19th Inſtant. In the Morning of 20th, at Seven o'Clock, we marched off from Chutta Mirzapoor towards Ramnagur, and entered the Town by a Street which would only admit of Six Files. We had advanced about One hundred Yards when the Enemy fired upon the Line from the Houſes, and from behind old Walls. Captain Doxat's Corps, with a Three Pounder, was in Front of my Battalion. On turning into another Street, he was oppoſed by a very conſiderable Body of Men; he fired his Gun, the only Round of Ammunition he had, and commenced the Action with ſmall Arms. His Europeans in a few Minutes were in Confuſion; my Grenadiers marched up cloſe to their Rear, ſupported by the Battalion. Captain Doxat was ſoon after killed, and the Subaltern Officer wounded, with many Europeans killed and wounded. The Subahdar, two Jemidars of my Grenadiers, and many of the Men, were at this Time killed by the Firing from the Houſes all round us in poſſeſſion of the Enemy. Lieutenant Ball was wounded ſlightly in the Leg, making his Retreat with the few Grenadiers with him, and in the Side, covering our Retreat with the Rear Guard, which he commanded; the Laſcars and Europeans were ſo ſeverely fired upon, that they quitted their Guns; the Remainder of the Grenadiers, with ſuch Part of the Battalion as could be brought up, I put into ſuch open Spaces, and in the Street, as I judged would annoy the Enemy moſt. About this Time a Meſſage was brought to me to retreat, which I did in the beſt Manner the Situation of the Place would permit. I regained the Banks of the Nulla, and beat to arms; the Men joined as they could come up. Captain Mayaffre was in the Rear of my Battaljon, with a Gun was there killed, which I did not know till we were out of the Town. I underſtand he was ſhot a few Minutes after the Retreat commenced. Captain Spark's Battalion had been divided from mine a conſiderable Way by this Gun; his Men were out of the Town I believe about the Time I was. So ſoon as poſſible we collected the Men, and formed upon the Plain; ſome Parties were advanced, which kept the Cavalry off which were forming round us. The People followed us out of the Town, firing from incloſed Fields and the broken Grounds. It was judged moſt proper to gain the Banks of the River, which we did. The Troops were then formed, with their Rear to the River, and broken Ground on the Right, Left, and Front; a Shot from the Guns occaſionally, and advanced Parties in the broken Grounds, kept the Enemy at a Diſtance. They were taking poſſeſſion of a ſmall Village on the Left of my Battalion, and firing from it; I detached a Party to diſlodge them, and burn the Houſes, which was immediately done. The Men's Ammunition in their Pouches was nearly expended; I ſerved them out about Twenty Rounds a Man from the extra Ammunition which I had brought with me. They were bringing up Guns to fire upon the Line, when it was determined to march towards Chunar. About One o'Clock we begun our March, and reached Jurgah Nullah about Seven o'Clock, with little or no Loſs, where we encamped for the Night. I had the moſt exact Intelligence of the Number and Situation of the Enemy from my Hircarrahs, Two of which returned ſoon after we marched. I ſent to Captain Mayaffre, and communicated the Intelligence to him, with my Wiſh to avoid the narrow Streets. He either did not truſt the Intelligence, or had Reaſons for his Conduct which I am unacquainted with. I am confident in the Opinion, that our Loſs proceeds ſolely from our marching by the Road we did.

I have in my Battalion One Soubadar, Two Jemidars, Three Havildars, and One Naick killed; and the Number of Sepoys killed and wounded I have not yet been able to aſcertain, but believe not leſs than One hundred. Captain Sparks has, I believe, loſt about Twenty. Captain Doxat, and Twenty Men of his Corps, killed; One Lieutenant, and Seven Men, wounded. Captain Mayaffre, and Two Men of his Corps, killed; One Lieutenant, and Three Men, wounded, beſides Laſcars.

I beg

I beg leave to assure you, that I have Reason to be pleased with the Conduct of the Officers and Men of my Battalion. I hope you will impute any Mistakes in writing to my being exceedingly fatigued, and my Wish to have the Account transmitted without Loss of Time.

I have the Honour, &c.

Camp,
21st August 1781.

Thomas Blair.

Return of the Killed and Wounded of 1st Battalion 6th Regiment of Sepoys, 2d Brigade, commanded by Capt. Tho' Blair, in the Action of 20th August 1781.

At RAMNAGUR.	Lieutenants.	Soubadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Drummers.	Sepoys.
Grenadier Company	—	1	2	2	—	—	13
1st Company	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
2d Company	—	—	—	—	—	1	8
3d Company	—	—	—	1	1	—	5
4th Company	—	—	—	—	—	1	12
Total killed	—	1	2	3	1	2	48
Grenadier Company	1	—	—	1	—	—	13
1st Battalion Company	—	—	—	1	—	—	5
2d Ditto Company	—	1	—	1	—	—	1
3d Ditto Company	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
4th Ditto Company	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
Total wounded	1	1	—	3	—	—	36

Lascars, Artificers, &c.	Lascars.				Smiths.		Armourer.	Sicligars.	Carpenter.	Sailmaker.	Chuckler.	Bildars.		Sweepers.	Doolies, Beasties, Carriage, &c.						
	Tindals.	Cassobs.	Lascars.	Mistry.	Firemen.	Hammermen.										Bearers.	Hand.	Bullocks.	Bullocks.	Drivers.	
Killed — —	—	—	3	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	
Wounded — —	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Missing — —	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	3 Hackerees, with the Camp Equipage, taken.	
Total — —	—	—	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	2	2	—	—	—	

(Signed) Thos Blair,
Capt. commands 1st Batt[n] 6th Reg[t],

(True Copies.)
E. Hay, Secy.

LIST of English Gentleman at Benares on 21st August.

The Governor General	Covenanted Servants.
Mr. Sulivan	
Mr. Anderson	
Mr. Richard Sumner	
Mr. Richard Johnson	
Mr. Chapman	
Mr. Hay	
Mr. Grand	
Mr. Markham	
Mr. Colebrooke	

Major

Major Palmer Captain Hogan Lieut. Turner Lieut. Anderſon	}	Staff of the Governor General.
Major White Major Clark Major Gardiner	}	On a Viſit at Benares.
Mr. Totty		Surgeon to the Reſidency.
Mr. Barnet		An Inhabitant of Benares.
Mr. Thomſon Mr. Bowers Mr. Hodges	}	In the Family of the Governor General.
Major Popham Captain Jonathan Scott Lieutenant Hamilton Birrill Malcolm Macleod Wade Calcraft D'Eſterre	}	Military Officers on actual Service.
Evelyn Campbell	{	On their Way to Cawnpore, ſince appointed to Major Popham's Detachment.
Lieut. Fireworkers, Grand Sands		
Surgeon and Enſign Laird		

All the Gentlemen of this Catalogue accompanied the Governor General to Chunar except Mr. Barnet, of whom there are no certain Accounts.

(Signed) E. Hay, Secr.

Sir, Chunar, 4th September 1781.

Yeſterday Morning Major Popham detached Captain Blair with his Battalion, and Two Companies of his own Grenadiers, and Two Guns (6 Pounders), to attack the Enemy collected at Pateeta. They were prepared to receive him, and made a very ſpirited Reſiſtance. After a very ſevere Action, the Fortune of the Day was happily turned in our Favour, by a bold but well-judged Manœuvre. Captain Blair detatched his Two Grenadier Companies to attack Two Guns which were poſted on the Flanks and galled his Troops exceedingly. The Attack ſucceeded, and the Two Guns were turned on the Enemy, who were ſoon after totally routed. Captain Blair brought off Three of their Guns, and ſpiked the Fourth, the Carriage of which was diſabled. He alſo brought away One of their Tumbrils, and all his own loaded with their Ammunition. Three more of their Tumbrils, with much looſe Powder, were blown up on the Field. Captain Blair having no Means of bringing them away, he was obliged to leave about 1500 of their Shot piled in a Village. The Enemy's Numbers are reputed 8 or 9000 Men; though Captain Blair judges them from Appearance to be only 3 or 4000. They were their prime Men. Our Loſs, which I add with Regret, exceeds 105 Men killed and wounded; theirs muſt be proportionably more, though unknown. It is remarkable, that the Enemy's Artillery and Cartridges made at Ramnagur are almoſt equal to ours; their Cartridges and Portfires compounded with equal Skill, and their Powder much better. This is the ſecond Inſtance in which the Service is ſignally indebted to the collected and intrepid Gallantry of Captain Blair. Other Praiſes are due, which cannot be noticed in this. The 8th Colonel Morgan has diſpatched Two Regiments of Sepoys, 40 Artillery Men, with Captain Hill and Two Companies of European Infantry. They were at Allahabad the 2d. Major Crawford is by Accounts very near, and the Nabob but 20 Coſs diſtant on the 5th.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

Sir, Chunar, 11th September 1781.

I have adviſed you in Triplicate of the Succeſs gained by Captain Blair on 3d. It was dear, but deciſive. With 550 Men oppoſed to more than 4000, he completely routed them, took all their Guns (4), Tumbrils (4), and Ammunition immeaſurable. Major Moſes Crawford is at Dildarnagur, about the Midway between this and Buxar; there he remains till Major Popham moves. Yeſterday Morning Major Crabb with his Detachment, conſiſting of 100 European Infantry, 30 Artillery with Captain Hill, and Two Regiments of Sepoys, arrived, and theſe were all tranſported to this Side before the Evening. Major Roberts with his Regiment, with

with 1½ Lack of Rupees, has paſſed Illahabad, and is hourly expected. The Nabob Vizeer, whoſe Conduct I muſt in Juſtice applaud, arrived this Morning at his Camp on the oppoſite Side of the River. There I met him. He propoſes to croſs and encamp on this Side with a ſmall Guard. His Army would ſtarve us. I hope that Major Popham will be able to begin his Operations on the 14th at the lateſt. Doubt not of the ſpeedy Succeſs. The Rajah has made repeated Overtures for Peace, leſs humble in Terms than in * Mode; but I have declined to anſwer him, or even to temporize: The Example is dangerous, and ought, even with Hazard, to be checked in the firſt Inſtance. You will have heard, and you will hear, many falſe and alarming Reports, for the Enemy invent, and our own Hircarrahs exaggerate. Colonel Morgan has acted with a Promptneſs and Deciſion which merit public Thanks; and I with Pleaſure learn, that all the Officers of the Detachment ſhewed an Eagerneſs equal to his. Colonel Morgan appears to have formed the Reſolution on 29th; the Troops were embarked on 31ſt, and they arrived in leſs than Ten Days from Cawnpore. I avail myſelf of this vacant Space to aſſure you, that all will terminate well.

* Sic in Orig.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

Sir, Chunargur, 20th Sept. 1781.

I moſt heartily congratulate you on the Succeſs of our Arms in the Conqueſt of Pateeta, for the Particulars of which I refer you to the incloſed Letter from Major Popham. I underſtand that large Reinforcements, both from Lutteefpoor and Ramnagur, oppoſed him in the Field. It was intended to attack both Pateeta and Luttefpoor at the ſame Time, and the former † began inſtant Aſſault. Major Crabb, with a ſtrong Detachment appointed for the latter Service, marched on the Night of the 15th by a large, and, as it has ſince appeared, ſcarce practicable, Circuit, towards a Paſs which lies behind ‡, on to the South of Lutteefpoor. A Letter received this Morning mentions his Arrival on the Plain which adjoins to the Paſs, after a March of Three Days, inſtead of One, as was expected. It is the Road to Bidjeygur, and ſaid to be the Repoſitory of all the § Nabob's Ammunition. Major Popham marched at Two of the ſame Night, nor did he reach his Ground with his whole Line until Ten, and then found the Place too ſtrong to attempt it, without a regular Approach and battering Cannon. It fell at Six this Morning. I regard this Victory as a deciſive Turn of our public Influence; but the greateſt Proportion of my Joy is derived from the Conſideration that it was gained with little Bloodſhed, an Advantage which I attribute, as I expected it, to the ſuperior Skill and known Compoſure, nor leſs Humanity, of Major Popham. Major Crawford arrived here Yeſterday Morning, much haraſſed, but without Loſs or Impediment in his Way.

† Sic in Orig.
‡ Sic in Orig.
§ Sic in Orig.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. Haſtings.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire.

Sir,

I have the Happineſs to inform you we are in poſſeſſion of Pateeta, and I believe with little Loſs. When the Enemy heard our Attack, a large Body poſted on the Hills to the Left of our Rear, made for the Camp; but ‖ European Grenadiers and Light Infantry, whom I kept as a Corps de Reſerve, moved towards and totally routed them. Their Cavalry at the ſame Time made a Motion, with ſome Infantry, towards the Right of our Camp, on which a Gun was ſent through ſome high Graſs to our Out Poſt, and by firing Two or Three Rounds, obliged them to fly. Could I have afforded a few Sepoys from the Camp, or had the Cavalry done any Thing, Numbers of the Runaways muſt have been deſtroyed. I juſt hear very few of our Sepoys have been killed, and not an Officer hurt. The Enemy has ſuſtained great Loſs.

‖ Sic in Orig.

I am, &c.

Camp, 20th September. (Signed) W. Popham, Major.

Sir, Chunar, September 22d.

On the 20th Major Crabb defeated and routed a Body of the Enemy in the Plain above the Paſs of Suckroot; their Loſs was 150 Men and 3 Guns, and much Ammunition: Ours ſmall. The Rajah that Evening fled from Lutteefpoor: His Men followed his Example; and Yeſterday at Noon Major Crabb took Poſſeſſion of * the Place being totally deſerted. I was Yeſterday in Major Popham's Camp, and viſited the Fort of Pateeta and its Intrenchments. They are both contemptible, but in their actual State abſolutely impregnable againſt an Attack, had they made any Reſiſtance. The Fort, though ſmall, is of Stone, with 4 Towers, a parallel Rampart and Towers, and a Ditch of great Depth ſurrounding them, and the Town itſelf guarded by an Intrenchment extending far beyond it; and the Space between, Hills, Rocks, and Jungle almoſt impenetrable. At One o'Clock we had the Satisfaction to receive, by a regular Salute of 21 Guns, the inſtant Information of the Poſſeſſing † of Lutteefpoor by Major Crabb. I have taken upon me to grant a Private ‡ Commiſſion of Major to Captain Lane, who commanded the Grenadiers of the Army, and performed diſtinguiſhed Service. I this Inſtant receive an authentic § Inſirmation of the above Intelligence from Major Crabb.

* Sic in Orig.
† Sic in Orig.
‡ Sic in Orig.
§ Sic in Orig.

I am, &c.
Warren Haſtings.

P. S. September 23d. Yesterday, at Two P. M. Major Balfour took possession of Ramnagur, evacuated the Evening before. I shall go to that Place and Benares on the 26th, the Bedeer having having * fixed on 25th for his Departure.

* Sic in Orig.

☞ *(a)* [Sir,

I have had the Honour to inform you, in various and successive Letters, of my Transactions, and of the Occurrences which have befallen me since my Departure from Calcutta, and especially since my Arrival at this Place, on the 14th of last Month. It is my Intention to employ the first Hours of my Leisure in drawing up a detached Narrative of the latter for your Information. In the mean Time I shall continue to advise you, from Time to Time, of such Circumstances of Moment as occur in the Course of daily Business, both for your Information and for the Means of obtaining your Sentiments upon them for my Assistance and Guidance. I deem it a Misfortune that not one of your Letters, written with the Knowledge of the late Troubles, have reached me; and I much fear that many of mine may have miscarried; for which Reason I shall cause to be transcribed Copies of all written since 16th of last Month, and shall transmit them to you.

Lest my Letters advising you of our late Successes should have been intercepted, I think it proper to repeat in this the Substance of them.

The Arrival of the Detachment from Cawnpore under Major Crabb, of 10th Instant, and Major Robertson, 13th, enable Major Popham to take the Field with a considerable Force. It was publicly expected that his first Attempt would be made upon Ramnagur; but such Information having been given of the State of the Two Fortresses of Lutteespoor and Pateeta, as seemed to promise the certain and immediate Reduction of those Places, he accordingly formed his Army into Two Detachments, one commanded by Major Crabb, consisting of 1st Battalion of 6th Regiment, the 7th Regiment, the Battalion of the Nabob's Body-guard, commanded by Lieutenant Polhill, with Six 6 Pounders, and One $5\frac{1}{2}$ Inch Howitzer; and the other under his own Command, consisting of 19th, 30th, and 35th Regiments, Two Companies of European Infantry, the Corps of Rangers, and about 30 Artillery, with Six 6 Pounders, Two $8\frac{1}{2}$ Inch Howitzers, and an 8 Inch Mortar. The First Detachment marched on the Night of 15th, by a large Circuit through almost impracticable Ways. But the Spirit of the Officers and Men surmounted every Difficulty. In Places where the Guns could not be drawn by Bullocks, the Sepoys lifted them up the Rocks; and at length, in the Morning of the 20th, they arrived at the Heights, lying behind and above the Fort of Lutteespoor, at a Place called Lora, which commands a Pass descending to Lutteespoor, and reported inaccessible against Opposition, but from above. The profound Secrecy with which this Expedition was undertaken, and to which the Security of the Enemy in a Region so little frequented not a little contributed, prevented any Opposition to our Troops in the difficult Parts of their Route. Their first Movement only, but neither their Strength nor their Destination, was known, till their very near Approach. At Lora they met a Body of 2000 of the Enemy, which they defeated and dispersed, with little Loss on our Side, but on theirs of 200 Men killed on the Spot. The next Morning they took possession of the Pass, and of the Fort of Lutteespoor, which they found evacuated.

In the mean Time, Major Popham marched with his Part of the Forces, on the Morning of the 16th, to Pateeta, a Place inconsiderable in itself, being a fortified Stone House, within a very high Rampart and a Ditch of very great Depth, and the Town, which is of great Extent, surrounded by Intrenchments. These being all obscured from Observation by Trees and thick Bushes, he judged it not adviseable to attempt an immediate Assault upon the Place, which fortunately proved the Cause of concurrent Success in both Enterprizes, almost in the same Instant of Time; for in the Morning of 20th, he stormed and took Pateeta, at the same Time defeating and dispersing Two Bodies of the Enemy that made an Attempt on his Camp. And on the same Day, and in the same Hour, Major Crabb fought and gained the Battle of Lora, which was the immediate and eventual Cause of the Capture of Lutteespoor.

The News of these combined Successes alarmed the Rajah to such a Degree, that he instantly fled, by a distant Route over the Hills, from Lutteespoor, which, till that Time, had been his capital Residence, regaining the Road to Bidjeygur, the only direct Way to it being through the Pass abovementioned.

The Consternation of his Followers was so great, and its Contagion so rapid, that, in a few Hours, the Fort or Palace of Ramnagur, and the Fortress of Lutteesgur, were wholly abandoned and evacuated.

Major Balfour marched on 22d, and took possession of Ramnagur.

On the Morning of 25th, I parted from the Nabob, who set out on that Afternoon on his Return to his Capital. It is but Justice to the Nabob to declare, that on the first Intelligence of these Troubles, notwithstanding my repeated and pressing Injunctions to return to Lucknow, he prosecuted his March to Benares, with only a few Companies of Sepoys and 100 Horse at that Time attending him; and has, in every other Instance, given the strongest Proofs of his Fide-

(a) Vide supra, P. 586.

lity

lity and Attachment. In the Evening I departed from Chunar, and on the next Morning arrived at Ramnagur. My Stay there being unneceſſary, and it having been repreſented to me, that my Preſence at Benares would be a Means of quieting the Minds of the Inhabitants, I accordingly returned hither Yeſterday Morning, and had the Happineſs to find the City reſtored to a State of perfect Order and Tranquillity.

I have iſſued Proclamations, offering Pardon to all who ſhall quietly return to their Obedience, excepting the Perſons of Cheyt Sing and his Brother Sujan Sing, whom their late rebellious Conduct, and their Rancour manifeſted to our Nation, in the deliberate Murder of many of our Soldiers, and even unarmed Paſſengers, who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands, have precluded from every Title to Lenity.

The Perſons ſtanding next in the Line of Inheritance of the Zemindary, were Ranny Golaub Koower, the Widow of Rajah Bulwant Sing, their Daughter married to Rajah Durbijey Sing, and Bauboo Myipnerain their Grandſon by the Two latter. By the Concurrence of the Two firſt Parties, and in conſequence of a written Acknowledgment made by the Ranny, of the Right of her Grandſon, Mayipnerain, I have nominated him to the Succeſſion of the Rauge; and I have appointed the Morning of To-morrow for his Inveſtiture.

I have forborne any particular Comments in this Place, reſerving them, where they will be more properly introduced, for my detailed Narrative; yet I cannot ſuppreſs, without a Violence to my own Feelings, the Teſtimony which is due, eſpecially from me, to the unexampled Zeal and public Spirit of all our Officers, and the wonderful Activity with which theſe Qualities were diſplayed on the late Occaſion. I have already acknowledged the early Exertions which were made by Colonel Blair during my former ſhort calamitous Reſidence at Benares. Of Major Popham, I cannot ſay ſufficient to expreſs my Senſe of his Services. Though my Letters were every where intercepted, Colonel Morgan, with a Deciſion and Solicitude that reflect equal Credit on his Character, detached Major Crabb with his Party to my Aſſiſtance on the firſt and inſtant Rumour of my Situation. Colonel Sir J. Cuming, with the like Alacrity, obeyed the Order of his March to Cawnpore, as did Colonel Ahmuty, in the immediate Diſpatch of Major Crawford and the Troop of Cavalry. The ſame Spirit animated every Officer of every Corps, and infuſed itſelf into the Menunder their Command, with an Effect ſo far exceeding the common Occurrences of human Affairs, that in the complete Space of One Month, this great and valuable Province, which had been unexpectedly and wholly loſt, was in Subſtance wholly recovered to the Britiſh Empire.

I have the Honour, &c.
Warren Haſtings.]

APPENDIX, N° LI.

Book 36. Page 722.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 5th November 1781.

Fort William, 5th November 1781.

Secret Dep. Monday.

At a Council; Preſent,
Edward Wheler, and
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.

The Governor General abſent on a Viſit to the Northern Provinces.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Service at Fort St. George.

☞ (a) [READ the following Letter and Incloſures from the Governor General.

To Edward Wheler Eſquire, &c. &c. &c. Council, Fort William.

Gentlemen,

I have received from the Secretary at the Preſidency the following Papers, tranſmitted to me by the Directions of Mr. Wheler, and have Pleaſure in making my Acknowledgments to Mr. Wheler for a Communication of them to me.

Copy of a Letter from the Admiralty to the Board, dated 3d July.
Ditto of the Board's Reply to ditto, dated 24th September.
Ditto of a Letter from Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote to the Select Committee at Fort St. George, dated 6th July.
Copy of a Letter from the Preſident and Council at Fort St. George to the Governor General and Council, dated 29th July.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 591.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from the Preſident and Select Committee at Fort St. George to ditto, dated 30th July.

Ditto of a Letter from Sir Eyre Coote to the Board, dated 30th July.

Ditto of a Letter written by the Board to Mr. Turing on the 24th September.

Ditto of a Letter from the Preſident and Select Committee at Bombay, dated 3d July, with Two Incloſures.

Ditto of a Letter from Brigadier General Goddard, dated 5th July, with Three Incloſures.

Copies of Letters from the Board to the Preſident and Select Committee at Bombay, and to Brigadier General Goddard, dated 24th September.

I have great Pleaſure in adding to the Proceedings of the Board during my Abſence from it; whatever Strength may be afforded them by my general, and, I believe I may ſay, literal Approbation of their Orders upon the ſeveral Subjects of this Correſpondence; and in offering the Remarks which I deſire their Permiſſion to make on them, I am chiefly influenced by the Motive of giving them further Weight, by the Addition of ſuch Reaſons in ſupport of them as have come to my ſeparate Knowledge ſince I left Calcutta, and could not have been before the Board; when the Letters to which they reply were under their Conſideration.

I entirely approve of the Meaſure propoſed to the Admiral, in the Board's Letter of the 24th Ultimo, for preſerving a free and open Communication between Bengal and the Ports on the Coaſt, during the next Northern Monſoon. I have the ſame Conviction of its Neceſſity, which the Board have, for the Reaſons they have expreſſed, and deem it the moſt uſeful Service to the Company on which the Fleet, or a Part of it, can be employed. If any Objection ſhould prevail with the Admiral againſt ſtationing it in the Road of Balaſore, Perſons converſant in the Navigation of theſe Seas (and of ſuch there are many Gentlemen at the Preſidency willing, and at all Times ready, to afford us the Aid of their Opinions upon theſe Subjects when deſired), could eaſily point out ſome Place contiguous to it, where Ships might lie with more Convenience, and their Services be as effectual as in the Road of Balaſore. I remember to have heard that at Coringa there is a good Road for Ships to lie in. The Situation is certainly convenient; but whether it will admit Ships of ſuch Depth in the Water as his Majeſty's large Ships of War, is a Queſtion which I am not ſufficiently Maſter of the Subject to determine.

I have read with Satisfaction Sir Eyre Coote's Letter to the Board, of the 30th July, even thoſe Parts of it which contain an implied Cenſure of our Meaſures. The Language of it differs widely from the Terms of that * of which we had ſo much Reaſon to complain of in his Letter of the 1ſt March. It is liberal, and ſuch as becomes a Man of Character and Station. I am now fixed in an Opinion which I have before entertained, if not expreſſed to the Board, that the Ground of his unpleaſant Differences with us, as apparent in the Courſe of his Correſpondence from the Time of his Arrival upon the Coaſt, is the Formation of the Military Regulations which we paſſed in the Beginning of this Year, and which he ſeems to think were framed from Motives of perſonal Hoſtility to him, and without a ſufficient Reaſon, purpoſely to overſet thoſe we had paſſed at his Recommendation in Auguſt 1779. Although I cannot ſuppoſe ſuch an Idea to exiſt with the Honourable the Court of Directors, or that they can attribute ſuch Motives to our Actions, ſince it does not appear in what Way they can affect either his Reputation or Intereſt, if regarded in a vindictive Light, and are too intereſting to our own Credit in the Conſequence, to have been undertaken without a ſtrong Conviction of their Neceſſity: Yet, as the Reaſons for the Meaſure may not have been completely before them, or may be lightly remembered when theſe Strictures upon them are read, I muſt beg the Board's Permiſſion to repeat in this Place, what I have before declared on our Records, and what is ſufficiently apparent to any one who will give an impartial Conſideration to the Subject: That theſe Regulations were framed to anſwer an immediate Exigency of the public Service, and were reſolved upon in a State of Affairs, very different from that which exiſted when I gave my Conſent to paſſing thoſe which were recommended in 1779 by Sir Eyre Coote. The Board will recollect, that when we reſolved to detach the Forces under Colonel Pearſe to the Coaſt of Coromandel, the Meaſure was founded on a particular Requeſt, made to us by the General himſelf, before he took his Departure from Bengal; and that, at the ſame Time that we well knew how ſerviceable ſuch a Reinforcement would be to his Operations on the Coaſt, the Dangers with which our own Provinces were threatened by the Neighbourhood of the Berar Army to their Borders; the Effects which the Fear of Invaſion might naturally be ſuppoſed to have upon the Minds of the timid People of Bengal; and above all, the Conſequences that might be expected to ariſe from the Intrigues of Hyder's Agents with the Country Powers, conſiderably aſſiſted by his great Succeſs in the Carnatic; ſo large a Force could ill be ſpared from the Protection of the Company's Poſſeſſions in this Part of India. It was at the ſame Time, I believe, within the private Knowledge of the Members of * Board, that even our reduced Force was not actually ſuch as it appeared on the Returns; I mean to ſay, that had we required inſtant Service for the Numbers which ſtood on the Returns, we ſhould have been greatly diſappointed—ſuch was the Practice of the Service, founded upon a very reproachful Cuſtom, and all our Efforts, in the Trial of various and repeated Expedients to ſuppreſs it, had hitherto proved ineffectual. In ſuch a Situation, it became not only abſolutely neceſſary that new Levies ſhould be raiſed to ſupply the Loſs which we ſhould ſuffer from the March of Colonel

* Sic in Orig.

* Sic in Orig.

Colonel Pearſe's Detachment to the Coaſt, but that the nominal Strength of our Forces ſhould alſo be its real one. Regulations were accordingly propoſed by Brigadier General Stibbert, and reſolved on by us, to effect ſo deſirable an End: An Increaſe of Numbers adequate to the Loſs of Colonel Pearſe's Detachment was to take place, and the Subaltern Officers of the ſeveral Companies of the Battalions, were ſeparately intruſted with the Pay and Muſter of their Corps, and, by the Duties preſcribed to them, were made, as far as the Good of the Services would allow, without intruding upon the Authority neceſſarily veſted in the Commanding Officers, a Check upon their Captains. More was yet thought politic and expedient: At the ſame Time that we reſolved upon Meaſures for maintaining a large Force fit for Duty whenever called on, and upon which we could always depend, we determined to increaſe the Number of our Battalions to a Thouſand Men; this Body was called a Regiment, and the Regiment divided into Two Battalions of 500 Men in each. This Diminution of Strength in each Battalion, as it ſtood on the former Eſtabliſhment, if known, would appear of little Moment in the Eyes of the Country Powers, and an Augmentation of the Numbers of our Battalions would impreſs them with the Awe of an increaſed Army. Having admitted no private Advantage whatever, and ſomething more than the common Pay of the Rank of Captain being thought due to the Officers commanding ſo large a Corps as a Regiment of 1000 Men, we reſolved on a general Promotion, giving the Commands of the Regiments to Majors, and by affording them the Pay of that Rank, and ſome other Advantages, placing them above the Neceſſity or Deſire of taking Profits, which we wiſhed to annul. I will add for myſelf, that I was influenced in giving my Concurrence in this Meaſure (and I believe Mr. Wheler was ſo likewiſe) by a Deſire of ſhewing ſome Diſtinction to a Number of deſerving Men, whoſe Exertions for the Public Service might ſoon become peculiarly neceſſary, and who would naturally feel a greater Zeal to do credit to their Profeſſion, when they found themſelves placed in higher and more reſponſible Situations, than if they continued undiſtinguiſhed in lower ones. This Alteration in our Eſtabliſhment, ſeparately conſidered, would of courſe be attended with ſome Increaſe of Charge; but it makes a Part only of a general Regulation, which provides a large Augmentation of Force, yet makes the Expence of the whole Army leſs than it was upon its former Footing. In aſſerting this I am warranted by the Eſtimates delivered in to us by General Stibbert, on the 26th December laſt, when the new Regulations were under Conſideration.

The new Regulations being in force before Colonel Pearſe's Detachment went away, it, with the reſt of our Army, was modelled by them; it partook, with it, of the ſame general Benefit, as to nominal Strength, and indeed received ſome Increaſe of its former Numbers; for, to make the Arrangement good, we added ſome Companies, and ſent to the General's Aſſiſtance a Detachment of Five Regiments of 1000 Men, inſtead of Six Battalions of 800. If the Officers on the Madraſs Eſtabliſhment have been Sufferers by an Arrangement which the public Service of this Country has made neceſſary, I will not cenſure them for complaining; but I muſt attribute the Cauſe to the Meaſure of breaking our Detachment, and dividing it among the Sepoy Corps of the Madraſs Eſtabliſhment, which, however neceſſary in the Judgment of the Commander in Chief, I recollect to be contrary to the Inſtructions of this Government, communicated to him when the Detachment moved from our Provinces.

I obſerve that Sir Eyre Coote remarks on the Staff allowed to a Major of Colonel Pearſe's Detachment, and thenceforth thinks it fit to reflect on the unneceſſary Expence which we have permitted to be incurred in the Charge of that Corps. The only Major of Colonel Pearſe's Detachment that had a Staff was Major Edmondſon, expreſsly appointed Second in Command of it: It has been always uſual, I believe, for the Second in Command of ſo large a Force to have the Staff which was allowed to Major Edmondſon; but it was not intended, nor was it neceſſary, that it ſhould be continued to him longer than he held that Station, and therefore when he no more was Second in Command, as would be the Caſe when a Junction was effected between the Detachment and the Main Army, he of courſe would loſe the Rights and Properties of the Office.

I beg leave to aſſure the Board of my entire Concurrence in their Reply of the 24th September to General Goddard's Letter of the 5th of July, and in that written by the Select Committee of the ſame Date. I have the Honour to tranſmit to them Two Letters from General Goddard, bearing Date the 11th June and 6th Auguſt, which I received at Chunargur, and have not been till lately able to tranſmit to them, on account of the great Inſecurity of the Conveyance: To theſe I have yet made no Reply, and none is now neceſſary from me, ſince the Sentiments of the Board, entirely conformable to my own, have already been expreſſed to him upon the moſt material Points of them; and, as to the reſt, the Board are much better able to judge, than I can be at this Diſtance from the Preſidency, how far the Plan propoſed by General Goddard, in his Letter of the 11th of June, or that ſubſequently propoſed by the Preſident and Select Committee of Bombay, of which no Intimation has yet been ſent me, for ſupplying the Troops on the Malabar Coaſt with Proviſions, can be complied with, without affecting the more eſſential Claims of the Army under Sir Eyre Coote, and the Settlement at Fort St. George.

I have been ſorry to obſerve, on a Peruſal of General Goddard's Letter to the Board of 6th Auguſt, that the General had miſtaken the Senſe and Meaning of our Orders of the 11th of June, reſpecting a Peace with the Maratta State; I judge ſo from my preſent Recollection of them, for I have not a Copy with me.—In a Minute, which the General has delivered at a Meeting of the

Select

Select Committee, and extracted in his Letter to us, he asserts, that one of the Events, in which the Powers which we had granted him were to be exercised, was the Deputation of Dewagur Pundit Moodajee Dewan to Poona, for the Purpose of mediating between this Government and the Marattas; whereas I believe that our Instructions to the General, not only provided for the Deputation of Dewagur Pundit to Poona, but of any one else who might be appointed to go there by the Court of Nagpoor.

I have already expressed my Approbation of the Orders sent to Bombay, and to Brigadier General Goddard, on the 24th September, against a Plan of offensive Operations, and an Augmentation of the Military Establishment on that Coast. The Reasoning in favour of an Increase of their Army, is doubtless overset, by their own Confession of Inability to maintain what they have already, and we are unable to supply them. I have not yet seen the Plan of offensive Operations recommended, but I am generally against it, not being able to discover to what useful Object it can tend, be it what it may. This Government has no Object but a Peace; we have acquired all that we sought for when we were forced into the War, and we have offered a large Part of that Whole to effect a Peace. But I am influenced by still further Reasons for opposing of the Orders sent to Brigadier General Goddard; and these I shall now recite; first making an Apology to the Board for not having before given them public Information of the Facts on which they were grounded. I alluded to them distantly in an official Letter which I wrote Mr. Wheler from Chunar; but from a Fear of its being intercepted, it was expressed with so much Caution, that I fear * may not exactly have been understood. In a private Letter, which I have since written to Mr. Wheler, I have been more explicit; and shall be obliged to him if he will be pleased to lay before the Board, and record upon their Proceedings, such Part of it as relates to the Subject.

* Sic in Orig.

I was made to understand, by a Letter which I received from Colonel Muir, and by distant Advances made to me after my first Arrival at this Place, that Madajee Scindia was very desirous of a Peace. His Wishes coinciding with those of our Government, I sent Orders to Colonel Muir to negociate, and full Powers to conclude, a separate Peace with him, accompanied by Instructions for the Colonel's Guidance in fixing the Conditions of it. As these appear to be the Orders on which a Treaty has since been prepared, I transmit a Copy of them enclosed for the Information of the Board, together with a Copy of my Credentials to Colonel Muir: They were both drawn up to go in the smallest Compass possible, on account of the Danger to the Passage of our Letters at that Period. Soon after I had dispatched these Orders, and before they could reach Colonel Muir, I received from him a Communication of his Correspondence with Scindia, with respect to the Conditions of a Peace, and was happy to find by it, that the Conditions to which Scindia would agree, were, except in very trivial Instances, the same which I had empowered Colonel Muir to yield.

I have the Honour to transmit enclosed to the Board a Translation of the Proposal made to Colonel Muir by Scindia's Dewan, on the Part of his Master, a Copy of my Replies, and a Letter which I wrote to Colonel Muir on the 11th Ultimo.

A Truce had been respectively agreed on between the Two Commanders, and my Instructions to Colonel Muir fortunately reached him before the limited Period of it was expired. I have been for some Time in hourly Expectation of hearing that the Treaty was concluded, having had the Satisfaction to learn from Colonel Muir, that neither the Arts of Cheit Sing, nor the worst State of our Affairs in this Country, even the most exaggerated Account of them, appear to have affected the amicable Disposition of the Maratta Chief. But as it will afford the Board Pleasure to know what Progress Colonel Muir has made, I have the Honour to subjoin an Extract of the last Letter which I received from him, under Date the 6th Instant: "The Treaty is at last fairly made out, "and this Day transmitted to Scindia for his Approbation. To morrow it will be returned; and, "if approved, Captain Ford will be dispatched for * to his Camp to see the Signature and Seal "affixed; after which Interview I shall be able to write you fully on every Part of the im- "portant Charge entrusted to my Management." To this Information I beg the Board's Permission to add an Extract of a private Letter from Colonel Muir's Camp, of yet a later Date: Sessai, dated 11th October 1781: "The Treaty is ready, and Ford is to set out this Morning for "the Maratta Camp, to have it executed by the Pateel, as he has already approved of the Articles "in it."

to

* Sic in Orig.

The Board will observe in Scindia's Proposals for a separate Peace, that he has promised his Interposition at Poona for effecting a general Peace with the Maratta State; and as in such Event it will be necessary to take some further Steps for securing Success to so desirable an Object, I shall soon have Occasion to address the Board again on this important Subject.

I have the Honour to be, with great Esteem,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
Warren Hastings.

Benares,
the 22d October 1781.

P. S. Since the above Letter was copied fair, I have received the Copy of a Minute delivered to the Board by Mr. Wheler on the 4th of last Month; and beg leave to offer my Acknowledgments and

and Thanks to that Gentleman, for the honourable Teſtimony which he has afforded in it of his Approbation of my Conduct on the Occaſion to which it alludes.

W. H.]

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, Governor General, &c. Supreme Council.

Gentlemen,

I had the Honour of addreſſing you the 15th Ultimo, acquainting you with the March of the Army to Calian, and my Arrival at Bombay, ſince the Diſpatch of which Letter, nothing material has occurred relative to our political Tranſactions with the Maratta State, nor have any Meaſures been taken on the Part of their Government, which can be of Importance to the future Progreſs or final Termination of the War, as the only Motion made by them, ſince the Retreat of their main Army up the Gauts has been the detaching a Body of Troops to the Northward to ravage and deſtroy the Diſtricts near Surat; but as Major Forbes with his Force is ſtationed in the Neighbourhood of that City, and the Collections from theſe new Acquiſitions are almoſt, if not entirely completed, it will not be in the Power of the Enemy to do any material Miſchief to them till after the Rains, and * now when ſome Plan muſt be adopted for their Defence and Preſervation. The Troops under Major Forbes are equal to oppoſe the Force at preſent employed by the Enemy in that Quarter; and it is probable even a Part of theſe may return towards Poona, ſince by the lateſt Accounts from thence the Miniſter had not ventured to diſmiſs any Part of his Army, and it was confidently reported, that he propoſed keeping them together the whole rainy Seaſon in the Neighbourhood of the Capital.

* Sic in Orig.

The great and heavy Expence this muſt occaſion, together with the Sums he has been already obliged to diſburſe to reward the Services of the different Chiefs, as well as to ſatisfy them for the Loſs both of Men and Horſes ſuſtained during the late Campaign, will, it may be expected, make the Miniſter deſirous of bringing the War to a ſpeedy Termination. Hyder, apprehenſive of this Conſequence, has been, and ſtill continues very frequent and preſſing in his Repreſentations to the Poona Durbar, and exceedingly liberal in his Promiſes both of Men and Money to aſſiſt them againſt us. He has even given further and more ſtriking Proofs of his anxious Care to prevent any Coalition taking place between the Engliſh and Maratta State at this Time, by agreeing to pay the latter Fifty Lacks of Rupees; and it is confidently communicated to me, that of this Amount he has already ſent Nana Furneſe Merchants Bills for Two Lacks. All theſe Circumſtances, added to the whole Tenor of the Miniſter's Conduct ſince Hyder entered the Carnatic, prove ſo cloſe and intimate a Connection between them, that it is evident no diſtinct or ſeparate Intereſt can be purſued by either, and that the Maratta Government will be bounded and directed by the Event of the Operations on the Coaſt of Coromandel.

Here I cannot but lament the little Intercourſe we have enjoyed of late with that Quarter, by which Means we are kept in Ignorance of the State of the War there. The laſt certain Intelligence from thence was dated early in March; and though, ſince that Period, many Reports have been currently and confidently ſpread, very favourable to the Progreſs of our Arms againſt Hyder, yet the fallacious Nature of this Species of Intelligence is too well known, from repeated Experience, to admit of placing any real Dependence upon ſo uncertain and precarious a Foundation: It will not therefore be in our Power, conſiſtent with good Policy, to come to any fixed Determination, or decide upon the Plan moſt proper to be purſued at this Time, towards effecting an Accommodation with the Marattas, until we can obtain an actual Knowledge of the War on the Coaſt, eſpecially as we have ſo much Room to hope a favourable Iſſue to it, which alone can ſecure Succeſs to our Negociations, and without which it is not probable, from what has already paſſed, the Miniſter would liſten to any Conditions we might chooſe to offer.

I have in a former Letter, to which I here beg leave to call your Attention, moſt earneſtly recommended the Expediency of connecting the Operations of Colonel Camac's Detachment with thoſe of the Troops on this Coaſt under my Command, and leaving it to our mutual Endeavours and Reſources to form a Junction of Forces, in order to act with Vigour againſt the Enemy, ſhould the War be prolonged another Campaign, You are already acquainted with my Motives for propoſing this Meaſure, and I ſhall not therefore trouble you with a Repetition of them.

Since writing that Letter, another Diminution of our Military Strength on this Side, but with it a very conſiderable Decreaſe of Expence, no leſs than that of the whole Madraſs Detachment, has been reſolved upon.

The Select Committee of Bombay repreſented to me, as a Meaſure which they wiſhed to adopt from Motives of ſtrong Neceſſity, and to prevent the Danger to which they might be expoſed on account of the few Europeans belonging to this Eſtabliſhment, the incorporating the Men of the Madraſs European Battalion and Company of Artillery with their own Troops, and ſend round them * Officers to the Coaſt of Coromandel. The Deference and Regard I paid to their Judgment, reſpecting the Right they poſſeſſed of taking ſuch a Step, and the Neceſſity I was ſenſible there exiſted, from Conſiderations for the public Good, for adopting it, if admiſſible under any Circumſtances, has induced me to grant the Concurrence they required; but, in order to effect a more complete Reduction of the Expence incurred by maintaining a Detachment at this Diſtance from its own Preſidency, and at the ſame Time to contribute all in our Power to ſtrengthen

* Sic in Orig.

the

the Army upon the Coaſt, I thought it further expedient to propoſe to the Committee, that the Carnatic Battalion of Sepoys ſhould accompany the Officers. The Committee have acquieſced in this Propoſal, and Preparations are making accordingly for ſending them round in the Ponſbourne, Contractor, and Duke of Portland, Indiamen, which will, I conceive, be ready to ſail early in July.

I loſe no Time in acquainting you with this Reſolution, that you may be fully informed of our Situation, Military Force, and the Extent of the Reſources we poſſeſs for proſecuting the War next Campaign. The Reaſons which have determined the Select Committee and myſelf to diſpoſe of the Madraſs Troops in the Manner above mentioned, will be ſtated at large and explained to you by the Opportunity of the Diſpatch of the Indiamen; and I flatter myſelf the Meaſure will appear to you uſeful and neceſſary for the Good of the Public Service, and meriting your Approbation. In the mean Time, I beg leave generally to point out the material Benefits we ſhall derive from it: Firſt, the Reduction of a very heavy Expence, which has been hitherto ſupported with Difficulty, and which becomes every Day more and more and more * colonating. Second, the Acceſſion of a reſpectable Force for the Defence of this Preſidency, and at a trifling Addition of Charge, when the Advices from Europe, and the War lately declared againſt the Dutch, render Attention to its Security an Object of the greateſt and moſt intereſting Conſequence: And Third, The Aſſiſtance, however ſmall, which the Return of the Officers and Sepoy Battalions to the Coaſt of Coromandel will give to the Operations there.

* Error in Cypher.

I ſhall conclude this Letter by ſuggeſting and earneſtly recommending to your Conſideration a Meaſure, which it appears may be of the greateſt public Benefit, and muſt, excluſive of the certain Difficulty we ſhall find in raiſing Funds for the Payment of the Troops, be of the moſt material Aſſiſtance to relieve the Diſtreſs they will be expoſed to from the Want of Proviſions for their Subſiſtence in a Country that has been ſo long, and ſtill continues to be, the Seat of a Maratta War. The Meaſure I would propoſe is, to ſend round large Supplies of Grain from Bengal, where it can be purchaſed at a moderate Price, for the Subſiſtence and ſole Uſe of the Troops under my Command, which can be ſerved out to them at a fixed Rate, and be received by them in lieu of Money.

The Price can be calculated in ſuch a Manner as to indemnify the Company for every Charge they may incur in the purchaſing, Freight, &c. and at the ſame Time the Troops will be ſupplied at a low and reaſonable Rate; and beſides that, the very probable Event of an abſolute Scarcity from the Cauſe I have already aſſigned, will be fully provided againſt.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,

(Signed) Thoˢ Goddard.

Bombay,
11th June 1781.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſq. Governor General, &c. Supreme Council.

Gentlemen,

I had the Pleaſure to addreſs you the 30th ultimo from Bombay, acquainting you of my Intention of immediately ſetting out for Surat, which I accordingly did the Day following, and ſince my Arrival here have been honoured with your Commands ſignified in your Letter of the 11th June. Although the Letters which I addreſſed to you upon the Arrival of the Army at Panwell, and afterwards from Bombay, will have fully explained the Tranſactions of my March from Bove Ghaut, and have convinced you on whoſe Side the Superiority of Arms remained, as well as deſcribed the particular Reaſons which rendered my Movement to Panwell at that Time neceſſary, a Meaſure which you will perceive was dictated more by our Attention to the Operations of the War on the Coaſt, and the Deſire of being aſſiſting to their Succeſs by an immediate Relief of the Tillicherry Detachment, than the Conſequence of any Conſciouſneſs on our Part of inferior Strength to the Troops that oppoſed us, or an Apprehenſion of Danger from the Situation in which we were then placed; I cannot but moſt ſincerely regret the Period, however ſhort, that may have intervened before any certain Advices could reach you, and remove the unfavourable Impreſſion, which an Account as premature and exaggerated as that received from the Raja of Berar, muſt unavoidably have made in your Minds; though permit me here to add, with the moſt grateful Warmth of Acknowledgments, that I conſider the doubtful Light in which you beheld the Intelligence, notwithſtanding the authentic Channel through which it was conveyed to you, as the moſt ſtriking Proof of your Confidence in, and good Opinion of, my Zeal for your Intereſts, and ſhall endeavour to convince you, by my future Exertions and faithful Services, of the lively Impreſſion which ſuch reiterated Marks of Favour have made in my Mind.

Having addreſſed the Preſident and Select Committee of Bombay immediately upon Receipt of your Letter, incloſing a Copy of it for their Peruſal and Information, and at the ſame Time explained to them my Ideas upon the Sentiments therein expreſſed, I beg leave to tranſcribe a Part of that Addreſs for your particular Obſervation, and preſume to hope that the Opinion which I have formed of your Views, and the Plan I have perſiſted in recommending from a Conviction of its Expediency, founded on them, and an Attention to the general Situation of Affairs, as explained in the Minute lately delivered in to the Committee by me, and the Letters addreſſed to you

you in conſequence, both by their Government and myſelf, will be honoured with your Concurrence and Approbation.

* Sic in Orig. '[Extract.] You will receive * the Inſtructions given for my Guidance in the Exerciſe of the Powers with which they have been pleaſed to intruſt me, are made to depend upon two Events, neither of which has to our Knowledge yet taken place, and of which, as far as we may venture to judge from Circumſtances, there is at preſent no Proſpect. Theſe are, firſt, the Deputation of Dewagheer Pundit, Moodajee's Dewar, to Poona, for the Purpoſe of mediating Peace between the Engliſh and Maratta State; and ſecondly, the Arrival of any Overture directly from the Government of Poona towards an Accommodation. Whenever either of theſe Events ſhall take

† Not decyphered in the Original. place, the Inſtructions contained in the incloſed Letter will become the Rule, and † 6028, *i. e.* by which to regulate and form the Conduct of any Negociation that may of conſequence be entered into. In the mean Time I muſt, after maturely conſidering the Contents of the Honourable Governor General and Council's Letters, and in particular attending to the falſe and exaggerated Account tranſmitted to them of the Tranſactions of my March from Bhou Gaut, which

‡ Sic in Orig. however they ſeem to have ſeen and underſtood in the real and proper Light, I ‡ perſiſt in the Sentiments I have already delivered to your Committee, and recommend the Proſecution of the Plan of Operation for the enſuing Campaign, recently agreed upon, as moſt conſiſtent with the expreſs Intentions of the Government of Bengal, and moſt likely to promote the Succeſs of their Views in the Attainment of an advantageous Peace, or even an honourable equal one. Since, in caſe Dewagher Pundit's actual Arrival at Poona to aſſiſt in effecting a Treaty, our Condition to proſecute Hoſtilities with Vigour will give Weight to his and our united Endeavours for that deſirable Purpoſe; and it is eaſy to conceive, that if we are to expect to receive any direct Over-

§ Sic in Orig. tures from the Maratta Government, the moſt probable, indeed the only effectual Means Meaſure § of producing a Diſpoſition ſo favourable to our Views, is to ſhew that we are prepared and able to enter upon any active and deciſive Campaign immediately, ſhould he neglect the preſent Opportunity, and ſuffer the War to be prolonged another Seaſon. [End of the Extract.]'

You ſee, Gentlemen, from a Peruſal of the above Extract, that my Sentiments regarding the Expediency of putting ourſelves in a Condition to proſecute, by every poſſible vigorous Exertion, an offenſive Campaign againſt the Marattas, cont the ſame as when I addreſſed you the 31 Ultimo. My Opinion upon this Occaſion is founded upon the following Reaſons, that as the Two principal Objects of our preſent political Purſuits are an honourable Termination of the War with the Marrattas, and an Opportunity of exerting all our Strength againſt Hyder, neither of theſe Points can be attained, but by the Means of ſome great and deciſive Advantage over the former, ſince it is natural to ſuppoſe they will never ſit down for a Time contented with the Loſs they have already ſuffered, and wait the Iſſue of Hyder Ally's Operations on the Coaſt of Coromandel, which have had ſo favourable a Beginning, and in whoſe final Succeſs they know they muſt ſhare rather than agree to any Terms we might offer, provided they remain free from the immediate Apprehenſion of further Danger or Moleſtation from us. Another Argument, and that a moſt powerful one, is, that the great and formidable Preparations now actually making by the Marratta Miniſter, promiſe an Exertion on the Part of the Enemy, which it is neceſſary we ſhould be prepared effectually to reſiſt, and if poſſible retaliate with double Vengeance upon them. This End will, I truſt, be fully obtained by carrying into Execution the Plan I have propoſed, and I therefore moſt ſtrenuouſly ſolicit that no Time may be loſt in tranſmitting ſuch Inſtructions, and affording ſuch effectual Aid as may enable me, in Concert with this Government, to adopt and enter upon the Meaſures neceſſary for its Accompliſhment. As the Particulars of the Plan above alluded to are contained in the Minute given in by me to the Select Committee, and explained at large in our ſeveral Addreſſes to you, and will be tranſmitted you by Sea, which at this Seaſon is the moſt expeditious Mode of Conveyance, I need not now ſwell this Packet, by entering into a minute Deſcription of it, which muſt be known long before this can reach you. It is ſufficient to mention here, that it is propoſed to collect as large a Force as Circumſtances will poſſibly admit of, and adequate to the Purpoſe of carrying on an offenſive Plan of Operations with Effect: That, for this Purpoſe, a temporary Increaſe is to be made in the military Eſtabliſhment: That Futty Sing is to be called upon to perform his Engagement with the Honourable Company, and required to give every Aſſiſtance in his Power to the Proſecution of the War: That, excluſive of this Aid, the Utility of Horſe to carry on any diſtant Operations againſt

‖ Sic in Orig. an Enemy, whoſe Strength conſiſts in Cavalry, is ſo obvious, and their Services ſo neceſſary ‖ give a deciſive and complete Succeſs to our Arms, that a Body of ſerviceable Horſe ſhould be employed by the Company, and at their own Expence, if no other Means can be found of

* Not decyphered in the Original. * 10840 them: And laſtly, That the Detachment under Colonel Muir ſhould be ordered to cooperate entirely with me, and, if poſſible, form a Junction of Force; without which the Plan propoſed muſt remain imperfect and defective: As the Execution of this Plan will neceſſarily involve us in a temporary Increaſe of Expence, and this Government continues to declare itſelf totally unpoſſeſſed of Reſources for its Support, it is needleſs to obſerve, that our entire Dependence muſt be placed upon you; and that without your timely Aid and Exertions in our Behalf, it will be impoſſible to adopt the Meaſures now propoſed in their full Extent; and unleſs we do ſo, no important or adequate Succeſs can be expected. I ſhall do myſelf the Honour of addreſſing you again very ſhortly, acquainting you with the Reſult of my preſent Viſit to the Northward, in the Buſineſs of which, on account of the ſhort Period that has paſſed ſince my

Arrival, I have not been able to effect any Thing. After assuring you of the cheerful and implicit Obedience which I shall most scrupulously pay to the Commands with which you have been pleased to honour me, I shall conclude the present Address by acknowledging, with the most grateful Thanks for the further distinguishing Marks it contains of your Favour, your Letter of the 14th June, which reached me this Day.

Surat,
6th August 1781.

I have the Honour to be, Gentlemen, &c. &c. &c.
(Signed) Thos Goddard.

(COPY.)

To Colonel Muir.

Sir, Chunargur, 29th August 1781.

The Treachery of Rajah Cheyt Sing has compelled me to retreat to this Place, where I wait to reduce this Zemindary; a Work, I trust, of no great Difficulty or Time. I have received a Letter from you mentioning that Madagee Scindia has offered Terms of Peace. I send you full Powers.—Agree with him either for an Alliance of mutual Defence or Neutrality.—If he desires to include the Peshwa, you may agree to a Treaty of Peace with the Peshwa, and an Alliance against Hyder Ally Cawn, and all common Enemies; or of Peace simply on the Conditions of restoring all that we have acquired during the War, except Ahmedabad and and § the Territory conquered for Raja Futty Sing Gaycvan, and the Fortress of Guallier, and Fort and Territory of Satar. That we will never assist Raganaut Raw, nor interfere with his Concerns, nor admit him into our Forts or Territories; but we will not deliver him into the Hands of any one; let a Time be allowed him to repair to a Place of Security.

§ Sic in Orig.

We will yield what is ours, and what we can in Honour grant, but we will never suffer our Treaties to be infringed nor our Faith to be violated.——Reserve for us Bassein if you can, even if it should be necessary to yield in Exchange for it all the Lands obtained by the Treaty with Colonel Upton, except Salsett and the other ceded Islands, and the ceded Moiety of Baroach: but do not insist on the Bassein to the Hindrance of Peace. We want nothing from them but their Alliance against Hyder Ally Cawn, and that we dispense with. Be careful that the Agreement do not contain any Thing hostile to the Government of Berar, or hurtful to our Connection with it; obtain the Restoration of the Chundery Raja, and secure, as far as you may have the Means, the Interests of the Raja of Nurwerr, and any other Chiefs who have been active in our Cause. Include the Rana of Ghode and Futty Sing Gaycivan in the Peace, to prevent future Provocations of Hostility; let it be agreed to exclude the French and all the European Nations from the Ports and Dominions of the Marrattas. If a Treaty has already taken place between General Goddard and the Marratta State, the present Treaty must in such Case be void, but you may assure Scindia that no Peace shall be made to his Prejudice. Send, if you think proper, a confidential Person to Madajee Scindia. If he will engage on the above Terms, he must conclude them now: I am making my final Arrangements, and if the Time is lost, a Treaty * a Treaty with him may be for ever precluded by them. Obviate any Conclusion which he may draw from the present Scene.—It regards myself personally, and myself at this Time but little.—Cheyt Sing, by the sudden Massacre of some of the Sepoys of my Guard, which diminished it to the small Number of 100 Men, shut up with me in the close Suburbs of Benares, might have effected my Destruction. I escaped the Danger, and Troops are assembling daily, to which he can afford no Opposition. While the Effect of these Instructions is passing to Scindia, the Raja's total Exclusion ought to be accomplished; I hope it will.

* Sic in Orig.

I am, &c.
(Signed) Warren Hastings.

(A true Copy.)
E. Hay,
Sub Secretary to the Honourable Board.

Copy of the Credentials from the Governor General to Colonel Muir.

I the Governor General of the Provinces of Bengal, &c. &c. having received full Powers and Authority from the Governor General and Council of the said Provinces, and relying on your Fidelity, Prudence, and Integrity and Circumspection, have deputed and appointed you to be the Public Minister of the Governor General and Council aforesaid, to treat with Madajee Scindia, or any Person by him deputed for that Purpose; and I hereby delegate to you full Powers and Authority to act in that Capacity, according to the Instructions which I have given you for that Purpose.

Given at Chunargur under my Hand and Seal, this 29th Day of August 1781.

(A true Copy,)
E. Hay,
Sub Secretary to the Honourable Board.

(COPY.)

(COPY.)

Tranſlate of a Letter, and Propoſals of Peace from the Pundit Chumnajee Ra-Dewan, on the Part of the Maharajah Mahajee Pundit Patiel, delivered Muir the 27th Auguſt 1781.

Health to the generous and courteous Colonel, the Support and Protector of the indigent, &c.

The Patiel (may his good Fortune be perpetual) has deputed the Writer of this to negociate with you a Treaty of Peace. His Intentions are manifeſted by the under-written Propoſals; you are requeſted to communicate your Pleaſure therein.

Article 1ſt.

The Patiel will agree to ſeparate himſelf from his Principals, and to make a Peace with the Engliſh Gentlemen, provided he may at all Times be aſſured of the Aſſiſtance and Support of their Government.

Article 2d.

He offers himſelf as a Mediator for a Peace with the Peſhwa and Huder Naich, if ſuch an Event be deſired; a certain Time to be allowed him for that Purpoſe, in which the Reſult is to be waited: If a Peace is effected in that Time it is well, if not, the Engliſh Gentlemen are to act as they think proper, but not to require Aſſiſtance from him, not * to take their Route through his Country; in ſuch caſe he will neither oppoſe their Proceedings nor give Aſſiſtance to Poona.

* Sic in Orig.

Article 3d.

Such Parts of the Country on this Side of the Jumna now in the Poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, to be reſtored to him; and for the future they are not to diſturb his Dominions.

Article 4th.

On the Footing of Friendſhip and Honour ſincere and mutual, and on ſuch Conſiderations only, he requires that his Elephants and Artillery be reſtored to him.

Article 5th.

On the final Concluſion of Peace by the Parties, the Engliſh Gentlemen to return to their own Country, and he will march himſelf on one ſide till a Peace with Poona is effected: This Tranſaction is to be kept entirely ſecret, in order that it may not come to the Knowledge of the Miniſtry at Poona.

The Governor General's Replies tranſmitted to Colonel Muir for his Information and Guidance.

Article 1ſt.

We agree to this Article with the following Explanation, namely, We agree to make a Peace with the Patiel ſeparate from his Principals, and propoſe that in all caſes where either they or the Patiel ſhould be firſt attacked, and it ſhall be in the Power of the other either by Army (if they ſhall have a Force near enough), or by Mediation, they ſhall afford Aſſiſtance to the utmoſt of their Power, to the Party ſo attacked againſt the Aggreſſor.

Article 2d.

Agreed to except a Peace with Huder Naich.

Article 3d.

Agreed to, with the exception of the actual Poſſeſſions of the Ranna of Gohud.

Article 4th.

Agreed.

Article 5th.

Agreed.

(A true Tranſlate.)
(Signed) Thomas Ford,
Perſian Interpreter to Colonel Muir.
(A true Copy,) E. Hay,
Sub Secretary to the Honble. Board.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from the Honble. the Governor General to Colonel Grainger Muir, dated Chunargur, 11th September 1781.

Sir,

I had juſt cloſed the accompanying Letter to you, when I Yeſterday received your ſeveral Diſpatches of the 25th and 27th Auguſt.

Scindia's Propoſitions are on the whole very nearly conformable to my Wiſhes; I now return them with ſhort Anſwers annexed to each, which I deſire you will explain to his Dewan Chinnagee. That Part of the Firſt Article in which he provides that he ſhall at all Times be aſſured of the Aſſiſtance and Support of our Government, if conſtrued literally, would require more than we could at all Times be able to perform; and as I think it neceſſary that nothing ſhould be inſerted which, under any poſſible Conſtruction of Words, may be inconſiſtent with Sincerity and good Faith, I have therefore qualified my Acquieſcence to the Firſt Article, by explaining to what Extent, and under what Circumſtances, Aſſiſtance ſhould be given by either Party.

You may further explain, that it is not expected that he ſhall afford us Aſſiſtance in any Caſe againſt the Peſhwa.

The Exception with reſpect to Huder Naich, in the Second Article, will, I imagine, form no Obſtacle to your concluding an Agreement regarding the reſt of Scindia's Propoſals.—He muſt know that in the preſent buſy Scene of War on the Coaſt, many important Events muſt have happened. Theſe muſt have Weight with regard to any Negociations relative to Hyder Ally, and theſe neither Scindia nor I can poſſibly foreſee or judge of; beſides, he is at too great a Diſtance to interfere in any Negociation between us and Hyder, if we were ever deſirous that ſuch a Thing ſhould take place.

I am well pleaſed with the Plan which Madajee Scindia propoſes with reſpect to the Peſhwa, and even wiſh that a ſeparate Treaty may be concluded with him without your finding it neceſſary to enter into any Diſcuſſion whatever regarding the Objects in Diſpute between the Peſhwa and us: Leave them open for future Diſcuſſion, and accept of Madajee Scindia's Offer of Mediation; deſire him, on concluding the ſeparate Treaty, to ſend me Paſſports and Perwannas without Loſs of Time, for a Gentleman whom I ſhall ſend to Poona in Company with a Perſon from him, with full Powers to ſettle and conclude a Treaty between us and the Peſhwa.

On finiſhing the ſeparate Treaty, you will immediately return with the Detachment under your Command to the Vizier's Dominions.

If it ſhould be agreed on betwixt you and Scindia that a Truce ſhould take place between us and the Peſhwa, during the Period which may be limited for ſettling a final Treaty betwixt us, I deſire that you will communicate to General Goddard this and any other Article which may affect his Operations, and forward to him the incloſed Letter from me, in which I have directed him to adhere to the Terms of your Agreement.

You will obſerve that in my Anſwer to Scindia's Third Propoſition, I have excepted generally the actual Poſſeſſions of the Rana of Gohud. I think it neceſſary however here to explain this Anſwer more fully; Gualior muſt poſitively be kept for the Rana; but if Scindia, in the courſe of your Negociations, ſhould inſiſt on our reſtoring Cutchwagur and the reſt of the Territories which have been put in the Rana's Poſſeſſion by us ſince the Commencement of the War, I deſire that you will not let theſe Territories be an Obſtacle to the Concluſion of Peace.—We may reſtore them without any Deviation from the Spirit of our Treaty with the Rana, in which the Reſervation of Gualior clearly implies a Right of diſpoſing of any other Conqueſt; and compared with the Acquiſition of Gualior, theſe Territories are of ſo ſmall Importance to the Rana, that I think it probable he will, if neceſſary, agree to their being reſtored.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

Chunargur,
the 11th September 1781.

(A true Copy.)
E. Hay, Sub Secretary to the Honourable Board.

The Letter, of which the above is a Copy, was not diſpatched until the 23d of September, and on that Day a Poſtſcript was added to it, giving a brief Account of the Raja's Rebellion, and the military Operations againſt him.

Gentlemen.

I have this Morning had the great Pleaſure of receiving your Letter of the 16th Inſtant, conveying to me Advices of Sir Eyre Coote's Victory over Hyder's Army on the 27th Ult. and do ſincerely and heartily congratulate the Board on this glorious Event. I have given Orders for the immediate Diſpatch of the Intelligence to the Officers of the Army without the Provinces, that it may be communicated to the Troops, and a Salute fired in Joy of our ſignal Succeſs. The News which you have done me the Honour of tranſmitting me, will, I hope, contribute to afford an advantageous Reſult to my Proceedings; and I beg leave to aſſure the Board, that nothing ſhall be wanting on my Part to do Credit and Honour to the pleaſing and generous Confidence which

which they are pleaſed to repoſe in my Zeal for, and Attention to, the Intereſt of the public Service. I have the Honour to be, with much Eſteem, Gentlemen,

Yours, &c. &c. &c.

Benares,
the 24th October 1781. (Signed) Warren Haſtings.

Agreed that a Letter be written to the Governor General as follows:

To the Governor General.

Sir,

We have had the Pleaſure to receive your Letters of the 13th, 18th, 22d, and 23d of laſt Month, in the Secret Department.

The Conduct of Beneram Pundit merits our Approbation in every Reſpect. We ſhall with Pleaſure add our Signature to the Bond which you have given him for the Advance of a Lac of Rupees. Indeed we ſhould be happy to reward ſuch an Inſtance of generous Attachment and public Confidence in any Manner that might be agreeable to him, and that would properly expreſs the Approbation of Government.

It is difficult for us to expreſs the Satisfaction which we feel at your having been able ſo ſpeedily and ſo ſucceſsfully to ſuppreſs the Rebellion of Cheit Sing; nor can we ſufficiently admire the Spirit and Alacrity with which the Troops flew from every Quarter to your Support. Much depended upon the Vigour and Rapidity with which the Forces of the rebellious Raja were attacked, and his Strong-holds inveſted. The Meaſures which you adopted, in ſo critical and ſo unexpected an Occaſion, do you no leſs Credit than the Promptitude and Ability with which your Orders were executed are honourable to the Officers and Soldiers who followed your Commands.

From the great Quantity of military Stores which Cheit Sing had collected, and his other Preparations, we are perſuaded that he looked ultimately to Independence, by aſſociating himſelf with our other Enemies. Your Arrival at Benares, and the Circumſtances that followed, precipitated his Reſolution. The Concluſion has been fortunate in every Reſpect.

The Daringneſs of the Raja's Conduct ſhews to us how much this Government ought to be upon its Guard in watching the Conduct of its powerful Tributories and Connections; and we are convinced, that the Iſſue of the Commotion will hold forth ſuch an Example as muſt deter all ſuch Attempts for the future, and eſtabliſh more firmly the Powers of this Government. We repoſe the utmoſt Confidence in your Wiſdom and Ability to bring theſe Troubles to a happy Termination. The Steps which you have already taken and communicated to us, appear the moſt proper that could be adopted; nor have we a Doubt but that your final Eſtabliſhment of Peace and Security in the Zemindary will be ſuch as ſhall be moſt for the public Honour, and the particular Intereſt of the Company.

When we are favoured with the full Detail of your Tranſactions, which you propoſe to ſend us, we ſhall with Pleaſure diſcuſs this Subject more particularly. The Interruptions to our regular Communication with you, have in no Inſtance, we believe, prejudiced the public Intereſt; they have even ſerved, as you juſtly remark, to ſhew the Similarity of our reſpective Sentiments and Determination, at a Time when neither you nor we could be informed of the Opinion of each other.

You judged right in not publiſhing our Proclamation at Benares, after your own had been iſſued. Declarations from an Authority that might be ſuppoſed different, could not add to the Force of your Repreſentations. We wiſh to ſtrengthen, not to embarraſs or weaken your Hands: We have accordingly ordered the Reſident at Benares to ſuppreſs our Proclamation, the Object of which Proclamation was to prevent the Contagion of Rebellion from ſpreading. We wiſhed to impreſs the Provinces with the proper Idea of that Steadineſs to the public Faith which is the true Intereſt of this Government, and which our Enemies are continually endeavouring to impeach to our Diſcredit. The Occaſion afforded us alſo a happy Opportunity of teſtifying to the World that Spirit of Union* and Harmony in our Council which is ever deſirable, but which, in the preſent Situation of Affairs, may be ſaid to be indiſpenſably neceſſary. We are convinced that your Sentiments on this Subject are exactly our own. Even in Times of leſs critical Emergency, a Difference of Opinion may prevail, and often does, with Advantage, in the Conſtitution of an Adminiſtration ſuch as ours. But the preſent Criſis admits not of the Embarraſſments of the Oppoſition of Opinions. We are ſurrounded with War. Its Expences have exhauſted our Reſources. The Difficulties and Diſtreſſes of the preſent State are without Example and beyond Conception. As good Servants, as Men capable of reflecting upon the intereſting Magnitude of our Truſt, what Inducements have we not to unite cordially in exerting every Faculty and Ability which we poſſeſs, to promote the Welfare of the public Intereſt with which we are charged?

Impreſſed as we muſt all be with theſe Sentiments, and equally impreſſed with the Neceſſity of Harmony among ourſelves, we need not add that we are perſuaded that every Latitude of Power with which you are veſted † ſhall be † executed for the public Good; and that the Readineſs of our Approbation can only tend to excite you to great and ſucceſsful Exertions.

* Sic in Orig. Unity

† Sic in Orig.

Your

Your Situation, veſted with ſuch Powers and Confidence, has already enabled you to forward the great and neceſſary Object of Peace. We have every Reaſon to hope that the Arrangements with Scindia may lead to a ſpeedy Concluſion of the whole of the Maratta War. Your Approbation of the Letter of the Board of the 24th September to the Government of Bombay, is moſt ſatisfactory to us, as well as your Opinion of General Goddard's Propoſitions in his Letters of July and Auguſt laſt. The Force of the Expedition which was intended againſt the Cape of Good Hope having, upon Information of our Diſtreſs in the Carnatic, been moſt generouſly and wiſely directed by its Commanders to come to our Aid, we hope it may arrive upon the Malabar Coaſt at a Time the moſt ſeaſonable to give Succeſs to your Negociations at Poonah.

We wiſh to have your Opinion how the Government of Bombay ſhould be directed to act, in caſe General Meadows arrives there with the Troops under his Command? and whether, as General Meadows can have no direct Authority from the Company to act with their Troops, this Government ſhould not ſend him a ſpecial Authority?

Upon this and many other intereſting Subjects we feel the great Want of your Advice and Direction; but much as we wiſh your ſpeedy Return to the Preſidency, we cannot preſs it; the great Advantage which your preſent Situation affords you to regulate the Affairs of the diſtant Provinces, to ſtrengthen our Frontier, and forward the Buſineſs of Peace, is ſuperior to every other Conſideration.

As the Communication is now open between us, we ſhall inform you regularly of our Proceedings; and hope to hear of your Progreſs fully and confidentially upon every convenient Occaſion.

Fort William,
5th November 1781.

We have the Honour to be, &c.

APPENDIX, N° LII.

Book 36. Page 775.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 12th November 1781.

Fort William, the 12th November 1781.

At a Council; Preſent,
Edward Wheler and John M'Pherſon } Eſquires.

The Governor General abſent on a Viſit to the Northern Provinces.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Service at Fort St. George.

(a) [READ the following Letter and Encloſure from the Governor General:

Gentlemen,

☞ I loſe not an Inſtant in tranſmitting to you a Copy of a Letter which I have received from Colonel Muir, conveying to me the agraeeble Account of his having concluded a Peace with Madajee Sindia, and in congratulating you moſt heartily on this happy Event. I had the Honour of acquainting the Board, in my Letter of the 22d Inſtant, with the Advances which had been made by the Pateel for a Treaty with us, and with the Orders which I had ſent to Colonel Muir to enter into it, and ſhall very ſoon do myſelf the Pleaſure of writing to you again particularly on the Subject, and of tranſmitting to you the Treaty which has been concluded, together with the Explanations promiſed in Colonel Muir's Letter, as ſoon as I receive them from him. Governor General, 29th October.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Regard and Eſteem, &c.

Benares, 29th October 1781. (Signed) Warren Haſtings.

Copy of a Letter from Colonel Grainger Muir to the Honourable the Governor General, dated 20th October 1781.

Sir,

I have the Pleaſure to inform you, that the Treaty between our Government and Sindiah is finally concluded and ſealed, entirely conſonant to the Inſtructions you honoured me with; an Interchange of which, in Counterpart, was duly executed this Morning. Copy and Tranſlate, with many other Particulars of my laſt Negociations with the Pateel, I am prevented the Pleaſure of laying before you by this Diſpatch, owing to Captain Ford's Indiſpoſition, who is returned from the Marratta Camp with ſo ſevere a Fever as renders him totally incapable of Buſineſs: And as all the Papers relating to this Negociation are in his Charge, I muſt wait an Intermiſſion of his Fever, to allow him not only to ſuperintend their being copied, but to explain may * other

* Sic in Orig.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 594.

Particulars

Particulars entruſted to his Management on his Deputation to the Pateel. This Opportunity will, I hope, be afforded me To-morrow.

I have the Honour to inform you, that I have withdrawn the Regiment from Qualaras, and I ſhall march my Detachment To-morrow Morning, and intend proceeding to Etyah, where I mean to croſs the Seemna, unleſs I receive your Orders to the contrary; and as I have not as yet been honoured with your Inſtructions regarding the Deſtination of the Troops under my Command, I beg leave to entreat you will be pleaſed to favour me with your Commands on this Head as ſoon as convenient, as I am particularly deſirous to have them before I croſs the Jumna.

I am ſorry to inform you, that my Diſcovery of the Rana's Conduct of late amounts to a poſitive Proof of his Infidelity to our Government. He has been carrying on private Negociations with the Pateel (without any Regard to his Engagements with the Company, replete with the cleareſt Intention to betray us, and ſacrifice our Intereſts to his own private Views. Upon this Circumſtance coming to my Knowledge, I poſitively refuſed concluding any Treaty with the Pateel until an atteſted Copy of the propoſed or executed Treaty between them ſhould be lodged in my Poſſeſſion. This Copy I have with great Difficulty procured with Bappoo Sewajee's Seal affixed; Duplicate of which I ſhall have the Pleaſure to incloſe you in my next Diſpatch.

I ſhall further only beg leave to add, that ſhould you have any Commands for me in bringing the Rana to Account for any Balance he may owe the Company, or any other Buſineſs, it will be neceſſary to tranſmit them ſo as to meet me before I quit his Country; and that Period cannot exceed the 5th of the enſuing Month. With perfect Reſpect and Eſteem,

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Camp near Seſſai, 20th October 1781. (Signed) G. Muir.

(A true Copy.)

E. Hay,
Subſcr to the Honourable Governor General and Council.

APPENDIX, N° LIII.

Book 83. Page 179.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 14th January 1782.

Fort William, the 14th January 1782.

At a Council; Preſent,

Edward Wheler and John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.

The Governor General abſent on a Viſit to the Northern Provinces.

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote abſent on Service at Fort St. George.

☞ (a) [RECEIVED the following Letters from the Governor General.—

Gov. Gen. Dec. 25th.

Gentlemen,

I have the Honour to tranſmit to you Copies of a Letter from Mr. Middleton—of my Anſwer thereto—and of my Inſtructions to Colonel Morgan in conſequence.—

An early and proper Exertion of our military Force will effectually ſupport the Authority of the Vizier, and in all Probability prevent any dangerous Combination amongſt the Jagheerdars, which their Wealth and numerous Dependants might otherwiſe enable them to form for reſiſting the Reſumption of their Jagheers.

In exceeding the Number of Troops expreſsly demanded on this Occaſion by the Vizier, I have conſulted only his Security and Advantage, and I am convinced from my own Information of the State of his Country, as well as from Mr. Middleton's Repreſentations, that it is but anticipating a further Requiſition, which, if deferred until the refractory and diſaffected Perſons ſhall become formidable, will be attended with great Hazard and proportionate Expence to the Vizier.

The Nabob having experienced from me ſo ready an Attention to relieve him from the conſtant Expence of the temporary Brigade, cannot think it unreaſonable that the Subſidy for the occaſional Force now to be employed for his internal Security, ſhould be liberal, and adapted to the Circumſtances under which we furniſh it, as well as including its actual Diſburſements. It is on this Principle that I ſhall eſtimate it, after having aſcertained as preciſely as poſſible the fixed and contingent Expences.

Upon theſe Grounds I hope that I ſhall meet with the Approbation of the Board in the Steps which I have taken.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 598.

The

The Detachment under Major Popham being ſickly, and the Services for which it was formed completely executed, I have ordered it to be diſſolved, and the Troops compoſing it to be put under the Command of Colonel Blair for the Protection of this Country, until the final Arrangement for this Duty ſhall be ſettled by the Board.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Benares,
25th Dec. 1781. (Signed) Warren Haſtings.

Sir,

The Nabob Vizier having appointed an Aumil to take charge of the Begum's Jagheers, ſhe had, it appears, prepared a large Body of Troops, with a ſuppoſed Deſign to reſiſt him. A violent and threatening Letter, which I have juſt received from the Begum, could ſeem to leave no Doubt of her Intentions to ſupport the already declared Licentiouſneſs of her Servants in oppoſing the Nabob's Orders; I have therefore been obliged to join my Solicitation to the Vizier's, for obtaining a Regiment from Colonel Morgan to ſupport the Aumil in the Execution of his Excellency's Commands; and I may add, unleſs my Judgment far miſleads me, we ſhall be in Want of ſtill further Aid before the Meaſures of reſuming the Jagheers ſhall be fully eſtabliſhed, and the Country reſtored to that State of Tranquillity and Subordination which it enjoyed before the Contagion ſpread by Cheyte Sing's Machinations. Incloſed in the Governor General's Letter, Dec. 25th.

I incloſe Copy of my Letter to Colonel Morgan, and have the Honour to be with great Reſpect,

Sir, your, &c. &c.

Lucknow,
December 19, 1781. (Signed) Nathaniel Middleton.

(A true Copy.)
(Signed) E. Hay,
Sub-Secretary to the Honourable Board.]

Sir,

In conſequence of the Repreſentation which you have made me of the Preparation made by the Begum to reſiſt the Order of the Vizier for the Reſumption of the Jaghire, and of the Probability that further Oppoſition from the other Jagheerdars, and Diſturbances from diſaffected Perſons, may be expected, I have directed Colonel Morgan to detach Sir John Cumming to Lucknow, with Four Regiments of Sepoys, and a proper Field Train, in order to ſupport the Authority of the Vizier, and maintain the Tranquillity of his Country, by ſuch Means as his Excellency ſhall pleaſe to direct. Incloſed in the Governor General's Letter, Dec. 25th.

As the Force to be thus employed for the domeſtic Tranquillity of the Vizier's Dominions is an Addition to the Brigade on Subſidy, and which is ordered to be in Readineſs for marching at the ſhorteſt Notice, to defend any Part of his Excellency's Territories, which a foreign Enemy might be tempted to invade during Civil Commotions, the Vizier will, I make no Doubt, cheerfully conſent to pay the Expences of the Detachment by a fixed monthly Subſidy during the Service, and which ſhall be determined and tranſmitted to you as ſoon as I can aſcertain the probable Diſburſements of it.

I am, &c. &c.

Benares,
24th Dec. 1781. (Signed) Warren Haſtings.

(A true Copy.)
(Signed) E. Hay,
Sub-Secretary to the Honourable Board.

Sir,

Mr. Middleton, Reſident at Lucknow, having acquainted me that the Begum, Mother to the Nabob Vizier, is making Preparation to oppoſe by Force the Orders of the Vizier for reſuming the Jaheer which he formerly granted to her; and that it is to be apprehended that other Jagheerdars and diſaffected Perſons will endeavour to reſiſt the Vizier's Authority, and raiſe Diſturbances in his Dominions, I deſire that you will immediately detach Colonel Sir John Cumming to Lucknow, with ſuch a Force as ſhall, with the Troops from your Command already employed on Service at the Vizier's Requiſition, compoſe a Detachment of Four Regiments of Sepoys, excluſive of the Regiment ſtationed at Lucknow, and a proportionate Field Train, with Orders to ſupport the Authority of the Vizier, and to ſecure the Peace and Tranquillity of the Country by ſuch Means as his Excellency ſhall point out. To Colonel Morgan, incloſed in the Governor General's Letter, Dec. 25th, 1781.

At the ſame Time you will pleaſe to hold in readineſs for marching, at the ſhorteſt Notice, the Troops ſtipulated by Treaty for the Defence of the Vizier's Dominions.

I have given Orders for the 18th Regiment of Sepoys to return to its Station at Cawnpore.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

(A true Copy.)
(Signed) E. Hay,
Sub-Secretary to the Honourable Board.

From Gov. Gen.

Gentlemen,

I have now the Honour to ſend you the Narrative which I promiſed in my Letter of the 16th October, of the Tranſactions and Events which paſſed during the Courſe of the late Inſurrection of the Province.

I had begun it at the Time of the Date prefixed to it; but the buſy Scene which followed, both while I was at Chunar, and after my Return to Benares, hindered me from proſecuting it till a few Days before the Date which I have ſubjoined to it. I did not chuſe to alter the Introduction, although written at ſuch a Diſtance of Time from that in which the Body of the Work was executed, and even from the Exiſtence of the Events which are recorded in the latter, becauſe I found it not eaſy to give it a new Form, without a total Omiſſion of what had been already produced, while my Mind was animated by the recent and actual Scenes in which it was engaged, to an anxious and moſt feeling Solicitude, not more for the Iſſue of the impending Conteſt, than for its Conſequences on my own Reputation. In the Conſciouſneſs of the Rectitude of my own Intentions, I had allowed myſelf to uſe an Appeal the moſt ſolemn and moſt ſacred that could bind my Relation to Truth, or impreſs the Conviction of it on the Hearts of others; nor could I, conſiſtently with my own Senſe of its Obligation, withdraw it, or coldly place it after the Narrative already written, and written under the Check which I had impoſed upon it.—I know not whether I ſhall be clearly underſtood.—If I am not, yet let the Endeavour to explain a ſeeming Impropriety in the Conſtruction of this Performance be accepted for its Apology.

I have only to add my Hope, that as I have received the moſt cordial Support in the paſt Events from you, my reſpectable and moſt reſpected Aſſociates in the Adminiſtration, and as it has been my unvaried Study to prevent your ſuffering any Embarraſſment from them, my Conduct in them may alſo receive its firſt Reward in the Teſtimony of your Approbation.

Benares,
31ſt December 1781.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

On the 31ſt, Ordered, That the Narrative incloſed in this Letter be entered in a ſeparate Book, to be kept with the Records of Council; and that Copies thereof be immediately prepared to be diſpatched to the Court of Directors.

Reſolved, That the Nancy Snow, inſtead of proceeding to China, according to her preſent Deſtination, be victualled and prepared as ſoon as poſſible for carrying a Packet to England.—And reſolved, That the Governor General's Narrative be tranſmitted to the Company by this Veſſel.

The Secretary lays before the Board the following Letter from the Governor General:

From Gov. Gen.

Sir,

Till within a few Hours before the Diſpatch of my Narrative, it was my Intention to have ſent it by the Dawk; and not thinking it ſafe to truſt the original Affidavits to that Mode of Conveyance, I had determined to detain them until a ſafer ſhould offer itſelf.—When Mr. Jaw offered to take upon himſelf the Charge of my Diſpatches to the Preſidency, though I accepted his Offer, it did not occur to me to alter my Intentions with reſpect to the Affidavits, and the Originals therefore were not ſent by him. I muſt for this Reaſon* I requeſt that you will obtain Mr. Wheler's Permiſſion to add the following Poſtſcript to my Letter.

* Sic in Orig.

"P. S. As I do not think it proper to truſt the original Affidavits to the common Conveyance by Dawks, I ſhall take another and early Opportunity of ſending them."

Benares,
1ſt January 1782.

I am, &c.
(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

The Secretary acquaints the Board, that the Poſtſcript deſired by the Governor General to be added to his Letter is rendered unneceſſary by the Arrival of Mr. Hay with the following Letter and the original Papers therein mentioned.

Gentlemen,

I have the Honour to tranſmit to you the following Papers. They are under the Charge of Mr. Hay, who is proceeding to the Preſidency on Leave of Abſence.

Original Papers relative to the Settlement of this Country agreeable to the following Liſt.

N° 1. Engagement of Raja Mehipnarain to collect and pay in as much as he is able to recover of the Balance of Revenue ſtill unpaid for the Year 1188 Fuſſullee.

N° 2. Engagement of Raja Mekeepnarain for the Payment of 33 Lacks for the Year 1189, and 40 Lacks for each ſucceeding Year.

N° 3. Statement of the Revenue, with the Deductions allowed on ſundry Accounts for the Year 1189; alſo the ſtated monthly Payments.

N° 4. Ditto of ditto, with ditto, for the Year 1190; alſo the ſtated monthly Payments.

Original Affidavits, Copies of which were tranſmitted to the Board with my Narrative, on the 31ſt Ultimo.

Original Treaty concluded by Colonel Muir with Madajee Sindia, and received this Day.

Benares,
2d January 1782.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

Ordered, That the original Papers brought down by Mr. Hay be depoſited in the Secretary's Office.

Reſolved, That the following Letter be written to the Governor General:

To the Governor General.

Honourable Sir,

We have been favoured with your ſeveral Letters of the 29th November, 8th, 11th, and 13th December, and their different Incloſures.

We are ſorry that the Narrative of your Proceedings during the Courſe of the late Inſurrection at Benares, did not arrive in Time to be forwarded to the Honourable the Court of Directors by the Swallow. We had detained that Veſſel for a conſiderable Time, in Expectation of it; but judging it neceſſary at length to diſpatch her without them, we acted accordingly, and ſhe left the Pilot on the 3d Inſtant.

The Nancy, which has been coppered, was ordered immediately after to be got ready for conveying it, with the Papers annexed; and they ſhall be copied as ſpeedily as poſſible for that Purpoſe. We are now buſy in the Peruſal of them.

Fort William,
14th January 1782.

We are, &c.

☞ *(a)* [The Board having already paſſed their Opinion, in Terms of the fulleſt Approbation, upon the Governor General's Conduct and Management in the Suppreſſion of the Rebellion of Cheit Sing, and the Regulation of the Province and City of Banaris; they think it unneceſſary to repeat their Opinion of thoſe Meaſures. Extract Secret Conſultations, 14th Jan. 1782.

They cannot at the ſame Time but remark, that the Explanation which the Governor General has given in ſome Parts of his Proceedings, during his firſt Diſcuſſions with Cheit Sing, and ſubſequent to the Convulſion, are rather an open Avowal of the Motives that actuated his Mind, than the guarded Repreſentations of a public Officer, ſtating to his Employers the Meaſures which an extraordinary Situation influenced, dictated, and juſtified.

To a liberal and candid Tribunal, ſuch was the natural, and certainly the wiſeſt Appeal. The Generoſity and Juſtice of a Britiſh Tribunal looks more to the real Motives and Zeal of their Agent, than to the preconcerted Artifice of his Conduct, or the legal Diſcriminations of his Defence. Even where a public Meaſure is unſucceſsful, the Reſponſibility required by the Agent (if riſqued upon public Principles) is frequently his Juſtification, and in many Caſes entitles him to Applauſe.

In theſe diſtant Dominions the ruling Servants of the State attend more to thoſe Rules and Forms which protect from Reſponſibility, than to an ardent Purſuit of the public Intereſt; under every private Riſque, the Hands of Adminiſtration may ſecure themſelves againſt Condemnation, even though the Country ſhould be loſt through their Miſmanagement.

It was not by avoiding perſonal Reſponſibility that the Servants of the Public eſtabliſhed the Britiſh Influence in Aſia; nor is it by ſuch cold Precautions that our Power is to be maintained, eſpecially at an Hour of general Hoſtility againſt us. The Board are led into theſe Obſervations, from an ingenuous Conſideration of the Difficulties in which the Governor General found himſelf involved at Banaris, and a Conviction of the Motives under which he acted. The firſt were ſurmounted with Ability and Fortitude: The latter they moſt ſincerely believe do him real Honour.

Eaſy would be the Taſk to approve the Suppreſſion of the Rebellion, and to ſtand diſconnected with any Reſponſibility, by juſtifying thoſe Acts which certainly precipitated the Storm from the Cloud in which it had gathered; Acts which Judges at a Diſtance, Judges unoppreſſed with the actual Embarraſſments of this Government, may, with great Specioufneſs of Argument, condemn. But the Board wiſh not, they cannot permit themſelves to proceed ſo diſingenuouſly or guardedly. They are at the ſame Time aware, that in a rigid Inveſtigation of the whole of this Buſineſs, the following Queſtions will be aſked:

1ſt. Where were the Governor General's particular Inſtructions for ſuch extraordinary Demands upon Cheit Sing?

2dly. Why was that Chief put in Arreſt, when he offered to make every Conceſſion?

3dly. Whether there was not a Compact between him and the Company, which ſpecified, that he was only to pay them a certain annual Tribute?

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 267.

Subſequent

Subſequent to the Maſſacre of our Troops, and the Events that followed, no Queſtions will be aſked.

In anſwer to the Firſt Queſtion, the Board think the Governor General was fully authoriſed by the general Tenor of his Inſtructions. The Governor General having a deciding Vote, could have written out and approved more particular Inſtructions. There was a Delicacy in the Mode he preferred; and it impoſed a greater Reſponſibility.

In regard to the Second Queſtion; it is evident from Cheit Sing's Anſwers and Preparations, and the whole Tenor of his Conduct, before and at the Time, that nothing but Arreſt could have convinced him of the Governor General's Determination.

That the Arreſt was not intended to proceed farther than the Payment of a proper Fine to the Company, who ſtood in the Place of his Sovereign and Benefactors, is evinced by the Governor General's Anſwer to Cheit Sing, after his Confinement.

Had a total Revolution in the Adminiſtration of the Zemeedary been intended, the Arreſt muſt have been effected with more Force, and greater Marks of Severity.

That the Officers who went to execute this Service were convinced that no Meaſure of determined Severity was intended againſt Cheit Sing, appears from that unfortunate Want of Precaution which coſt them and their Followers their Lives.

The Third Queſtion involves much Argument, yet is fully anſwered by that Part of the Governor General's Narrative, which diſcuſſes the Sunnud under which Cheit Sing ruled the Provinces, and which was ſo liberally granted by the Company.

The Correſpondence with the India States, ſhews clearly their Ideas of the Rights of Zemeedars and Rajahs protected in their Zemeedaries by a ſuperior Power. Had Cheit Sing been an Ally Sovereign Prince, who paid only a fixed Subſidy, his Military Preparations, and his inſidious Conduct, under Pretences of Poverty, in diſappointing the Expectations of the Government from the Army under Major Camac, juſtified, together with his Correſpondence with our Enemies, the ſevereſt Exertion of Aid to aſſiſt the Company in their Diſtreſſes, and atone for his Ingratitude and Treachery to a Power who protected him, and to whom he owed his Situation.

On the Subject of the Treaty concluded on the 18th of September laſt, between the Governor General and the Nabob Vizeer, and which the Difficulties of the Communication prevented the Governor General from explaining ſo fully before, the Board have to obſerve, that the Treaty is evidently a political Expedient, which forfeits no Advantage, which promiſes the Acquiſition of many, and which, properly managed by this Government (as Events favourable, or even unfavourable, ariſe), may lead to the final and complete Arrangement of an Alliance with the Vizeer. Such an Alliance, being leſs oppreſſive to him, may be more advantageous and honourable to the Company, and may remove that too general but dangerous Impreſſion, which the different States of this Country have received from the double Character in which we have hitherto appeared in India—that of Allies and Conquerors.

If the Nabob Vizeer ſhould not be able, under the Support of the Troops of this Government ſtationed at Cawnpoor, to maintain the Tranquillity of his Dominions, and collect thoſe Reſources which are neceſſary to defray even his reduced Expences, and diſcharge his heavy Debt to the Company, a new Arrangement muſt follow; and that Arrangement neceſſarily, at the expreſs Requeſt of the Vizeer, will ſecure every Advantage that can be wiſhed or expected from his Provinces by this Government.

The Reduction of that heavy Burthen of Expence, which was at once oppreſſive to the Vizeer, and of no Return to the Company (though a Source of Patronage to this Adminiſtration), the Board approve of moſt heartily; and, with a full Senſe of the Credit which a Meaſure of ſuch Difficulty and Unpleaſantneſs reflects upon the Governor General, they take this Occaſion of pledging to him and to their Employers their utmoſt Support, not only in this, but in every other Branch of public œconomical Reformation, which he may propoſe.

Upon the Return of the Governor General, the Board reſolve to diſcuſs with him thoſe Parts of the Treaty, which carry the Appearance of a haſty Agreement. The Diſaffection of many of the Vizeer's principal Jagheerdars; and the Steps which, from the Repreſentations of Colonel Hannay and other Officers, appear to have been rapidly taken by the Begums, to ſupport the Rebellion of Cheit Sing; were probably very early known to the Governor General, and through the Medium of all the Suſpicions that his Situation, at the Time he met the Vizeer, had naturally created.

At ſuch a Moment, and under ſuch Suſpicions, and even while the Iſſue of the Conteſt of Cheit Sing was depending, it is not ſurpriſing that ſome Parts of the Agreement between the Governor General and the Vizeer were ſpeedily adjuſted, and, as the Governor acknowledges, in Converſation at their Firſt Interview.

A ſhort Time will ſatisfy the Board, whether the Vizeer is willing or able to fulfil his Part of the Treaty: If he is, and that the Company can recover their Debt from him in the preſent Emergency and Diſtreſs of their Affairs, the Board cannot then but agree that the Governor General has acted in the Arrangement not only with Zeal, and the beſt public Intentions, but with a maſterly Deciſion, that muſt entitle him to the grateful and complete Approbation of his Employers.

It

It remains with the Board to concert with the Governor General, upon his Return, thoſe Meaſures that may ſecure this Government from any future Inconveniencies or Diſtreſs, that can be ſuppoſed connected with the Confidence repoſed in the Vizeer, for the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of his Revenue and Military Eſtabliſhments.]

APPENDIX, N° LIV.

Book 29.

Extract of a Letter from the Board at Calcutta to the Court of Directors.

(a) [Honourable Sirs,

Par. 1. IN our laſt Letter from this Department, by the Swallow Packet, dated 29th December 1781, we informed you of the Detention of that Veſſel for the Purpoſe of carrying home a complete Narrative of the Governor General's Proceedings while at Benares and Chunar, which we daily expected to receive from him; however, as the Length of this Paper, and the great Number of References annexed to it, made it impoſſible to ſend them down ſooner than he did, and we found it would require a long while to copy them after their Arrival, we determined to diſpatch the Swallow without them, judging that you would be impatient to hear from us on the Reſtoration of Peace in the Diſtricts of Benares, and to receive the lateſt Accounts from Madras of the Situation of Affairs in the Carnatic.

Par. 2. We determined at the ſame Time to diſpatch the Nancy Snow, Captain Kiſſernan, with theſe Reports, as ſoon as they could be prepared; and we have now the Pleaſure to tranſmit them to you, a ſeparate Number in this Packet.

Par. 3. The above Papers contain ſuch a full Account of all the Tranſactions of the Governor General upon this Service, together with the Motives and Reaſonings upon them, that we think it would be ſuperfluous to add any Thing of our own, but to recommend them to your attentive Peruſal.]

Par. 4. By theſe it will appear that the Treachery and Intrigues of Cheyt Sing, ſupported by the Diſaffection and reſtleſs Diſpoſition of the Bhow Begum, Mother to the Nabob of Owde, at Fyzabad, produced Inſurrections in that Country which till lately we were unapprized of, on account of the Communication between that Place and Benares being wholly cut off.

Par. 5. At the ſame Time that the firſt Information of theſe Diſturbances reached us, we were happy to hear that they had been quelled by the Accounts received there of the ſucceſsful Efforts of our Troops in Benares, and the March of Two Regiments from Cawnpore to the Relief of Colonel Hannay, whoſe Sepoys gave evident Proofs, by their Deſertion, that they had been tampered with, and he with moſt of his Officers were in great Danger of their Lives, a Detachment under Lieutenant Gordon having been actually attacked and cut off, and the reſt of the Corps being ſurrounded by the Rabble levied under Sanction of the Begum, avowedly for the Service of Raja Cheyt Sing.

Par. 6. The Circumſtance of theſe Levies is further corroborated by various Reports from Fyzabad, and by the Liſt of Cheyt Sing's Forces delivered to the Governor General at Chunar, in which the Troops ſaid to be come from Lucknow, which formed a Part of his Strength, muſt evidently be the ſame (ſince they agree in Number) with thoſe which Colonel Hannay declares to have been raiſed and ſent to him from Fyzabad.

Fort William, 11th February 1782.

(b) Par. 7. The juſt Grounds of Suſpicion which had been given to the Nabob, by the Begum and other principal Jaghyrdars in his Country, by the Symptoms of Diſaffection, and even Treachery diſplayed in their Conduct, made it an Object of ſerious Conſideration with him to take the firſt Opportunity which ſhould offer, conſiſtent with Juſtice, to diſpoſſeſs them of the Means of becoming injurious to his Authority; and the Neceſſities of his Government requiring extraordinary Aid, he reſolved to take this Occaſion of depriving them of thoſe extenſive Jaghyrs, which enabled them to become troubleſome, by the Revenues which they yielded, and the Number of Dependents neceſſarily retained for their Collection and Defence, and to reſume the Lands, allowing Penſions to the Jaghyrdars, in lieu of the Revenues.

Par. 8. As the Reſident at Lucknow had been made Guarantee to an Agreement, formerly executed between the Nabob and the Begum, in which he had engaged for a ſpecific Sum of

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 108. (b) Vide ſupra, P. 638.

Money, to desist from all further Claims upon her, it was necessary for him to acquire the Sanction of this Government to his Intentions, before he could carry them into Execution, which the Infidelity of the Begum gave but too much Reason to grant. You will find this Measure provided for in the new Treaty*, concluded with the Nabob by the Governor General, at Chunar, on the 19th September last.

* Vide N° 1 & 2 of the first Part of the Appendix to the Governor General's Narrative.

Par. 9. On the First Attempt made by the Nabob to carry this Plan into Execution against the Begum, she determined to resist his Authority, and raised a Revolt by the Means of her Eunuchs, Jewer Ally Cawn and Behar Ally Cawn, who had collected a Force of about 5000 Men in order to set the Nabob at Defiance. Notice of this Second Insurrection having been transmitted by the Resident, without Loss of Time, to the Governor General at Banares, he immediately ordered a large Detachment to march from Campore, and the Nabob resolved to go in Person to Fyzabad; on his Arrival there, by the Assistance of our Troops, he took possession of the Kella; and the Eunuchs, seeing it would be in vain to make a stand when superior Forces were expected, surrendered themselves Prisoners to the Nabob, and their Followers dispersed.

Par. 10. In Order to punish the Begum for this daring Ill-conduct, and to put it out of her Power to apply the Treasures which she had amassed, to the Purpose of raising further Commotions in the Country, the Nabob resolved to seize her Wealth, which by the Mahomedan Laws he was intituled to, as an Inheritance from his Father, who in the latter Years of his Life had committed his Treasury wholly to her Charge, and it had remained with her after his Death.]

Par. 11. This Wealth, whatever it might be, he determined to apply to the Payment of his Debt to the Company; and we have received Information from the Resident, who attended him to Fyzabad, that he had actually paid him the Sum of 55 Lacks of Rupees in ready Money, and by Draft on Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn, which would soon be realized.

(At the End) Warren Hastings.
Edward Wheler.
John Macpherson.

Fort William,
11th February 1782.

APPENDIX, N° LV.

Book 118. Page 285.

Extract of a Consultation of the 17th Feb. 1777.

Fort William, the 17th Feb. 1777.

At a Council; Present,
The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President,
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
Richard Barwell, } Esquires.
Philip Francis, }

READ the following Letters from Mr. Bristow.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Herewith I have the Pleasure to forward the Honourable Board the following Papers:

N° 1. General Statement of the Vizier's Army.
2. Statement of the Vizier's Military Disbursements.
3. Statement of the Vizier's Civil Expences.
4. Statement of the Jaghiers in the Vizier's Dominions.
5. Statement of the Vizier's Revenues.
6. Statement of the Vizier's Issues and Receipts on Account of the Hindoo Year 1184, or from the 28th of September 1776 to the 28th September 1777.

By these Statements, or rather Estimates, the Honourable Board will observe the enormous Sum by which the Vizier's Expences exceed his Income; and, as I obtained my Information from the best Authority, I have great Reason to believe that I have not over-rated them.

The Ministers have often represented to the Vizier his Situation, but without Effect; for though he may have been convinced at the Time of the Necessity of a Reform, yet his Turn for Expence will render it a most difficult Task to bring him to abide by any regular System. Besides this Reason, there is a very principal one arises from the Opposition his Ministers meet with from Imaum Busk, Tipper Chund, and the favourite Tellinga Rajas, who counteract every Measure they propose for introducing good Order and Œconomy. The Characters of his Excellency's Favourites I explained to the Honourable Board in my Letter of the 21st August last, and am ignorant of any Change having happened in his Sentiments towards them.

It appears to be his Plan to intrust to the Tellinga Rajas the Management of any Farms that may in future fall vacant. I dread the bad Consequences that must ensue; for it needs little Judgment to penetrate into the Conduct of Men of low Birth, without either Education or Abilities, and whom I may safely declare totally unfit for the Charge of Government. The Country already

feels the Effects of their Violence, and the Vizier does not receive even a temporary Advantage from it; as, whatever they may collect from the Country, the Payments to him from all the Diſtricts fall infinitely ſhort of the former Rents.

The Miniſters, whoever they be, will be conſtantly perplexed how to act towards the Favourites, as their Influence with the Vizier places them above Controul, and likewiſe enables them to obtain extravagant Allowances for the Charges of Collection, as well as great Deductions for the Failure of Crops, deſerted Lands, and under various Pretences void of Foundation. Theſe Men themſelves, I am told, doubt the Permanency of their Situations—they are ſenſible of the general Diſguſt which prevails againſt them, and that on any Change of Government they would be the firſt to feel the Effects, and therefore are the more earneſt to acquire Emoluments, without regard to the Means.

In my Addreſs of the 8th of Auguſt laſt, I informed the Honourable Board of the Abuſes which reigned in the Mint, and of the Improbability of their being rectified, owing to the Influence of the Manager, one of the principal Tellinga Rajas. I am ſorry to obſerve, that Abuſes daily encreaſe; for at this ſhort Period of Time from my forwarding the Honourable Board a Table of Aſſays, the Coinage at ſome of the Mints has been debaſed near Three per Cent. Such Departments of the Government as are not under the Management of the Favourites are neglected, and the Perſons inveſted with the Charge of them expoſed to the greateſt Difficulties. Aumils, whoſe Diſtricts are filled with refractory Zemindars, and require Troops to ſubject them, cannot obtain Aſſiſtance in proper Time, and, on this Account, I have known great Loſſes often accrue in the Revenue. Another great Difficulty they labour under is, the Aſſignments granted on them exceeding the Rent of the Lands they hold. To many People of Influence who have theſe Aſſignments they do not dare to give a Refuſal, for fear of being injured by them, and they are at the ſame Time unable to comply with their Demands; ſo that I recollect many Inſtances of Aumils, whoſe Attention has been more taken up in making Excuſes to Tuncawdars, than in the Care of their Diſtricts. Every Tuncawdar ſends a Vackell, Hircarras, and a Number of People to collect his Tuncaw, and if he has Troops under his Command, he detaches a Party to exact Payment from the Aumil; very often Troops, whom the Vizier cannot pay at the Preſence, are ſent to collect their Arrears from an Aumil. They frequently treat him in the moſt ignominious Manner, by confining and depriving him of all Suſtenance, until he finds Means to ſatisfy them. So conſiderable an Officer of Government as an Aumil, whoſe Character ſhould be held up to the People in the moſt reſpectable Light, to be thus diſgraced, muſt not only affect the Vizier's Authority, but his Revenue, and is ſo prejudicial, that it will be impoſſible for the Government to ſubſiſt long upon this Plan.

☞ (*a*) [Another great Abuſe which prevails, is the Contempt with which the Vizier's Authority is treated: His Orders are ill executed; his Perwannas diſregarded, even in the neighbouring Diſtricts to the Capital, unleſs accompanied by ſimilar ones from the Perſon immediately in Charge of the Province. In ſome diſtant Parts of the Country, neither his Excellency nor his Aumils are much regarded; the Gurrocpore Diſtrict particularly can hardly be ſaid to be under the Vizier's Government, as it is held by Zemindars who pay little Obedience to the Aumils, and diſcharge their Revenues with great Irregularity.] ☜

Heretofore it was uſual to annex the Sayer, or the Collection of Duties of Goods tranſported by Land, to the Department of the Aumil of the Province, but the Vizier has thought proper to make the Sayer of all his Dominions a ſeparate Office, and entruſt it to the Management of Bowanny Sing. This has been productive of much Confuſion and general Complaint, becauſe it interferes with the Authority of the Aumils, and creates perpetual Diſputes. The Perſons under the Sayer are frequently concerned in the Farming of Lands, and holding Offices under the Aumils. Both the Daragha of the Sayer, and the Aumils, have Claims on the ſame Man, and both iſſue Warrants to ſeize his Perſon and Effects. Many Aumils have found ſuch great Impediments from this claſhing of Authority, that they have made the Darogha a Preſent to give them up the Farm of the Sayer. To this Evil I ſee no Remedy, becauſe the Vizier's ſtrong Attachment to the Darogha deters all Complainants from repreſenting their Grievances; and the Cauſes of Complaint are really aggravated by the Diſpoſition of the Darogha, who exerciſes his Office in a very arbitrary unbecoming Manner.

In the late Vizier's Time there was a Collection of the Sayer confined to Duties on Goods tranſported by Water from particular Places only; but the Sayer, on its preſent Footing, is a very extenſive important Department, not ſo much from the large Amount of the Collections of it, but from the Opportunities it gives an ill-diſpoſed or incapable Man at the Head of it to cauſe Irregularities in the Government.

The Sale of Spirituous Liquors had become, in the late Vizier's Time, ſo great a Nuiſance, that he found it neceſſary to publiſh an Edict, making it Death to diſtil or vend any. Some Offenders who were the moſt notorious he puniſhed; ſtill the Advantages accruing to the Country from the Conſumption of Articles uſed in the Still, rendered it neceſſary to wink at the Infringement of this Edict, if it was not carried to exceſs. The preſent Vizier has thought proper to eſtabliſh an Office, under the Appellation of Abkany, merely for the Prevention of making Spirituous Liquors, the Authority of which extends to all his Dominions, and is entruſted to the Management of Rhemaum, who was a menial Servant of his Excellency's. He has under him many Companies of Sepoys,

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 653.

which

which he disposes of throughout the Country, accompanied by a numerous Body of Agents; and, under the Pretence of Distillers or Venders of Spirituous Liquors, every Individual is exposed to their Violences. This Office is not only the Cause of great Oppression, but of Loss, for the Aumils on this Account complain much of the slow Sale of many Articles, particularly of the Sugar Cane. In like Manner with the Sayer, the Office of Abkany interferes with the Authority of the Aumils.

The Honourable Board will observe, by the Statement of the Vizier's Revenue, the extensive Districts entrusted to the Management of Individuals, which has been the Cause of much Confusion and Irregularity; and the Division of them ought to be one of his Excellency's first Objects.

I have to observe to the Honourable Board, the Abuses which I enumerated in the Administration of the interior Parts of the Country are at least equalled by those at the Presence.

The Execution of Business at the Public Offices is protracted unnecessarily, owing to the Vizier's Inattention, and the Difficulty the Ministers are under in bringing him even to give his Sanction to their Acts: Without it, however great the Latitude may be, he avowedly grants them, still they dare not proceed; for in the present divided State of the Court, the Ministers have too much to apprehend from the Insinuations of their Opponents, to enter into any Measures, unless expressly authorized by his Excellency.

On the Appointment of the Ministers, I informed the Honourable Board of the Advice I had given the Vizier, and the Confidence I entertained of their earnest Wish to promote the joint Interests of their Master and the Company; and I have equal Reason to believe they are zealous in their Duty. Hyder Beg Cawn has shewn Abilities sufficient to discharge the Trust reposed in him; but, curbed and opposed on every Occasion as he had been, it is impossible to expect he should have been hitherto able to introduce a Reform in the Government. I shall dwell particularly on this Subject, because I know his Attachment to the Company has exposed him to the Enmity of all the Court; but I humbly hope the Honourable Board will regard Hyder Beg Cawn as a Man to whom their Countenance and Protection are necessary, as well to support the Vizier's Government, as the Company's Interests.

Tipper Chund and Imaum Bucsh are the principal Opponents of the Ministers, because they are themselves endeavouring to obtain the Administration of Affairs. Imaum Bucsh has a very great Influence with the Vizier, who has conferred every Mark of Distinction and Honour on him that he could, and dignified him with the Title of General; his being a weak Man, and having such Weight with his Excellency, are useful and necessary to Tipper Chund, without being in the least dangerous. Tipper Chund directs all their Plans; and, as I understand, it is their constant Endeavour to impress the Vizier with Doubts and Suspicions of the friendly Intentions of the English, and the Infidelity of the Ministers. These Suggestions, together with positive Assurances, that in case of their coming into play, his Excellency's Privy Purse should ever be kept full, let what other Funds and Assignments might fail, have so far succeeded, that the Vizier is inclined to make Tipper Chund his Minister, if the Honourable Board should approve of it; and I therefore think it my Duty to mention these Circumstances without Reserve. I know him to be a Man avowedly ill-disposed to the English, and ever since my first having had the Honour to hold the Station of Resident, I have met with constant Opposition from him in all my Negociations, particularly in that principal one of securing Funds for the Payment of the Expences of the Nabob's Troops under British Officers, and the Army Subsidy.

In respect to the Tellinga Rajas, the Part they have taken in these Intrigues is not so conspicuous; but the Ministers, in doing their Duty, must clash with their Interests, and in consequence are their strenuous Opponents. I have to observe, by the Irregularities in the Vizier's Government, the Company must ultimately suffer; for I conceive it an Impossibility that the Assignments granted, either for the Payment of the Subsidy or Balance, can be realized on the present System.

The Resident is unable to have such vigilant Agents as to prevent the Collections of all the Places on which he has Assignments from being appropriated to other Payments in preference to his. Some private Tuncawdars will make it the Aumils Interest to favour them. Mutinous Troops exact the Money for their Tuncaws, and thus the Deficiencies will fall on the Company. On the other hand, if the present Mode is set aside, and Ready-money Payments demanded of his Excellency, little or nothing would be realized.

The Freedom with which I have stated the Situation of the Vizier's Affairs, and the Necessity of a Reform in them, will, I hope, meet with the Excuse of the Honourable Board. I, for my Part, shall only presume to say, that from the Experience I have had of his Excellency's Disposition, he will hardly of himself regulate his Affairs, and that the only Remedy to be found is in the Assistance and Protection of the English.

Lucknow,
22d January 1777.

I have the Honour, &c.
(Signed) John Bristow.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, N° LVI.

Book 118. Page 346.

Fort William 26th Feb. 1777. Secret Dep. Wednesday.

At a Council; Present,
The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President,
Lieutenant General John Clavering,
Richard Barwell, } Esquires.
Philip Francis, }

LETTER from Mr. Middleton to the Governor General and Council, dated Lucknow, 9th February 1777.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

The growing Ascendancy of the personal Favourites of the Vizier, in opposition to the Ministers, who his Excellency himself made choice of, and whose Conduct he has hitherto been pleased to approve, appeared to me fraught with such dangerous Consequences, that I have thought it incumbent on me to give the latter the strongest Assurances, that the same Support they have hitherto met with from the English, and which alone can insure to them the Influence necessary to the due Execution of their important Trust, would be continued to them so long as their Conduct should furnish no Cause of Complaint against them; but these Assurances, without some concurrent Testimony from the Vizier himself, would not have had the immediate Effect which I wish them to work: I was, at first, struck with this Necessity, from the Circumstances which Mr. Bristow has set forth in his Address of the 22d Ultimo, respecting the Characters and Dispositions of the Men who compose the Opposition against the Ministry, and which I have found, from every Enquiry I have been able to make, to be, so far as regards them, just. I have, indeed, had more convincing Proofs than my Predecessor, of the outrageous and destructive Lengths this Faction would dare to proceed, having been pretty well ascertained that it has been a Measure agitated, and actually agreed on, to assassinate the Minister Hussein Reza Cawn, and his Naib Hyder Beg, to make room for Tipper Chund and Immaum Buxh, whom the Party have chosen for the Ministry. Mr. Middleton. 9th Feb.

The Persons who evidently appear to be the Principals in this Confederacy, are Immaum Buxh, Tipper Chund, and most of the Tellinga Rajahs. Although I am thoroughly convinced that his Excellency is unconcerned in, and unacquainted with, these Cabals, and that he is so far from harbouring Ideas correspondent with such Designs, that he has a good Opinion and a real Confidence in Hussein Reja and Hyder Beg Cawn, both Men of Family, and among the oldest of the late Vizier's Dependants; yet such is the Influence of the Orderlies (particularly Immaum Buxh), from being the Companions of his Pleasures, over his Excellency's Affections, that I should fear he might be ready to excuse in them an Act which he himself would abhor the Commission of, and even take the Perpetrators of it into the same Degree of Favour they before possessed. How soon an uncontrouled Reign of such People would plunge the Nabob's Affairs, and this Country, into irredeemable Ruin, is but too obvious from the Mischiefs which result from their present Influence, controuled and counteracted as it is. They are, indeed, of Characters, as infamous as they are, from the want of Abilities and every requisite Experience, incompetent to the Charge of the Offices they wish to seize, by the Sacrifice of those who now hold them. In so serious a Conjuncture as this, I thought it necessary to sound the Nabob's Disposition towards the Ministers, and as I found that he entirely approved their Conduct, and had no personal Objections to them, or any apparent Wish to remove them for others, I thought it prudent to mention to his Excellency (but without telling him of the Cabals forming), that as he assured me he entirely approved of the Conduct of the Men already in Station, I could wish he would be pleased to honour them with some new Marks of his continuing Favour, that it might be apparent to the World the same Conduct would be observed towards them as heretofore; adding, at the same Time, that this would manifest to the World that I heartily joined in wishing to support Men, whom his Excellency had first adopted, and still deemed competent to the Charge of the important Offices they were entrusted with. I have the Pleasure to acquaint the Honourable Board, that his Excellency, without the smallest Reluctance, but, on the contrary, with the utmost Cheerfulness, acquiesced in my Proposal, and appointed last Night to bestow Khelauts upon Hussein Reza and Hyder Beg Cawn, which was accordingly done in my Presence.

I hope the Honourable Board will approve the Conduct I observed on this Occasion, which appeared equally necessary for the Preservation of Tranquillity in the Vizier's Government, as for

for the Prevention of a Piece of Villany, ſhocking in its Nature, and in its probable Conſequences extremely deſtructive.

I have the Honour to be, with the higheſt Reſpect,
(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,
the 9th Feb. 1777.

☞ (a) [The Country of Gorruckpore, particularly that Part which lies contiguous to the Mountains, although not in actual Rebellion, is ſo far unſettled, as ſcarcely to be deemed a Part of the Vizier's Dominions. The Revenue of that Diſtrict is rated at 560,000 Rupees; but, from the Manner in which the Payments have hitherto been made, I do not apprehend that more than Half that Amount will be realized: And the Reaſon which the Aumul aſſigns for this Failure is, the Number of Zemindars on the Confines of the Province, who, being in Poſſeſſion of Mud Forts, withhold their Revenue, under various Pretexts, until extorted from them by Force. Under theſe Circumſtances, the Charge of the Army neceſſary to be kept up, in that one Diſtrict, is almoſt equal to the Amount of the Collections.]

His Excellency intends to march towards Gorruckpore as ſoon as the Ceremony of the Mohurrum is over; his Plan is to bring theſe Zemindars to an equitable Adjuſtment of their Accounts, to reduce all the Forts that are not immediately neceſſary for the Defence of the Country againſt foreign Invaſions, and to put thoſe in the Poſſeſſion of Men whoſe Fidelity and Allegiance he can rely upon.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Reſt at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,
the 11th Feb. 1777.

APPENDIX, N° LVII.

Book 54. Page 144.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 16th January 1781.

Fort William 16th January 1781.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident.
And
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. abſent on Command at the Preſidency of Fort St. George.

READ the following Letters from Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Collector of his Excellency the Vizier's Aſſignments to the Honourable Company.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I have now the Honour to encloſe a Copy of the Letter addreſſed to me by Mr. Purling, on delivering to the Charge of my Office, together with the ſeveral Papers it contained.

It appears by the Treaſury Account that a Balance of Fd Rs 15,469: 4: 10 remains in hand. I have ſince found a Depoſit of Rs 31,600 in the Hands of Mr. Graham, who acted under Mr. Purling, which I have received into the Treaſury, underſtanding it to be a Payment made by the Farmers of Gopeemow, regarding which the Pleaſure of your Honourable Board has not been finally ſignified.

Excluſive of the Bond mentioned in Mr. Purling's Letter, he delivered to me Three Bonds, viz.

One of Almaſs Ally Khan, for	35,00,000
One of Khoſa Ain o Dien, for	28,00,000
And one of Syf Alla Beg, for	1,40,000

Which are the Amount of the Agreements that appear to have been made at the Period of Mr. Purling's delivering over Charge. For the Information of the Board I encloſe a Jumma Waſul Bakee found upon theſe Bonds, and made up to the Day I received Charge, by which there appears a Balance uncollected of 716,81,075.

I have alſo the Honour to tranſmit a Copy of the Eſtimate for the new Year, delivered to me by Mr. Purling, for the Amount of which I ſhall immediately apply for Aſſignments from the Vizier, and inform your Honourable Board of the Reſult.

I underſtand that large Arrears of ſome Months are due to the Paymaſters of the Kawnpore and Futty Ghur Stations. I am unable to aſcertain immediately the preciſe Amount, as no Account of it has been delivered to me; but I have written to the reſpective commanding Officers to

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 654.

obtain

obtain from their Paymasters Estimates of the Arrears due, and shall liquidate them as soon as possible.

I have, &c.

Lucknow,
27th Nov. 1780.

Nath. Middleton,
Collector of the Vizier's Assignments
to the Honourable Company.

(Copy.)

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton.

Sir,

Agreeable to the Orders of the Governor General and Council, I now deliver over to you Charge of that Part of my Office which relates to the Tuncaws, and all the pecuniary Transactions between our Government and his Excellency the Vizier, together with the Papers and Accounts thereunto belonging. As you have so lately transacted the Business of this Office, it will be only necessary for me to advert to such Orders of the Governor General and Council as have remained unexecuted.

Enclosed you have Two Letters; One under Date 21st August, disapproving of the Enormity of the Expences incurred by the Aumils, on account of the Collections, which I have endeavoured to carry into Execution without Success.——I also enclose a Letter from his Excellency in Answer to One I wrote him on the Subject, assigning strong Arguments for the Necessity of keeping up the present Force, and incurring the Expence he is at, being far inferior to the Disbursements on the same Account during the Time of the Nabob Suja ul Dowla.—You will of course take what Measures you think adviseable upon the making of your Settlement with his Excellency for the Expences of the current Year.

The other Letter from the Honourable Board, under Date 21st September, contains an Order for the Exclusion of the Demand of the late Mr. Piper on his Excellency in the Estimates of the present Year; Mr. Piper having made over the above-mentioned Demand to the Honourable Company for the Debt due from him to them. To this his Excellency has consented, and Mr. Piper's Bond is enclosed, and amounts to Lucknow Sicca Rupees,

Principal — —	3,15,928 : 13 : 0	
Interest at 12 per Cent. for the Year 1187 —	37,911 : 7 : 3	
	5,53,840 : 4 : 3	
Interest for 1188 — —	42,460 : 13 : 3	
	3,96,301 : 1 : 6	

I am, Sir,
Your very obedient Servant,
(Signed) Cha[s] Purling.

Lucknow,
24th November 1780.
(A true Copy.)

Nathaniel Middleton,
Collector of the Vizier's Assignments
to the Honourable Company.

☞ *(a)* [Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Conformably to your Instructions I have the Honour to enclose for your Information, Copies of the Letters from his Excellency the Vizier, and my Letters accompanying them, both in Application to the Commanding Officers at Cawnpore and Futtyghur, for the Assistance of Two Battalions, to act in the Service of the Collection of the Vizier's Assignments to the Honourable Company. For the Causes particularized in those Letters I shall be careful to return these Battalions upon the earliest Information of their having accomplished the Service required, the precise Period of which it is impossible now to foresee or prescribe.

I have, &c.

Lucknow,
3d December 1780.

Nathaniel Middleton,
Collector of the Vizier's Assignments
to the Honourable Company.] ☜

Inclosures in a Letter from Mr. Middleton, dated 3d December.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Colonel Morgan.

There are Assignments made for the Payment of the Company's Tunkaws in the Mahals of Illahabad. Many Delays and Oppositions are made in the Collections of them by the Zemindars. I request that you will speedily dispatch a Battalion thither, that they may encamp Arbull

(a) Vide supra, P. 654.

and

and Parrah, where they may ſettle the Mahals agreeable to the Repreſentations of Iſmael Beg, the Aumil of that Place.

Copy of a Letter from the ſame to Colonel Muir.

Major Crawford, who was at Khirabad with a Battalion, is gone to ſettle the Commotions excited by the rebellious Tempers of the Zemindars of Beſaicke, Umooda, &c. a Battalion is likewiſe neceſſary at Khirabad; it is therefore incumbent on your Friendſhip to ſend, on the Receipt of this Letter, One of the Battalions of your Army to Khirabad, that they may ſettle the Affairs of that Place, agreeable to the Repreſentations of the Naib reſiding there. I requeſt that you will uſe Expedition in the Diſpatch of the Battalion, as it is very requiſite. Knowing me to be your Friend, write me continually the News of your Health.

Copy of a Letter from the ſame to Major Crawford.

☞ (a) Zalim Sing, &c. Zemindars Krajy, are raiſing Commotions in the Mahals of Amooda, Beraiche Gorecpoor, by which great Injury is done to the Sirkar. It is therefore neceſſary, that on the Receipt of this Letter, you march with your Battalion and croſs the River Ganges, where you will, agreeable to the Directions of Colonel Hannay, exert yourſelf for the Puniſhment of the Revolters, and the Settlement of all Matters, that the Money due to the Sirkar may be recovered. As the Commotions of Zalim Sing, &c. have already been of long Continuance, it is abſolutely neceſſary that, immediately on the Receipt of this Letter, you croſs the Ganges with the Battalion: I ſhall ſend another Army for the Affairs of Khirabad, but you are not to wait till their Arrival.

(True Copies.)
(Signed) N. Middleton.]

Copy—To Colonel Morgan, commanding the 2d Brigade at Cawnpore.

Sir,

The Phouſdar of Allahabad, upon whom I have a very conſiderable Aſſignment on Account of the Honourable Company, having repreſented to the Vizier the Impoſſibility of his being able to ſettle the Diſtricts of Ariel and Bahra, dependent on his Phouſdary, without the Aid of a regular Force, and his conſequent Inability to anſwer my Claims upon him; I am under the Neceſſity of joining with his Excellency, in requeſting you will be pleaſed to detach One Battalion of Seapoys to Allahabad, to aſſiſt the Phouſdar in making his Settlement in ſuch Manner as may be concerted between him and the Officer commanding the Battalion on their meeting at Allahabad.

I encloſe a Letter from his Excellency the Vizier on this Subject, and have the Honour, &c.

(A true Copy.) (Signed) Nath. Middleton,
N. Middleton. Collector of Vizier's Aſſignments to the Honourable Company.

Copy—to Lieutenant Colonel G. Muir commanding the Detachment at Futty Ghur.

Sir,

It having been found neceſſary to move the Battalion ſtationed in Khyrabad acroſs the River Dewah, in order to aſſiſt immediately in the Reduction of Raja Zalim Sing and other rebellious Zemindars who have poſſeſſed themſelves of the Diſtricts between Goonda and Goruckpore, refuſing to acknowledge the Vizier's Authority or to diſcharge the Dues of his Government, I am under the Neceſſity of joining with his Excellency in a Requeſt that you will be pleaſed to order another Battalion to the Aſſiſtance of the Phouſdar of Khyrabad, without which he repreſents it will be utterly impoſſible for him to effect the Settlement of his Country, or to become reſponſible for the Payment of the heavy Aſſignments which have been given me upon him, on account of the Honourable Company.

I encloſe a Letter from his Excellency the Vizier on this Subject; and have the Honour to be,

Sir, &c.
Nat. Middleton.
Coll. Vizr Aſſts to the Honourable Com.

☞ (b) [To Nathaniel Middleton, Eſquire, Collector of the Vizier's Aſſignments to the Honourable Company.

Sir,

I beg leave to ſubmit to your Peruſal the incloſed Copies of Two Letters I had the Honour to addreſs to the late Reſident on the Subject of the Recall of the Battalion of Sepoys of the Second Brigade, which was ordered to aſſiſt in the Reduction of Zalim Sing, and the other rebellious Rajahs inhabiting the Country between Goonda and Goruckpore, and to inform you,

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 655. (b) Vide ſupra, P. 654.

that

that in conſequence of its Removal at ſo critical a Juncture, the Aumil has totally loſt his Authority in no leſs than Thirteen Purgunnahs, and their Collections have been almoſt entirely ſtopped for upwards of Two Months; nor can his Authority be eſtabliſhed without the Aſſiſtance of a Battalion. As this Event involves the Fate of the Company's Tunka upon theſe Diſtricts, I beg leave to ſubmit to you the Expediency of procuring him the neceſſary Aſſiſtance as ſoon as poſſible.

I have the Honour, &c.

(Signed) Alex. Hannay,
Commanding the Troops ſtationed for the Service of the Collections of Gooruckpore and Baraitch.

November 29th, 1780.

(A true Copy.)
Nath. Middleton.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I have now the Honour to lay before you the Reſult of my Endeavours to obtain from his Excellency the Vizier complete Aſſignments for the whole of the Eſtimated Claims in Behalf of the Honourable Company, &c. as ſtated by Mr. Purlings, the late Reſident.

The incloſed Perſian Papers, No. 1 and 2, are Copies of my Application to the Vizier on the Subject, with his Reply. The latter, I am ſorry to ſay, exhibits but too ſtriking a Reſemblance of his Excellency's Situation and Finances; and the Truth of his Aſſertions and Arguments to prove his Inability to comply immediately with the whole of my Demands upon him, having been confirmed as well by the ſolemn Teſtimony of his Miniſters as by every other authentic Information I could obtain, I have for the preſent been compelled to accept ſuch Aſſignments as his Excellency declared himſelf able to grant me, with Two ſeparate Bonds, bearing Intereſt at 12 per Cent. per Annum for the Balance of laſt Year and the Army Donation; the Two Sums of the Bonds, with the Aſſignments, including the total Amount of the Honourable Company's Eſtimated Claims, as well what is due to them for their own proper Account, as for the Account of thoſe Individuals whoſe Intereſts and Demands have received the Sanction of your Honourable Board. However ſenſible I may be of the Vizier's Inability to afford me further Aſſignments without infringing the Reſources which appear neceſſary for the Maintenance of himſelf and Family, the Honourable Board will be pleaſed to underſtand that the Settlement now effected with his Excellency, being only temporary, is ſubject to their Reviſal and final Determination. I have the more readily been induced to yield to it, as the Amount of the Aſſignments, though far unequal to the whole Eſtimate, exceed the current annual Demands of the Honourable Company; and an Intereſt of Twelve per Cent. upon ſo conſiderable a Sum as R^{s} 43,18,613 appeared to me an eſſential Object to the Advantage of my Employers. And further, as I have received every Aſſurance from the Nabob and his Miniſters of their moſt ſtrenuous Endeavours to prevent any material Balance accruing at the Cloſe of the Year upon the Aſſignments granted; under theſe Aſſurances, on which I place the firmeſt Reliance, I conſider the preſent Settlement as favourable as any that has heretofore been made; for whatever may have been ſtated on Paper, the Honourable Board and only refer to the Accounts of the Reſidency for ſome Years back to be convinced that the actual annual Collections have never exceeded the Sum for which I am now in Poſſeſſion of valid Aſſignments. The whole Amount of the Settlement, as it now ſtands, is R^{s} 1,42,13,858, of which I have obtained Aſſignments for — — — 98,95,345
Bonds — — — 43,18,613

The neceſſary Claim for the Services of the current Year, in Behalf of the Honourable Company, amounts only to R^{s} 92,94,344 : 4 : 3; ſo that the Amount Aſſignments exceed it by ſome Lacks; and upon the whole I confidently truſt I ſhall have ſufficient Aſſets to enable me, excluſive of the full Payment of the Troops ſtationed in the Vizier's Dominions, to ſupply, agreeably to your Orders to the late Reſident, any Funds which may be neceſſary for the Maintenance of the Army under Major Camac; and ſhould theſe not form any very large Amount, I ſhall expect to be able alſo to make ſome conſiderable Remittances to the Preſidency. I earneſtly hope therefore to receive your Sanction for finally limiting the Demand of Aſſignments for the current Year to thoſe already received, as I ſincerely believe them to be the utmoſt Extent of what the Vizier can really grant, by reaſon of the deplorable State to which the heavy Claims of late Years have reduced his Finances, rendered the more inſupportable by the great Drains of Bullion from theſe Provinces, the total Stop to all Importations from the Southward and Eaſtward, occaſioned by the exorbitant Exactions in Rajah Cheyt Sing's Zemindary, the great Drought of Laſt Year diminiſhing the Reſources, while the Demands were larger than ever; which together left him in the moſt cruel Diſtreſs, nearly deſtitute of the Means of Subſiſtence, and in fact reduced to the Neceſſity of living on the Bounty of his Dependants. All theſe Circumſtances, joined to the lateneſs of the Seaſon (1-4th of the Year being elapſed), I repeat my Hopes, will induce your Approbation of what I have done.

It is to be obſerved, that the Aſſignments exceed the eſtimated Demands in the Sum of Rupees of Sorts — — — — — 6,00,000

And that the eſtimated Claim for the Troops at Futty Ghur exceeds the probable Diſburſements — — — — — 6,00,000

Making together 12,00,000

This Amount, when realized, ſhall, if you approve of it, be applied, as far as it will go, at the Cloſe of the Year, to the Liquidation of the Bond to the Army, agreeably to your Orders for obtaining Payment of that Claim, under Date 25th Auguſt 1779.

I might have included the 10,50,000 in theſe extra Aſſignments, but I judged it more expedient to preſume the Latitude the Mode I have adopted will afford as a Reſource for unforeſeen Accidents or Contingencies, as it always may be uſed as moſt adviſeable at the End of the Year, while by the other Claims are accumulating at Intereſt; whereas if they had been inſerted in addition to the Amount Claims, the whole might be cramped without Remedy.

I have, &c. &c.

Lucknow,
16th Dec. 1780.

Nath. Middleton,
Coll[t] Viz[rs] Aſſ[t] to the Honble. Company.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

On the 3d Inſtant I had the Honour of ſubmitting to you Copies of his Excellency the Vizier's Application, together with mine to Colonel Morgan, for a Battalion of Sepoys to aſſiſt in the Collections of the Phouzdar of Allahabad, upon whom the Honourable Company have an Aſſignment of 5,50,000.

Herewith I have the Honour to incloſe Copies of the Correſpondence which reſulted, containing Colonel Morgan's Refuſal to grant his Excellency the Vizier's and my joint Solicitations, ſupported by the Authority of your Inſtructions to me, dated the 28th October laſt.

I conclude that One Cauſe of this Refuſal is, that the neceſſary Orders, conformably to my Inſtructions, were not iſſued in G. O. Permit me therefore earneſtly to requeſt, that your Honourable Board will be pleaſed to iſſue the neceſſary Orders, conformably to the Inſtructions I have been honoured with; as the greateſt Difficulty may occur to the Honourable Company's Collections by any Delay in this. The Phouzdar of Allahabad already lays Claim to large Deductions, grounded upon his having been unable to enforce his Collections in Aneel and Barrack, for want of the Aſſiſtance of the Battalion he applied for. He has further repreſented, that upwards of 9000 Ateets having entered Allahabad, to waſh at the Conflux of the Jumna and Ganges, whoſe uſual licentious Conduct (which from the ſame Circumſtances he is unable to repreſs) will probably occaſion further Impediments in his Payments

I have the Honour to incloſe the Three following Receipts:

One from the Infantry Paymaſter at Futty Ghur, for — — —	R[s]	95,000
One from Cavalry D[o] — — —		55,000
One from Paymaſter 2d Brigade — —		2,00,050

The undermentioned Sums have alſo been paid, for which the Receipts have not yet been returned:

To the Infantry Paymaſter at Futty Ghur — —	R[s]	3,30,000
To Major Camac — — —		1,00,000
To Mr. Wombwell — — —		1,00,000
To Cavalry Paymaſter — — —		1,50,000
To the Paymaſter 2d Brigade — —		1,00,000
Making	R[s]	7,80,000

For which I ſhall forward the Receipts as ſoon as they may come to hand.

I have, &c. &c.

Lucknow,
24th Dec. 1780.

Nath. Middleton,
Coll. Viz[r] Aſſ[ts] to the Hon. Company.

It is to be obſerved, that the Two Firſt Bills, amounting to 1,50,000, are Receipts for Money paid by Mr. Purling, for which the Receipts arrived after his Departure.

N. M.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I have herewith the Honour to lay before you an Account of Kiſtbundee of ſuch Part of his Excellency the Vizier's Aſſignments to the Honourable Company for the Fuſſely Year 1188; for which I have hitherto obtained Bonds. Although theſe Bonds are yet wanting to complete the Statement, I have thought it expedient to tranſmit it in its preſent State, that your Honourable Board might be acquainted with the Progreſs I have made.

My Account Collections for the elapſed Month of Aughun ſhall be ſubmitted to you Tomorrow.

I have, &c.
Nath. Middleton,
Coll. Viz^rs Aff^rs to the Hon. Company.

Lucknow,
31ſt Dec. 1780.

Ordered, That the Receipts incloſed in Mr. Middleton's Letter of the 24th Dec. be ſent to the Accountant General.

Ordered, That the Papers ſaid to be incloſed in Mr. Middleton's Letters, and not above recorded, be entered after the Conſultation.

Agreed, That the following Letter be written to Mr. Middleton.

Sir,

We have received the Letters which you have written to us, under Date the 27th Nov. 3d, 16th, 24th, and 31ſt Ult.

27th Nov.——With reſpect to the Depoſit of R^s 31,600 received into the Treaſury, as a Payment made by the Farmers of Gopee Mow, we direct that you credit the Vizier for the Amount, placing the ſame in your Treaſury Account under its proper Head.

3d and 24th Dec.——You have been informed by our Secretary of the Orders which have been ſent to Colonel Morgan, to withdraw all the Detachments and Guards that had been ſeparated from the Corps at Cawnpore and Futty Ghur, and not to permit any to be ſent from them hereafter, but to preſerve entire the Forces appointed for the capital Stations of the Army beyond the Provinces, and ready to be employed on any Service required of them; and to theſe Orders we have ſince thought it neceſſary to add, that the Troops at Cawnpore and Futty Ghur ſhould hold themſelves in Readineſs to take the Field immediately. Having given you this Information, we have only to acquaint you further, that we cannot, in conformity with theſe Reſolutions, ſend to Colonel Morgan the Orders which you deſire for detaching any Force to the Aſſiſtance of the Phouzdar of Allahabad; and at the ſame Time that we think it proper to direct that you allow no Remiſſions or Deductions whatſoever to this Farmer, we cannot but pay the leſs Regard to the Repreſentations which he makes; remembering, that at the Time when Force was ſtationed in the Diſtricts of Arriel and Barrah, under his Phouſdary, to aſſiſt the Collection of the Revenue; ſo far from deſiring the Continuance of its Aid, his Complaint effected the Recall of it, and it does not appear that his Country is in a more unſettled State now than it was at that Time.

16th and 24th Dec.——Allowing the Weight due to the Reaſons which you have ſtated for not extending the Demand of Aſſignments from his Excellency the Vizier for the current Year, beyond thoſe which you have already received; we approve of the Limitation to which you have fixed it, and of what you have done, adding only our Hopes to your own, that there will be no Failure in the Realization of any Part of the Aſſignments.

We are, &c.

Fort William,
16th Jan. 1781.

Dr. Treasury Account of the Resident at the Vizier's Court, from the 1st Coaur to the 12th Augun Fusselly Year 1188, or English Stile from 14th September to 24th November 1780.

To Balance the last Day of Baudun, Fusselly Year, or English Stile 13th September 1780 — — —			4,93,856 6 5
To his Excellency the Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah, disbursed on sundry Accounts, as per his Excellency's Account current			
		Rupees.	
To Almas Alee Khan, in Part of the Fusselly Year 1188 — — —		5,25,425	
To Noorbeg Ditto Ditto		30,000	
To Lyfoolabeg — — —		20,000	
To Mear Soleman — — —		30,000	
To Mirza Ishmael Beg — — —		66,666	
To Mahomed Hussein Khan — —		2,00,000	
		8,72,091	
To Cojah Ain ul Dein 1187 Berelly Rupees —		1,88,104	
			10,60,195 — —
Fyzabad 16 Sun Sicca Rupees			15,54,051 6 5

Lucknow, the 12th Augun, Fusselly Year 1188, or English Stile, the 24th of November 1780.

(Errors excepted.)

(Signed) C. Purling,
Collector of the Vizier's Assignments to the Honourable Company.

(True Copy.)
Nath. Middleton.

By his Excellency the Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah:			
By Loss of Batta — —		1,13,568 6 6	
By Rohilla Stipends — —		8,893 — —	
By Mr. Wombwell — —		3,64,521 8 9	
			4,86,782 15 3
By Fort William Presidency:			
Sent to Calcutta — —		5,00,000 — —	
Futty Ghur Detachment —		2,14,501 13 7	
Captain Doxatt — —		5,602 14 —	
Paymaster to the 2d Brigade —		2,05,179 14 9	
Paymaster to the Cavalry Corps —		1,10,000 — —	
			10,35,364 11 4
By House-rent, Diet, and Allowance — —			8,715 — —
By Hospital Charges — — —			5,250 — —
By Charges general — — —			2,469 8 —
By between the 18th Day of Augun, Fusselly Year 1188, or English Stile the 24th of November 1780 — —			15,469 4 10
Fyzabad 16 Sun Sicca Rupees			15,54,301 6 5

Copy of an Arzie from Mr. Middleton to the Nabob Vizier, dated the 8th Zeherdja.

The Papers of Accounts belonging to the Sircar of the Company which Mr. Purling has given me, I encloſe for your Highneſs's Peruſal. I have Orders from the Council to receive the Company's Aſſignments conformably to thoſe Accounts; and as my Duty requires that I ſhould obey their Commands, I therefore requeſt of you to be pleaſed to pay into my Hands the whole Amount of the Company's Aſſignments agreeable to the encloſed Accounts. In caſe of a Failure in the Payments, the Council will claim from me the Amount of the Aſſignments, ſo that it is not in my Power to allow of any Delays: It is therefore incumbent on your Highneſs to diſcharge the whole Amount of the Aſſignments agreeable to the Directions of the Council. Every Year large Balances of the Company's Money remain with you; and they are obliged to pay from their own Treaſury the Troops ſtationed in your Country: It is therefore neceſſary this Year, that the whole Amount of the Company's Aſſignments be diſcharged.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Middleton.

I have received your Letter encloſing me a Paper of Accounts of the Aſſignments and Tuncahs of the Army, &c. &c. requeſting that the whole Amount of them might be diſcharged in ready Money. This Letter gave me great Pleaſure, and made me acquainted with all Particulars. My ſole and conſtant Wiſhes and Deſires are, to maintain my Friendſhip with the Company, and to give Satisfaction to the Nabob, Governor, and the Gentlemen of the Council; and in this I never wilfully failed. The Particulars of the Diſtreſſes and Difficulties which for Four Years I have laboured under are well known to you; and yet, notwithſtanding all theſe Diſtreſſes, I remained ſtedfaſt in my Reſolution to pleaſe the Nabob, Governor, and Gentlemen of the Council, as my Friendſhip for the Company required; and entertained Hopes, that the Nabob and Gentlemen would, upon diſcovering my ruinous Situation, have extended their friendly Aid to me: But as yet this has not taken place. Laſt Year, from the Want of Rain, Deficiencies happened in the Country, and Mr. Purling took from me all the Reſources which I had for the Payment of my own Houſehold: But this I cheerfully ſubmitted to, and ſupported during the whole Year ſuch a Weight of Diſtreſſes, that my Brothers were obliged to go to Delhi to keep themſelves alive, and my Houſehold Servants nearly died of Want. This Year, beſides the Deficiencies from the Drought laſt Year, Additions have been included in the Aſſignments, and I, by ſtopping my unavoidable and neceſſary Expences, together with the Stipends of my Grandmother, of the late Nabob's Wife, and of my Brothers, added to the Aſſignments for the Tuncahs of the Army, &c. every Thing which I could; and am now unable to add any Thing more, as I have not the ſmalleſt Reſource left; if I had, I ſhould not make any Excuſes. I have therefore prepared Bonds for the Amount of the Money due, which I requeſt you will ſend to the Nabob, Governor, and to the Gentlemen of the Council, and which ſhall be diſcharged at a future Time. My Hopes are, that the Nabob, Governor, and Gentlemen of Council will take Compaſſion on me, that I may be reſcued from my Difficulties, and may not be diſtreſſed for my neceſſary Expences, and thoſe of my Brothers and Family. My Houſe and whole Country belong to the Company and Governor and Council.

(A True Copy.) (Signed) R. Johnſon.
Aſſiſtant Collector, &c.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Purling.

I have received your Letter, in which you inform me, that Letters to this Purport are come to you from the Governor and Council:—That the Pay of the Sepoys ſtationed with the Aumils of my Provinces, and the other Expences of the Mahals, are very conſiderable; but that all which the Aumils deduct from the Sircar for the Payment of thoſe Sepoys, and the Expences of collecting, is not really ſpent, and that every Thing ſo deducted on thoſe Accounts is their Profit: That if the Troops are neceſſary for the Management of the Country. You will furniſh them from the Company. You therefore requeſt, that as the Gentlemen of the Council have written ſolely from their Friendſhip, and for my Advantage, I ſhould accordingly comply with their Requeſt.

All theſe Particulars I underſtand, and am perfectly convinced of the firm Friendſhip and Affection of the Nabob, Governor, and the Gentlemen of Council; and that they have written to me from the Sincerity of their Love, and for my Advantage; but the Manners and Methods of the Adminiſtration of this Country are not fully known to the Nabob and Gentlemen. The Number of Horſe and Foot, and the Deductions to the Aumils in the Time of the late Nabob, and in the Two Firſt Years of my Government have been greatly diminiſhed; but when I found if any further Diminution was made in the Number of Horſe and Foot, the Management of the Country would be injured, I therefore ſettled the Tuncahs of the Sepoys for Eight and Six Months (whereas in the late Nabob's Time they received Twelve Months), that a ſufficient Number might remain for the Management of the Country, and that yet there might be a Saving: the Army having been long in my Service, and being attached to me, readily agreed, upon ſeeing my Difficulties, to receive Six and Eight Months, in hopes of future Advantage: Thus the neceſſary Number were kept up at a diminiſhed Expence; but if any were deducted, Loſſes and

 Injuries

Injuries would ariſe in the Collection of the Money. The Troops which are ſtationed out are alſo in my Service, and the Deſcriptions of them are in the Paper of the Sircar; and Mutededdies for muſtering and paying them who were employed in the Time of the late Nabob, are now at different Places, and the Aumils pay them agreeable to the former Cuſtom. What Power have the Aumils to deviate from it? There is not the ſmalleſt Reaſon to ſuſpect them. As for the Company's Army, you yourſelf well know that they are ſtationed at the Places where their Preſence is requiſite, and from whence they cannot be ſuffered to go and ſettle the Affairs of the Country. The Aumils, in caſe of any Diſpute with the Zemindars, who poſſeſs ſtrong Forts, requeſt from me Support and Aſſiſtance, and I, at the Times when it is requiſite for their Aid, or for the Reduction and Puniſhment of Rebels, apply for One or Two Battalions from Futtyghur. It is abſolutely neceſſary, and it is likewiſe the eſtabliſhed Cuſtom of this Country, that beſides the Troops ſtationed, further Aſſiſtance ſhould be ſent from the Sircar and the Preſence; becauſe, as the Troops ſtationed diſperſe and divide for the Purpoſe of collecting, if on a Diſpute or Attack Succours were not ſent by the Sircar, the whole Management of the Mahals would be loſt. Accordingly in many Places during theſe Two Years, for want of Attention and Aſſiſtance from the Preſence, the Aumils have been killed. If it had been poſſible to tranſact the Buſineſs of the Country with a ſmaller Force, I ſhould certainly have done it; but the preſent Number cannot be diminiſhed, becauſe it is conſiderably leſs than the Force kept up by the late Nabob, and is merely what is abſolutely indiſpenſable. Should this be decreaſed, the Aumils will not be able to keep themſelves out of the Hands of the Zemindars, nor will any Collections be received; and the Deductions for the Expences are not now the Fourth Part of what they were, and what now remains is abſolutely neceſſary. As the Payment of the Company's Troops is ſo indiſpenſable a Duty of mine, that I am at any Rate to ſubmit to any Diſtreſs for the Purpoſe of diſcharging it; had it been poſſible for me to pay that off by diminiſhing thoſe Expences, I ſhould certainly have done it; without the preſent Number of People and the preſent Expences, no Money can be collected nor any Thing done. Do you conſider well, and reflect maturely, that you are to receive a conſiderable Sum on account of the Company, and that without the preſent Force and neceſſary Expences the Country cannot be managed, nor will any Money be received from the Aumils. By the Bleſſing of God you are wiſe, and comprehend all Matters, ſo that any Thing further on this Subject is unneceſſary.

(A true Copy.)
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

To Charles Purling Eſquire, Reſident, &c.

Sir,

I have been favoured with your Letter of the 9th Inſtant, incloſing a Purwannah from his Excellency the Vizier, requiring a Battalion of Sepoys to be ſent to Allahabad, to ſubdue to Obedience the refractory * under the Aumil there, and to compel them to the Payment of his Demands. Permit me to let you know, that I am conſtrained from a Compliance with his Requiſition, by an Order of the Board that is in force, and forbids Detachments of ſuch Strength being ſent from the Brigade; and the Commander in Chief, when he viſited the Station, gave me to underſtand, that the Brigade was ſtationed here with the Intent of ſecuring his Excellency's Dominions from being invaded or diſturbed by foreign Powers; and Battalions were not to be detached to aſſiſt the Aumils in collecting the Revenues; and I ſhould ſuppoſe his Excellency always had on Foot a Force of his own ſufficient to enforce the Payment of his Revenues.

*Sic in Orig.

I have here now only Five Battalions: My Force having lately been diminiſhed by a Battalion being ſent to Benares, and the unpromiſing Aſpect that our own Affairs wear at this Juncture, would induce me not only to † on not weakening it farther, but make me deſirous of adding to it; therefore, I beg leave to requeſt the Favour of you to let me know, when I may order Captain Crabb's Battalion to join my Brigade.

†Sic in Orig.

The Commander in Chief alſo aſſured me, that Captains Lucas and Crabb's Battalions were not to remain long detached; thoſe Battalions being ſent to aſſiſt in the Collections, muſt be conſidered as Indulgencies granted by the General, who had the Power of removing and detaching Troops as he thought proper; but I am not inveſted with that Power, excepting on ſuch Emergencies as may demand it, for the Security of the Nabob's Dominions againſt his public Enemies.

I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) Ja^s Morgan,
Commanding the 2d Brigade in the Field.

November 11th, 1780.
Camp near Cawnpore.

P. S. I ſhall do myſelf the Honour of writing an Account of this to the Honourable the Governor General, with his Excellency's Requiſition, and a Copy of this Letter to you in Reply to it.

To

To Nathaniel Middleton Esquire, Collector of the Vizier's Assignments to the Company.

Sir,

I have been favoured with your Letter of the 2d Instant, covering one from his Excellency the Vizier, reiterating a Requisition, that a Battalion of Sepoys might be sent from this Station to Allahabad, &c.

I enclose you a Copy of my Answer to the late Resident's similar Application, by which you will perceive that I have not the Power of complying with this Requisition.

I wrote the Honourable the Governor General a Letter immediately, requesting his Instructions on that Head, the Answer to which I expect will arrive in Four or Five Days. I will acquaint you with them when they arrive, and should the Authority be delegated to me, shall immediately comply with his Excellency's Requisition. But when One Battalion is detached from this Station, now *, there will scarcely remain a sufficient Number of Sepoys to perform the Camp Duties; therefore, I must request the Favour of you to let me know when I may send for that Battalion at Kerybad, from the Command of which Major Crabb being now removed, those Reasons that acted most forcibly for the Detention of it there, will cease to exist, as I understood the Battalion was sent there with an Intent of serving him more than promoting any public Service.

* Sic in Orig.

I have the Honour to be,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

Ja^s. Morgan,

Colonel, commanding in the Field.

Camp, near Cawnpoor,
December 4, 1780.

To Colonel James Morgan, commanding in the Field.

Sir,

I have been honoured with the Receipt of your Letter of the 4th Instant, and cannot but express my Concern, as well on account of the Loss and Inconvenience which must ensue to the Vizier's Government, as the consequent Failure I have to dread in my Collections, that you should have found it necessary to decline Compliance with the Nabob's Requisition enclosed in my Address of the 2d Instant. Your not having been furnished with Authority to comply with such Requisitions, I am inclined to believe must be owing to some official Neglect or Omission at the Presidency, as I am well assured it was the Intention of the Honourable the Governor General and Council, that I should be furnished with every Aid from the Company's Troops stationed in the Dominions of the Vizier, that I might consider absolutely necessary for the Protection and Security of his Excellency's Assignments to the Company; and to evince to you the Grounds on which I ventured to concur in the Nabob's Requisition, I do myself the Pleasure to enclose you an Extract of the Honourable Board's Instructions to me upon investing me with my present Office.—My Opinion of the Expediency, and even the indispensable Necessity, of the Aid which the Nabob has solicited for the Phousdar of Allahabad, remains unaltered; and so well am I convinced of the Impossibility of realizing the heavy Assignment he has given me on Behalf of the Honourable Company on that Province in the present State of its Affairs, that I shall be under the Necessity of returning the Assignment, unless I can hope to obtain from you the Assistance required. I therefore shall be happy if you should consider the enclosed Extract as sufficient Authority to warrant your Compliance with the Vizier's Request.

I beg you to be assured, Sir, that it shall ever be my Endeavour to prevent the Honourable Company's Troops serving in Detachments from being detained from their Stations longer than may appear indispensably necessary, because I am aware that the Honourable Board wish as much as possible to avoid having their Troops ordinarily employed in the Service of the Vizier's Collections; but when I assure you that the Security of the Revenue of Two very considerable Districts depend * upon the 13th Battalion, I persuade myself you will not hesitate to continue it for some Time longer under the Vizier's immediate Direction, and that I shall stand justified to my Superiors in requesting it. I am unacquainted with any private Considerations which may have operated in the original Application for the Service of the Battalion.—Those who made it must be the best Judges of the Motives of their Conduct; it is sufficient for me to declare, that I am influenced by no other Considerations or Views whatever than a due Regard to the Welfare of the Vizier's Government and the punctual Discharge of the important Trust reposed in me.

* Sic in Orig.

I have, &c.

(Signed) Nathaniel Middleton.

Lucknow,
6th December 1780.

Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor and Council to Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Collector of the Vizier's Assignments to the Honourable Company, dated 18th October 1780.

" The more effectually to enable you to secure the Collections amidst those Tumults and
" Disorders which too frequently disturb the Vizier's Government, especially in the remote
" Provinces, you will apply to his Excellency, whenever you may find it necessary, for the Assist-
" ance of such Troops under British Officers, as well as others maintained by him for the
" Service of the Collections; and when these should, in your Judgment, prove inadequate to
" the Service required, which we understand hath frequently been the Case, we authorize you
" to apply, in conjunction with the Vizier, to the Commanding Officer at the nearest Station of
" our

" our Troops, who ſhall be inſtructed to furniſh you with ſuch Reinforcement as you may re-
" quire, and he may with a due Regard to the Safety of his Station be able to afford you."

To Nathaniel Middleton Eſq. Collector of the Vizier's Aſſignments to the Company.

Sir,

I have received the Honour of your Letter of the 6th Inſtant, with an Extract from the Honourable Governor General and Council's Letter to you.

Be aſſured, Sir, that I hold the true Intereſt of the Company warmly at heart; and that I am deſirous of promoting and preſerving Obedience and good Order to the Governments of his Excellency's (their Ally) Country, as well as of preventing Tumults and Diſorders in it. But I muſt beg leave to remark in the Extract, the Security of this Station's Safety is the premier Conſideration to be held in Regard, and that therein is pointed out the Neceſſity of my being furniſhed with Inſtructions relative to detaching Troops on the Vizier's Requiſition.

That I make the Safety of the Station the leading Object of my Care, is manifeſted from my Endeavours to keep together a Force formidable enough to awe the envious and watchful Powers that ſurround us from Attempts on his Excellency's Dominions, from my Solicitude to preſerve good Diſcipline among the Troops, which I muſt here obſerve to you, is unavoidably ruined by their being detached on the collecting Buſineſs, as I with much Concern obſerved in Two very recent Inſtances. I clearly apprehend how needful a Compliance with the joint Requiſition of that Nature is; yet being at the ſame Time convinced that I am not ſufficiently warranted to detach a Battalion in Breach of the Orders of the Board, I, on the Receipt of Mr. Purling's firſt Application, immediately addreſſed the Honourable the Governor General with a Requeſt, that his Inſtructions on that Head might be tranſmitted to me without Delay; as in my preſent Situation I did not conſider myſelf inveſted with Authority enough to make ſuch Compliance, I expect to be honoured with their Inſtructions on the 10th or 12th at fartheſt.

I ſhould be ſorry you were reduced to the Neceſſity of returning the Aſſignments, yet I cannot imagine that the Evil is in want of an adequate Remedy. But ſhould I by my Conduct hazard the Safety of this Country, and bring the Company's Affairs into Perplexity, I can't hope that my Juſtification would be found in the Urgency of your Requiſitions; therefore I muſt at preſent conſider that my own Security is cloſely involved alſo in every Meaſure that I take. Now the
* Sic in Orig. Defence and Safety of theſe Countries (of courſe the Company and * Intereſts) are lodged in my Hands; and though I cannot venture to predict, yet I am obliged to apprehend, that ſome bad
† Sic in Orig. Conſequence may † derive from my allowing the ſmall Body of theſe I have with me now to be divided and detached in ſuch a Manner, that a Junction of the Parties could not be effected upon a very ſhort Notice, which would be a Thing impoſſible to be done by Troops from Bhara and Areyl, and from the other Side of the Dewar.

Your receiving daily Intelligence from every Quarter, makes it unneceſſary for me to let you know what I learn. But it is requiſite for me to employ my Vigilance, and to watch the Motions and Intrigues of the Mahrattas and Nujif Khaan. I learn that the Vakeel from Hyder Ally, now with Nujif, has communicated to him the Fall of Arcott, and I can't doubt that you will agree with me in the Opinion, that theſe diſtant Succeſſes againſt the Company may operate adverſarily in this Part of India. However, I wiſh you to be aſſured that I ſhall always be ready to lend you every Aſſiſtance in my Power, and ſhall have a Battalion ready to march immediately on my receiving the Honourable the Governor General's Directions. I don't ſuppoſe the Delay of a Day or Two will be the Occaſion of much Loſs in the Collections. Permit me to requeſt that you will place yourſelf in my Situation, and then review the Matter under Conſideration.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
(Signed) James Morgan,
Colonel commanding in the Field.

Camp near Cawnpore,
Dec. 8, 1780.

(True Copies.)
(Signed) Nathaniel Middleton,
Collector of the Vizier's Aſſignments to the
Honourable Company.

Appendix to Consultation, 16th January 1781.

Kistbunde of the Assignments granted by his Excellency the Vizier to the Honourable Company for the Fussulee Year 1188.

Renters whose Bonds have been received.		Koar.	Kartick.	Aughun.	Phoose.	Maug.	Phagun.	Chyte.	Bysaack.	Jeyt.	Assar.	Lawoa.	Bhadon.
Almasali Khan for R[a] —	35,00,000	3,50,000	2,50,000	3,00,000	3,00,000	2,50,000	2,50,000	4,50,000	4,50,000	4,50,000	2,50,000	2,00,000	
Kojah Ayn Uldein —	28,00,000	1,51,000	2,00,000	2,00,000	2,50,000	2,50,000	2,50,000	3,00,000	3,50,000	3,50,000	2,00,000	1,50,000	1,50,000
Mahomed Hussein Khan	10,00,000	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,00,000		
Ishmael Beg — —	5,50,000	35,000	35,000	40,000	50,000	55,000	55,000	55,000	55,000	55,000	38,000	38,000	39,000
Mir Soliman — —	3,62,000	25,000	25,000	25,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	55,000	55,000	55,000	3[illegible],000		
Noorbeg — —	1,50,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000		
Sufullah Beg — —	1,40,000	10,000	11,000	13,000	14,000	14,000	12,000	20,000	20,000	15,000	12,000		
	85,02,000	6,85,000	6,35,000	6,93,000	7,59,000	7,14,000	7,12,000	9,95,000	10,45,000	10,40,000	6,47,000	3,88,000	1,89,000

Furruckabad —	6,43,000	For these Assignments I have not yet been able to obtain Kistbundees.
Khyragur —	2,42,000	
Gopamou —	88,000	
	94,75,000	
Nuzzer and Mahommed Hussein Khan —	2,00,000	These were ready Money Payments.
Balance 1187 Kojah ain Uldein —	1,88,645	
Deposit Gopamou —	31,600	
Rupees of Sorts —	98,95,245	Total Amount Assignments for 1188.

Lucknow, 31st December 1780.

(Errors excepted.)

(Signed)

Nathaniel Middleton,
Collector of the Vizier's Assignments to the Honourable Company.

APPENDIX, N° LVIII.

Book 80. Page 634.

Fort William, the 12th May 1783.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,
Edward Wheler, John Macpherſon } Eſquires.

THE Governor General lays before the Board the following Letters from Mr. Briſtow to him, dated 12th December.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, Governor General.

Honourable Sir,

Your Inſtructions of the 23d October have been the invariable Rule of my Conduct; and now I have held my Office a ſufficient Time to ſpeak with ſome Degree of Certainty to moſt Points, I ſhall enter upon an Explanation of the State of this Government.

Your Obſervation, that your new Meaſures will require a long Time to execute, is but too true. The total Want of Syſtem, and lawleſs Habits which prevail, muſt be corrected by progreſſive Means; the Peace and Security of the Country, and Regularity in the ſeveral Departments of the State, will be gradually eſtabliſhed. I beg leave to anſwer the ſeveral Heads of your Inſtructions in the ſame Order in which you have placed them.

First Head. Balance and Aſſignment.

Immediately after my Arrival I urged the acting Miniſter to deviſe and recommend Arrangements for the complete Diſcharge of the Balance at the Concluſion of the Year. To relieve myſelf from Cenſure in caſe of Failure in this eſſential Point, it is neceſſary I ſhould explain the Tranſaction with the Bankers. The Balance at the End of laſt Year was not in fact paid, but transferred to the Bankers, and encreaſed by the Load of a very high Intereſt. There were Two diſtinct Engagements;

One for Bills immediately granted on the Preſidency for			26,50,000
Another for Teeps promiſing Bills, to be delivered by Inſtallments at the following Periods, and in the following Propons, viz.			
Bhaudun	1189	6,50,000	
Cooaur	1190	6,50,000	
Cautick	Do	6,50,000	
Aughun	Do	6,50,000	
			26,00,000
By this Statement you will obſerve the Revenues of the preſent Year have been anticipated in the Sum of			52,50,000

bearing an Intereſt of Two per Cent. per Menſem. I encloſe an Eſtimate (N° 1) of the whole Demand upon the Vizier, on Account of the Honourable Company and the Bankers, by which it appears his Excellency has to furniſh this Year the Sum of One Crore Forty-one Lacks Two thouſand Five hundred and Seventy-eight Rupees (Rupees 1,41,02,578). Mr. Middleton gave his Bond to the Bankers, on Account of the Firſt Engagement, Rupees 26,50,000, for Bills on the Preſidency, engaging to ſee them repaid their Money. The Revenues of certain Diſtricts were aſſigned to him on Account of the Bankers, and were, as collected, to be paid to them.

When Almaſs Ally Cawn returned to Lucknow, a Negociation was ſet on Foot to transfer the Security from Mr. Middleton to him, and concluded a few Days before my Arrival. The Bond was returned to Mr. Middleton, and Almaſs's granted in lieu of it. The additional Diſtricts propoſed to have been entruſted to Almaſs, were Part of thoſe aſſigned to the Bankers; and the Vizier's Orders, and other Documents, had paſſed for putting him in Poſſeſſion, a few Days before my Arrival; I was ſoon expected, and Almaſs of his own Accord deferred taking charge, as I have already informed you and the Board, until the Meaſure ſhould, through me, receive your Sanction.

When I conſidered the Power poſſeſſed by Almaſs, and your Inſtructions to reduce it, if poſſible, I did not heſitate to reject every Idea of extending his Authority; a Difficulty occurred about the Bond he had granted, and a Payment he had made to the Bankers, of Three Lacks Seventy five thouſand Rupees (R' 3,75,000). The latter Point was eaſily ſettled, by giving him Credit for that Sum, on Account of the Revenues of Etwa, Cora, &c.; but the Bankers refuſed any

any Security except mine, in lieu of the Bond. The Bills of Exchange had actually been transmitted to the Board, and were in Courſe of Payment; to have annulled the Engagement would have diſappointed you of a Reſource, and hurt our Credit with the Bankers; it was abſolutely neceſſary that Almaſs's Bond ſhould be returned to him: I was therefore induced to take the Engagement upon myſelf, and I am happy to find, by the Board's Letter of the 22d Ultimo, that my Conduct has been approved.

Although my Attention has been principally directed to the Liquidation of the Balance, I have hitherto found it utterly impoſſible to procure Aſſignments equal to the Amount required. Diſtricts have been over-rated to me; and before I can conclude a fair Engagement with any Aumil, I am obliged, in every Inſtance, to ſeparate fictitious from juſt Eſtimates, which takes up Time, and is the Cauſe of my not ſending the Accounts.

I have been endeavouring to prevail upon the Vizier to fix his Diſburſements within his Income: If I can accompliſh this Point, I ſhall be careful that the Eſtabliſhments ſhall not be hereafter encroached upon; the Particulars will of courſe be tranſmitted to you.

I have repeatedly informed the Miniſter, no Excuſes will be admitted in the Exculpation of a Balance at the Concluſion of the Year; that the whole muſt be paid, and the Means reſt with him.

Second Head. Account Current with the Nabob.

You will obſerve, by the Eſtimate of the Demands upon the Vizier, Fourteen Lacks were mentioned by Mr. Middleton as the Balance. The acting Miniſter expected he could prove Claims nearly to this Amount, due from the Company to the Vizier, which would liquidate the Account. I have explained this Matter fully to him, and believe he is now convinced of the Juſtneſs of the corrected Account. An Examination, however, into the diſputed Points ſhould, in my Opinion, take place, and any trifling Difference that may be eſtabliſhed allowed to the Vizier. This I ſubmit to your Conſideration: In the mean Time I ſhall perſiſt in my Endeavours to realize the whole Amount.

☞(a) [Firſt, their Government.

Third Head. State of the Vizier's Dominions.

Deſpotiſm is the Principle upon which every Meaſure is founded, and the People in the interior Parts of the Country are ruled at the Diſcretion of the Aumil or Phouſdar for the Time being. They exerciſe, within the Limits of their Juriſdiction, the Powers of Life and Death, and Deciſions in Civil and other Caſes, in the ſame Extent as the Sovereign at the Capital. The Forms preſcribed by the ancient Inſtitutions of the Mogul Empire are unattended to, and the Will of the Provincial Magiſtrate is the ſole Law of the People. The total Relaxation of the Vizier's Authority, his Inattention and Diſlike to Buſineſs, leave the Aumils in Poſſeſſion of this dangerous Power, unawed, uncontrouled by any Apprehenſion of Retroſpection, or the Interference of Juſtice. I can hardly quote an Inſtance, ſince the Vizier's Acceſſion to the Muſnud, of an Aumil having been puniſhed for Oppreſſion, though the Complaints of the People and the State of the Country are notorious Proofs of the Violences daily committed—it is even become unſafe for Travellers to paſs, except in large Bodies.—Murders, Thefts, and other Enormities ſhocking to Humanity, are committed in open Day.

Every Zemindar ſhould be conſtituted the Magiſtrate in his Zemindarry, and collect the Revenues according to certain eſtabliſhed Rates recorded in the Cutcherry, and publiſhed throughout the Diſtrict. The Aumil ſhould be the controlling Power between the Ryot and the Zemindar; ſhould enforce the Regulations; ſee Peace and good Order preſerved in the ſeveral Zemindarries; and make the Zemindars accountable for all Tumults, Thefts, and Murders, within their Juriſdiction—in great Towns there ought to be a Cutwall, or Haakeem, to diſtribute Juſtice.

Such has been the Syſtem of this Government, that the Oppreſſions have generally originated with the Aumils. They have been rarely ſelected for their Abilities or Integrity, but from Favour, or the Means to advance a ſmall Sum upon being appointed to their Office. The Aumil enters upon his Truſt, ruined in Reputation and Fortune; and unleſs he accompliſhes his Engagements, which is ſeldom the Caſe, Diſgrace and Puniſhment follow. Though the Balance of Revenue may be rigorouſly demanded of him, it has not been uſual to inſtitute any Inquiry for Oppreſſion. The Zemindars, thus left at the Mercy of the Aumils, are often driven to Rebellion. The weak are obliged to ſubmit to his Exactions, or fly the Country; and the Aumil, unable to reduce the more powerful, is compelled to enter into a diſgraceful Compromiſe. Every Zemindar looks to his Fort for Protection, and the Country is crowded with them. Almaſs Ally Cawn aſſerts, there are not leſs than Seven hundred in his Diſtricts; hence it has become a general Cuſtom to ſeize the Brother, Son, or ſome near Relation or Dependant of the different Zemindars, as Hoſtages for the Security of the Revenue. A great Aumil will ſometimes have Three or Four hundred of theſe Hoſtages, whom he is obliged to confine in Places of Security.

A few Men, like Almaſs Ally Cawn and Coja ain ul Deen, have, from their Regularity in the Performance of pecuniary Engagements, rendered themſelves uſeful to the Vizier. A ſtrict Scrutiny into his Affairs was at all Times irkſome to his Excellency; and none of the Miniſters or Officers about his Perſon poſſeſſing the active perſevering Spirit requiſite to conduct the Detail of Engagements for a Number of ſmall Farms, it became convenient to receive a large Sum from

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 658.

a great

a great Farmer, without Trouble or Deficiency. This Syſtem was followed by the moſt pernicious Conſequences; theſe Men were above all Controul; they exacted their own Terms, and the Diſtricts they farmed were moſt cruelly oppreſſed. The Revenue of Rohilcund is reduced above a Third, and Almaſs Ally Cawn's Adminiſtration is well known to have been extremely violent.

The foregoing Repreſentation of the State of this Government will, I hope, ſatisfy you of the Difficulty in collecting the Revenues. A very ſtrong Military Force will be required to preſerve the Country in Peace. The Number for which Funds are at preſent allotted would, in my Opinion, amply ſuffice, if it exiſted; but I ſuppoſe not Two Thirds of the Men kept upon the Books are actually entertained. The Diſcipline and proper Application of this Force will become a Matter of ſerious Conſideration: I do not mean to propoſe, they ſhould be put under the Command of Britiſh Officers, as a very extraordinary Expence would attend that Meaſure; and I do not think the Service of the Collections would be ſo well executed. The Troops now in the Vizier's Service are ill paid and ill appointed, not owing to the Want of Means; as I think, when I ſhall forward you the Statements I have been ſo long endeavouring to complete, you will judge them adequate to every Service, if not diſſipated and ſquandered away. The Evil originates in the Want of Checks upon the Diſburſements to the Army, of proper Officers and Commiſſaries to ſee them duly appropriated.

The ſame Inconveniencies exiſt in the Receipts of the Vizier's Revenue, and other Branches of his Government in the General Department. Offices of Collections and Treaſury, and Courts for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, ought doubtleſs to be eſtabliſhed. In a Duty of ſo delicate a Nature, as the Execution of your Commands on this Head, I muſt neceſſarily expoſe myſelf to the Oppoſition of Perſons intereſted in the Continuance of the Abuſe.]

Second, Military Defence, and Diſtribution of the Nabob's Force.

Third, Revenue.

I have in the foregoing Repreſentation in Part anſwered theſe Heads. I beg leave to defer what remains to be ſaid on them till I forward you the Statements.

Fourth, Zemindars, and Means taken to reſtore Peace.

The Collection of the Revenues under the Controul of the Aumils is entirely in the Hands of the Zemindars, the Lands throughout the Country being granted in Talooks and Zemindarries.

The Means taken to reſtore Peace are explained in my Letter to the Board of the 1ſt Inſtant. The Detachments from the Honourable Company's Troops I conſider only a temporary Expedient. I propoſe recommending, that a ſeparate Plan for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in all Matters of Revenue ſhould be formed, and carried into Execution. You may perhaps make this Branch Part of the Duties of the Office of Collections, and the Decan will act in it, and appoint Deputies in each Aumildarry.

Peace is by no means reſtored, for if the Company's Troops were relieved from the Places at which they are now ſtationed, I ſhould expect the Commotions would be renewed. Gorrockpore, Bairaitch, Sultanpore, Aſemgur, Gonda, and all the Frontier, are Provinces in which the Vizier's Authority is ill eſtabliſhed. In ſome of them there are Troubles at this Time. New Detachments of the Honourable Company's Troops might be adviſeable, if the State of Affairs in other Reſpects did not render the Appearance of a formidable Force on the Frontiers neceſſary, as well to awe Foreign Powers, as to keep Almaſs Ally Cawn, and Khoja Ayn ul Deen, within the Line of their Duty.

Fifth, Character and Credit of the principal Aumils.

When I forward the Statements of the Revenue, I will take the Names of the Aumils in Order, and anſwer you upon this Head.

Sixth, Whether the Sums lately levied have been drawn from the Country, or borrowed, and Aſſignments given for the Repayment on the Revenues of the laſt, or by Anticipation of the current Year.

Fourth Head. Hyder Beg Cawn.

Seventh, By what Means were thoſe Collections made?

By Anticipation, as I have already explained under the Head of Balance and Aſſignment.

I have communicated your Commands to Hyder Beg Cawn. He urges, in Excuſe for the Letters which have been written in a Tone of Reproach and Reſentment, that they were forwarded unknown to him, that the Vizier has People about him who are happy at an Opportunity of giving Trouble, and wiſh to overſet the Influence of the Engliſh in this Government. He profeſſes a juſt Senſe of the Confidence you have placed in him, of his intire Dependence upon you, and that without your Protection he ſhould loſe his Office, his Property, and poſſibly his Life. He aſſured me of his utmoſt Endeavours to prevent a Repetition of Letters in a ſimilar Style, and that he is ready to give Proofs of the Sincerity of his Attachment to the Company.

I uſed the Diſcretion you allowed me of not delivering your Letter to Hyder Beg Cawn. I found upon my Arrival, as you informed me, all the Influence of this Government veſted in his Hands. I was under the Neceſſity of having Recourſe to him for Information and Accounts; and it appeared unadviſeable to raiſe Doubts in his Mind of my good Intentions, or to expreſs an Inclination to inſtitute a Retroſpection into his Conduct: I previouſly wiſhed to obtain his

Confidence,

Confidence, to convince him that I acted upon public Grounds, and if poſſible, perſuade him to unite heartily with me in every Meaſure. I could then deliver the Letter, informing him of the View with which I had acted, and not be liable to any Suſpicion of having ſolicited it. In the mean Time I endeavoured to acquire a Knowledge of the Buſineſs, that I might be enabled to report to you my Opinion of his Attachment to your Government, and of his Zeal, Ability, and Integrity in the Diſcharge of his Duty. I deferred preſenting him the Letter until the 30th Ultimo, and have left him to anſwer it without giving any Advice.

He rendered me his Aſſiſtance very heartily and willingly in Almaſs's Buſineſs. A Jealouſy had long ſubſiſted between Hyder Beg Cawn and Almaſs; the latter having been conſidered a Pretender to the Neabut, it was ſuppoſed Hyder Beg intended to ruin him; his Conduct in withdrawing is imputed by many who think favourably of him, to Neceſſity, otherwiſe his Fortune might have been endangered. A Reconciliation took place between them, and they publicly continue upon the beſt Terms, but I believe neither to be ſincere. If I had expreſſed any Diſſatisfaction againſt Hyder Beg, he and Almaſs would probably have formed a Combination, and I ſhould have had new Difficulties to contend with.

The Accounts I have called for have many of them been furniſhed, and Hyder Beg has given me his Information and Opinion of every Matter upon which I have aſked them: I cannot help however complaining of the Delays in tranſacting the moſt common Buſineſs; this proceeds from no proper Channels through intermediate Offices being eſtabliſhed; all Accounts are framed by Hyder Beg; he plans and executes every Meaſure; he propoſes, and in ſhort undertakes, Matters which ſhould be truſted to ſubordinate Agents, and executed off hand. Any undue Influence he may be thought to poſſeſs will be done away by the Degree of Conſequence and Support you may think proper to give to the new Officers.

I have hitherto left Hyder Beg Cawn in the Poſſeſſion of his Power, as being the acting Miniſter, and entruſted with the executive Authority ſo long as he might diſcharge his Duty: I thought I conformed to your Commands in ſupporting him. I have not failed repeatedly to expoſtulate with him upon the Conſequences of Procraſtination in the Execution of the Buſineſs. In the Event of further Delays, I ſhall continue my Expoſtulations, and by exerting the Powers with which you have inveſted me, avoid expoſing myſelf to your Cenſure for an Appearance of Neglect, which does not originate with me. I beg leave to remark, by being the Inſtrument of eſtabliſhing Officers which are to ſerve as a Controul over Hyder Beg's hitherto unparticipated and intire Adminiſtration, I ſhall unavoidably expoſe myſelf to his Jealouſy and Reſentment.

Fifth Head. Offices.

I beg leave to ſubmit to your Conſideration the following Perſons to be nominated to the Office you have thought proper to direct ſhould be immediately eſtabliſhed, viz.

The Collections - - -	Rajah Soorut Sing, who was Dewan to the late Vizier.
The Treaſury - - -	Rajah Tipper Chund, who likewiſe held an Office ſimilar to this in the late Vizier's Time.

Mr. Middleton informed the Board, under Date the 17th of September 1782, of his having named Tuſſia Haveeſes, or Commiſſaries for muſtering the Troops. I purpoſe enforcing this Meaſure, as I find the Abuſes in the Vizier's Army prevail to an unaccountable Degree; many Corps are more than a Year in Arrears, and no Part of it intirely paid up, notwithſtanding the large Sums annually charged on this Account under the Head of Mootayenna. I have already informed you of my Hopes of attaching the Cavalry, by being inſtrumental in procuring their Pay.

The Inſtitution of Adauluts will be attended with the utmoſt Difficulty: The Reaſons you have yourſelf aſſigned are ſo forcible, that I have only to trouble you with a few Hints in corroboration of your own Opinions.

The Nabob, the Miniſters, and every Man of Rank at his Court, will be intereſted in oppoſing the Inſtitution of Courts of Juſtice. The Nabob is ſurrounded by Perſons who, preſuming upon the Countenance they receive from him, commit every Kind of Oppreſſion: They are generally Men of low Birth, ſuddenly raiſed to Power and Conſequence, which they are ignorant how to uſe. The Miniſters have more creditable Dependants, but they preſume, in an equal Degree, on their Influence. The Reſumption of Jagheers, and Reduction of Salaries, have unavoidably involved Numbers of People in Debts, which has led to the Commiſſion of Acts of Violence.

To inſtitute Courts of Juſtice upon a reſpectable Footing, they ſhould extend to Men of all Deſcriptions: The Favourites and Dependants of the Nabob and Miniſters, long accuſtomed to live independent of all Controul, will not eaſily be brought to ſubmit to a regular Juriſdiction. I would, however, propoſe that Molavee Mowbine, the Man recommended by Mr. Middleton, ſhould continue, with the Name of Sudder ul Huck. When Regularity ſhall be introduced into other Branches of the Government, the Extenſion of the Powers of the Sudder ul Huck will form Part of the Plan.

Sixth Head. Aumils.

I am to ſpeak to the Characters of the Aumils in general, when I may forward the Statement. Pledges for the perſonal Appearance of Almaſs Ally Cawn, and Khauja Ain ul Deen, cannot be obtained. Theſe Two Men are in Charge of the Frontier Provinces of Cora, Etawah, and Rohilcund.

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ad.
mas Ally Cawn.
hth Head.
bellious Zemindars.

I have already explained my Sentiments and Conduct on this Head, both to yourself and the Board.

Upon every Occasion of Tumults that have occurred since my Arrival, I have recommended that the Vizier's Shokes be issued, publishing his Determination to apprehend and punish Offenders with the greatest Severity. But in the present State of the Vizier's Government, with an ill-paid Army, and Aumils doubtful of their Permanence in Office, it is an Impossibility to expect Commotions will immediately cease. For other Matters relative to rebellious Zemindars, I beg leave to refer you to my Answer to the Third Head of your Instruction upon the Government of the Vizier's Dominions.

nth Head.
ruckpore & Baraetich.

The Minister has long since promised me an Account of the Revenues of these Districts; when I obtain it you shall receive the fullest Information.

nth Head.
l. Sir John Cumming's
tachment.

I have obeyed your Commands on this Head.

eventh Head.
zuffer Jung.

My Letter to the Board of the 1st Instant will have informed you of the Transactions at Ferockabad.

velfth Head.
zulla Cawn.

My Letters to you of the 28th Ultimo, and the Board of the 4th Ultimo, will have informed you of my Opinion and Transactions with respect to Fyzoolla Cawn.

irteenth Head.
gums.

The Battalion at Fyzabad is recalled; and my Letter to the Board of the 1st Instant has explained my Conduct to the Begum. The Letter I addressed her, a Translation of which I beg leave to enclose (N° 2) was with a View of convincing her that you readily assented to her being freed from the Restraints which had been imposed upon her, and that your Acquiescence in her Sufferings was a Measure of Necessity, to which you were forced by her extraordinary Conduct. I wished to make it appear this was a Matter on which you directed me to consult the Vizier's Pleasure, that it might be known you were the Spring from whence she was restored to her Dignity and Consequence.

urteenth Head.
e Nabob Vizier.

I have endeavoured to conciliate the Vizier, and never undertaken any Measure but under the Sanction of his Orders. Hyder Beg Cawn did, upon my first entering on the Business, mention his Excellency's Objections to the Mode of receiving the Company's Claims by Assignment on the Country; and sounded me, whether it would not be practicable to induce you to make an Alteration in the System: He even told me, the Vizier expressed his Disapprobation of the Detachment under the Command of Colonel Sir John Cumming. His Excellency had agreed to defray the Expence of Four Regiments previous to my Arrival, but he wished the Troops might not be stationed in his Dominions; of this Transaction you have received Information. The Nabob told me, at my Second Interview, that his Country was in Peace, and he did not require any further Military Aid from the Company: This Language corresponded with what I had Reason to expect, from your Explanations. I candidly told Hyder Beg Cawn that I considered it dictated by him; when I afterwards furnished him with the Estimate of Claims upon the Vizier, he assented to the Account, and assured me of his entire Conviction of the Necessity of the Detachment, and that the Vizier would approve its being stationed in his Dominions. Since this Conversation Hyder Beg Cawn has not pleaded any Objection by the Vizier as Obstacles to my Measures, but has obtained his Sanction on every Occasion that I have found it necessary inthe Execution of my Duty.

Hyder Beg Cawn confesses to me that Funds to the Amount of Forty-nine Lacks of Rupees were last Year appropriated to the Vizier's Expences. From this Sum he was to defray not only the Charge of his Household, but the Pensions of the Tuncawdars and Jagheerdars, whose Jagheers were resumed. The Nature of the Disbursements you will understand from the Statements.

I think the Sums charged could not have been applied to the Services for which they were allotted: The Persons intrusted with the great Offices about his Excellency's Person must have abused the Confidence reposed in them, as large Arrears are due to the Nabob's Servants;—to ascertain the Fact will require Time. I have recommended that the Plan you have thought proper to direct in regard to the Vizier's Expences be carried into Execution; and shall in due Time communicate the intended Arrangements for your Approbation. Notwithstanding the Language occasionally held by the Vizier, I have every Reason to believe he is sensible of the Advantages he derives from his Alliance with the Company, and of his Inability to support himself without it. You are so fully acquainted with his Character and Disposition, that I shall not presume to trouble you with any Particulars of his Conduct. I only hope, in compliance with your Directions, so long as I may have the Honour to hold my present Station, that I shall be able to obtain his Confidence, and prevent Expostulations which might interrupt the Confidence and Cordiality that ought to subsist between his Excellency and your Government.

I believe the principal Object of the Vizier's Expostulations was to prevent any Interference in the Government of his Dominions, and to remove his Apprehensions of the Company's placing him in the same Situation as the Nabob Mobareck ul Dowla. He one Day expressed himself to me on this Head in very strong Terms. I assured his Excellency nothing of the Kind was intended: I recommended it to him on no Account to credit Reports of this Nature, and intreated him to withhold his Confidence from Persons who might endeavour by such insidious Representations to alarm his Mind. He had always, I added, received strong Proofs of the Respect and Regard you personally entertained for him; and the Steadiness of his Conduct had tended to confirm and perpetuate the Friendship and Alliance subsisting between his Excellency and the Honourable

Company. I beg leave, before I conclude this Head, to inform you, an Opinion had prevailed of there being Diviſions in the Councils of your Government. I hope I have done my Duty in repreſenting, both to the Vizier and the Miniſters, that the whole is a palpable Falſehood. It has been my Study to render as public as poſſible my Teſtimony of Unanimity in the Members of Adminiſtration, that the Shadow of a Hope of evading or protracting the Execution of your Meaſures may not exiſt.

Fifteenth Head. Nabob's Claims of the Reſumptions of the Aſſignments.

Agreeable to your Commands, I ſounded Hyder Beg Cawn, and am convinced it is ſtill his Wiſh to eſtabliſh the Nabob's Claim of the Reſumption of the Aſſignments. This Meaſure would, he conceives, unite upon a firmer Footing the Authority he has hitherto poſſeſſed, both on the Part of the Vizier and the Honourable Company. He grounds this Claim upon the Pretence of relieving the Company from the Embarraſſment attending the preſent Syſtem of Detail in the Management of the Buſineſs. I have been aſked by Hyder Beg Cawn, in the Name of the Nabob, if it would be poſſible to induce you to conſent to a Change: He informed me of the Particulars which had paſſed between Major Palmer and him on the Subject, and mentioned the Encouragement you had given to the Propoſition; inſinuating from thence, that you might not be averſe to it. I could only anſwer, that you were in every Reſpect diſpoſed to comply with the Vizier's Requiſitions. I could not ſpeak upon this Subject, having no Inſtructions to enter into the Conſideration of a Point of ſo much Importance, and therefore the preſent Syſtem muſt be continued. When I aſked his Opinion, his only Reply was, that he had expreſſed the Nabob's Pleaſure. I frankly told him, that I muſt conſider every Meaſure propoſed by the Nabob as originating with him. This produced the ſtrongeſt Profeſſions of Attachment to you and the Company, and a Declaration that all Modes were the ſame to him, and that he would yield implicit Obedience to your Commands. This paſſed above a Month ago; and the Propoſition not having been repeated to me, I conclude it is dropped, and Hyder Beg Cawn will be cautious of renewing it.

Sixteenth Head.

Does not require an Anſwer.

Seventeenth Head. Diſcretionary Power.

The Confidence with which you have honoured me will ever make me cautious in the Uſe of this Power. The Tranſactions at Furruckabad, and the Continuance of the Detachments of the Honourable Company's Troops, are the only Inſtances in which I may be ſaid to have exerted it. With reſpect to Furruckabad, I was ſolicited by Muzuffer Jung to interfere between him and the Nabob, which I declined; and as I gave no Advice, I hope my continuing the Regiment, in compliance with the Vizier's urgent Requeſt, will not be interpreted into an Extenſion of your Orders. Muzuffer Jung's Solicitations are ſtill continued to me: I have anſwered, in general Terms, that if my Interference would tend to accommodate and conciliate Differences, I ſhould be happy to give it. My Letter to the Board of the 1ſt Inſtant, will explain the Motives of my Conduct, both in regard to this Matter, and the Meaſure of continuing the Detachments.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,
Honourable Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,
the 12th December 1782.

(A true Copy.)
E. Hay,
Act^g Sec^y to the Secret Dep^t.

Honourable Sir,

In Addition to what I have urged in my Addreſs of this Date to the Board, I hope I ſhall meet with your Excuſe for repreſenting ſome further Circumſtances relative to the Begum.

I have experienced great Embarraſſment in treating with her, for, as the Mother of the Vizier, the People look up to her with Reſpect; and any harſh Meaſures practiſed againſt Women of her high Rank create Diſcontent, and affect our national Character. Her Conduct in withholding his Excellency's Patrimony, and during the Troubles at Benares, juſtly loſt her that Attention and Regard to which ſhe would have been otherwiſe entitled: Still ſhe is the Mother of the Prince of the Country; and the religious Prejudices of Muſſulmen prevail too ſtrongly in their Minds for them to forget her Situation. Superior Wiſdom will guide your Meaſures, and I ſhall willingly execute every Order I may receive; but I think it my Duty, and a Tribute I owe to the Confidence you have placed in me, freely and candidly to offer my Sentiments on ſuch Subjects, as, from a near View, may preſent Difficulties that would not occur to Perſons at a Diſtance.

I would recommend every perſuaſive Argument might be urged to the Begum to induce her to fulfil her Engagements. I would even endeavour to convince her, that it was intended to renew the Reſtraints upon her; but I really think it not adviſable to carry them into Execution.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect,
Honourable Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) John Briſtow,
Reſid^t at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,
31ſt March 1783.

(A true Copy.)
E. Hay,
Act^g Sec^y to the Secret Dep^t.

Tranſlation of Letter from Mr. Briſtow to the Begum.

I have had the Honour to receive your Letters.—Whereas the Proſperity and Welfare of the Vizier's Affairs are the earneſt Wiſh of the Governor General, I have, in obedience to my Inſtructions, repreſented to his Excellency, that I ſhould conform to his Pleaſure in whatever he might think proper to direct. I am happy to convey his Commands, that Major Gilpin ſhall, on the Arrival of Affrien Ally Cawn, march from Fyzabad, and immediately releaſe Bahar Ally Cawn and Soakur Ally Cawn. This Meaſure affords me the greater Pleaſure, as I am perſuaded, from the kind Expreſſions in your Letters, of the Regard you entertain for the Vizier, being dearer to you than Life, that you will in future conſult and cheriſh his Intereſts.

It is probable the Vizier would have continued the Reſtraints upon your Excellency, if the Governor General had not, out of Reſpect for the Ties which bind you, and from a natural Benevolence of Diſpoſition, given his Aſſent. The ſtrict Alliance ſubſiſting between the Governor General and the Vizier will ever render an Union of Councils and Meaſures the Line of Conduct of both Governments. And it is a moſt pleaſing Circumſtance to me, to convey the Governor General's Approbation of the Reſtoration of your Excellency to the Dignity and Conſequence to which your high Rank and Birth juſtly entitle you.

I beg leave to return my Thanks for the Senſe you expreſs of the becoming Conduct of Major Gilpin in the Execution of his Duty.

Permit me to remind your Excellency, that there is ſtill a Balance of above Five Lacs due, on Account of your Engagements; and as you promiſed, immediately on the Enlargement of your Eunuchs, to pay that Sum, I hope you will excuſe my Solicitations and Aſſurances, that by a Compliance you will render a Service both to the Vizier and the Company, whoſe Affairs at preſent require the Aſſiſtance of every pecuniary Aid.

(A true Tranſlation.)

(Signed) Rob[t] Gregory.
Aſſiſtant at the Vizier's Court.

(A true Copy.)
E. Hay,
Act[s] Sec[y] to the Secret Dep[t].

APPENDIX, N° LIX.

Book 80. Page 275.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 21ſt April 1783.

Fort William, the 21ſt April 1783.

At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, Preſident,
Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.
John Stables,
Sir Eyre Coote gone to Fort St. George.

Inſtructions from the Governor General to Mr. John Briſtow.

THE Governor General deſires that his Inſtructions given to Mr. Briſtow, which were read to the Members of the Board, and minuted in Conſultation on the 24th October laſt, may be now entered.

To Mr. John Briſtow.

Sir,

Conformably to the Reference of the Board, I recommend and enjoin your ſtricteſt Attention to the following Inſtructions:

Balance and Aſſignment.

1ſt. The Balance due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, partly from the Negligence and Inaccuracy with which the monthly Accounts were drawn out, and partly from the Inattention of the late Reſident, had been ſuffered to accumulate to an Amount exceeding that at which it ſtood at the Cloſe of the laſt Year, notwithſtanding the ſpecial Care which I myſelf had taken in my Agreement with the Nabob Vizier, concluded on the 19th of September 1781, at Chunar, and my Inſtructions delivered at the ſame Time to the Reſident, ſince enforced with very peremptory and repeated Orders. This obliged me lately to write, in very ſtrong and unuſual Terms, both to the Reſident and to the Miniſter, and produced the Effect of an immediate Exertion and conſequent Diſcharge of a Part of the Balance, and Aſſurances of the ſpeedy Payment of the Remainder.

I do

I do not implicitly rely on these Assurances, but conclude, that on your Arrival you will find either a large Balance still out-standing of the last Year's Account, or that the whole has been paid off by Encroachment on the current Year's Revenue. In either Case, your Attention will be equally required to the Settlement of this Year's Assignment, unless it shall have been already accomplished. You will be careful to guard against fictitious Estimates; and if any such shall appear in the Assignments already formed, you will of course insist upon their being exchanged for others, or their Jumma reduced to their real Value, and others added, to complete the Sum of the Year's Demands; that is to say, the last Year's Arrears, the Two Subsidies of the current Year, and the other Sums for the Payment of which our Government has or shall have made itself responsible; so that at the Close of the Year the whole shall be entirely and completely discharged.

Account current with the Nabob Vizier.

2d. You will observe a very considerable Difference between Mr. Middleton's Account, and the corrected Account delivered to him by the Accountant General, and now in the Possession of your Accountant Mr. Wombwell; a Difference nearly equal to Thirty Lacks of Rupees. To the former, though made up with false Calculations, gross Omissions, and even Balances falsely transferred from one Month's Account to the other, Mr. Middleton has pertinaciously adhered, affecting to call the Difference a new Claim upon the Nabob. I fear this may render it an unpleasant Office to you to rectify his Error, as I have no Doubt that the same Declaration which he has made to this Government will have been made as a Concession to the Nabob and his Minister, and of course your Demand for the Difference treated as unjust, and formed on false Pretences; but the real Account is so clear, and the Difference so self-apparent, that it will be impossible for the Minister to controvert or misunderstand them, however he may affect the latter.

3d. Endeavour to obtain an early and minute Information of the State of the Provinces of Owde especially, and the rest of the Nabob Vizier's Dominions; and report the Result of your Inquiries to me, under the following Heads, viz.

1st. Their Government.
2d. Their Military Defence, and Distribution of the Nabob's Forces.
3d. Revenue.
4th. Disposition and actual Conduct of the Zemindars, and the Means taken for restoring and preserving the Quiet of the Country.
5th. The Character and Credit of the principal Amils.
6th. Under this general Head, I must also refer to your Inquiry, and desire you will inform me, whether the Sums lately levied, or affirmed to have been levied and brought to the Company's Credit by Mr. Johnston, have been drawn from the Revenue of last Year, or borrowed, and Assignments given for the Repayment of the Revenue of that Year, or exacted by Anticipations of the current Revenue: One of which Cases I very much suspect, because they must have been received at a Season in which the regular Collections are always at a stand.
7th. Also by what Mode, and through what Agents, these Collections were made.

Hyder Beg.

☞ [4th. Immediately on your Arrival found the Disposition of Hyder Beg Cawn: His Conduct has for some Time past been highly reproachable. Till within these Three Months, when Mr. Johnson assumed a large Portion of his Authority, he possessed, without Controul, both the unparticipated and entire Administration, with all the Powers annexed to that Government, the Nabob himself being, as he ever must be in the Hands of some Person, a mere Cypher in his, and the Sanction by which he exercised his Authority; yet he has dared to use both the Nabob's Name, and even his Seal, affixed to Letters, either dictated to the Nabob, or written from him without his Knowledge, containing very improper Demands on our Government, and such as evidently tended to promote Hyder Beg's Influence and Interest, and even to make him assume a very unbecoming Tone of Refusal, Reproach, and Resentment, in opposition to Measures recommended by me, and even to Acts done by my Authority, in literal Conformity to the Nabob's own and earnest Solicitations; such as the Resumption of the Jagheers, and the Seizure of his Father's Treasures, which had been so long suffered to remain in the Hands of the Begum his Mother, and the other Conditions of the Engagements exacted from me at Chunar. On every Occasion of this Kind, the late Resident has been the faithful Echo and Support of the Minister's Pretensions; I must therefore have recourse to you for the Introduction of a new System in that Government; nor can I omit, while I express my Reliance upon you for this Purpose, to repeat the Sentiments which I expressed in the verbal Instructions which I gave you at your Departure, "that there "can be no Medium in the Relation between the Resident and the Minister, but either the Re- "sident must be the Slave and Vassal of the Minister, or the Minister at the absolute Devotion of "the Resident." Much as I am displeased at the Conduct of the Minister, I impute it more to the Sufferance of Mr. Middleton than to himself; and if he will submit to hold his Office on such Conditions as I require, I would certainly prefer him to any other Man who could be nominated to his Office, because he possesses Abilities, and a Knowledge of Business; he exists by his Dependence on the Influence of our Government; and above all, because a Change of Administra-

tion,

tion, in a Government ſo looſe as that of Owde, where all the Parts of it are held together by the Exertion of actual Power, and not by the Springs of an eſtabliſhed Conſtitution, would be unavoidably productive of Confuſion and Loſs of Revenue: Therefore it muſt be adviſeable to try him by the Mode of Conciliation, in your final Converſation with him, at the ſame Time that it will be neceſſary to declare to him, in the plaineſt Terms, the Footing and Condition on which he ſhall be permitted to retain his Place, with the Alternative of Diſmiſſion, and a Scrutiny into his paſt Conduct, if he refuſes it. In the firſt Place, I will not receive from the Nabob, as his, Letters dictated by the Spirit of Oppoſition; but ſhall conſider every ſuch Attempt as the Miniſter's, and as an Inſult on our Government: In the ſecond Place, I ſhall expect that nothing is done in his official Character, but with your Knowledge and Participation; at the ſame Time, the firſt Share of the Reſponſibility will reſt with you. The other Conditions will follow diſtinctly in their Places, becauſe I conſider you as reſponſible for them.]

Offices. 5th. No Adminiſtration can be properly conducted without regular Offices. In that of Owde there is not one, the whole being engroſſed by the Miniſter. Two are indiſpenſably neceſſary; Firſt, an Office of Collections; Secondly, an Office of Treaſury. I inſiſt upon theſe Eſtabliſhments being formed immediately; and it muſt be your Care to appoint ſuch Checks to each, that whatever Sums are paid from the Revenue ſhall be duly entered, and Credit given for their exact Amount in the Office of Collections; and in like manner, that no Sums ſhall paſs the Treaſury, without a ſimilar Controul. The Heads of theſe Offices muſt of courſe be under the general Directions of the Miniſter in all Points, excepting their Accounts; for the Fidelity of which they muſt be ſolely reſponſible, and made liable to the ſeveral Puniſhments if they falſify them. What other Officers may have been in Uſe in the Time of the Nabob Suja ul Dowlah, and at this Time neceſſary, you will enquire, and either cauſe them to be re-eſtabliſhed, or not, as it ſhall appear to be proper.

Adawlets. In this laſt Deſcription I include the Adawlets. You will find them recommended but conditionally in my Inſtructions to Mr. Middleton. It is certain that the Want of them, and the univerſal and extreme Licentiouſneſs occaſioned thereby, is One of the moſt diſreputable Defects in the Nabob's Government; yet I much doubt whether, introduced into ſuch a State at once and abruptly, they would not add to the Miſchiefs which they were intended to redreſs; for perhaps there is ſcarce an Individual who would not become immediately obnoxious to their Authority, and I fear ſcarce an Individual capable of diſcharging even a ſmall Portion of their Decrees. While they do not exiſt, every Man knows the Hazard which he incurs in lending his Money. Their Eſtabliſhment might tend to deceive, by holding out the Appearance of falſe Aſſurances; and with reſpect to Oppreſſions of every Species, unleſs each Court was armed with a ſtrong Military Force, it would not be in their Power to prevent or puniſh them; neither in that Caſe is it certain they would not themſelves prove the greateſt Inſtruments of Oppreſſion. The Aumils in the Firſt Inſtance, and the Munduls or Chiefs of the Villages ultimately, muſt ſupply this Defect, if it cannot be otherwiſe remedied. I merely intimate this Subject to you, as proper for your Enquiry and Conſideration, but cannot give you any Inſtructions concerning it.

Aumils. 6th. Great Care muſt be taken in the Choice of Aumils. I ſhall not deſcend to Particulars, but enjoin One Caution only, as indiſpenſably neceſſary, that no Aumil be appointed to a Frontier Station, without ſuch Pledge, or other Security, for compelling his perſonal Appearance whenever required, as may inſure, beyond a Doubt, his Obedience and Fidelity; and both theſe and others, wherever ſtationed, ought to have the Means of Self-protection, and to be truſted and ſupported.

Almaſs Ally Cawn. 7th. The Means by which Almaſs Ally Cawn has been permitted to acquire Independency have been long ſeen, and the Effects of it foretold by every Perſon acquainted with the State of that Government, except thoſe immediately intereſted in it. The late Reſident has been his conſtant Advocate, and I lately underſtand that, however truly, the Miniſter diſclaims all Concern in this imprudent Meaſure. It is very extraordinary that his Defection, his Retreat to the Frontier, the ſubſequent Negociations which paſſed between him and the Nabob, the Engagements concluded between them, which reſemble more a Treaty between equal States than a Tranſaction between a Sovereign and his Vaſſal, have all paſſed without the leaſt Communication or Report of them made to me by the Reſident, or his Aſſiſtant, or the Miniſter; and in a Letter which I have lately received from the Nabob, the Miniſter has had the Preſumption to make the Nabob declare the whole to be falſe, and without Foundation, and to affirm that every Part of his Dominion enjoyed the moſt perfect Peace and Tranquillity. Upon this Subject, the Behaviour of the Miniſter is ſo reprehenſible, that I think it incumbent upon me to let him know my Sentiments of it: It will at leaſt ſhew him how thin the Veil is by which he covers his own Acts, and that ſuch Artifices will only tend to make them the more criminal, from the Falſehood and Duplicity with which they are aſſociated. As for Almaſs Ally Cawn himſelf, the Policy which has been obſerved towards him has been ſcandalouſly derogatory from the Nabob's Dignity and Intereſt, and hurtful to the Reputation of our Government, as far as it is connected with it. If any Engagement ſhall actually ſubſiſt between them at the Time you have charge of the Reſidency, it muſt, however exceptional, be faithfully obſerved; but if he has been guilty of any criminal Offence to the Nabob his Maſter, for which no Immunity is provided in the Engagement, or he ſhall break any one of the Conditions of it, I do moſt ſtrictly enjoin you, and it muſt be your ſpecial Care to endeavour, either by Force or Surprize, to ſecure his Perſon, and bring him to Juſtice: By bringing

bringing him to Juſtice, I mean that you urge the Nabob, on due Conviction, to puniſh him with Death, as a neceſſary Example to deter others from the Commiſſion of the like Crimes; nor muſt you deſiſt till this is effected.—I cannot preſcribe the Means; but to guard myſelf againſt that Obloquy to which I may be expoſed by a forced Miſconſtruction of this Order, by thoſe who may hereafter be employed in ſearching our Records for Cavils and Informations againſt me, I think it proper to forbid, and proteſt againſt, the Uſe of any fraudulent Artifice or Treachery to accompliſh the End which I have preſcribed; and as you alone are privy to the Order, you will of courſe obſerve the greateſt Secrecy that it may not tranſpire: But I repeat my Recommendation of it as One of the firſt and moſt eſſential Duties of your Office.

Rebellious Zemindars.

8th. From the Practice which the late Reſident and his Deputy, and the Miniſter, ſeemed to have preſcribed to themſelves of withholding all official Information from me, I have been under the Neceſſity of forming my Opinion of the State of the Nabob's Government upon private Intelligence; but this, from its Variety, from its Concurrence, notwithſtanding the various Channels through which it has paſſed, and above all from its Notoriety, comes to me with all the Weight which the higheſt Authority could give it. For ſome Facts I have the Teſtimony of ſworn Evidence; ſuch are the Tranſactions of the Rebel Zemindars of Gooruckpore and Bareach in the Inſurrections of the laſt Year, which had for their immediate Object the Deſtruction of Colonel Hannay, and the Officers of his Command; and, ultimately, the Extirpation of the Engliſh Influence and Power throughout the whole of the Nabob Vizier's Dominions. The Zemindars who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this Occaſion were Zalem Sing, Genoo Roy, and Perly Pall Sing. I am well informed that theſe Men have perſevered in their rebellious Conduct, without Deviation, to the preſent Time, though the Nabob's, and not our Government, is the Object of it.—Repreſent to the Nabob, and effectually, the bad Policy of ſuffering ſuch Examples to paſs with Impunity. Obtain his Order for employing ſome ſure Means for apprehending theſe Zemindars; and if it ſhall appear, on a fair and regular Inquiry, that their Conduct towards the Nabob (I paſs over that which regards ourſelves alone) has been ſuch as it has been reported to be, he ought, and you muſt inſiſt upon it, to puniſh them with Death, and to treat with the ſame Rigour every Zemindar, and every Subject who ſhall be the Leader in a Rebellion againſt his Authority. Severe as this Injunction may appear at firſt Sight, it will be Mercy in its Effects, if the Nabob will adopt the Policy, by inſuring the Tranquillity of his Country, and ſaving the Blood of his People; for the Reſolution, once publiſhed, and enforced in a ſingle Inſtance, will make it unneceſſary to proſecute it to a ſecond Example.

9th. I have been informed by the late Colonel Hannay, that ſome Time before his Recall was determined, he had agreed to a Settlement of 23 Lacks complete, and without Deductions, for the Revenue of Goorookpore and Bareach for the preſent Year, and that on his Recall a new Arrangement had taken place, in which a Selection had been made of the moſt valuable Talooks or Portions of this Diſtrict, and that they had been diſtributed among the Domeſtics and other Favourites of the Miniſter, and that the reſt had been farmed to one Aumil Abdool Beg, as I recollect, and the whole reduced to a Jumma of 18 Lacks, from which a Proviſion of future Remiſſions was made for Seebundy Anticipations, and Pymauly, or Ravages committed during the late Inſurrections. Theſe are Facts of ſuch a Kind as will confirm themſelves by their own Evidence; and if you find them to be ſuch, it muſt be your Care to correct the Abuſe if you can, for the preſent, or at leaſt to apply the beſt Remedy in your Power to it, and reſtore their future Jumma to its real Value. I ſhall not enter further or more minutely into the Subject of the general Collections, but I am particularly ſolicitous to aſcertain the real Value of this Diſtrict, for a Reaſon which I will proceed to explain.

From the Nature of our Connection with the Government of Owde, from the Nabob's Incapacity, and the Neceſſity which will for ever exiſt while we have the Claim of a Subſidy upon the Reſources of his Country, of exerciſing an Influence, and frequently ſubſtituting it entirely in the Place of an avowed and conſtitutional Authority in the Adminiſtration of his Government, and from the Conſequences inevitable in ſuch a connected Syſtem, directed as it muſt be under all the various Changes and Reſolutions incident to our Government by Men of various Character, and Degrees of Capacity and Integrity, the Time will come when that Claim ſhall accumulate to a Sum exceeding the Nabob's Ability to diſcharge it, but by ſome ancient Meaſures of Accommodation, which may at the ſame Time releaſe him from an intolerable Burden, and yield to us a more rational and ſubſtantial, though leſs oſtenſible Income. Such a Reſource, and indeed in no other, would be afforded by an Aſſignment in Property, and in Perpetuity, of the Diſtrict of Goorookpoor and Bareah, in lieu of all Demands whatſoever for Subſidy, even though the additional Charge of extraordinary Detachments furniſhed for the Defence of his Dominions were added to it. Such an Accommodation, if even it ſhould take place, muſt be produced by a ſtrong Neceſſity compelling it; for neither would the Nabob, weak as he is, ſubmit to yield to it now, nor would I, firmly convinced as I am of its Expediency, recommend the Acceptance of it at this Time, while ſo ſtrong an apparent Difference between the Produce of the Aſſignment, taken at its higheſt probable Eſtimate, and the Amount of the Subſidy, exiſts as an Objection to it. The annual Claim of the Subſidy being 34,020,000 Rupees, and Colonel Hannay's Jumma of Goorookpore and Bareach, which muſt be taken at its higheſt Rate, but at 23 Lacks; but as an Argument for the Meaſure, if ever it ſhould become a

Subject

Subject of immediate Conſideration, I will briefly add the Advantages which will certainly accrue from it:

1ſt. Its Situation, bounded by a great and impaſſable River, the Dava, connecting with the Ganges, the Boundary Line of the moſt defenſible Part of our Dominions.

2d. The Means which it would afford us of putting a total Stop to the continual Inroads and Ravages by which our own Diſtrict of Sircar Saurun has been, and will be continually infeſted, from its open Communication with the rude Territory of the lawleſs Zemindars of Goorookpore immediately adjoining to it.

3d. A certain and improveable Revenue, inſtead of a precarious Demand on Account, payable from a Fund which I have ſaid muſt at ſome Period prove inſolvent.

Having thus expoſed to you my Views, I now leave them a Charge on your Recollection, recommending it to you to obtain all the Inſight which you can into the Subject, both with reſpect to its preſent Revenue, to the Improvement of which it would be capable in our Hands, and to the Means by which the Aſſignment itſelf could at a proper Seaſon be obtained.

10th. On the Information of the Defection of Almaſs Ally Cawn, of Symptoms apparent of the like Diſpoſition in the Aumil of Rohilcund, and of the general Anarchy which prevailed in every other Part of the Nabob's Dominions; the Board, though officially unapprized of theſe, as of every other Subject requiring their Knowledge of them, reſolved and ordered that a ſtrong Detachment, under Colonel Sir John Cummings, ſhould march into the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier, both for its internal Defence, and for the Relief of the numerous Detachments which we underſtood (and this alſo from private Information only) have been made by the ſole Authority of Mr. Johnſon, covered by the Nabob's formal Requiſition, from the Army ſtationed at Cawnpoor: You will receive an Order from the Board to notify to the Commanding Officer of every Detachment, that its Services are no longer required; which Notification it will reſt with your Diſcretion to make on the Inſtant in which you ſhall ſee that it can be done with Safety; and a correſpondent Order will be ſent to Colonel Morgan, to command the inſtant Return of every Detachment within Four-and-twenty Hours after the Receipt of every ſuch Notification upon this Subject. I deſire you to bear in Mind, that the Army at Cawnpore, or in whatſoever Part of the Frontier it may be ſtationed, is appointed for the internal Defence of the Nabob's Dominions, and for that only; that this was its original Deſtination intended by the Treaty of 1773, commonly known by the Treaty of Benares; and that every Deviation from this Object, and every Diminution of its Force, are impolitic and highly dangerous to our own Exiſtence, by the Encouragement which it will afford to foreign Invaſion. I underſtand that at this Time there are only Two Regiments of Sepoys left to ſupport the ſmall Body of Europeans to which the Strength of that Station is now reduced.

Events may hereafter ariſe of ſo ſudden and urgent an Emergency, as to require a temporary Deviation from this Maxim; but it will be with the greateſt Reluctance and Diſſatisfaction that the Board will ever hear of ſuch a Diſpoſition, and therefore you muſt be careful that the Exigency be ſuch, from its Urgency and Neceſſity, as will clearly juſtify you in deviating from it, though but by the Call of a ſingle Regiment of that Station to any Part of the Nabob's internal Dominions; and on every ſuch Occaſion you muſt be careful to comply with every Formality enjoined by my Inſtructions to Mr. Middleton, dated the 23d of September, and to tranſmit inſtant Advice of it to the Board, not waiting for the Detail of your Reaſons, which, to prevent Delays, may follow as you ſhall have more Leiſure to form them.

I muſt make it my particular Injunction, that ſuch a Notification as I have mentioned above may be at all Events inſtantly tranſmitted to the Officer commanding the Detachment ſent to Furruckabad, if my Information be true, that ſuch a Meaſure has been aſſumed by Mr. Johnſon, for which no Pretext can juſtify him.

11th. What I have to ſay under this Head is immediately connected with the concluding Part of the preceding. From a Solicitude to guard againſt any Imputations to which the Reputation of our Government might be expoſed by its Interference in the Nabob Vizier's Claims upon the Nabob Mozaffer Jung, I made uſe of my Influence with the Miniſter, enforced by ſtrong Injunction to the Reſident, that no Force ſhould be exerciſed on that Nabob, nor any Perſon ſent to uſurp the Charge of his Government and Collections, while he continued to pay his ſtipulated annual Tribute to the Vizier as it became due: The Conſequence of this Recommendation was, if I may credit the Reports of the Reſident and the Miniſter, that from the Inſtant that the Nabob withdrew his Interference, the Nabob Mozeffer Jung deſiſted from making his Payment: You will know with Certainty whether this Report was true; if it was, you muſt leave the Nabob and the Miniſter to act in this Buſineſs in what Manner ſoever they pleaſe, and entirely forbear from all Interference in it.

12th. Mr. Middleton has written to the Board that Fyzoola Cawn has been making Preparations for entering on open Hoſtilities with the Nabob Vizier, and combining other Perſons againſt him; I ſuſpect the Information, but Prudence requires to be prepared againſt the Poſſibility of ſuch an Event. It is poſſible that the apparent Weakneſs may have excited Fyzoola Cawn to form ſuch a Deſign; it is more probable that he has been driven to it by the public Declarations and Menaces both of the Reſident and the Miniſter. I have written a Letter to him, ſuch as I think beſt calculated to divert him from any ſuch Undertaking, by Aſſurances of the favourable Diſ-

poſition of this Government towards him, while he ſhall not have forfeited it by any improper Conduct, and by ſtating to him the fatal Conſequences which muſt attend his Defection. That Letter you will perhaps receive earlier than I ſhall be able to put you in poſſeſſion of theſe Inſtructions; I ſhall only add, upon this Head, that you muſt be guided by your own Diſcretion in whatſoever relates to it; but be careful to prevent the Nabob's Affairs from being involved with new Difficulties, while he has already ſo many to oppreſs him.

13th. The Severities which have been exerciſed towards the Begums were moſt juſtly merited by the Advantage which they took of the Troubles in which I was perſonally involved the laſt Year to excite a Rebellion in the Nabob's Government, and to complete the Ruin which they thought was impending on ours. If it is the Nabob's Deſire to forget and to forgive their paſt Offences, I have no Objection to his allowing them in Penſion the nominal Amount of their Jaghires; but if he ſhall ever offer to reſtore their Jaghires to them, or to give them any Property in Land after the Warning which they have given him, by the dangerous Abuſe which they formerly made of his Indulgence, you muſt remonſtrate in the ſtrongeſt Terms againſt it—you muſt not permit ſuch an Act to take place, until this Government ſhall have received information of it, and ſhall have had Time to interpoſe its Influence for the Prevention of it.

14th. Study on every Occaſion to conciliate the Good-will of the Nabob, and ſhew him every oſtenſible and external Mark of Reſpect. I ſhould hope that with due Attention you would not find it difficult to make him himſelf the Mover of every Act neceſſary, whether for the Advancement of his own Intereſts, or the Diſcharge of his Debts to the Company. But this can never be effected while the Miniſter maintains that Aſcendant over him which he at preſent holds by the Means of a nearer and more private Intercourſe, and by affecting to be the Vindicator of his Rights againſt the Claims of our Government. In my late Engagement with the Nabob it was ſtipulated that a certain Sum ſhould be ſet apart monthly for his private Expences, and this made a Part of my Inſtructions to Mr. Middleton. The Sum was afterwards fixed, as I recollect, of 30 Lacks. It was my Intention and Direction, that this Appropriation ſhould be made before any other, and this I make my preſent Injunction to you; requiring alſo that you do make it a Part of immediate and ſtrict Inquiry, whether the Nabob has hitherto received the whole and punctual Payment of the Sum aſſigned to this Account, or any Part of it has been withheld from him, whether with or without his Concurrence. I mention this, becauſe, from ſome private Information which I have lately received, I have Reaſon to ſuſpect that this is actually the Caſe. Whatever Foundation there may be for this Report, let Juſtice be done to the Nabob; and if he has been deceived, undeceive him.

15th. The Nabob has repeatedly and bitterly complained of the Indignity which he ſuffers in his Authority, by the Uſurpations of the Company's Reſidents; and has repeatedly demanded, that whenever the Company's Balance ſhall be completely diſcharged, he may be freed from this Vexation; that he may be permitted to pay the Subſidy in Ready Money; and that the Aſſignments which have been granted to ſatisfy that Demand may be reſtored him. I confeſs that I did myſelf give Encouragement to this Propoſition, knowing at the ſame Time the Quarter from which it came, I mean from Hyder Beg; and willing to exonerate this Government from the Trouble and Reſponſibility, and the Company from the Diſgrace of whatever might attend the Adminiſtration of the Nabob's Government. I thought too that it preſented a ſure Proſpect of the regular Payment of the current Demands, by the Penalty which would attend the Failure, in the Reſumption of the former Syſtem of Aſſignments, and in the perſonal Claims which it would lay on the Miniſter. But his Miſconduct has ſince manifeſted itſelf in ſo many particular Inſtances, beſides the univerſal Diſorder of the Country, and this is ſo alarming in its Effects to our Government, that I ſhall heſitate, until I have the ſureſt and moſt ſatisfactory Grounds, to recommend an Acquieſcence in ſuch a Meaſure. At preſent the Plea on which it is grounded is probably yet at ſome Diſtance; for while I am writing theſe Inſtructions freſh Circumſtances occur to my Knowledge, which make me much ſuſpect the real Payment of the Sums brought to the Nabob's Credit for the laſt Year's Balance. It may not, however, be amiſs to talk with the Miniſter on this Subject, to let him know that it is well underſtood to be a Demand for ſubſtituting his Authority in the Place of the Company's, and to inveſt him with the Sovereignty of the Nabob Vizier's Dominions;—to aſk him, whether in ſuch Caſe he ſhall expect the Company's Protection? and if he does, by what Claim of Right? And whether, in the Event of his involving our Government in a new Scene of Hoſtilities, by thoſe which his Mal-adminiſtration may produce, whether internally, or by Invaſion in that Country, he ſhall think himſelf in Juſtice exempt from the perſonal Vengeance which we may be diſpoſed to exact from him?—At all Events the Propoſition muſt be diſcouraged till a ſafer Seaſon for its Acceptance; but the abſolute Rejection of it eluded with the Nabob, if he ſhall himſelf renew it.

16th. For the reſt I refer you to my Inſtructions to Mr. Middleton, to which, in every Point not revoked or qualified by theſe Inſtructions, I muſt require your moſt attentive and literal Obedience.

17th. I do Juſtice to my Senſe of your Character, in declaring my entire Reliance on your Prudence and Integrity, and to theſe I truſt for your Deviation from any Part of theſe Inſtructions at your Diſcretion, in any Inſtance which ſhall appear to you neceſſarily to require it; deſiring however, as a proper Caution, that as much as you can you will leave the Subject free for my Correction

rection of it; and instantly inform me, or the Board, according to the Degree of its Importance, that you have acted in such Manner, with your Reasons for it.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,

Fort William,
23d Oct^r 1782.

(A true Copy.)
E. Hay,
Act^g Sec^y to the Secret Dep^t.

(Signed) Warren Hastings.

APPENDIX, N° LX.

Book 131.

Letter from the Governor General to the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable United East India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

Benares, 1st October 1784.

I HAVE the Honour to send you a Duplicate of my last Address, and a Copy of a Letter to the Council, dated the 20th of September last, containing the Report of my Proceedings, and of the State of your Claims on the Nabob Vizier to that Period, being within Three Days of the Close of the Fusselee Year: This is so full as to render any further Information on that Subject unnecessary. The Nabob Vizier is so sensible of the just and disinterested Conduct which I have observed towards him, and possesses, if I may credit Appearances amounting to the strongest Evidence of which such a Conclusion is capable, so entire a Confidence in my Intentions respecting his Concerns with the Company, that I have on my Part an equal Reliance on his steady Support of the Arrangements which have been formed under my Inspection, both for the Administration of his Revenue, and the Discharge of his Debt to the Honourable Company depending on it. He has given me the firmest Assurances of this, and I have every Reason to expect that the Influence of the most respectable Persons of his Family will be employed to counteract every other which may tend to warp him from it. I am sorry to say, that such an Assistance was wanting; as the Nabob, though most gentle in his Manners, and endowed with an Understanding much above the common Level, has been unfortunately bred up to Habits that draw his Attention too much from the Care of his own Affairs, and often subject him to the Guidance of insidious and unworthy Confidants. This is One Motive of my Intention of making a longer Stay at Benares than is necessary for the Settlement of this Zemindary, which is already nearly concluded, that I may be at hand to counteract any Attempt to defeat the Effect of my Proceedings at Lucknow: But I believe that the Precaution, though dictated by Prudence, will prove unnecessary.

☞ (*a*) [My only remaining Fear is, that the Members of the Council, seeing Affairs through a different Medium from that through which I view them, may be disposed, if not to counteract the System which I have formed, to withhold from it their Countenance and active Support. While I myself remain, it will be sufficient if they permit it to operate without Interruption; and I almost hope that in the Event of a new Administration of your Affairs, which shall confine itself to the same Forbearance, and manifest no Symptoms of intended Interference, the Objects of my Arrangements will be effectually attained; for I leave them in the Charge of Agents whose Interests, Ambition, and every Prospect of Life, are interwoven with their Success, and the Hand of Heaven has visibly blessed the Soil with every elementary Source of progressive Vegetation. But if a different Policy shall be adopted; if new Agents are sent into the Country, and armed with Authority for the Purposes of Vengeance or Corruption, for to no other will they be applied; if new Demands are raised on the Nabob Vizier, and Accounts overcharged on One Side, with a wide Latitude taken on the other, to swell his Debt beyond the Means of Payment; if political Dangers are portended, to ground on them the Pleas for burdening his Country with unnecessary Defences and enormous Subsidies; or if, even abstaining from direct Incroachment on the Nabob's Rights, your Government shall shew but a Degree of personal Kindness to the Partizans of the late Usurpation, or by any constructive Indication of Partiality and Disaffection furnish Grounds for the Expectation of an approaching Change of System;—I am sorry to say, that all my Labours will prove abortive; for the slightest Causes will be sufficient to deject Minds sore with the Remembrance of past Conflicts, and to elevate those whose only Dependance is placed in the Renewal of the Confusion which I have laboured with such Zeal to eradicate, and will of course debilitate the Authority which can alone ensure future

(*a*) Vide supra, Page 660.

Succes.

Succeſs. I almoſt fear that this Denunciation of Effects, from Cauſes ſo incompetent as they will appear to thoſe who have not had the Experience which I have had of the quick Senſibility which influences the Habits of Men placed in a State of Polity ſo looſe, and ſubject to the continual Variations of capricious and deſpotic Authority, will be deemed overcharged, or perhaps void of Foundation; nor, if they ſhould come to paſs, will it be eaſy to trace them with any poſitive Evidence to their Connection; yet it is my Duty to apprize you of what I apprehend, on Grounds which I deem of abſolute Certainty, may come to paſs, and I rely on your Candour for a fair Interpretation of my Intention.]

It is not quite foreign from this Doctrine, as it will be highly acceptable to your Honourable Court to be informed, that during my Reſidence (and I may take the Date further back, to the Expectation of it at Lucknow) the moſt perfect Tranquillity prevailed, and it ſtill ſubſiſts in every Part of the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier, a Circumſtance unexampled in the Annals of that Government, either in any former Period, or during that in which our Influence has been blended with its own Conſtitution; and this I attribute excluſively to the Prevalency of Opinion, or, to apply the general Maxim, to the univerſal Conviction of a Power, and a Diſpoſition actually exiſting, the one equal to the Suppreſſion of any Movement of Sedition, and the other determined to the Puniſhment of it: Nor has my Time been unprofitably beſtowed, even in the long Interval in which I was obliged to wait for the firſt Appearance of the rainy Seaſon, before I could ſee the Beginning of the new Settlement. It afforded Leiſure for the conſtitutional Adminiſtration of the Country to recover its Authority; it impreſſed the Minds of all Men, that the Government which I repreſented was determined to render it permanent; and it enabled me to eſtabliſh my own Influence and Aſcendant over the Minds of the Nabob, his Miniſters, and his People, on the Grounds of their Confidence in me. This was an eaſy Line, for it required nothing to be done, nothing but Forbearance: I daily conferred with the Miniſters, I received their Reports, I gave my Advice; but I left every Thing wholly to their Management. I aſſumed no Appearance of Command, I exerciſed none, not even in private; I iſſued not a ſingle Warrant, nor ſuffered any Individual of my Dependents to uſe my Name, even in the common Bazar, with any Privilege diſtinct from the Rights of any other Inhabitant. The Nabob met me on the Border of his Territory, our Troops and Baggage were intermixed on the Road, and our Camps often joined: I and my People, who were numerous, with a large Society of Engliſh Gentlemen, which was unavoidable, lived in the the ſame City Five Months, and * of that Time within the ſame common Encloſure of the Nabob's Palace; nor in all that Time did a ſingle Accident happen from ſuch a Mixture of Society to diſturb its Peace, or to create Miſunderſtanding between either the Principals or Parties of either, but they continued united with the ſame Harmony that exiſts between the Members of a private Family: Nor, whether in public or in private, though Occaſions of great Delicacy often occurred, did a Word ever paſs in Converſation between the Nabob and myſelf, inconſiſtent with the ſtricteſt Amity and mutual good Humour. I hope this will not have the Air of Self-commendation.—My Behaviour was regulated by a preconcerted Policy, the Nabob's by a natural Benevolence and Pliancy of Temper, joined to a Perſuaſion that I merited more than an ordinary Return of Kindneſs from him, which left my Part very eaſy, and will, I truſt, ſtill continue to operate for the common Benefit of his Intereſt and yours, whatever may be my Lot; for I have promiſed that I will not abandon him to the Chance of another Mode of Relation, and moſt confidently given him Aſſurances of your Ratification and Confirmation of that which I have eſtabliſhed between his Government and the Company.

* Sic in Orig.

I hope I ſhall be pardoned for repeating a Remark, which I have already made in my Letter to the Council (for it ought to be known and remembered) that I have provided for the complete Diſcharge, in One Year, of a Debt contracted by the Accumulation of many, and from a Country whoſe Reſources have been waſted and diſſipated by Three ſucceſſive Years of Drought, and One of Anarchy.

The Recovery of ſo large a Part of your Property will alſo afford a ſeaſonable and ſubſtantial Relief to the Neceſſities of your Government, and enable it, for ſuch is my confidential Hope, to begin upon the Reduction of your Debt at Intereſt before the Concluſion of this Year, I mean the Year of our own Computation.

Whatever may be the Event of this Tranſaction, I cannot conclude the Report of it without teſtifying my Acknowledgment of the very uſeful Aſſiſtance which I have received from the official Skill and Abilities of Mr. David Anderſon. His Reputation, which has been eſtabliſhed on the Merits of much more important Services, will receive little Addition from this Tribute paid to it; yet the Circumſtances under which they were yielded on this Occaſion would not allow me to ſuppreſs it, as he had formed the Reſolution of reſigning the Service for the Recovery of a very declining Health, and had actually beſpoke his Paſſage on One of your Homeward bound Ships, when his Friendſhip and public Zeal induced him to remain, at my Solicitation, and to accompany me on this Deputation. As I have occaſionally mentioned the Number of Gentlemen which compoſed my Family, I have a Pride and Pleaſure in adding, that they all contributed, by the Correctneſs of their Manners, and conciliating Behaviour, to maintain that familiar and cordial Intercourſe which I have already deſcribed to have ſubſiſted between the Nabob and myſelf, and to leave a laſting and favourable Impreſſion of the Britiſh Character with his Subjects.

For the reſt I beg leave to refer to my Letter to the Board; and am, with the moſt reſpectful and dutiful Attachment,

Honourable Sirs,
Your moſt obedient
and moſt humble Servant,
Warren Haſtings.

APPENDIX, N° LXI.

Extract of a Letter from E. Cornwallis to the Court of Directors.

☞ *(a)* [Par. 3. I Was received at Allahabad, and attended to Lucknow, by the Nabob and his Miniſters, with every Mark of Friendſhip and Reſpect. I cannot, however, expreſs how much I was concerned, during my ſhort Reſidence at his Capital, and my Progreſs through his Dominions, to be Witneſs of the diſordered State of his Finances and Government, and of the deſolate Appearance of the Country: The Evils were too alarming to admit of Palliation, and I thought it my Duty to exhort him, in the moſt friendly Manner, to endeavour to apply effectual Remedies to them. He began with urging, as Apologies, that whilſt he was not certain of the Extent of our Demands upon him, he had no real Intereſt in being œconomical in his Expences; and that, while we interfered in the internal Management of his Affairs, his own Authority, and that of his Miniſters, were deſpiſed by his own Subjects. It would have been uſeleſs to diſcuſs theſe Topics with him; but, while I repeated my former Declarations, of our being determined to give no Grounds in future for ſimilar Complaints, he gave me the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of his being reſolved to apply himſelf earneſtly to the Encouragement of Agriculture, and to endeavour to revive § the Commerce of his Country.] (" And, in order to enable him to be punctual in his pecuniary ☞
" Engagements with us, and otherwiſe to give Eaſe to his Finances, he likewiſe promiſed, not
" only to diſband a large Number of his own uſeleſs Rabble of Troops, but alſo to retrench a
" great many of his other ſuperfluous Articles of Expenditure. I think it proper to ſay, that
" my principal Dependance for the Performance of thoſe Promiſes, reſts upon ſimilar Aſſurances
" from the efficient Miniſter, Hyder Beg Khan, who is undoubtedly the ableſt Man employed by
" the Vizier, and who, there is Reaſon to expect, will, from Conſiderations of perſonal Intereſt
" and Safety, be at great Pains to avoid giving juſt Cauſe of Complaint to this Government.
" He knows, in particular, that it is to him I look for the punctual Diſcharge of our annual
" Subſidy of Fifty Lacks; and, though I am ſenſible that, for ſome Time to come, there may
" frequently be Difficulties, I truſt that they will never more fall conſiderably into Balance, as I
" am perſuaded of their Anxiety to avoid it.)" §

4. Several commercial Arrangements have been under Conſideration, which having principally for their Foundation the Reduction of ſome Duties, and the fixing of the Extent of all public Impoſts, as well as giving full Protection to all Traders and Merchants, will, I am convinced, contribute greatly to promote the mutual Advantage of both Countries. As the Conſequences of the Influence of our Authority in the commercial Affairs of Oude have been extremely pernicious, I have been deſirous that in diſcuſſing thoſe Subjects with Hyder Beg, each Point ſhould be deliberately examined; and that he ſhould not think himſelf under the Neceſſity of giving his Acquieſcence, unleſs convinced of its Utility to the Intereſts of the Vizier, or of his Subjects; for that Purpoſe I made uſe of Mr. Barlow, who, by his Manners and Addreſs, was peculiarly well qualified to gain his Confidence, and who had previouſly given me the moſt convincing Proofs of Ability, by his maſterly Inveſtigations and Reports on the State of Commerce of Oude and Benares. As I think it may command the more Preciſion on the Side of the Vizier, in the Obſervance of the different Articles that may be ſettled, it has been propoſed that this Agreement ſhall be in the Form of a Commercial Treaty; and as moſt of the Heads are already adjuſted, I hope that it will ſoon be finally concluded.

5. The Diſtreſs and Oppreſſion that the Commerce of Oude has hitherto ſuffered by the Means which were employed in procuring our Inveſtment in that Country, are clearly and very juſtly deſcribed in Mr. Barlow's Report. We have therefore, and without giving up any Advantage of our own, granted a moſt ſubſtantial Favour in relinquiſhing it. I have likewiſe had it in my Power, by attentive Enquiries upon the Spot, to make ſome Additions to the Regulations for military Bazars, that had been already publiſhed; which, without interfering in the ſmalleſt Degree with the real Conveniencies of the Troops, have, I truſt, effectually removed all Grounds for future Complaints from the Country upon that Subject, and for which the Vizier and his Miniſters have expreſſed the higheſt Gratitude.

[At the End of the Letter]

On the Ganges,
November 16, 1787.

Cornwallis.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 661.

APPENDIX, N° LXII.

A ſuccinct View of the State of the political Connexion ſubſiſting between Mahajee Saindeah and the Britiſh Government in India.

IT has been inferred, from certain Circumſtances in the early Conduct of Saindeah towards our Nation, that if he has not always entertained a Sort of Partiality in our Favour, he has at leaſt been long actuated by a Deſire of cultivating a cloſe political Connexion with us. In ſupport of this Opinion, particular Streſs has been laid upon his Behaviour at the Capitulation of Worgaum, which, as it would be romantic to attribute it to an undiſcriminating Generoſity, muſt neceſſarily be traced to a different Source. The Terms obtained by the Bombay Deputation on this Occaſion were, it is true, ſufficiently hard; but then it ſeems to have been generally thought, that the Maharattahs, had they ſo pleaſed, might at that Conjuncture have totally deſtroyed our Army. It is poſſible however that the Maharattahs did not judge in the ſame Manner, touching the Facility of ſuch an Enterpriſe, with thoſe, to whom, through the Gloom of Deſpondency, it might appear more practicable than it really was; or perhaps it might occur to their Leaders, that no permanent Advantages were likely to accrue to them from puſhing Matters to Extremity againſt us, ſince they were not ignorant that our main Power and Reſources were eſtabliſhed on Foundations that exiſted independently of our Poſſeſſions in the Bombay Quarter. They might deem it more prudent to reſt ſatisfied with the ſpecific Conceſſions which they found us willing to make to them at Worgaum, than, by ſeeking for greater but more precarious Advantages, to call forth our moſt vigorous Exertions, in the Defence of our Rights and the Recovery of our Honour; and indeed, had the Conditions of this Treaty been ſtrictly fulfilled by us, the Event would have abundantly juſtified ſuch a moderate Policy on their Part. Our Stipulations held out to them the moſt entire Security for the future againſt our Ambition, and it is not probable that they entertained any Doubt of our faithful Obſervance of them.

If this Reaſoning ſhould be thought to account adequately for the temperate Conduct of the Maharattahs, on the Occaſion referred to, there will remain no Neceſſity either for giving Credit to Saindeah on that Score, for a wild and improbable Generoſity, for ſuppoſing him to be actuated by a Partiality equally extravagant,—or for attributing to him, at ſo early a Period, a ſecret Deſire of entering into a political Union with us.

It is material to underſtand this Point rightly, in order to form an accurate Judgment of the Connexion ſubſiſting between Saindeah and the Engliſh Government in India, as well as of the Conduct which it behoves the latter to purſue towards that Chieftain.——It * it ſuppoſes itſelf to be under eſſential Obligations to him, and to be, above all other Powers, the Object of his peculiar Confidence and Regard, it will of courſe allow him to poſſeſs a Claim to its Gratitude,—a Principle, whoſe Operation, although more limited and leſs active among Public Bodies than among Individuals, is nevertheleſs occaſionally ſuſceptible of conſiderable Extenſion in the political Commerce of States, as has been already experienced by Saindeah.—On the other hand, if it be believed, that his Conduct towards us has in all Situations been determined purely by Conſiderations of Convenience, we ſhall then perhaps think it ſufficient to act by him honourably and juſtly, as long as he continues to regulate his Behaviour towards us by the ſame Standard.

* Sic in Orig.

I am for my own Part thoroughly ſatisfied, that Saindeah's Deportment, in the Affair here alluded to, proceeded neither from the Impulſe of Generoſity, from any Preference ariſing from Admiration or particular Regard; nor from a Deſire of conciliating our Friendſhip, with a View to the Advancement of any political Purpoſe of his own. His general Character precludes the former Idea;—national Vanity alone can account for it in the ſecond Way;—and I can diſcover nothing in his earlier Proceedings to authoriſe the Concluſion of his having formed, at the Seaſon referred to, any ambitious Deſign, in the Proſecution of which he could reckon upon deriving the leaſt Advantage from a Connexion with us. That he might ſometimes turn his Thoughts towards Hindoſtan, I can eaſily imagine; but it could not be till a very late Period that he conceived the Idea of eſtabliſhing himſelf in that Country in the Manner he has ſince done.

Till the Death of Nujjef Khan, his Views in this Quarter moſt probably never embraced any other than the ordinary Objects of his Nation, namely, Plunder and Contributions; or if towards the Year 1781 he extended them further, it ſeems likely that the Reduction of the Rana of Gohud formed the ultimate Point at which he aimed.—He had ſome Claims upon this Rajah, and was exaſperated againſt him, on account of the Alliance which he had entered into with the Engliſh. Indeed he had very good Reaſon to diſlike this Union, but he could have none for ſuppoſing it poſſible to diſſolve it ſo completely, as to render us indifferent to the Deſtruction of the Rana. He could not foreſee that the Conduct of the latter would provoke us

us totally to abandon his Cauſe; conſequently it does not appear prior to the * Diſtrictions which enſued on Nujjiff Khan's Death, wherein the Friendſhip of the Engliſh could be in any Shape aſſiſtant or beneficial to Saindeah. That he might wiſh to engage our Good-will, without any immediate Views of an intereſted Nature, but in the Idea that ſome future Contingency might render ſuch an Acquiſition valuable to him, is, I acknowledge, poſſible; yet as this Sort of provident Policy is by no means one of the Characteriſtics of Saindeah, any more than of the Generality of Hindoſtan Princes, I do not ſee the Propriety of attributing it to him, when his Conduct can be equally well accounted for on Principles of a more ſimple and obvious Kind.

* Sic in Orig.

It is obſervable, notwithſtanding what has ſo often been ſaid, reſpecting the Generoſity of Saindeah in the Affair of Worgaum, and his early Deſire to cultivate our Friendſhip, that our Government does not appear to have manifeſted any ſtrong Senſe of Obligations to that Chief, or Inclination to meet his Wiſhes, till the Time when he negociated the Treaty at preſent ſubſiſting between us and the Maharattah State. Prior to this Period, he was perhaps, of all his Countrymen, the one who ſuffered moſt from our Arms during the Courſe of the War. He it was who was chiefly haraſſed by the Operations of General Goddard's Army,—and Colonel Camac's Detachment was ſpecially deſtined againſt his Country.

Our preſent Connection with Saindeah is one of the Fruits of this laſt Meaſure, which it was foreſeen would certainly diſengage him from the War in Guzerat:—It was alſo, or at leaſt might have been foreſeen, that it was no leſs calculated to bring about a Peace between us and the Maharata. The Operations of our Troops in Malva convinced Saindeah that there was no Safety for him but in a ſpeedy Accommodation; and fortunately, he poſſeſſed the Power as well as the Inclination to accompliſh an Object, that could not be leſs deſirable or neceſſary to him than it was to us.

Neither therefore in his Conduct at Worgaum, nor in his Negociations for a general Peace, do I diſcover any Thing that might not, and that I believe did not, proceed from Conſiderations of immediate Convenience and Self-intereſt. If this be admitted, it will follow, that however neceſſary it may be, in a political Point of View, to maintain a cloſe and amicable Intercourſe with him, he has no Claim on our Gratitude for any extraordinary Conceſſions, or over-ſtrained Acts of Courteſy. I will not ſay that we have already been too liberal to him, but it is certain that we have been ſufficiently ſo, to turn the Balance of Obligation in our Favour.

Although it was unqueſtionably a Dread of our Arms that firſt inſpired him with the Deſire of treating with Colonel Muir, yet it is not to be denied that he began, about the very Period when his Negociations with that Officer were depending, to diſcover, that a cloſe Connexion with our Government might, beſides ſecuring the immediate Tranquillity of his Dominions, be production* of other capital Advantages to him. Our Expedition againſt Malva had drawn him involuntarily, as it were, into a Situation, from whence he was enabled to ſurvey a Scene well calculated to ſtimulate him to ambitious Purſuits, and from whence a Proſpect of future Aggrandizement opened itſelf to his View, of which he had probably never before formed even the Idea. Nuijef Khan dying in the Beginning of 1782, after a languiſhing Illneſs, the Acceſſion to his Dominions and Authority was diſputed by thoſe who had poſſeſſed his chief Confidence and Favour. The Conſequences were ſuch as uſually reſult in India from Conteſts of this Kind;—Aſſaſſinations, Anarchy, and Violence, every where excited Conſternation. In ſuch a Conjuncture, Saindeah had only to appear, in order to eſtabliſh his Power on the Ruins of the Fabric which had been erected by Nujjiff Khan, with leſs Policy than Courage. The principal Officers of the Army, by means of which the late Nabob had maintained his Sway, had ſeparated into Factions, and no Perſon was to be found capable of re-uniting them with ſufficient Efficacy. Men actuated by Animoſity, and other diſcordant Principles, could form no Union which Saindeah was not able with great Eaſe to diſſolve.

*Sic in Orig.

It is foreign to the Object of the preſent Diſquiſition to enquire whether or not this Chief was concerned in the Death of Afraſiab Khan. That Event was no doubt eſſential to his Intereſt; and Ambition rarely ſcruples to accompliſh its Purpoſes even by the moſt atrocious Crimes. Yet the Character of Saindeah not being chargeable with ſanguinary Propenſities, this Point may juſtly be allowed to remain in its preſent Uncertainty, till clearer Circumſtances than have hitherto been adduced on the Occaſion, may better qualify us to judge accurately reſpecting it.

Before however Matters were ſufficiently ripe for his embarking in this important Enterprize, Saindeah had Time to effect the entire Reduction of the Ranna of Gohud, and of all the Country lying between Gualiar and the Jumma, and bounded to the Northward by the Chumbul: Indeed without accompliſhing theſe Objects he would have been unable to have availed himſelf in a proper Manner of the favourable Conjuncture preſented to his Ambition by the diſtracted State of the Moghul Government; and on this Occaſion it was that he firſt experienced the Value of our Friendſhip. In the ſeparate Treaty concluded between Colonel Muir and Saindeah, the Security of the Ranna was amply provided for; but as we had no Reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Conduct of this Ally, we tacitly conſented to wave the Stipulations which we had obtained in his Favour, and to ſuffer Saindeah to act by him as he might think fit. Had we adhered to the Ranna, and protected him from the Reſentment and Ambition of the Maha-

rattah,

rattah, this Chief would very probably never have formed the Deſign of paſſing the Chumbul, as in that Caſe he would perhaps have imagined that it was our Determination to oppoſe ourſelves to his Progreſs on the Hindoſtan Side. Even our Compliance with his Wiſhes in reſpect to the Ranna, although it certainly ſeemed to argue on our Part an anxious Deſire of cultivating his Goodwill (whatever Conſiderations might really have induced it), and was even calculated in ſome Degree to encourage him in the Purſuit of his ambitious Schemes, could not altogether ſatisfy him that we ſhould perſiſt in viewing his Encroachments with Indifference; for when he called to mind the Avidity of Power and Dominion which had uſually marked our Tranſactions in India, it was natural enough for him to apprehend that we might, in the Event of his attempting to extend his Territories, eſpecially towards our Quarter, from his Friends become his Rivals and his Enemies. This Idea would of courſe, while his Objects were unaccompliſhed, render him at the ſame Time active in his Endeavours to conciliate, to humour, and to amuſe us, and prone to diſtruſt our Profeſſions of Neutrality and Moderation.

The nearer he approached our Frontier, the more apt would he be to ſuſpect us of temporizing; nor, important as he himſelf would doubtleſsly conſider his Superceſſion of the Vizier by his own Elevation to the Dignity of Wakeel Ulmutluh, could he well account on any other Principle for our Dereliction of our Ally's Rights on that Occaſion. We might view this Matter in an inſignificant Light (whatever the Vizier might do), and conſequently not think it worth a Queſtion; but it is by no means likely that Saindeah ſhould attribute ſuch Sentiments to us when his own were ſo very different.

Here therefore was another Incident ſeemingly well calculated to convince the Maharatta Chief that we were unaffectedly anxious to preſerve for ever a cordial Underſtanding with him; ſince our entire Silence under ſuch a Circumſtance as the Superceſſion (and perhaps, both in his Eſtimation and the Vizier's, Degradation) of our ancient Ally, was not naturally to be aſcribed to the Deſire we had of accommodating ourſelves as much as poſſible to his Views. But although it is probable that he previouſly reckoned upon our Forbearance on this Occaſion, yet I am diſpoſed to think that he would not look for it in our Friendſhip ſo much as in our Convenience; and indeed [ſuch is the Impreſſion which our former Character and Policy have left on the Minds of the Natives, that, notwithſtanding the many Proofs which our more recent Conduct has furniſhed of our being at preſent directed by a very different Spirit, I am perſuaded that neither he nor any other Hindoſtan Potentate gives us Credit for Sincerity in the Declarations which we have latterly made on this Subject: Time no doubt might ſubdue this obſtinate Incredulity; but who can certainly ſay that we ſhall adhere long enough to our preſent moderate Syſtem for the Purpoſe of inforcing this Belief?]

It is by the Impreſſion here deſcribed working on a Mind naturally diſtruſtful, that we can alone ſatisfactorily account for the Jealouſy and Suſpicion of us, conſtantly manifeſted by Saindeah, which would, no doubt, be increaſed by our ſecretly intriguing with his Enemies, but which ſubſiſts in a ſtrong Degree, independently of any ſuch Idea. Unreſtrained himſelf by the Conſiderations of Honour and good Faith, he is the leſs forward to give us Credit for thoſe Principles: Thus it is partly owing to his Temper, partly to his own habitual Diſregard of the Obligations of Treaties, and partly to his Recollection of our former Policy and Conduct, that we in vain endeavour to inſpire him with a liberal Confidence either in our Intentions or our Aſſurances.

As to the Spirit of Forbearance and Moderation which has latterly marked all our Tranſactions with the Native Powers, it would certainly not be extravagant in him (viewing Things through the fallacious Medium which he does), were he to ſuppoſe it aſſumed for temporary Purpoſes, and to proceed from the embarraſſed State of our Finances. And indeed I think it probable that he judges of us exactly in this Manner, and that he has no Idea of our remaining quiet any longer than the Neceſſity of our Affairs may render it expedient for us to do ſo: A Prepoſſeſſion of this Sort keeping his Jealouſy and Apprehenſion of us perpetually awake, not only ſeems to preclude the Poſſibility of our being ever united together in a cordial and unſuſpecting Friendſhip, but makes it even difficult to preſerve the Appearances of it, in a courteous and good-humoured Intercourſe with him. For under the Influence of this political Jaundice, which communicates to every Object the Colour of his Fear, the moſt trivial Circumſtance is capable of raiſing in him a Belief that the fatal Period is at hand when we ſhall be in a Condition to give the Reins once more to the Ambition which formerly actuated us, and which he imagines to be inſeparable from our national Character. The moſt unfounded and extravagant Rumour even, whether proceeding from the Exceſs of political Vigilance, or from the Arts of deſigning Men, is ſufficient to produce theſe Alarms in his Mind. Mankind indeed are often obſerved to be ſtrangely forward to believe what they are moſt averſe to know, and Saindeah is a ſtriking Inſtance of this curious Sort of Infatuation. He would appear to have Ears for none but his ſecret Intelligencers, whoſe Credit with him does not ſeem to be at all weakened by the Falſehoods in which he could not fail of occaſionally detecting them, were he to compare theſe Communications with the actual State of Things. Either, however, his Judgment is not ſuited to ſuch deliberative Operations, or it is altogether blinded by his ruling Paſſions, or he has ſome deluſive Method, if not of reconciling

reconciling ſuch Contradictions, at leaſt of accounting for them without affecting the Credibility of his Informers.

Agitated by the Doubts and by the Fears which have been deſcribed, it is not ſurprizing that Saindeah ſhould wiſh to keep both us and the Vizier at as great a Diſtance as poſſible from all the other Powers of Hindoſtan, and eſpecially thoſe over whom he exerciſes either Influence or Authority. Hence his conſtant Uneaſineſs,—and hence the Diſſatisfaction that he ſometimes avows—at the ſlight Intercourſe which we maintain with a few of them. It would be impoſſible to convince him that our Correſpondence with ſuch conſiſts purely in an Interchange of complimentary Enquiries and unſubſtantial Profeſſions of Friendſhip. His natural Diſtruſt, ſtrengthened by the Inſinuations of evil Counſellors, make him refer every Tranſaction of this Sort to a political Deſign on our Part of undermining his Power, and of paving the Way to the future Extenſion of our own. Probably any ſerious Attempt to undeceive him on this Head would, ſo far from producing the deſired Effect, ſerve only to confirm his Suſpicions; a Solicitude of this Kind arguing, in ſuch a Mind as Saindeah's, more of an artificial and deſigning than of an ingenuous Conduct.

Here is One fruitful Source of conſtant Diſagreement between Saindeah and our Government, or rather of a Diſcontent on his Part, which makes it exceeding difficult to keep him in Good-humour, without ſtraining our Complaiſance for him further than might conſiſt either with our Honour or our Intereſt. Another Obſtacle to the Attainment of ſo deſirable an End ariſes from a certain ſullen and obſtinate Sort of Pride, that conſtitutes One of the moſt prominent Features in the Character of the Maharattah Chief: This renders him, whenever embarraſſed in his Situation, more than ordinarily tenacious of his Military Reputation, and more than commonly boaſtful of his Power and Reſources. However he may yield in ſecret to the Impreſſions of Fear, he revolts at the Idea of its being imagined that he is acquainted with that Paſſion; and this Jealouſy of Honour (if it may be ſo called) ſuggeſts to him on ſuch Occaſions a very ſingular Mode of concealing his Uneaſineſs.

This conſiſts in the vapouring Language which has juſt been noticed, and in a Conduct leſs conciliating and amicable than uſual, towards thoſe whoſe Proceedings or Movements may have alarmed him.

A diſreſpectful and ſlighting, not to ſay an inſolent, Demeanour, proves, he thinks, under ſuch Circumſtances, his Confidence in his own Strength, and his Diſregard of the Power at which he ſecretly trembles; whereas an obliging and accommodating Carriage might occaſion Inferences of a Nature directly oppoſite, which would at once be mortifying to his Feelings and prejudicial to his political Intereſts. Hence it is, that whenever an Idea prevails of our entertaining hoſtile Diſpoſitions towards him (which, as there is no reſtraining popular Speculations or Rumours, is ſometimes the Caſe), the Harmony that ought to ſubſiſt between us is more apt, than at other Times, to be diſturbed; and hence it alſo ariſes, that he never experiences any Repulſe from us in the ſiniſter Attempts, to which he is encouraged by our preſent Forbearance and Moderation, without endeavouring to make himſelf amends for it by ſome new Procedure, not leſs calculated, it would ſeem, to breed Ill-humour between us, than to inculcate an univerſal Perſuaſion of our Submiſſion to his Pleaſure, and conſequently of his own Superiority and Aſcendancy. From the Intention of offending us on theſe Occaſions, I entirely clear him, becauſe that cannot be neceſſary to his main Deſign; but as it is impoſſible that he ſhould be able to purſue the Ends which I have here and elſewhere attributed to him, without frequently exciting in us much great Diſpleaſure, it follows that the political Pride in which thoſe Views originate, muſt tend greatly to augment our Difficulty in maintaining a good Underſtanding with him. There is indeed, in my Judgment, but one effectual and certain Means of accompliſhing this deſirable Object, and that, as I have ſtated on other Occaſions, Occaſions * conſiſts in reducing the Intercourſe and Connection between us within ſtraiter Limits than circumſcribe them at preſent; a Meaſure which I am of Opinion might be adopted without either Inconvenience or Injury to public Affairs. Having formerly been induced to conſider this Point at ſome Length, it would be uſeleſs to urge it any further in the Place; and there would, for the ſame Reaſon, be as little Propriety in my touching at this Time on the particular Methods practiſed by Saindeah, in order to the effectuating of the Schemes in which his Vanity, his Fear, and his Ambition, engage him. Theſe I have already taken ſome Pains to explain, but under ſuch Diſadvantages as may probably have rendered my Labour fruitleſs.

* Sic in Orig.

Without a conſiderable Knowledge of the Manners and Notions of Saindeah and of his Durbar, it muſt be difficult to comprehend clearly many Parts of their Conduct, and not eaſy to believe others; and yet thoſe muſt be underſtood and theſe credited, before a proper Key to their Character can be obtained. From hence I infer, that an Experience derived from perſonal Intercourſe is alone able to convey to the Mind a full and ſatisfactory Conviction on this Head.

Having mentioned the fabricated Reports of ſecret Informers among the Cauſes which fed and keep alive Saindeah's Diſtruſt of our Government, I think it right to obſerve, that Rajah Cheet Sing is at the Head of theſe Incendiaries. This wretched Fugitive for a long time entertained Hopes of being able, ſooner or later, to ſoften the Reſentment of the Engliſh, and even ultimately of obtaining an entire Pardon.

Theſe Hopes however appear now to have totally vaniſhed, and to have been ſucceeded by Deſpair. While he indulged the Expectation of future Forgiveneſs and Favour, his Conduct in reſpect to us was probably unexceptionable, but ſince he has been inſpired with leſs ſanguine Thoughts, I have Reaſon to believe that his Endeavours have not been wanting to indiſpoſe his Protector towards us. He has a Vakeel at Calcutta, and ſome Correſpondents at Benares, from whom he either actually receives, or pretends to receive, ſuch Accounts relative to our Deſigns and Tranſactions, as, being communicated to Saindeah, conduce often I believe to confirm the Suſpicions and Fears, of that Chief in regard to us. Theſe Attempts of Cheit Sing to diſturb the Harmony which we wiſh to ſubſiſt between Saindeah and our own Government, merit perhaps nothing but our Contempt. It is the ineffectual, and probably the expiring Effort of an alienated Exile; but although in a political Light it be of no Importance, it many * nevertheleſs appear improper to tolerate the Continuance of his Agent at Calcutta, when it is known that his Reſidence there is converted to inſidious Purpoſes.

* Sic in Orig.

I hold preciſely the ſame Opinion of Saindeah's Diſpoſitions in regard to us that I believe he entertains of ours towards himſelf. He is reſtrained, I am perſuaded, from encroaching upon us and the Vizier, † nothing but his Inability to do ſo with any Effect, or with any Probability of Succeſs. His Ambition is boundleſs, and little liable to be checked in the Purſuit of its Objects by Conſiderations of Gratitude, of Honour, or of good Faith; but happily, his Situation teems with ſo many Difficulties which at once diſable him from diſturbing us, and make it his Intereſt to keep us quiet, that we may be ſafely pronounced to be in no Sort of Danger from his inſatiable Thirſt of Power and Dominion. I muſt of courſe be underſtood as delivering this Opinion with ſome Reſervation; were he, for Example, completely to ſubdue the Confederacy, from which both his perſonal and political Exiſtence are at this very Time in imminent Danger, it is not certain that he would not become ſo formidable as to be able, if not to keep the Maharattah State in a Kind of Tutelage, at leaſt to throw off his preſent Dependance on it. Uncontrouled by its Authority, and uninterrupted by its Coercion, he would be enabled to act with more Deciſion, and with more Syſtem, than he has yet been equal to. Both his Finances and his Military Force would aſſume a more regular and permanent Form than they bear at this Juncture; and, in a Word, his Power would ſtrike ſo deep a Root as might not only excite him to an Attempt againſt the Poſſeſſions of the Vizier, but alſo furniſh him with the Means of proſecuting it with conſiderable Proſpect of Succeſs. This however is an Event or Situation of Affairs, which, though certainly poſſible, is notwithſtanding very far from probable, and therefore the leſs neceſſary for us to guard againſt.

† Sic in Orig.

It cannot occur ſo ſuddenly but that we ſhall have abundant previous Warning of it; and there is hardly a Stage in Saindeah's Progreſs to that Point or State in which he might become a dangerous Neighbour, wherein we ſhould not be able effectually to check him, were we to judge ſuch a Meaſure expedient.

Much as the temporiſing Policy, ſecretly imputed to us by Saindeah, agrees with the real Diſpoſitions of that Chief himſelf towards us, there is one Point in which our Sentiments are eſſentially diſſimilar, and which accordingly occaſions a ſtriking Difference in our Behaviour to each other. This conſiſts, on one hand, in the Dread which he entertains of our Military Character; and, on the other, in the low Eſtimation in which we juſtly hold his. Doubtful as we may be of his Deſigns and Inclinations, yet as we are uninfluenced by Fear of his Power, and are always prepared to meet its utmoſt Exertions, our Carriage towards him is never marked by thoſe little Jealouſies, Anxieties, and Suſpicions, which tend ſo much to breed Diſcord and to excite Miſunderſtanding between neighbouring States. On the contrary, it is uniformly open, liberal, indifferent (as to his Military Operations), and goodhumoured. Far otherwiſe (as has been ſhewn) is the general Deportment of Saindeah in reſpect to us; and much of his ungracious Conduct is to be traced to a Fear of our Power working on a Mind of a very particular Frame. For the moſt Part it muſt be allowed that the Kind of Apprehenſion which I here attribute to Saindeah is apt to produce conciliating and ſubmiſſive Behaviour; but this Effect is prevented in the preſent Caſe by the exceſſive political Pride of that Chief, which, generally ſpeaking, is of a Quality remarkably unyielding, although in private or ſocial Life no Perſon in the World perhaps is leſs tainted with that Vice.

It is here fair to acknowledge, that whatſoever Advantages Saindeah might, in the early State of our Connection, draw either from our Solicitude firſt to engage him in our Intereſts, and afterwards to make him adhere firmly to us, or from our Gratitude for actual or ſuppoſed Services, he is at preſent under fewer Obligations to our Friendſhip than to the Change which has taken place in our political Syſtem.—I do not mean to ſay, that our original favourable Diſpoſition towards him has ſuffered any Alteration or Diminution, but it is certain that he derives no Benefit from the Forbearance with which we now view his ambitious Strides, of which he would not be equally ſecure, although there ſubſiſted no Sort of Intercourſe between us, our Neutrality and Moderation in reſpect to him not being the Effect of partial Attachment or Eſteem, but of a deliberate and univerſal Policy. There was a Time when the Eſtabliſhment of the Mahrattah Power in the Doab would have been oppoſed, either by Arms or by Negociations, as being dangerous to our Intereſts; yet Saindeah was permitted to

to poſſeſs himſelf of the greater Part of that Territory, without receiving (I believe) a Hint of his Progreſs in that Quarter being diſagreeable to us.

Our Silence on this Occaſion was not owing to any expreſs Dereliction of the Principle formerly entertained on this Heard*, but to the new Connection which had taken place between us and the Maharattah. Here then was a capital Advantage which Saindeah drew from our Friendſhip, ſince this led us tacitly to concur in what we had been uſed to think politically wrong, becauſe unſafe; but what aroſe, in the Inſtance juſt referred to, either from an exceſſive Anxiety to conciliate Saindeah, or from a Perſuaſion that our Treaty with the Maharattahs made it unneceſſary any longer to guard againſt them, proceeds from a ſyſtematic and ſteady Diſregard of the Tranſactions and Diſputes of our Neighbours among each other, and a firm Reſolution not to take up Arms, or hazard the Commencement of Hoſtilities, but in the Maintenance of our Honour, the Vindication of our Rights, or the Defence of our Poſſeſſions.—Hence it follows, that the Benefits which reſult to Saindeah, excluſively and abſolutely, from his Connection with us, muſt be confined to the Effects which his Addreſs enables him to draw from the particular Mode of our Intercourſe with him, and from the general Tenor of our Conduct towards him. Theſe indeed have been by no means inconſiderable, as I have elſewhere endeavoured to ſhew.—A Concurrence, however, of various Circumſtances has, within this Year or Two, operated to obſtruct his Deſign in the Artifices here alluded to, and perhaps at preſent there are few of his Neighbours who have not a tolerable accurate Notion of the Nature of the Alliance ſubſiſting between him and the Engliſh Government.

* Sic in Orig.

No doubt he perſeveres in his Project, and ſtill endeavours to inculcate the Perſuaſion that we are at his Devotion; yet as it is obvious that a Deluſion of this Sort cannot be always ſucceſsfully practiſed, but muſt ſome Time or other be diſcovered by thoſe whom it is meant to deceive, it might ſeem neceſſary for us to adopt any Meaſures for the Prevention of an Evil, that may be ſaid to carry its own Remedy along with it, and which cannot exiſt long enough to take a deep or dangerous Root. And in Truth, were it not that the greater Part of the Expedients employed by Saindeah to accompliſh his Purpoſe have a Tendency to exclude from our Intercourſe that Good-humour and Cordiality ſo proper to be maintained between us, the Attempt might be ſafely enough diſregarded by us. Conducting it, however, as he does, it really is pregnant with conſiderable Inconveniences; and on this Account, though it may not be worth our while directly to oppoſe his Deſign, yet the Means which he uſes to effectuate that Deſign ought certainly to be ſo far reſiſted, as to induce his Diſcontinuance of them.

There probably was a Time when Saindeah might, beſides endeavouring to inculcate the Belief in others, have ſeriouſly thought himſelf that he would have no Difficulty in engaging us, whenever he ſhould require it, to take an active Part in his Affairs; nor would there, indeed, have been any Thing very extravagant in ſuch an Expectation, at the particular Period when we appeared moſt ſolicitous to attach him to us, conſidering the Facility with which we had, on ſome former Occaſions, entered into ſimilar Views and Connections. He would even ſeem, from certain diſtant Propoſals which he has latterly made, not to have yet totally relinquiſhed this Idea; but I am inclined to think, that in Overtures of the Kind alluded to, he may be more actuated either by a View of ſounding our Diſpoſitions, or by a Habit of Perſeverance, than by an † Hopes of Succeſs.

† Sic in Orig.

From the foregoing Statement, joined to other Facts ſufficiently well known, it may be ſummarily deduced, that Saindeah is at this Time as deſirous of extending his Influence and Dominion as ever we were formerly, or can be hereafter; that our preſent Syſtem of Neutrality and Moderation is in one Senſe favourable to his Views, but by no means calculated to excite his Gratitude, or to engage him in a ſtrict Attachment to us; that he does not reckon upon the Duration or Firmneſs of our Friendſhip; that his Prejudices and Ambition on the one Hand, and our Policy on the other, conſidered, it moſt probably is not an Object with him to cultivate a cordial or ſincere Connection with us, from which it does not appear that he could draw any excluſive or abſolute Advantage; that it is his Intereſt now, and will in all Likelihood ever be ſo, to preſerve inviolate the Peace ſubſiſting between us; but that ſhould he (in ſpite of the numerous Chances againſt him), ſurmounting all the Difficulties of his preſent Situation, firmly eſtabliſh himſelf in Hindoſtan, and we, on the contrary, be unexpectedly involved in any new Diſtreſſes, which might ſeem to offer a propitious Occaſion of incroaching upon us, it is hardly to be doubted but he would attempt to avail himſelf of ſo inviting a Conjuncture. I am thoroughly perſuaded, that the Part which he acted in 1785, relative to the King's Claim of Tribute from Bengal, was by no means a reluctant one. Fluſhed with his eaſy and unlooked-for Succeſs, and preſuming perhaps on the Generoſity, or, as he would probably think it, the neceſſary Facility of our Conduct towards him, he might imagine that he would hazard nothing in taking this Occaſion of feeling our Pulſe. That he ſhould have denied the Concern which he had in this Tranſaction, is not to be wondered at. He found we were not ſo yielding as he ſuppoſed it poſſible for us to prove; and not being in a Condition to force us into a Compliance with his Wiſhes, he very prudently determined to diſavow thoſe Wiſhes.—His Behaviour, however, in this Inſtance, begot, I believe, the firſt Suſpicion of the real State of his Mind towards us; and has, I fancy, contributed conſiderably to prove to Government, that we have no Security from his Ambition, which does not depend either upon the Embarraſſment of his Affairs or the Proſperity of ours.

If

If the Expoſition of the Views and Character of Saindeah, given in the preceding Pages, be juſt, and if the Eſtimate which I have made in this Diſcourſe, and on other Occaſions, of that Chief's political Strength, be accurate, it will follow that we have very little to hope from his Friendſhip, and as little to fear from his Ambition. Under theſe Circumſtances it would appear as if the main Object of our Policy, in reſpect to him, ſhould be the preventing him from entering into any Connection with the natural Enemies of our State. Under this Deſcription I claſs the French and Tippoo Sultan, with both of whom I believe him to be at preſent totally unconnected. The latter, indeed, there is Reaſon to think is eſpecially indiſpoſed towards *, on account of the ſeparate Treaty which he concluded with us in 1781, and of the active Part which he took in the Peace of 1782. Saindeah having in theſe Meaſures certainly purſued no other Object than his own Intereſt, we are no further obliged to ſupport him againſt the eventual Effects of Tippoo's Reſentment than political Expediency may warrant. How far ſuch a preventive Policy as that which I allude to might carry us, were we at any Time to adopt † in its full Extent, is a Queſtion of too much Magnitude and Delicacy to be ſlightly diſcuſſed, and as it is by no means neceſſary to my Subject, I ſhall gladly paſs it by. —The Caſes are not many which can ever give riſe to it in reſpect of Saindeah, the Ruin and Embarraſſment of whoſe Affairs can only affect us in Two Ways: One of theſe refers to the Event of his Power and Dominions paſſing into the Hands either of our natural Enemies, or of ſome Chief or State cloſely united with them: The other turns upon the Poſſibility of his being at ſome future Period ſo hard preſſed and involved in Difficulties, by the Exertions of thoſe Powers who may confederate againſt him, as to be obliged to ſolicit foreign Aid, when, ſhould he deſpair of engaging our Aſſiſtance, Neceſſity might throw him into the Arms of our moſt formidable and irreconcileable Rivals. There are, it muſt be owned, more Circumſtances than the one laſt mentioned, that might draw him into Connections dangerous to our Intereſts; but I am of Opinion that they are all either very remote or very improbable. The Threats or Intrigues of Tippoo Sultan might induce him to make his Peace with that Chief, by entering into his Views againſt our Nation; he might be allured, by the Proſpect of new Acquiſitions, to join and co-operate with ſome future Combination of our Enemies; if ſtrongly tempted at any Time to extend his Conqueſts to the Eaſtward, he might treat for the Support either of the French or of Tippoo in ſuch an Enterprize; or, finally, provoked by ill Treatment from our Government, he might, to gratify his Reſentment, cabal with its avowed Adverſaries. Much may be objected to the Likelihood of each of theſe Contingencies; and as to the laſt of them, it muſt at leaſt be referred beyond the Period of the preſent Adminiſtration in India.

* Sic in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

But however certain it may be, that our Government will never offer any real Wrong, or intentional Slight, to Saindeah, it cannot be denied that it has a very arduous Taſk in the political Duty of pleaſing that Chief. Much of this Difficulty ariſes, as I have already ſhewn, from his natural Jealouſy and Diſtruſt, but it muſt be partly aſcribed to another Cauſe. Saindeah has experienced ſo much overſtrained Complaiſance from us, that he may be compared to the ſpoiled Child, who after being indulged in a Variety of Demands, cried at laſt becauſe it could not obtain the Moon. He often carries his Pretenſions to nearly an equal Height of Unreaſonableneſs and Extravagance, expecting from us at Times, on the Strength of former Compliances, ſuch Conceſſions as would conſiſt perhaps neither with Prudence nor with Honour to grant. Hence it becomes neceſſary, in conſidering both the Applications and the Complaints of Saindeah, to keep in mind the Character and Views of himſelf and of his Durbar; under which Denomination I range all his Favourites and principal Servants, whether actually near his Perſon, or employed at a Diſtance. It is, generally if not univerſally ſpeaking, compoſed of Men familiarized to Diſſimulation, expert at Circumvention, practiſed in Falſehood, and in a Word, but little reſtrained by any Sort of Principle. Of theſe there are probably but few who look beyond themſelves, or who are really anxious to promote the Proſperity of their Maſter; nor will any of them, however ſincerely attached they may be to his Intereſts, be found to poſſeſs much true political Sagacity. They, for the moſt Part, make their Court to him, by feeding his Jealouſy and his Vanity; and when they offer him Counſel, if it ſhould not be dictated by private Conſiderations, it is ſuch as they know will be agreeable to him, or ſuch as may be expected from Men of contracted and undiſcerning Minds, and who are noways qualified for the Conduct of great Affairs.

The Suggeſtions and Repreſentations of Perſons of the foregoing Deſcription will rarely be found, on due Examination, to merit much Regard. To ſay nothing at preſent of the Applications or Demands liable to proceed from ſuch a Durbar, it may be obſerved, that its Complaints are very apt to be fictitious or pretended; for although the Maharattahs are but little under the Influence of the more violent Paſſions, as Revenge and Anger, yet they are not uncommonly impelled by leſs worthy Incentives to indulge themſelves freely in Miſrepreſentation and Exaggeration. Indeed thoſe Practices appear in many Caſes to be purely the Effect of Habit and Education, ſince it is not always poſſible to refer them to intereſted Motives or to particular Deſign. The End, however, uſually meant to be anſwered by the fabricated Complaints here alluded to, is the invalidating or weakening ſome actual Charge, or Remonſtrance, for which the Conduct either of Saindeah, or of his Servants, may have furniſhed Grounds. This Artifice ſometimes precedes the Complaint which it is intended to deſtroy,

deſtroy, and at other Times follows it; it generally conſiſts in a Statement of Facts directly oppoſite to thoſe alleged on the other Side, and carries with it, for the moſt part, as few Marks of Judgment as of Truth.

It is plain, that the diſregarding of ſuch Complaints as are here deſcribed, can never be productive of any ſerious Conſequence; for although Saindeah may feel ſome ſlight Mortification at being foiled or diſappointed in theſe little Views, yet an inward Conſciouſneſs of his own Diſingenuity muſt prevent his conceiving any real Offence on ſuch Occaſions. It is otherwiſe, however, in reſpect to thoſe Wrongs which he may actually, though erroneouſly, imagine himſelf to ſuffer, eſpecially when this Impreſſion reſults from a Miſconſtruction of any of the Articles of the Treaty ſubſiſting between us. It * ſuch Caſes, it would not perhaps be right to ſcrutinize too nicely, whether or not ſuch Miſconſtructions be affected or ſincere; there can be no Harm in receiving them at all Times in the latter Light, and in treating them accordingly, on that Footing. A temperate Diſcuſſion of theſe Points, and a candid Explanation of the Senſe and Force affixed by ourſelves to the Engagements by which we are bound, though they were always to fail of convincing and of ſatisfying Saindeah, would nevertheleſs conduce to the Prevention of many Heats and Diſputes which ariſe, in critical Situations, from Miſunderſtandings cleared up at too late a Period. If our Meaning continues to be miſconceived after ſuch Explanations, we ſhall be no longer chargeable with the Conſequences; and may, beſides, ſafely refer a Miſapprehenſion ſo pertinacious and invincible, to an Affectation aſſumed for ſome ſiniſter or fraudulent Purpoſe.

* Sic in Orig.

Among the Sort of Injuries laſt mentioned, is to be reckoned the Behaviour of the Vizier in granting an Aſylum to the Guſain, Kimmut Behauder. This has long been a Subject of grievous Complaint with Saindeah, nor has any Thing which has been ever repreſented to him on the Occaſion had the leaſt Effect towards ſatisfying him of the Propriety of his Excellency's Conduct in this Particular. He continues either really to think, or to pretend to think, that the Protection which has been afforded to this Fugitive, amounts to a Violation, not only of the Spirit but the Letter of the Treaty ſubſiſting between us, and conſequently between the Vizier and him. Now, although it cannot be admitted to be an Infraction of any poſitive Engagement, yet it certainly is much to be lamented, that his Excellency ſhould have † betrayed into a Step which ſo ſtrongly marked his Indiſpoſition towards his Mahratta Neighbour. Kimmut Behaudre, at the very Time that he ſought a Refuge in our Ally's Dominions, ſtood in the Relation of a Traitor and an Enemy to his Excellency's Government, againſt which he had been guilty of the moſt atrocious Offences. Under ſuch Circumſtances to favour or protect ‡, not leſs obnoxious to Saindeah, was in the Vizier nearly equivalent to a Declaration that there could be no Crime committed againſt either his own Perſon or Authority, which § not be atoned for by a marked Hoſtility towards the Mahratta Chief. I do not pretend to ſay, that Saindeah has ever drawn ſo ſtrong a Concluſion from this Affair, though, conſidering the peculiar Colour, and the uſual Bias of his Mind, it would not be extraordinary if he ſhould.

† Sic in Orig.

‡ Sic in Orig.

§ Sic in Orig.

The Reception given by Saindeah to Cheit Sing, as it never was preſſingly objected to by our Government, may not be thought to furniſh any Juſtification of the Meaſure here alluded to. I cannot, indeed, help thinking that Saindeah, in granting an Aſylum to Cheit Sing, acted with great Impropriety and Indelicacy towards us; for although we had not at that Period concluded a general Peace with the Maharattahs, yet Saindeah had entered into a ſeparate Convention with us, which ought to have prevented him from adopting a Line of Conduct, that certainly breathed but little of that favourable Diſpoſition towards us, for which we have been uſed to give ſo much Credit to this Chief. At the ſame Time I am ready to own, that it would be very impolitic in us, were we in our Commerce with the Mahrattahs to ſquare our Behaviour towards them, on every Occaſion, exactly by the rigid Rule of Retaliation. It will, no doubt, be ſometimes proper for us to enforce a ſtrict Performance of what may be due by them to our Honour, and to the Faith of Treaties; but it may be queſtioned, whether the moſt effectual Way of accompliſhing this Point, would be by imitating in any Caſe the cuſtomary (and indeed proverbial) Looſeneſs with which that People at all Times acquit themſelves of their Engagements. Such a Proceeding would be leſs calculated to produce a Change in their national Habits and Character, than to lay the Foundation of perpetual Diſagreements between us. Not being uſed to view ſlight or indirect Infractions in the ſame heinous Light that we do, they cannot comprehend why they ſhould be very ſeriouſly reſented, and conſequently this can hardly ever be done without their thinking themſelves in ſome Meaſure injured. Excepting, therefore, on very important Occaſions, it will perhaps be more dignified and more prudent to diſregard, than to copy, ſuch an irregular Conduct.

Frequently, however, as the Complaints of Saindeah will prove frivolous, unreaſonable, and totally ungrounded, Candour requires it ſhould be acknowledged, that in regard to the Vizier's Government, it is to be feared they have at Times but too much Foundation. Neither is this Circumſtance difficult to be accounted for: His Excellency has certainly but little Reaſon, upon the whole, to be ſatisfied with the Mahrattah Chief. This hereditary Antipathy to the Nation of the latter out of the Queſtion, more Circumſtances than One have had the Effect of exciting in him a perſonal Diſguſt, and I may even venture to ſay Hatred, towards Saindeah. Nor will this be much wondered at, however it may be lamented, when it is conſidered, that in conſequence of the ſucceſsful Uſurpation of the Mahrattah, he has

has been deprived of an honorary Pre-eminence in the Empire, that may be affirmed to have conſtituted a part of his Patrimony; his Officers at Dehli have been plundered and haraſſed; his own Property there violently invaded; ſome of his diſcontented and refractory Relations countenanced; and others, in whom he is either really, or affects to be, intereſted, impriſoned and maltreated. I do not pretend to affirm that Saindeah is equally blameable on all theſe Points; neither is it to be admitted, that any of them can be properly excuſed by pleading the licentious Nature of his Government, ſince the ſame Apology might, with the ſame Juſtneſs, be offered for the moſt flagrant Outrages, and might often be employed to cover Acts of intentional Slight and Injury. Be this as it may, however, their Effect on the Mind of the Vizier is very great; and being alſo, it may be ſaid, natural, will be found the more difficult to correct. But as ſuch an Indiſpoſition towards Saindeah on the Part of his Excellency may be pregnant with Danger, by having, in ſome Degree, a Tendency to drive the former into Connections inimical to our Intereſts, it doubtleſsly behoves us to labour earneſtly for its Removal. For my own Part, I confeſs I ſee but One effectual Way of accompliſhing ſo deſirable an End. Our Influence over the Vizier is certainly conſiderable; but then, his Mind is probably not leſs under the Influence of Pride, of Jealouſy, and of an Indignation at Wrongs, partly perhaps real, and partly imaginary. Hence, to employ our Credit with him in order to reconcile him to an unqualified Reſiſtance againſt the Suggeſtions of Paſſions, commonly very uncontroulable, would, beſides very * ineffectual, ſavour more of unreaſonable Violence than I am ſure would be agreeable to our Government. To correct and gradually to ſubdue theſe unfriendly Diſpoſitions (which the Vizier would in vain attempt to diſguiſe, and which are evidently communicated to a great Part of his Subjects), it is neceſſary, if not to redreſs the Circumſtances that have given riſe to them, at leaſt to prevent for the future the Recurrence of ſuch Matter as is calculated to keep them alive.

* Sic in Orig.

To this End, it would be requiſite to effect a more conſiderable † in the Conduct and Sentiments of Saindeah than I will venture to pronounce to be practicable; yet till this be done, I am afraid it will be to no Purpoſe for us to endeavour to reſtrain the Vizier's Government within the Bounds neceſſary to the great political Ends which have been hinted at.—His Excellency may deny that he affords Protection to Fugitives from the Territories o the Mahrattah; he may affirm that he carries on no improper Correſpondence, or indeed any at all, with Tributaries or Enemies of that Chief; and he may even promiſe that effectual Care ſhall be taken for the Prevention of ſuch Practices; yet I heſitate not to pronounce, that all theſe Evils will continue, without our being able, perhaps, to aſcertain with Preciſion the Exiſtence of any of them.—In a Word, the Principle of reciprocal Advantage and Honour muſt be introduced into the Connection ſubſiſting between Saindeah and our Ally the Vizier, before it can ever be made agreeable to the latter, or before a liberal and cordial Intercourſe can be eſtabliſhed between them.—Some Appearances of Harmony may be preſerved; mutual Proteſtations, Declarations, and Injunctions may be exchanged; but as thoſe, while the Seeds of Ill-humour prevail on either Side, will mean nothing, neither will they ever produce any good.

† Sic in Orig.

It may not be improper, before I cloſe the preſent Diſcourſe, to take ſome ſlight Notice of the Perſons employed by Saindeah in the Management of his Concerns with our Government. Theſe are oſtenſibly only Two, viz. Bow Buckſhee, and Apa Byhroo Naht; but it is very certain that there are others, who on particular Occaſions, being more in the Confidence of their Maſter than either of theſe Miniſters, take the Lead of them in Engliſh as well as in other Affairs.

Of the Characters of thoſe Two Men it is not neceſſary for me to ſay much, ſince they differ little or nothing from the Bulk of the Durbar of which they are Members, and which I have already attempted faintly to delineate.—Apa, who is a Sort of Dependant on the Bow, and acts in the Capacity of his Deputy or Aſſiſtant, appears to be rather ſuperior to his Principal, as well in Sagacity as in Addreſs. They are both to be conſidered, however, rather as the Inſtruments than the Counſellors of Saindeah, being employed for the moſt Part only in executing what ſeems to that Chief himſelf adviſeable, or what ſome of his more confidential Servants ſuggeſt as expedient. Their Views indeed being at all Times either very confined, or very intereſted, they are better qualified to act as Agents than as Counſellors.—In the former Station they acquit themſelves ſufficiently well, being as ſupple and as ſubſervient as their Maſter can wiſh them to be; and though they ſometimes ſeem to move in the latter Sphere, yet it is rarely that they do more than propoſe the Means of accompliſhing what is known to be deſired, and of executing what is known to be already determined on.

It is not to be denied, that Bow Buckſhee has derived both Conſequence and Profit from the Share which he has had in conducting the Intercourſe between his Maſter and our Government; but it appears to me that he was not ſelected for that on any Grounds of a creditable Nature to himſelf. The Connection between Saindeah and us was eſtabliſhed through a ſufficient Agency. It was Servajee Eethul Rao who was employed to negociate and conclude the ſeparate Treaty with Colonel Muir, which laid the Foundation of the general Peace that enſued. The Character of this Perſon ſtands very high, not only among his Countrymen, but alſo in the Eſtimation of their political Enemies.—His Conduct, during the Negociations which he managed, received the moſt honourable Teſtimony from the Gentleman who treated with him on the Part of Colonel Muir.—He holds an important Station in the Mahrattah Empire,

pire, and continues to be particularly distinguished by Saindeah, although no longer employed by him in the political Line.—It is not difficult to account for his having lost the Confidence of the Mahrattah Chief; being at the Head of a Body of the Government Troops, he was not independent in a great Degree of Saindeah, but even in some respect co-ordinate with him. This Consideration, joined to his high Reputation, rendered him eminently useful in a Conjuncture when the Necessity of Saindeah's Affairs made a speedy Peace with the English indispensable. This Object, however, accomplished, and the Views of Saindeah changing with Circumstances, it became necessary for him to lay aside Eethul Rao, whose Relation to the Poonah Government, whose Rank and Credit, and whose general Character, altogether disqualified him for a Situation in which no Person could be safely trusted but a Creature of his own. Bow Buckshee was accordingly raised to an Office, for accomplishing the Purposes of which his loose and flexible Principles were infinitely better suited than the unaccommodating, but independent Spirit of Etehel Rao. It is remarkable, however, that although the latter has no longer any Share in the Conduct of English Affairs, yet he continues to keep up the State of employing a Vakeel at Calcutta, an Assumption to which, notwithstanding it cannot be agreeable to Saindeah, this Chief never appears to have offered any any * Objection.

* Sic in Orig.

Bhow Buckshee does not at this Time derive either so much Credit or Advantage from his ministerial Station as he formerly did. The Connection between Saindeah and our Government has assumed that Kind of Form which requires and admits but little of intermediate Agency. Hence being almost totally unemployed as a Negotiator, the Importance which he derived from that Situation has almost ceased. While he could make his Master believe that it was possible to bind us to his Interest by closer Ties than at present unite us together (a Piece of Address which I have Reason to think he long practised successfully), he experienced no Diminution of Influence; but as Saindeah is by this Time, I fancy, thoroughly convinced that this is an unattainable Point, and as it must consequently appear to him that the Bhow does not possess that Degree of Weight with us which he has always affected to enjoy, I am of Opinion that the Credit of the latter is on the Decline. It is probable, indeed, that he will be able to maintain his Ground for some Time longer; but whenever he shall be marked as a proper Object for the rapacious Necessity of his Master (which in all Likelihood will one Day be the Case), it is not the subordinate Part which he has in the Management of Affairs, that will protect him from Disgrace and Ruin. His Conduct in his Revenue Employment will at any Period furnish Arguments sufficiently plausible for criminating, for squeezing, and for degrading him; and I believe he is too well acquainted with the Character of Saindeah to reckon upon any Support, in his Difficulties, from the Favour or or † Interposition of the English Government. As a View, therefore, to this Sort of Advantage is not likely to have any Influence on his Conduct in respect to us, there is the greater Reason for believing that the better to ingratiate himself with his Master and with his most confidential Counsellors, he will enter into all the Views of the latter, and instead of labouring, as he ought, to remove the former's Distrust of us, rather encourage and keep it alive by every Means in his Power; I wish had no Reason for suspecting that he has already adopted so insidious a Policy.

† Sic in Orig.

Before I quit this Subject, it may not be amiss to observe that Bhow Bukshee has a considerable Rival in Ambajee, whose Conduct oftener than once has plainly indicated a Desire of acquiring the Direction in English Affairs. I have had very broad Overtures from him to this Effect, which I of course discouraged with sufficient Explicitness. But supported as he is by Rana Khan Bhal, and high as he stands in the Confidence of Saindeah, it is not at all unlikely but he may at some future Juncture resume his Views to this Situation. It may be questioned, however, whether we should benefit any Thing by such a Change, for although Ambajee has affected to charge the Bhow with Duplicity and Insincerity in the Administration of his Office, yet it is not clear that he could himself fill the Station to his Master's Satisfaction without practising the same Arts; nor am I convinced that he would feel any Reluctance in putting them in Execution.

(A True Copy)

Exd. J. Bourdieu. J. Lumsden, Assist. Secretary.

APPENDIX, N° LXIII.

Letter from Mr. Middleton to Sir Elijah Impey.

My dear Sir Elijah, Lucknow, the 5th December 1781.

I was only this Morning favoured with your very friendly and intereſting Letter of the 1ſt Inſtant; and I am only able at preſent, in Reply, to touch ſlightly on the moſt important Points of it. In the firſt Place, my dear Sir, I muſt beg your Acceptance of my moſt unfeigned Acknowledgments for the obliging and attentive Regard you have ſhewn to all my Requiſitions and Wiſhes, which are not the leſs due to you becauſe your Endeavours have not been productive of all the Succeſs I hoped for from them. It would be impertinent, and, perhaps, not altogether decent, for me to urge any Thing further on the Subject of Muzuffer Jung and Iſmael Beg. The Governor's Expectations in regard to both muſt and ſhall be anſwered; and my only Deſire now is, that he will permit the Nabob and his Miniſters to make it appear a Meaſure of their own, and not forced upon them by his immediate Authority. I feel nothing on my own Account for the Furruckabad Buſineſs, as I urged it only in conſequence of the Vizier's earneſt Deſire, which I thought extremely reaſonable, and made on Grounds which appeared to me to bear not a Shadow of Doubt in regard to Juſtice or Propriety. His Excellency only is the Sufferer, and I think I can anſwer for him, that he would much rather have given up his Claims on the Nabob of Furruckabad altogether, in his own Way, than be obliged now to withdraw his Agent, which muſt leſſen him ſo much in the Eyes of his Neighbours. In regard to Iſmael Beg, I feel myſelf very differently ſituated; for, excluſive of the Diſapprobation it was my Duty to teſtify to a Conduct ſo extremely diſreſpectful and inſulting to the Nabob and his Miniſters, I could not help perſonally feeling and reſenting the Indignities he offered, in the moſt atrocious and barefaced Manner, to my Station. But I muſt own to you, my dear Sir, I feel theſe Inſults, and the Triumph which this Villain has obtained over me, although it will give a ſevere Stab to the Influence and Authority of my Station, leſs than I do the Mortification of ſeeing more Regard paid to the Repreſentations of others than my own, on Subjects which ſo eſſentially concern myſelf, and which to ſuſpect me capable of miſrepreſenting, ſeems to declare me undeſerving of the Confidence of the Governor, and conſequently of the Office I hold under him. I would aſk, my dear Sir Elijah, what Intereſt, or poſſible ſiniſter View, I can have in eſpouſing the Cauſe of the Nabob againſt Iſmael Beg? Had Intereſt been the Rule of my Conduct, his own Overtures, before he had been Six Hours in Confinement, would have dictated a different Line; but I thought his Conduct to the Nabob too infamous to paſs unpuniſhed; and not to have reſented his Conduct to myſelf, and to Mr. Haſtings, whoſe Station and Character he took every Means in his Power to depreciate, would have been the higheſt Injuſtice both to my Friend and myſelf. If Mr. Haſtings cannot yield Credit to my ſolemn Declarations reſpecting the Conduct of this Man, it would, I conceive, be an eaſy Matter to get all I have ſaid, and indeed much more, verified upon Oath. But after what you have ſaid, I ſhall never again open my Lips, or employ my Pen, on the Subject. I feel the Diſappointment far more than I can expreſs, but it is only to yourſelf that I ſhall ever breathe a Complaint upon it.—I muſt obſerve to you, that I think it very likely the Nabob may again addreſs the Governor on both theſe Subjects, before he finally complies with his Injunctions, in which Caſe I have moſt earneſtly to entreat, that you will not ſuffer Mr. Haſtings to ſuppoſe me acceſſary to it.—I ſolemnly aſſure you I will do every Thing in my Power to prevent any further Delay in the Execution of the Governor's Orders, and if another Reference is made, it will not be with my Conſent.—I ſhall demand the Execution To-morrow Morning—if it is not complied with, the Nabob will of courſe diſpatch his Appeal in the Evening, to which an Anſwer may be received in Six Days: Should the Nabob decline to withdraw his Sizauwol from Furruckabad, and releaſe Iſmael Beg until the Governor's Anſwer arrives, I ſhall be without Remedy; and I ſhall truſt to your good Offices to obtain me his Indulgence, under a ſolemn Engagement, that the very Day the Anſwer may arrive, his Orders, be they what they will, ſhall be executed.

☞ (*a*) [The Meaſure reſpecting the Begums, and the Reſumption of the Jagheers, will be inſtantly adopted. The latter has only been ſuſpended for the Governor's Sentiments on the former, as the Jagheers of the Begums and their Dependants are the moſt conſiderable; and, to have attacked them, without being prepared, at the ſame Time, to enter immediately on the Execution of the grand Deſign, would have being doing Things by Halves, and poſſibly have defeated our Expectations. Do not, my dear Sir Elijah, ſuffer this Delay to be urged or conſidered as an Imputation of Blame upon me. I entered on the Buſiness the very Day after you left me, and went ſo far as to look upon the Matter as finally agreed upon, the actual Execution only ſuſpended until I could receive either yours or the Governor's Sentiments upon the further Propoſal, which

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 721.

is certainly of far greater Conſequence than the Reſumption of the Jagheers, as it will do at one Stroke, if we are not all groſsly miſtaken, what the Jagheers will be at leaſt Two Years in doing. To-morrow Morning, I am to be informed of his Excellency's intended Mode of Attack, and ſhall not fail to acquaint the Governor; in the mean Time you may be aſſured, that whatever may be acquired by the Meaſure ſhall be faithfully and wholly applied to the Liquidation of the Company's Debt.] With reſpect to Cator, I will write when I have ſpoken to him; at preſent I have not Time even to read what I have written: I ſhall be happy if you find it intelligible, and I am ſure you will have the Goodneſs to excuſe its Imperfections.

Mrs. Middleton joins me in kindeſt Remembrances to Lady Impey; and I am, with ſincere Regard, My dear Sir Elijah,

Your ever faithful, obliged, and moſt affectionate Friend,
Nathaniel Middleton.

Sir Elijah Impey.

APPENDIX, N° LXIV.

Book 84. Page 143.

Extract of a Consultation of the 29th September 1783.

Fort William, 29th September 1783.

At a Council; Present,

The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President,

John Macpherson, and } Esquires.
John Stables, }

Edward Wheler, Esquire, absent up the Country.

THE Governor General delivers in the following Minute, containing his Observations on Mr. Bristow's Letter and Defence:

It is with great Regret that he offers a Composition of such unusual Length for a Place in the Consultations. It was written with a stronger Regret, operating as a Discouragement on his Mind, and no less Mortification, from the Reflection of the Incongruity of such a Drudgery with the Cares and Functions which ought to be the Occupation of the Person filling a Station so important as that which he holds, had he the Power of attending to the first, or discharging the latter. He solemnly declares, that the Powers of this Government are not in his Hands, nor exercised by the Principles which he possesses. Disarmed of the Means of averting, by an instant and decided Act of Authority, the Evils which he has long since seen impending on the British Character and Interests, he has devoted himself to the Labour of displaying them for the View of higher Authorities, on whose Wisdom and Justice he securely depends for their due Retribution, if this Representation shall arrive too late to produce the Remedy which he hopes to derive from it.—The Ruin of a great Dominion, the open Violation of Justice and Public Faith, the Contempt reflected on this Government from its Representation, and Reproach from the Acts done under its Authority, merited at least the Labour of a few Days for the Production of the only Resource which remained for their Removal, even from the first and executive Member of the Constitution, if they have not interfered with more urgent Calls of his Duty.—To him it has been the Sacrifice of a Length of Time which he reviews with Pain.—He foresees the Consequences to which it may lead, in the long Interval which must precede its Effects, but is prepared to meet them; and whatever may happen of the Events which he dreads in the Train of Affairs now subsisting, he shall at least receive this Consolation under them, that he used his utmost Exertions to prevent them, and that in the Annals of the Nations of India which have been subjected to the British Dominion, he shall not be remembered amongst their Oppressors.

(Signed) Warren Hastings.

Governor General.

It would have been unjust to have prescribed to Mr. Bristow, either the Mode or Bounds of his Defence. I shall assume the same Privilege in my Examination of it, and by throwing aside all the extraneous Subjects, Reasonings of Difficulty, or unimportant Applications, Professions of Integrity, and sounding Declamation, which make up the Bulk of the Composition, endeavour to comprize all that is essential of the general Subject in the following Remarks.

On the 21st of April I laid before the Board Two Letters from the Nabob Vizier, and Three from his Minister Hyder Beg Khaun, all filled with various Complaints of the Conduct of Mr. Bristow, the Resident of this Government at the Court of the Nabob Vizier: As the constitutional Channel of all political Correspondence, I had no Option, had I been so inclined, to suppress them.—They were as much the Concern of the other Members of the Board as my own; but as they personally regarded an Individual highly patronized, and then recently withdrawn from that Dependance on my Authority, with which I had endeavoured to accommodate my Submission to the Orders of the Court of Directors in his Appointment to the Station which he held, I foresaw at once all the Difficulties of the Part which I had to act, both with respect to my immediate Colleagues in Office, and my Superiors at Home.—Under this Impression I imparted the Subject with much Delicacy to the other Members of the Board, but thought I saw in its Reception a Temper which boded little Ease to my Feelings in the Prosecution of the Charges, or Justice in the Termination of it—The Gentlemen of the Board must not be offended at this Declaration; I mean

mean not to allude to what paſſed when we were in private at the firſt Communication of the Complaints, but to the firſt Minutes which were delivered upon them on the 19th and 22d of the Month following.—I had ſuffered all the intermediate Delay, from a Fear of Irritation; and on the 19th of May I ſimply moved that the Charges ſhould be tranſmitted to Mr. Briſtow, with Orders to revoke all Appointments made by him under the Government of the Nabob Vizier, and not appertaining to the Duties and Rights of his Office.

On this Queſtion the Members of the Board entered their ſeparate Opinions, agreeing to tranſmit the Charges for Mr. Briſtow's Defence; but objecting to any other conſequent Act until he ſhould nave replied to them, as it appeared that he had not exceeded his Inſtructions, and that the Complaints were founded on intereſted Motives.—Mr. Macpherſon added to his Opinion a Propoſal, that the ſimilar Charges ſhould be drawn againſt Meſſrs. Middleton and Johnſton, on which the Board had been partly induced to remove thoſe Gentlemen from the Truſt ſince committed to Mr. Briſtow; and Mr. Stables, with a Deciſion which ſeemed to preclude the Neceſſity of any Enquiry whatever, delivered it as his Opinion, that, "in Juſtice and "Candour to the Nabob Vizier and his Miniſter, the Board ought explicitly to declare, that "they could not on any Account comply with the Vizier's Requeſt, to grant him diſcretional "Powers over his Country, whilſt ſuch heavy Debts remained due to the Company."—I was ſilent, and the Debate briefly cloſed without any Reſolution following it.

On the 22d of May I laid before the Board another Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn, with Narratives of Converſations held between him and Mr. Briſtow. I recapitulated what had paſſed with relation to the former Papers remarked on the Minutes of the preceding Council, and renewed the ſame Queſtion, which had been left undetermined. The other Members entered their Opinions, which amounted to a Reſolution, formally paſſed, to ſend to Mr. Briſtow the Charges, but not to revoke the Appointments which he had made.—I proteſted; declared the Inſtructions to be annulled which I had given to Mr. Briſtow, and which had been pronounced a valid Authority for his Acts; requiring the other Members to form other Rules for his Conduct more conſonant to their own Principles.

In the mean Time Mr. Briſtow having Intimation of the Firſt Complaints againſt him, which had been laid before the Board on the 21ſt of April, addreſſed a Letter to the Board, dated the 13th of May, and filled with general Complaints againſt Hyder Beg Cawn, and a ſpecific Charge of having impeded his Endeavours to eſtabliſh a new Plan, which he had formed for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice for the City of Lucknow and the Dominions of Oude. This Letter was received on the 29th of May, but the Board properly agreed to ſuſpend the Conſideration of it till the Receipt of his Reply to the Charges which had been preferred againſt him; and theſe were accordingly tranſmitted to him in a Letter of that Date, which was more than Five Weeks after their Firſt Delivery.

I ſhall detain the Narrative in this Place but to make One brief Obſervation of the Difference of Mr. Macpherſon's Behaviour on this, from that which he ſhewed on a former Occaſion, not very diſſimilar:—When Mr. Johnſon, acting in the Place of Mr. Middleton, was accuſed of having appointed Aumils or Collectors over the Lands aſſigned by the Nabob Vizier for the Payment of the Company's Balance and growing Debt, and of having aſſumed other Acts of Authority which appertained ſolely to the regular Adminiſtration of the Nabob Vizier, I moved the Board to order his immediate Recall, deeming it improper to expoſe a whole Province to Diſorder, and the Credit of the Engliſh Name to Imputation, through a Principle of Delicacy to an Individual, who might have Time and Freedom allowed for his Defence, and, if innocent, might be both effectually acquitted by an Act paſſed at any remote Period of Time, and receive full Compenſation by Appointment to an equal or higher Poſt of Credit. I well remember with what Promptneſs thoſe Sentiments were adopted by Mr. Macpherſon. My Motion was delivered on the 7th of September, in a written Meſſage to the Board, dictated from my Bed, to which I was confined by a ſevere Indiſpoſition. It paſſed unanimouſly on the ſame Day, with Orders correſponding, to Mr. Middleton the Reſident, announcing Mr. Johnſon's Recall; to Mr. Johnſon, requiring his Departure within Forty-eight Hours, on Pain of Arreſt; and to Colonel Morgan, the commanding Officer at Cawnpore, commanding him to ſend Mr. Johnſon a Priſoner to Calcutta, if he exceeded the Time preſcribed. Little more Ceremony was obſerved towards Mr. Middleton, whoſe imputed Miſconduct was the Cauſe of his Removal, though a ſcrupulous Attention to the Orders of the Court of Directors was the Ground of Mr. Briſtow's Appointment to ſucceed him. Theſe were Officers of my own Nomination, and how favoured and ſupported by me, while their Conduct appeared to merit it, the World well knows. When I ſaw Cauſe to change my Opinion of them, and thought their Continuance in Office of a pernicious Tendency to the Company's Intereſts, I moved, and Mr. Macpherſon gave his hearty and unqualified Voice, for their Diſmiſſion, without allowing them an Hour of Grace for Defence, or even for a Reply. But when Mr. Briſtow ſtood charged with the ſame Acts, and other accumulated Offences, Mr. Macpherſon, the Patron of Mr. Briſtow, recommended that, on a Principle of common Juſtice, he ſhould be heard in his Defence; diſcredited the Authority of the Miniſter, which had divulged them; and intimated, I am ſure not on a Principle of common Juſtice, that, during the Proceſs of the Enquiry, Mr. Briſtow's Authority ſhould be rendered effectual, that is, abſolute, and the Miniſter's of courſe annihilated; yet the Miniſter's was the ſame Authority, and the chief, if not only Authority, on which Mr. Johnſon was removed, though that of the

Nabob Vizier is added to the Accuſation of Mr. Briſtow, and both his Oath and his Miniſter's tendered in ſupport of them.

That I may not be charged with a Miſconſtruction of Mr. Macpherſon's Words, I will ſubjoin them, in the following Extract of his Minute:

" It is my Opinion, upon a Principle of common Juſtice, as well as from a Regard to the " Company's Regulations, that Copies of the Vizier's Letters, and of thoſe of Hyder Beg " Cawn, containing Complaints againſt Mr. Briſtow, ſhould be immediately ſent to him for his " Information, and to prepare his Defence againſt the Complaints."——" And as the Reſi- " dent is now under heavy Accuſations, probably for a neceſſary Exerciſe of that Power (the " Power of checking the Influence of the Miniſter), ſo it is evident that our Government will " ſtand in Suſpenſe, if it is not rendered *(a)* effectual at the Court of Oude during theſe Con- " tentions between the acting Miniſter and our Reſident."

On the 23d of June the Board received a Letter from Mr. Briſtow, dated the 13th, and acknowledging the Receipt of the Board's Orders of the 29th, with a Promiſe of a ſpeedy Reply, and a declamatory Recrimination of Hyder Beg Cawn.

The Promiſe contained in this Letter remaining unperformed on the 24th July, I complained to the Board of this Diſreſpect ſhewn to their Authority; and on the next Council Day following, which was the 28th, I moved, " That Mr. Briſtow, for Diſreſpect to the Board, and Diſobedience " of the Orders written to him by the Board on the 29th of May, and acknowledged by him " on the 13th of June, in having to that Time avoided or neglected to reply to the ſame, ſhould " be removed and recalled from his Station and Office at Lucknow."

I alſo moved, " That as the Nabob of Oude, in his Letter received on the 7th of April laſt, " and laid before the Board on the 21ſt of the ſame Month, had deſired that Meſſrs. Briſtow " and Cooper, the actual Reſident and Deputy appointed for the Tranſaction of the Company's " Affairs at his Court, might be recalled from thence, and that he might be allowed the Exerciſe " of diſcretional Power for the Management of his Country, and the Payment of the Company's " Money or Debt; and had engaged, that on theſe Conditions he would pay the full Amount of " whatever ſhould be due to the Company, both of the paſt and growing Debt, in ſuch a Man- " ner as the Board ſhould preſcribe; that the Office of Reſident at the Court of the Nabob of " Oude, with that of the Deputy and other ſubordinate Parts of the ſame Eſtabliſhment, except- " ing the Office of Accomptant, ſhould be diſſolved, and the Nabob of Oude, and his Miniſter " Hyder Beg Cawn, made jointly reſponſible, according to the Terms of their Letters, as ſet " forth in the Extracts ſubjoined to my Minute, for the Payment of the Sums due to the Com- " pany for the preſent and enſuing Year Fuſſulee, ending in September 1784."

Mr. Macpherſon being prevented by Sickneſs from attending at the Board, it was propoſed, and I yielded, to defer the Deciſion of my Queſtion to the next Meeting.

It muſt be remarked that, on the 7th of July, the Board received a Letter from Mr. Briſtow dated the 23d of June, mentioning that he had been ſick, and confined to his Bed ſince the 20th of the ſame Month; and this was pleaded as an Excuſe for his not having yet replied to the Board's Commands of the 29th of May: And on the 28th of July the Secretary informed the Board that he had received another Letter from him, dated the 16th, repeating the ſame Excuſe, with a Promiſe that his Reply ſhould follow on the Morrow, or next Day at fartheſt.

On the 31ſt of July the Board being fully aſſembled, paſſed a decided Negative on my Queſtion, in both the Terms of it. I was a little ſurpriſed to find ſomething like an Accuſation brought againſt myſelf by Mr. Wheler, in an Obſervation made by him in a Minute produced at the Board, ſtating, " that it was improper to ſhift the Ground of the original Charges to Diſreſpect," adding, " that this was of all others the moſt improper Time to leave the Nabob and the Com- " pany to the Mercy of his Miniſters."

I think the Remark uncandid. Nine Weeks had now paſſed ſince the Board had tranſmitted to Mr. Briſtow a Series of Accuſations amounting to the general Charge of his having uſurped the Sovereign Authority of the Subahſhip of Oude, and required his Anſwer to them.—Under a Pretext of a few Days of Sickneſs he had evaded the Reply, and it yet remained a Doubt whether he meant to make one. From the Rumours which had ariſen in the intermediate Time, of approaching Changes in this Government, and the Advantage which Mr. Briſtow was ſaid in his imputed Converſation with Hyder Beg Cawn to have made of them, I did believe, and do believe, that his Object in the Delay was principally to allow Time for the Rumours, if true, to be verified by their Effect, and the Enquiry, or the Severity of it at leaſt, precluded by my Removal from the Government; though it might ſerve for another Purpoſe, which I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. It is certain that a ſufficient Time had paſſed for Mr. Briſtow to have made his Defence, and for the Board to have received it, had his Sickneſs been ſuch as he repreſented it. In the mean Time he retained the Powers which he had uſurped; the Credit of his Influence was eſtabliſhed, to the

(a) I find, on comparing this Extract with the original Minute, that the Word *effectual* has been erroneouſly written for *ineffectual*, which is the Term uſed in the latter. As my Obſervation applied immediately to the Word *effectual*, I cannot now change it, and this Note will ſuffice to do Juſtice to the Text; nor will it affect the Fidelity of my Obſervation, the Meaning of both Words being conſtructively the ſame; for Mr. Briſtow had required the Removal of Hyder Beg Khaun, on the Plea that he ſhould be unable to diſcharge the Duties of his Station effectually without it, and Mr. Macpherſon's Repetition of the Plea is an Implication of the ſame Concluſion, or it ſtands for nothing.

Diſcourage-

Diſcouragement both of Oppoſition, and of any Evidence which might have been produced againſt him; he was in poſſeſſion of the Privilege which forbids that a Man accuſed ſhall be convicted unheard, with powerful Advocates to maintain it; for even in the Debates of this Day, it was aſſerted in his Favour, and on the Strength of it he might maintain his Ground unmoleſted to any indefinite Period. I have underſtood it to be in many Caſes a Maxim of Law, that if a Man accuſed before a Tribunal competent for his Trial ſhall refuſe to plead to the Accuſation, his Refuſal ſhall be aſſumed to be equivalent to Conviction: It is certainly Contumacy, and as ſuch, applied to the Occaſion and Conſequences of it, it merited both the Puniſhment of the Offender, and that Remedy for the public Diſorders attendant on it which the Board could apply; and theſe were the united Principles and Objects of my Queſtion. Was this a ſhifting of the original Charges; or when theſe were evaded, and the only Alternative that remained was, either to let a Criminal eſcape with Impunity, and divide the Authority which had called on him for his Defence, or to proceed to Judgment againſt him—was it not ſtrictly regular in me to propoſe the latter, and thus, by a decided Act of Government, to remove at once both the Evil and its Author?

Mr. Macpherſon's Objections to the Queſtion were, that he could not condemn Mr. Briſtow unconvicted; that Mr. Briſtow had been ſick, and might have had other Reaſons for the Delay; that he could not conſent to the Abolition of the Reſidency, "and leaving to the Vizier and his "Miniſter the Powers which they required,"—without full Security for the Company's Intereſts, and the Peace of "our Frontiers;" adding a Suggeſtion, which I do not well comprehend, relating to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the French in India.

I ſhall only take notice of that Part of his Minute which relates to Mr. Briſtow's Plea of Sickneſs—I am impelled by a Senſe of Duty, ſuperior to the Conſideration of perſonal Tenderneſs, to declare, that the Plea, even in the Terms of it, is unadmiſſible *, and that I believe it to be almoſt wholly without Foundation. Mr. Briſtow acknowledged the Receipt of the Charges in a Letter dated the 13th of June.—On the 23d of June he wrote to the Board, that he had been ſick, and confined to his Bed ſince the 20th, that is, little more than Two Days; and on the 16th of July he wrote to the Secretary, that his Indiſpoſition had prevented him.—Surely his Indiſpoſition was not ſo violent in all this long Period, but that, with the acknowledged Benefit of One entire Week of Health, he might have found Intervals of Eaſe to finiſh that Part of his Defence which required his perſonal Labour; for, abſtracted from the Copies of the original Papers with which he has connected it, and which were the Work of his official Aſſiſtants, his Defence alone might, in the Judgment of any unbiaſſed Reader, be rated as the Compoſition of a very few Days.—The Expreſſion of Mr. Briſtow's Letter to the Secretary does not convey the Idea of ſevere Sickneſs; and I am glad of it, becauſe I am morally certain that his Sickneſs, whatever it was, was not of ſuch a Kind as to ſerve for the Excuſe to which he has applied it. I will give my Reaſon for this Concluſion:—When Mr. Briſtow's laſt Plea arrived, I aſked Rajah Gobin Ram, the Vakeel of the Nabob Vizier, whether he had heard that Mr. Briſtow was very ill, he anſwered me with ſuch an Air and Tone of Voice as uſually accompany the Expreſſion of common Information, that he had not; and that if Mr. Briſtow had been very ill, he ſhould ſurely have known it.—As my Reply ſeemed to mark a Doubt of his being truly informed, he brought to me, I believe the next Day, an Extract of a Letter from his Correſpondent at Lucknow, which adviſed him of a ſlight Diſorder with which Mr. Briſtow appeared to have been affected in February or March laſt; inferring from thence, that if Mr. Briſtow had been ſeriouſly ill at a later Period, his Correſpondent would not have failed to inform him of it, which he had not done.—Let not Rajah Gobind Ram be the Object of Diſpleaſure to any one for the Uſe which I have made of his Evidence; for to this Hour he knows not the Purpoſe for which it was exacted, nor has, I am certain, a Suſpicion, that in a plain Anſwer to an unimportant Queſtion, he was furniſhing an Argument of perſonal Conſequence to the Gentleman to whom it related.

* Sic in Orig.

On the 11th of Auguſt Mr. Briſtow's long-expected Defence arrived, with a Letter, dated the 30th of July.

It may not be unuſeful, in this Place, to recur to the Documents which contain the Charges againſt him: Theſe will be found at large in the Nabob Vizier's Letters, and in the Letters and other Papers of his Miniſter, Hyder Beg Cawn, which were entered on the Conſultations of the 21ſt of April, and 2d of May. Thoſe of the Nabob Vizier I ſhall here enter at large, referring for the others to the Places in which they regularly ſtand, and to Mr. Briſtow's Tranſcripts of them, annexed to his Defence.

From the Nabob Vizier to the Governor General, Letter the 1ſt: Received the 28th March 1783.

Uſual Introduction.

From the Commencement of the Friendſhip between the late Nawaub and you, and the Gentlemen of the Council, on this Side there has been no Deficiency. In conſequence of the Interchange of Turbans between you and the late Nawaub, I look up to you as the Brother of my Father. My Country and my Dwelling are yours. I have on all Occaſions ſtudied your Pleaſure, and the Satisfaction of the Gentlemen of the Council; you on your Part have ſtill acted with the Duties of Friendſhip and Affection, and I feel and acknowledge the Obligation.

The

The Diſpoſition and Conduct of Mr. Briſtow were formerly known to you. You lately wrote to me, that having included him in the Number of your choſen and ſelect Friends, you had ſent him here; and Major Palmer, agreeable to Inſtructions from you, returned from Cawnpore to Lucknow to adviſe and encourage me. This he did, recommending Attention and Regard to the Inclinations and Satisfaction of Mr. Briſtow.

Mr. Briſtow, at his Firſt Interview, aſſumed the Diſguiſe of Affability and Kindneſs. His Firſt Propoſal was, that I ſhould entruſt him with the Management of my Houſehold: If I would, he ſaid, he would conduct the Buſineſs of that Department in ſuch a Manner as would give infinite Satisfaction.—I replied, that for the Intereſt of the Company's Surcar he had full public Powers, and that I approved of them from my Heart, as the Means of confirming and ſtrengthening the Friendſhip between the Company and me, and that I would comply with every Thing he might propoſe for the Benefit of the Company's Surcar; but that in my Houſehold Concerns there was not any Thing of ſuch Importance as to render it neceſſary to trouble him.

In a few Days he aſſumed a Line of Conduct correſpondent to his Diſpoſition—to attempt a particular and minute Account of it would be vain and fruitleſs. Not One Circumſtance which could be productive of Indignity, Contempt, or the Annihilation of my Authority, has he left unperformed. Shoccahs reſpecting the Regiments and other Matters he has cauſed to be written through Hyder Beg Khaun, without my Knowledge; he has ſent a Suzzawul to Furruckabad contrary to my Inclinations; and is preparing to ſend Suzzawuls to other Places. He has ſtrictly forbade my Miniſters from writing to you on the State of Things, declaring that if any preſumed to write a ſingle Circumſtance of the Tranſactions here to Calcutta, he would call him to a ſevere Account. He ſeht a Meſſage to me, directing me to appoint a Treaſurer and Comptroller of his chuſing; that the Monies from the Mahalauts *(a)* aſſigned for the Expence of my Houſehold Eſtabliſhments and Domeſtics ſhould be paid in to the above-mentioned Treaſurer and Comptroller, and kept in a ſeparate Houſe allotted to that Purpoſe—that People ſent by him ſhould be ſtationed there for its Protection, and that what was neceſſary ſhould be expended with his Knowledge and under his Direction.

I replied, that every one throughout the whole Empire, from the higheſt to the loweſt, had the Direction of his own Houſehold Eſtabliſhments and Domeſtics; and deſired to know whether he would deprive me of that Authority alſo. He anſwered, that ſuch were the Orders of the Gentlemen of the Council, and he would execute them. I repreſented to him, in the moſt earneſt and forcible Terms, by Meſſage, that this Meaſure could be of no Benefit to him, but that it would cover me with Indignity and Diſhonour in the Eyes of all Mankind; and that it would be ſaid, the Nawaub Vizier was ſo completely diveſted of all Power and Authority, that by the Appointment of a Treaſurer and Comptroller, he had no longer any Command over his own Houſehold Eſtabliſhment and domeſtic Servants. This Meſſage had no Effect: He came to viſit me, and aſked why I entertained Apprehenſions from the Appointment of a Treaſurer and Comptroller; that he propoſed it with a View to the Regulation of my Affairs: (He had ſaid, at firſt, that neither he nor Hyder Beg ſhould have any Concern in the Appointments of the Treaſurer and Comptroller, but that I ſhould appoint whom I thought proper.) I replied, that the Appointments of Treaſurer and Comptroller of my Houſehold would be a Diſgrace to me: After that he propoſed, that I myſelf ſhould take upon me the Management of all my Affairs, and that the Miniſters ſhould be diſmiſſed. As I knew that this Propoſal for the Diſmiſſion of the Miniſters was made with a ſecret View to the full Eſtabliſhment of his own Authority, in order to ſound his Intentions I obſerved, that in the Time of Mohtaur ul Dowlah ſimilar Converſations had paſſed between us, and that when I wanted to do it he himſelf protected him. He replied, that I might now do whatever I thought proper with reſpect to the Miniſters, that he would give it under his Hand and Seal, that they ſhould not receive Protection either from him or from the Gentlemen of the Council. I ſaid, that the Miniſters had hitherto committed no Crime worthy of Diſmiſſion; but that I wiſhed he would give up the intended Appointments of Comptroller and Treaſurer. He replied, that he had Orders to that Purport, and that it was not in his Power. Here the Converſation ended.

Again he repeated his Meſſage for the Appointment of the Treaſurer and Comptroller; I ſaid, in Anſwer, that the Jagheers of my Parents, my Relations, my Friends, and my Officers, were all ſequeſtered, that they had no Means of Subſiſtence, and that it was my Wiſh to admit them all to a Participation in the little which remained to me, but that he would not permit even that; that he threw a Cord about my Neck to prevent my eating my Morſel in Eaſe and Comfort; that the Miſeries of my Friends, Relations, and Jagheerdars, filled me with the deepeſt Diſtreſs; to that he added theſe Diſquietudes: And * intreated him for God's Sake to leave me at reſt.

* Sic in Orig.

He again viſited me in Perſon, ſaying, "I deſire you to appoint a Treaſurer and Comptroller; "your Highneſs refuſes to acquieſce. To-day I tell you plainly, that my Orders are peremptory; "that whether you may be pleaſed or diſpleaſed, I will at all Events appoint a Comptroller and a "Treaſurer, will call in the Money from the Jaguidaads *(b)*, and will iſſue it under my own Au- "thority, for the Expences of your Houſehold." I replied, "Whatever you may propoſe for "the Benefit of the Company's Surcar, I am ready to acquieſce; but to an Arrangement of my "Houſehold, ſo diſgraceful and pernicious, I alſo will never agree: I will not conſent to be de-

(a) Aſſigned Lands. *(b)* Literally Aſſets. It here means Aſſignments.

"prived

" prived of my proper Authority, and to receive from your Hand the Subſiſtence for my domeſ-
" tic Servants, and the Animals of my Houſehold."—" If your Orders are peremptory, give to
" me a Copy of the Orders of the Gentlemen of the Council—My Seal is forthcoming, I will
" ſend it to you, and you may do by Violence whatever you may think proper.—I will ſhut up
" the Doors of my Houſe—there I will ſit, and ſeclude myſelf from all Society." He replied, it was well—he would give me a written Copy of the Orders from the Gentlemen of the Council, I might ſend my Seal: He would at all Events execute the Meaſure.—He then roſe, and retired.

For Two Days repeatedly I ſent my Seal to him by the Mowluvvee, that he might do whatever he thought proper; and then he ſaid, that if I would not affix my Seal voluntarily, my Seal was unneceſſary: He would ſend Letters under his own Seal, and would himſelf appoint a Treaſurer; to which I returned no Anſwer. Accordingly the Tunkhaw Monies which came in he delivered to Mr. Cooper, and Mr. Cooper appointed a Man named Dechait to the Office of Treaſurer.

Whatever he chuſes to have written to any one, he cauſes Drafts of the Shoccahs to be made out by his own Moonſhee, and ſends them by Shaick Shuffee Ullah. Sheik Shuffee Ullah's Kiſtmutgar cauſes them to be written by my Moonſhee, and having cauſed my Seal alſo to be affixed to them, carries them away. Hence you may form a Judgment of the Extent of my Authority, and of that of my Miniſters.

He brought forward and carried into Execution a Reduction of the Troops, and that too even without conſulting me even as a common Siriſhtedar (*a*). He threatens my Miniſters, telling them to act as he directs, otherwiſe he will cauſe them to be turned out of their Offices. The Miniſters, influenced by the Terror of this Menace, obey him; and this he conſtrues into the Management of Affairs with the Advice and Approbation of the Miniſters of my Surcar.

The whole City, and many of the Gentlemen here, are acquainted with the Indignities I ſuffer. My Situation, my Friend, although I am every way devoted to your Pleaſure, is wretched beyond Meaſure. My Friends and my Relations, the Jagheerdars, and the Officers of my Government, are ſtarving. By Enquiry inform yourſelf of the actual Situations of theſe People. Such is my own Condition, that Mr. Briſtow throttles me, as it were, in order to force the Morſel from my Mouth.

I am made wretched to extreme by this Conduct of Mr. Briſtow. If you will give me Leave, and write to me to that Purport, I will come to you. Allow me not to be rendered contemptible in this Country, where we have lived for Three Generations in Honour and Proſperity. I will come to you, and I will make no Complaints; either do this, or deliver me from the Hand of this Man. I am devoted to your Pleaſure; I will not object to any Thing. Whatever you may direct, agreeably to that I will act. If you are ſolicitous to promote my Proſperity, confer upon me diſcretional Power over my Country, and for the Payment of the Monies to the Company. By heaping theſe Miſeries and Indignities upon me, Mr. Briſtow has engaged for the Payment of certain Sums. After obtaining a perfect Knowledge of my Situation, whatever may be the Mode on which you ſhall determine, be pleaſed to inform me thereof, and I will cauſe the Monies to be paid to you through the Hands of my Miniſters. If any Deficiency or Default of Payment ſhall ariſe, do, on the Inſtant, whatever you ſhall think proper. In freeing me from theſe Indignities, you will procure a laſting Reputation on yourſelf.

Concludes as uſual.

P. S. In the Nawaub Vizier's own Hand.

My Diſtreſſes, my Friend, exceed all Bounds. This is the Time for Kindneſs and generous Affection. I entreat that I may either obtain my Requeſt, or that you will call me to you.

From the Nabob Vizier to the Governor General, Second Letter: Received the 7th of April 1783.

Uſual Introduction.

I have already informed you fully of the Perſecutions and Indignities I have ſuffered from the Hands of Mr. Briſtow. The Contumely and Deprivation of Authority which I experience at his Hands, are redoubled daily. I am every way diſpoſed to fulfil your Pleaſure. The Payment of the Company's Demands I conſider as an Object ſuperior to all others, and wiſh to diſcharge them in Preference to every other Appropriation.

I entreat you, by Enquiry, to make yourſelf acquainted with the Conduct of Mr. Briſtow. The Meaſures on which he has determined, and which he is carrying into Execution, cannot, I am certain, correſpond with your Sentiments and Intentions towards me, or with thoſe of the Gentlemen of the Council.

He declares that the Government of this Country is his by Right, for that he has brought Orders or Authority from Europe; that he will take the entire Management of it into his own Hands, and with his own Hand give what is to be given. It is his Intention to reduce me to the State of a Servant dependant upon him. I am oppreſſed to the laſt Extremity, and my Life is become a Burthen to me.

(*a*) The Head of an Office.

I am

I am ready and willing to pay the Company's Monies. I entreat, as a Favour, that you will recall Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cooper, and permit me the Exerciſe of diſcretional Power for the Management of my Country, and the Payment of the Company's Monies. I will cauſe Payment of thoſe Monies to be made through the Hands of my Miniſter, in the Manner hereafter mentioned:

That is to ſay, Whereas Mr. Briſtow has declined taking Bills from the (*a*) Mahajens, for the Balance of Teeps, for 26 Lacks given by them; and has taken the Jauidauds aſſigned to thoſe Mahajeries into his own Hands, and declared that he himſelf will collect the Amount, and remit it to the Company's Treaſury; the Truth of which you may aſcertain from the Mahajens, who have given Teeps, and who declare themſelves ready to grant Bills for the ſame, if put in poſſeſſion of the Jauidauds originally aſſigned to them. When your Orders, eſtabliſhing my Authority for the Management of my Country, and the Payment of the Monies, ſhall arrive, and Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cooper be recalled from hence, I will procure Bills to be granted by thoſe Mahajens, to the Amount of the Balance of the Teeps, and tranſmit them to you; and whatever Sums may remain due on the Bills for 26 Lacks, granted by Gopaul Doſs Sâhoo, from whom Mr. Briſtow has taken, by Violence, my Miniſter's Tummuſſook (*b*), and ſubſtituted his own in the Place thereof, I will take back Mr. Briſtow's Tummuſſook from the Gomahtahs of the aforementioned Sâhoo, and cauſe it to be returned to Mr. Briſtow; and for what ſhall remain due to the ſaid Sâhoo, I will cauſe ſuch good and ſubſtantial Securities to be given to his ſaid Gomahtahs on the Spot, that no Cauſe for Suſpicion or Doubt ſhall remain; and with reſpect to the preſent Year Fuſſuly (*c*) 1190, and the Jâdauds for the Company's Money ſettled and received by Mr. Briſtow, and for the Amount of which he has taken Tummuſſooks from the Aumils of the ſaid Jâudauds, let him be directed to deliver up the Tummuſſooks of the ſaid Aumils to me, and whatever Sums may remain due from the ſaid Jâudauds, and payable by the ſaid Aumils, the ſame ſhall be remitted to you in Bills, Kiſt by Kiſt, by my Miniſters; and whatever Sums you ſhall direct to be paid here from the Amount thereof, for the Uſe of the Company's Troops, the ſame ſhall be paid here Monthly, to the commanding Officer of the Troops.

And for the enſuing Year 1191 Fuſſully, whatever Plan or Mode you ſhall be pleaſed to dictate and determine, that Plan or Mode, on your informing me thereof, ſhall be received, and ſtrictly followed. I will not object to or heſitate to fulfil your Pleaſure in any Reſpect whatever. If you will pleaſe, as a Mark of your Friendſhip, to recall Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper, and confer on me diſcretional Authority for the Management of my Country, and for the Payment of the Company's Monies, with God's Aſſiſtance I will cauſe thoſe Monies to be furniſhed and remitted by my Miniſters. Agreeably to what I have written, if any Defect or Deficiency ſhall happen, you will, on the Inſtant, take whatever Meaſures you ſhall think proper.

Concludes as uſual.

In the Nawaub's Vizier's own Hand:

I hope my Friend, from your Kindneſs, that I ſhall be delivered from theſe Diſtreſſes, and obtain my Requeſt.

The Allegations of the preceding Letters, and of thoſe of Hyder Beg Cawn, in which they are more fully detailed, if reduced to diſtinct and formal Charges, will ſtand as follows.

1ſt. That Mr. Briſtow had aſſumed an abſolute Power in the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Nabob Vizier, appropriating, or endeavouring to appropriate, to himſelf all the Offices of Government; taking all the public Accounts under his own Charge; diſmiſſing and appointing the Aumils or Officers of the Collections; receiving and iſſuing the public Money of the Nabob's State; and performing other Acts appertaining ſolely to the Sovereignty of the Nabob Vizier, or to the Authority delegated by him, ſome without the Knowledge, and ſome againſt the Conſent, of the Nabob Vizier.

2d. That he had aſſumed the Inſpection and Controul of the Nabob's private Expences and domeſtic Arrangements, not only without his Conſent, but againſt his Entreaties and vehement Proteſtations.

3d. That he had demanded and attempted, by Threats of Diſmiſſion from Office, to extort from the Miniſter, Hyder Beg Cawn, a Contribution of 25 Lacks of Rupees from his private Fortune.

4th. That he had compelled the Miniſter to write and iſſue Shoccahs, or Mandates, under the Nabob Vizier's Privy Seal, without the Knowledge of the Nabob Vizier.

5th. That he had treated the Nabob with perſonal Indignity and Inſult, viſiting him for the declared Purpoſe of making Declarations to the Nabob of his Reſolution to aſſume the Controul of his Adminiſtration, and uſing harſh and unbecoming Language in his Preſence; and treating, in Converſation with the Miniſter, the Nabob Vizier's Remonſtrances and Fears with Deriſion, calling them Tricks and Artifices.

6th. That he had forcibly aſſembled the Nabob Vizier's Mutteſuddies, or official Servants, at his own Houſe, detaining them there Eight Days, and compelling them to prepare Muſter Rolls of the Nabob's Mutayena, or Militia Forces; that he had afterwards diſbanded 4,000 Horſe and

(*a*) Bankers. (*b*) Bond. (*c*) The Fuſſuly Year begins on the 14th of September.

7,000 Foot of the ſaid Troops, declaring his Intention of raiſing Sepoys for the Nabob's Service in their Room: And that theſe Acts and Declaration were made without the Authority of the Nabob Vizier, either obtained or ſolicited.

7th. That he had appointed a Trooper, named Mahomed Beg, a Sezawul or Comptroller of Furruckabad, in direct Oppoſition to the Nabob's Repreſentations, and compelled the Miniſter to iſſue the Shoocka, or Vizier's Mandate, for the Appointment.

8th. That, excluſive of the Revenues aſſigned for the Debt of the Company, Mr. Briſtow had prohibited the Diſpoſal of the Remainder, thereby precluding the Penſioners, Jagheerdars, Officers, Troops, and Servants of the Nabob Vizier from the Means of Subſiſtence, to the Diſgrace of the Nabob Vizier, and the Danger of his State.

9th. That for all the preceding and other Acts, performed or attempted by Mr. Briſtow, he had affirmed that he had * poſſeſſed written Orders from myſelf, and from the Governor General and Council.

* Sic in Orig.

10th. That on the Demand made by the Nabob Vizier for a Copy of Mr. Briſtow's Orders for aſſuming the Controul of his Houſehold, he promiſed to deliver to the Nabob the ſame in Writing, which Promiſe he never performed; and that he had in like Manner promiſed to write to the Governor General the Nabob Vizier's Objections to that Interference, and Requeſt to be freed from the ſame, which Promiſe he never performed.

11th. To theſe Charges Mr. Briſtow has himſelf added One more in his Letter to the Board, dated the 13th of May, namely, that he had attempted to carry into Execution a Plan for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and had inveſted Mr. Cowper with extraordinary and undefined Powers for receiving Complaints from the Subjects of the Nabob Vizier, and ſuperſcribing them with Orders in the Stile of Mandates from the Nabob Vizier for the Redreſs of the Complainants.

I paſs over other Charges which are either in themſelves leſs culpable, or ſuch as may derive their Criminality from the Claims which I poſſeſs to Mr. Briſtow's Reſpect of my Authority, or to his perſonal Gratitude.——The Liberties which have been taken with my Character by my former Opponents in Office, the contumelious Terms which have been uſed by the Court of Directors in almoſt all their Letters written in a long Courſe of Years to this Government, the Wounds which have been inflicted on my official Influence even by the ſame Men, the Truſtees of the Company, and of the national Intereſts in India, and even in the moſt deſperate State of their Affairs, while they called upon me for my particular Exertions for their Retrieval, will afford Mr. Briſtow a Sanction in the Opinions of many, for every Declaration or Artifice uſed by him, or imputed to him, which had the Deſtruction of my Influence or Authority for its Object.—On theſe Points I ſhall let the original Charges and Mr. Briſtow's Defence ſtand uncommented, and make their own Impreſſion.

I regret that the Mode in which the Charges preferred againſt Mr. Briſtow were tranſmitted to him renders it difficult to follow the Order in which I have arranged them, or any other, in the Examination of his Defence.—I could not preſcribe a better Mode, nor could I have propoſed it without expoſing myſelf to Miſconſtructions.—I muſt therefore follow Mr. Briſtow's Defence, as he has applied it to the correſpondent Parts of Hyder Beg Cawn's Firſt Letter, which appears to me to comprize the whole of it.—One Thing I own ſurprizes me; which is, that though the Nabob Vizier has been loud in his Complaints, and is the only relative Subject of Mr. Briſtow's Guilt or Innocence, in the immediate Effects of the Acts on which they depend, Mr. Briſtow paſſes them either wholly without Reply, or with Remarks which are wholly foreign from his own Acquittal, and confines himſelf with a ſtudied Adherence to the Firſt Letter of Hyder Beg Cawn.

Perhaps it will be expected, that I ſhould firſt take notice of Mr. Briſtow's Letter which accompanies his Defence.—Upon this I can ſay but little: When it was read at the Board, I liſtened to it with more than common Attention, expecting it to contain the principal Ground of his Juſtification; and was a little mortified, that in the Firſt Pages of it I could catch nothing which I could ſubſtantially apply either to his Acquittal or Condemnation; nothing that I could either admit or refute; but an Elegance of Style exceeding by infinite Degrees the Talents of its oſtenſible Writer; a characteriſtic Prudence and Delicacy of Expreſſion, which, avoiding the Terms both of Affirmation and Denial, gently touched on both, and left ſuch an Impreſſion on my Mind as, had I not wholly confined my Attention to the Expectation of Information, would have diſarmed me of the moſt painful of the Senſations which had been excited by what I already knew too well of the general Subject.

To whomſoever Mr. Briſtow is indebted for this Compoſition, it is certainly not his own.—Combining the Date of his Letter to the Board, which beſpoke the Forbearance of his Delays, with the Length of Time requiſite for his original Draft, or whatever Materials were furniſhed for the Subſtance of the Letter, to arrive in Calcutta; for the Compoſition of the Letter, or for its Correction; and for its Tranſmiſſion to Lucknow, and final Diſpatch to Calcutta, altogether comprehending the exact Space of Thirty-ſeven Days;—I believe it to have been the Work, I mean either in the Compoſition or Correction, of a very diſtant Hand.—I owe it in Candour to the

the Perſon on whom my Conjectures have fixed it, to declare that I attribute it to Mr. Macpherſon.

I ſhall now examine Mr. Briſtow's Replies to the Firſt Letter of Hyder Beg Cawn, received the 28th Day of March.

In the firſt Paragraph he uſes this Expreſſion: "I have unremittingly perſevered in exerting my "Services for the Benefit of both Sircars."

Profeſſions of this Kind are ſeldom taken literally; but Mr. Briſtow ſeizes it as an Inſtrument for diſcrediting Hyder Beg Cawn's Evidence in all his Aſſertions, becauſe he ſays, "the Articles "of the Treaty of Chunar are without Exception to this Hour in the ſame Forwardneſs, with "reſpect to their Accompliſhment, as they were on the 23d of September 1781, or on the Day "of the Ratification."—I do not know what Article of the Treaty of Chunar does remain unaccompliſhed.—It is certain that the principal Article, which related to the Reſumption of the Jagheers, was accompliſhed; for the Jagheers were not only reſumed, but they were inſerted in Mr. Briſtow's own Accounts as making Part of the laſt Year's Aſſignments, granted or taken for the Diſcharge of the Company's Balance.—It is certain, therefore, that Mr. Briſtow has in this Inſtance hazarded an Aſſertion which his own Evidence has refuted: Yet I do not think that even his own Example would warrant his Opponent in calling it "a Declaration that carries Falſe-"hood in the Face of it," in applying to it the Terms of "the moſt unbluſhing Confidence,"—and, "an utter Contempt of Truth," or in affirming that "it is ſufficient to deſtroy at once all "Opinion of his Veracity." While Mr. Briſtow yields to the Impulſe of ſo unguarded a Malevolence, in arraigning the Character of another, he ought at leaſt to be careful not to furniſh Weapons for wounding his own. I ſhould not have caſt away a Moment's Attention on ſo frivolous an Argument, but that Mr. Briſtow ſeems to have reſted upon it as the principal Ground of his Defence; aſſerting univerſally, on the Strength of it, his Right to implicit Belief, on the Credit of his own Veracity, and the aſſumed Falſehood of Hyder Beg Cawn.

—In the Second Paragraph, Hyder Beg Cawn accounts for his paſt Silence on the Subject of his actual Complaints, by aſcribing it to "the ſtrict Injunctions of Mr. Briſtow, that no "one "ſhould preſume to inform this Government of the State of Affairs here," that is, at Lucknow;—to this Charge Mr. Briſtow applies the full Face* of the Poſition eſtabliſhed in the preceding Paragraph. His Words are ſo remarkable, that any Comment upon them would but weaken their Impreſſion: I ſhall therefore quote them at large.—"This, Gentlemen, is alſo an "Aſſertion without Proof: I crave Permiſſion to oppoſe it by a flat Denial; and in Addition to "what I have ſaid in the preceding Article, I beg it may be remembered, that I have never yet "been convicted of deliberate Falſehood."

2d Para.

* Sic in Orig.

With reſpect to the Charge itſelf, it muſt be admitted, that it is, if true, capable of poſitive Proof, were there any Power on the Spot competent to collect the Evidence of it; and that Hyder Beg has not offered to produce any Proof of it. But neither does it appear that it was intended as a criminal Charge, but rather as an Excuſe for Forbearance; nor that it was the Deſign either of the Miniſter, or of his Maſter, to convey in their Letters more than the Repreſentation of Facts: The Proofs in this, as in every Inſtance of the like Nature, were regularly to follow in the Proceſs of Enquiry, inſtituted on the Reception of the Charges. Yet I can myſelf afford a preſumptive Proof in ſupport of it, which is, that all Intercourſe between the Court of Lucknow and myſelf had certainly ceaſed ſince Mr. Briſtow's Arrival, unleſs it may be affirmed to have ſubſiſted in a very few Letters of mere Form, or in an Application for Bramins to be ſent to the Nabob, who were ſkilled in the Art of inoculating. I can poſitively vouch for the Effect, whatever Cauſe may have produced it; nor can I deviſe any other, unleſs it can be ſuppoſed that the Nabob and his Miniſter had early conceſted† this Plan of Reſerve, for the Purpoſe of aſcribing it to Mr. Briſtow; a Suppoſition inconſiſtent with itſelf, as it ſtates an Effect of Reſentment preceding the Ground of Injury.—This Paragraph conſiſts of Profeſſion on one Side, and of Denial and Invective on the other. They require no other Comment.

† Sic in Orig.

3d Para.

4th Para.—This claims a different Notice. Hyder Beg Cawn accuſes Mr. Briſtow, firſt of an early Declaration of his Intention to aſſume the immediate and entire Charge of the Nabob's Adminiſtration, in moſt of the Terms comprehended in the 1ſt Article of the Charges which I have prefixedto this Examination; and, ſecondly, of attempting to extort from him 25 Lacks of Rupees of his own private Property, which is the 3d Article of my Charges. To the Firſt Point Mr. Briſtow replies, that it is a vague and unſupported Aſſertion, marked by its Abſurdity, contradicted by Fact, and requiring no other Refutation.—I muſt differ in this Concluſion: If the Charge is contradicted by Fact, it is capable of Refutation; and the Fact ought to have been produced with its Evidence, to refute it. Plain Aſſertion and Denial are not Refutation.

4th Para.

On the 2d Charge he dwells with a ſtranger Emphaſis, affirming it to be an abſolute Falſehood in Terms, ſtating the Fact to which it relates in contradiction of it; and concluding with a declamatory Antitheſis on the Defeat of his Antagoniſt, a Commendation of his own Moderation, and an Expreſſion of Regret, that the public Intereſts had ſuffered by his too ſcrupulous Adherence to it. I ſhall only examine the Fact which he calls "a moſt ſimple Tranſaction." Hyder Beg Cawn's State of the Claim made on him by Mr. Briſtow, is expreſſed in theſe Words: "Therefore I muſt give Five-and-twenty Lacks of Rupees from my own private Property, to "enable

"enable him to pay the Troops, Houſehold Eſtabliſhment, and Jagheerdars." Mr. Briſtow affirms it to be "abſolutely falſe," or, in other Words, that he did not require of Hyder Beg Cawn "that he muſt give Five-and-twenty Lacks of Rupees from his own private Property," &c. I propoſed, ſays he, "to the Miniſter, to aſſiſt Government with a Loan from his own "Fortune, or upon his Credit; obſerving, that it was incumbent on thoſe who derived Advan-"tages from their public Station to prove their Zeal for the State, by uniformly exerting them-"ſelves to relieve its Diſtreſſes."—The palliating Terms, I propoſed, and to aſſiſt Government, will not change the Quality or Identity of the Fact. A Propoſal to aſſiſt with a Loan, connected with a Declaration that it was incumbent on him to yield to it, is a Demand; and is exactly the ſame in Subſtance, though differing, and but little, in Expreſſion, from Hyder Beg's State of the Fact, which Mr. Briſtow affirms to be abſolutely falſe. As to the qualifying Offer, which Mr. Briſtow ſays he made, "of employing his Influence with the Bankers, to procure a "Sum equal to what it might be in his Power to advance," I do not comprehend either the Generoſity or Object of it. If Hyder Beg Cawn was able to advance the Sum which the Bankers were to be influenced to lend, there ſeems to be little Occaſion for the Uſe of any Influence for ſuch a Purpoſe, ſince there would be in that Caſe no Occaſion for the Loan; and in whatever Senſe the Offer was made, it was certainly meant that Hyder Beg was to make the Advance. Therefore it is fully proved, that Mr. Briſtow did require of Hyder Beg Cawn that he muſt give Five-and-twenty Lacks of Rupees from his own private Property. Mr. Briſtow will not, I hope, avail himſelf of the Diſtinction which the Forms of Speech will afford him, between the Terms of Gift and Loan, ſince it is as notorious, from the State of the Nabob Vizier's Reſources, and the Demands upon them, as it evidently follows, from the Reaſon aſſigned for the Demand, that they were in that Caſe ſynonymous. As Mr. Briſtow has aſſigned no other Ground for this extraordinary Tranſaction, but that Hyder Beg, as a Servant of the State, ought to prove his Zeal for it, and that it had for its ſole Object the Service of the Public; and as there is not a Syllable in my Inſtructions that can warrant, by the moſt diſtant Conſtruction, ſuch a Violation of the Principles of common Juſtice, I do pronounce it to be a moſt flagitious Abuſe of his public Truſt, aggravated by his Concealment of it from the Knowledge of the Board.

Paragraph 5th.—This contains the Subſtance of the 4th and 9th Charges. Hyder Beg Cawn affirms, that Mr. Briſtow required him to write and iſſue a Shooka or Mandate, in the Name of the Nabob Vizier, without the Vizier's Knowledge; "aſſerting, that he had it in Command "from the Governor General and Gentlemen of the Council, to act as he ſhould deem proper, "without waiting to inform the Nabob, or allowing his Meaſures to depend on his Highneſs's "Pleaſure or Diſpleaſure."

To this Mr. Briſtow replies, that it is moſt true, that the Shooka in queſtion was written without the Knowledge of the Vizier: But that it is as true, that it was written by the Miniſter alone; and adds, that in the Inſtance of the Aſſignment in favour of the Toorkſawaurs Hyder Beg had practiſed the ſame Forgery, and had iſſued Shookas unknown to the Vizier. What follows muſt be repeated in Mr. Briſtow's own Words: "When I underſtood this to have been "the Caſe, I ſeverely cenſured his Behaviour; explaining to him withal the Abhorrence with "which Acts of this Nature were regarded by the Natives of Europe; and warning him, that "ſhould you ever be advertiſed of the Tranſaction, he would aſſuredly fall under your heavieſt "Diſpleaſure; and that my Silence would depend upon his religiouſly obſerving my Injunctions "againſt a Repetition of ſuch unwarrantable Conduct." Had Mr. Briſtow ſtopped here, ſo pointed a Denial would at leaſt have left the Credit of the Fact in Suſpenſe; and the Prejudice with which every Engliſhman views a Conteſt between One of his own Countrymen, and a Native of Hindoſtan, would have affixed to it a general Impreſſion equivalent to a full Refutation. But Mr. Briſtow, unfortunately for his own Safety, purſues his Victory with too great Precipitation into a Field of Argument which turns the Defeat on himſelf. "You, however, Gentlemen," he adds, "will judge how well this affected Delicacy, with reſpect to the Application of the Na-"bob's Seal, accords with his being in actual Poſſeſſion of it for Years, with a diſcre-"tionary Power alſo, as he pretends, freely granted him by his Maſter, to uſe it as he ſhould "ſee fit. Under this Sanction he has ſince reigned with the moſt unbounded Authority over "the Territories of Aſſof ul Dowlah, and in commanding he has ruined them." But if this is a Fact of ſuch Notoriety, as is implied by * alluſive Conſtruction of the Sentence which introduces the Mention of it, nor is it eaſy to conceive how ſuch a Fact could have exiſted for Years without Notoriety, and if under this Sanction (that is, by uſing the Nabob's Seal without his Knowledge) the Miniſter had reigned with the moſt unbounded Authority, and ruined the Country, it will ſeem very extraordinary that Mr. Briſtow ſhould have felt ſuch Sentiments of Abhorrence on the Detection of a few recent Inſtances of it, and iſſued ſuch peremptory Injunctions againſt a Repetition of it, on Pain of the heavieſt Diſpleaſure of our Government. If Mr. Briſtow believed that the Miniſter poſſeſſed the Nabob's Authority for the diſcretionary Uſe of his Seal, it was an Abſurdity in Terms to charge him with Criminality for uſing it. If he knew that the Miniſter did not poſſeſs that Authority, but knew, as he certainly muſt have known, that the Miniſter had been in the Practice of this Guilt for Years, his Indignation would have been excited by the Falſehood of the Miniſter's Plea of the Neceſſity of applying to the Vizier for his Authority to uſe his Seal, and to iſſue the Shooka. As a Corrector of Abuſes, he could not

* Sic in Orig.

have failed to make this the firſt Object of his Reformation; but by his Relation of the Caſe, he appears to have ſuffered the long and uninterrupted Continuance of it without Reproach or Notice, and ſuddenly it appears not on what Provocation reprobates it as a Crime regarded with Abhorrence by all the Natives of Europe, and denounces the ſevereſt Judgment and Penalties againſt the Repetition of it.

But what were the Occaſions in which the Nabob's Seal and Mandates were thus fraudulently uſed?—It appears from Mr. Briſtow's own Account, in various Parts of his Correſpondence with Hyder Beg Cawn and the Nabob Vizier, and even his Letters to the Board, that it was for the Purpoſe of carrying Two Points, which Mr. Briſtow himſelf had at heart, and firſt urged to the Miniſter, namely, to call for the Aſſiſtance of Regiments of the Company's Forces, and to conſtitute new Aſſignments for the Payment of the Nabob's Houſehold Troops; Two Points, to which he knew the Nabob Vizier would object, if they had been propoſed to him; and which form Part of the Charges preferred by Mr. Briſtow himſelf againſt Hyder Beg Cawn, for his Oppoſition to them. Is it poſſible that Hyder Beg Cawn, charged by Mr. Briſtow with ſo perſevering a Determination to thwart him in all his Meaſures, and availing himſelf of his Aſcendency over the Nabob Vizier to that Effect, ſhould have committed ſo flagrant an Encroachment on the Nabob's Sovereign Rights, for the ſake of carrying into Execution the Meaſures of Mr. Briſtow, of which he himſelf diſapproved, and which he had himſelf oppoſed; that he ſhould hazard the Commiſſion of an Act ſo repugnant to his Intereſt and Credit with his Maſter, and yet ſuppreſs the Knowledge of it from Mr. Briſtow himſelf, with whom he had an undoubted Title to ſome Merit in the Sacrifice? It is impoſſible; for I affirm that ſuch a Conduct is without Example in the whole Hiſtory of Human Nature. Were extraneous Proofs wanting, in default of inherent Conviction, the Letters written to Mr. Briſtow by Hyder Beg Cawn, in which repeated Alluſions are made to his having, in obedience to Mr. Briſtow's Orders, iſſued Shookas with the Nabob's Seal, unknown to the Nabob, are of themſelves undeniable Evidences of the Fact, for Mr. Briſtow admits them without a Denial; though it will appear, on the Peruſal of his Letters, that he dwells with Repetition on other Matters of infinitely leſs relative Moment, and paſſes, without a Word of Exculpation or Reply, the Imputation of an Act to which he affixes every Idea of Horror in his Application of it to another.

Paragraph 6th.—This Paragraph contains the Particulars of the Second Charge. It ſtates, that Mr. Briſtow began by an Order to the Miniſter to deliver to him the Accounts of the Vizier's Kitchen, his Horſes, Elephants, and Camels; that on the Miniſter's Heſitation to comply with a Demand ſo unuſual and offenſive to his Maſter, Mr. Briſtow inſiſted, with Anger, and ſaid, "I have Orders to take poſſeſſion of all Papers;" that the Miniſter, on this Information, complied; that Mr. Briſtow proceeded to the Appointment of a Treaſurer and Comptroller of the Nabob Vizier's Houſehold, firſt propoſing it to the Vizier himſelf by Meſſage, and afterwards in Perſon; that the Nabob Vizier objected, and proteſted againſt the Appointments, and againſt Mr. Briſtow's Interference in his private Expences; that the Nabob, unable to prevail on Mr. Briſtow himſelf, deputed the Miniſter to entreat him to deſiſt from this Purpoſe, to aſk him why he thus perſecuted and depreſſed him; adding, the little which falls to my Lot, even that he will not allow me to eat in Peace and Quietneſs; that this Declaration was accompanied by Tears of Anguiſh. Mr. Briſtow's Anſwer to this Meſſage, and his Reflections on the State of Miſery and Humiliation to which he had reduced the Nabob, if they have been fairly ſtated, are equally an Outrage to Decency and Humanity. I will not debaſe my Mind with the Drudgery of tranſcribing ſo foul a Subject, nor attempt to abridge what ought, for our national Credit, to be alike conſigned to Oblivion. The Readers of this Minute will be furniſhed with the ſame Means of reading both the original Repreſentation, and Mr. Briſtow's Reply; and it will not be difficult for a Mind accuſtomed to Repreſentations, written under the Influence of Intereſt, Pride, or Malevolence, to decompoſe the Subſtance of each, and ſeparate the Truth from the groſſer Matters which invelope it. It is ſufficient to my Subject to mention, that both the Nabob's Prayers and the Interceſſion of the Miniſter were alike unavailing. Mr. Briſtow not only inſiſted on the Appointments which he had recommended, but went himſelf to the Vizier for the Purpoſe, as he is ſaid to have declared, of telling him ſo Face to Face, and in plain Terms; ſaying, "that his Orders from the Gentlemen of the Council "were peremptory." The Nabob is aſſerted to have demanded a written Copy of the Orders; to have bidden him take his Seal, and do by Force what he thought proper; and to have declared in the Agony of his Feelings, and the conſcious Shame of his Degradation, that he would confine himſelf within his Apartments, and exclude himſelf from all Society. Mr. Briſtow promiſed to give the Nabob a Copy of his Orders; but remained inflexible to his Point, declaring his Reſolution to iſſue his own Orders to the Aumils for the Delivery of their Collections, if the Nabob continued to refuſe the Authority of his Shookas; and that he would keep the Treaſury, that is, the Treaſury of the Nabob's private Expences, in his own Hands. I again refer to the original Letter, and add my earneſt Intreaties, that the candid Readers of this Minute will take their Information from that, and not from this brief and very imperfect State of it, or rather Alluſion to it.

I proceed to Mr. Briſtow's Reply.—By the introductory Quotation of my Inſtructions, it would appear that he avows the Charge, and juſtifies it by his preſcribed Duty. This Quotation conſiſts

ſiſts of Extracts from my Inſtructions to Mr. Middleton, the preceding Reſident, and from thoſe which were perſonally directed to Mr. Briſtow on his Appointment.

The plain Deſign and expreſs Charge of both was, that the Sum allotted for the Nabob's private Expences ſhould be paid in equal Monthly Inſtallments, and be allowed a Preference to every other Demand: It was dictated with a Spirit as oppoſite to Mr. Briſtow's Application, as the
☞ wideſt Extremes of Nature. [It made a Part of a general Injunction to treat the Nabob with every poſſible Delicacy, Conciliation, and Attention; and was written purely from the Apprehenſion of a Deficiency in the public Funds not admitting the full Payment of the Company's juſt Claims, and the Calls of his perſonal and neceſſary Wants; and may I add, without the Hazard of drawing on myſelf a ſevere Cenſure from ſuch of my Conſtituents as ſhall think that, in the Time of their Diſtreſſes, my firſt and excluſive Care ſhould be given to their Relief, than that of having authorized the Deprivation of an unhappy Prince, whoſe Alliance had ſubjected him to a ſervile Dependance on the Power of this Government, that it was my Intention to preclude the Operation of ſuch a Plea, by directing that the Nabob's perſonal Share of his own Finances ſhould be fully allotted to him, although the Company's Debt remained wholly in Balance. Let me be judged with Candour. Our Alliance has proved the Extinction of his Sovereignty, and the Impoveriſhment of his Country and Revenue; and it was but juſt to allow him the Means of Subſiſtence, if no more remained of the Reſources of his Inheritance.] *(a)*

I cannot ſuppreſs a Spark of Reſentment in repeating Mr. Briſtow's Application of my Inſtructions in the Words immediately following his Quotation of them:—"Theſe are the Grounds, "Gentlemen, upon which I recommended to the Nabob the Separation of his public and private "Funds," and for that Purpoſe, as he afterwards explains it, "the Eſtabliſhment of an Office of "Treaſury," which he calls "the Execution of an Article ſo explicitly provided for by the "Treaty;" that is to ſay, that becauſe I had enjoined to Mr. Briſtow a particular Care that the Nabob Vizier ſhould, againſt every other Exigency, receive the full Amount allotted to his private Expences, Mr. Briſtow ſhould iſſue Shookas, or Mandates, in his own Name and Seal, if the Nabob refuſed the Sanction of his, to the Aumils, for the Aſſignment of their Collections for a Fund of his own Appointment; that he ſhould himſelf, or Mr. Cowper for him, or a Treaſurer for both, for the Arrangement has never been well defined, receive the Money of theſe Aſſignments; iſſue them as he pleaſed, not to the Nabob, but to the menial Officers of his Houſehold; diſpoſe of his ſuperfluous Horſes and other Cattle; determine how many Elephants were neceſſary to the State of the Vizier of the Empire; and the Number of Domeſtics for his Attendance; and pry into his Kitchen, for the Purpoſe of aſcertaining the Quantity of Victuals which ought to be dreſſed in it; that Mr. Briſtow ſhould controul the Accounts of theſe Diſburſements, and appropriate to his own Uſe, for the Conſequence is inevitable, if he choſe it, the Reſidue produced by theſe œconomical Retrenchments. Yet Mr. Briſtow has pretended that he acted by Inſtructions from me, and in the Execution of a Treaty made by me with the Nabob Vizier; and he has had the Boldneſs to affirm, that it was "the only Meaſure that could prevent the Nabob from "continuing a Cypher."—I know not what Mr. Briſtow means by his Alluſion to the Treaty, which moſt aſſuredly does not contain a Syllable which can juſtify his Conduct; but by the unexampled Latitude which he aſſumes in his Conſtructions, he may, if he pleaſes, extort this or any other Meaning from any Part of it.

I ſhall make no other Comment on this Tranſaction than to obſerve, that the Controul which Mr. Briſtow has aſſumed over the Nabob Aſſof ul Dowlah is ſuch as no Man living, however mean his Rank in Life, or dependant his Condition in it, would permit to be exerciſed by any other, without the Want or Forfeiture of every manly Principle; and can only be equalled in Inſolence with his abetting a young Servant of the Company, his Aſſiſtant, in dictating to the Sovereign of the Country the written Drafts of his own Mandates.

Such is the State to which the Company's Influence has reduced One, and the Firſt of its Allies, and ſuch the Example held out to the other Princes of India, who may be tempted to enſnare themſelves in the ſame Connection.

7th Paragraph.—This contains the Sequel of the ſame Tranſaction, with the Particulars of the 6th Charge, namely, "That he had forcibly aſſembled the Vizier's Mutteſuddies, or official "Servants, at his own Houſe, detaining them Eight Days, and compelling them to prepare "Muſter Rolls of the Nabob's Mutayena, or Militia Forces; that he had afterwards diſbanded "4,000 Horſe and 7,000 Foot of the ſaid Troops, declaring his Intention of raiſing Sepoys for "the Nabob's Service in their Room; and that theſe Acts and Declarations were made without "the Authority of the Nabob, either obtained or ſolicited." Mr. Briſtow avows the Deſign, but affirms that it failed through the Oppoſition of the Miniſter, and that the reſt of this Article "as detailed by the Miniſter, is an abſolute Romance"—What Part of this Article Mr. Briſtow means by "the reſt," does not appear, ſince no Part of his Reply expreſsly applies to any Part of the Charge; but if he was really concerned in any Part of the Conduct attributed to him, it will not be eaſy to ſeparate it from the reſt, and the whole was unwarranted by his Inſtructions.

Paragraph 8.—I have not included this in the Liſt of analyſed Charges, for I do not underſtand it. It alludes to an Attempt made by Mr. Briſtow to remove the Miniſter from his Office, and to obſcure Converſations held with the Nabob Vizier upon it.—And Mr. Briſtow's Reply ſeems to have

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 772.

have been dictated by ſome ſtrong Provocation of Anger, the Cauſe of which is not apparent; for he begins it with ſaying, "I am now fully convinced, and I have told your Honourable "Board ſo, that the Salvation of Owd depends upon the Diſmiſſion of the Miniſter." There the Sentence cloſes.—I can make nothing of it, and leave it.

Paragraph 9th.—This is general, both in the Charge and Defence; yet there is in both an Alluſion which I muſt not permit to be loſt. Hyder Beg Cawn ſays, "Such is Mr. Briſtow's "Diſpoſition, that he outwardly profeſſes and careſſes, while in reality he is endeavouring to "expel me from my Office, and then frequently denies or contradicts his own Declarations. In "the Repreſentation which I have made, I ave not in any One Inſtance deviated from "the Truth; and it is a poſitive Proof of the Reality of many of the Particulars, that Mr. Briſtow "did not reply to thoſe which hare ſtated in my Anſwer to his Letter, but at our next Interview "aſſumed Appearances of Affability and Good-will."

This Paſſage relates to the Shookas which were iſſued without the Knowledge of the Nabob Vizier; and of theſe the Hiſtory, as related by Hyder Beg Cawn, is as follows:

The Firſt Inſtance occurred early, the Time is immaterial, and therefore I do not trace it. Mr. Briſtow thought it neceſſary to call for the Aſſiſtance of the Company's Troops from the Detachment commanded by Colonel Sir John Cummings, at Futty Ghur. He applied to Hyder Beg Cawn for the Nabob's Shooka or Letter, under the Nabob's private Seal, requiring them, ſuch being the Form preſcribed for ſuch Occaſions: Hyder Beg Cawn anſwered, that it would be neceſſary to communicate this Affair to the Nabob Vizier. Mr. Briſtow aſſented, and ſaid he would ſpeak to him himſelf; but changing his Mind, reproachingly ordered Hyder Beg Cawn to cauſe the Shooka to be written, without making any Mention of it to the Nabob Vizier; ſaying, that ſuch was the Pleaſure of the Governor General and the Gentlemen of the Council. Hyder Beg Cawn, awed by this implied Menace, ſubmitted, and gave him the Shooka, with the Nabob's Seal furtively affixed. This Account is thus detailed in the 5th preceding Paragraph.

The latter Inſtance is thus related:—When Mr. Briſtow aſſumed to himſelf the Controul of the Nabob Vizier's Houſehold Expences, he found the Nabob's Body Guard of Horſe, which are mentioned by the Name of Toorkſawars, greatly in Arrears: He, in like Manner as before, compelled Hyder Beg Cawn to cauſe Shookas to be written, with the Seal, and in the Name, of the Nabob Vizier, but without his Knowledge, to certain Aumils or Collectors of the public Revenue, commanding them to pay their Collections in Aſſignment, for the Diſcharge of thoſe Arrears. The Vizier, having Notice of it, was very much offended; and when Mr. Briſtow preſſed him on the Subject of the Appointment of a Treaſurer and Comptroller of his Houſehold, he, after long Reſiſtance, yielded, being, as he ſaid, without Remedy; but exacted, as a Condition, that the Shookas which had been iſſued by Mr. Briſtow ſhould be at the ſame Time withdrawn, and others iſſued by himſelf in their Stead. As it ſeems to have been Mr. Briſtow's Practice, whenever he found a Difficulty in carrying any of his Meaſures into Execution, to lay his Diſappointment to the Account of the Miniſter, imputing it either to his ſecret Oppoſition, or to Want of due Exertion, the Miniſter, in Return, juſtified himſelf againſt theſe Imputations, by Appeals to Inſtances of his Obedience, yielded even at the Hazard of forfeiting the Nabob's Favour, and eſpecially to theſe in queſtion. Theſe Appeals form the Subſtance of his Letters to Mr. Briſtow, which ſtand on Record of the following Dates; viz.

11th of Rubbe ul Owel, or 14th February 1783.
16th — Ditto — 19th Ditto.

The ſame Subjects are alſo mentioned in a Shooka or Letter written by the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Briſtow, and returned by Mr. Briſtow to Hyder Beg Cawn, with a Letter dated the 20th Rubbe al Owel, or 23d of February.

The following Extracts from the preceding Correſpondence will illuſtrate the Expoſition which I have given of it, but cannot add to the Proofs which have been already exhibited in my Remarks on the 5th Paragraph, which relate particularly to the ſame Subject.

Extract of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn to Mr. Briſtow, dated the 11th of Rubbeal ul Owel, or 14th February 1783.

"From the Moment of your Arrival I have not in any Manner been deficient in Obedience, but "have in every Buſineſs, and without Heſitation, fulfilled your Commands; as in the important "Buſineſs reſpecting the Regiments at Futty Ghur, which you were pleaſed to direct ſhould not "be ſuſpended by Attention to the Nabob's Permiſſion, or by the Neceſſity of informing him "thereof."

To this Letter Mr. Briſtow made no Reply.

Extracts of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn to Mr. Briſtow, dated the 16th of Rubbeal Owel, or 19th February 1783.

" And reſpecting the Tunkhaw, which, by the Contents of the Shookas which you have cauſed " to be written to the Aumils, is included in the Tunkhaw of the Company, and the Superin- " tendance of which has been given to Mr. Cowper, and a ſeparate Treaſurer appointed for the " ſame, that you will withdraw this Meaſure, and return theſe Shookas, and that Shookas, re- " ſpecting the Tunkhaw of the Toorkſuwars, may be written, directing the Monies to be tranſ- " mitted to his Highneſs."——" His Highneſs replied to me in a Paſſion, and ſaid, you " firſt cauſed Shookas to be written, including the Tunkaw of the Turkſawars in that of the " Company, and delivered them without my Knowledge; and now that it has been agreed to " return thoſe Shookas, you again counteract it.—I will not conſent.—Let that which has been " agreed, to be performed."——" I repreſented to you in Reply, the Things which I had " done, both in Affairs of Importance, and in Concerns of leſs Moment, both with and with- " out the Knowledge of his Highneſs, in compliance with your Directions, and likewiſe the " Cauſes of the Delay which had occurred in certain particular Affairs; and I furthermore re- " marked, that my having wrote and delivered to you the Shookas reſpecting the Tunkaw of " the Toorkſawars, in the Manner or to the Purport which you had directed them to be writ- " ten, without the Knowledge of his Highneſs, muſt ſtand as an inconteſtable Proof of my " Obedience to your Commands. And on this Account his Highneſs has repeatedly upbraided " me, demanding to know how I preſumed to cauſe Shookas to be written and delivered without " his Knowledge. ❀ I informed you of the Nabob's Diſpleaſure, and you told me to be under " no Apprehenſion; that what I had done I had done by your Orders."——" Notwith- " ſtanding ſuch Proofs and Demonſtrations, the written Evidence of which ſtill exiſt, you ſay " that Profeſſions of Duty and Obedience, unattended by the Execution of Buſineſs, are of no Avail."

I muſt take notice that Mr. Briſtow, in the Appendix to his Defence, gives a different Tranſlation of this Letter from that which is entered on the Conſulations, and which was not received when the Charges againſt him were ſent to him.—In his Tranſlation, which is exceedingly faulty throughout, the Paſſages which I have quoted are ſo mutilated, and warped from the real Meaning, as to render the Tranſaction, of which they are an Evidence, either too obſcure for Application, or almoſt innocent. I ſhall inſtance only One Sentence of Mr. Briſtow's Tranſlation, anſwering to that above bearing this Mark ❀; and I will add the Perſian Text in the Margin.

" I ſeveral Times informed you of the Nabob's Diſpleaſure on this Head, and your Commands " were, that I ſhould take no Heed of it, ſince the Buſineſs muſt be ſettled as you had ordained."

There is a wide Difference between a Declaration ſaid to be made by Mr. Briſtow, that an Act already done " muſt be ſettled as he had ordained," which, by the bye, is not reconcileable to common Senſe, and his Acknowledgement, that " it had been done by his Orders:" And if this Sophiſtication was not an Error unintended, it will be very obvious why it was made, though not yet eaſy to reconcile it with the Horror with which Mr. Briſtow pretends to have been affected, when he obtained the firſt Information of the Act.

I myſelf vouch for the Fidelity of the firſt Tranſlation, having compared it with the Original; and if it is diſputed, I will put it to Proof.

To this Letter alſo Mr. Briſtow made no Reply, aſſigning as a Reaſon, " that he had already " explained to him in the plaineſt Language his Intentions, which he ſtill wilfully miſunderſtood, " and invariably miſrepreſented;" and " that, having every Thing of Importance yet to do, " he did not chuſe to engage in a ſilly and endleſs War of Words, or to ſit down ſeriouſly to an- " ſwer Fables, becauſe he choſe to dignify them with the Name of Facts."——This is a very eaſy Refutation, but not ſuch a one as the Magnitude of the Charge deſerved, or as would commonly ſuffice to a Mind conſcious of its Integrity, and ſenſible to the Feelings of wounded Honour.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Briſtow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 10th of Rubbe al Owal, or 23d February 1783.

" His Highneſs deſires that the Monies may be kept in the Pungmahla, under the Charge of " the Muttaſeddies of the Sircar, and that I will return the Shookas which were formerly iſſued " concerning the Tuncaw of the Toorkſawars, agreeably to his Highneſs's Commands.—I con- " ſent to both.——P. S. I ſend back his Highneſs's Shookas addreſſed to me, and Sheikh Go- " laum Surroor."

Copy of a Shooka or Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Briſtow, which was returned by Mr. Briſtow to Hyder Beg Cawn with the preceding Letter.——I cannot extract it.

It may afford a Triumph to Mr. Briſtow to have ſuch a Proof of " the unprincely Style of the " unhappy Aſſof ul Dowlah, oppoſed to the dignified Idea of inſulted Sovereignty;" but if there is

is a Spark of generous Virtue in the Breasts of any of my Countrymen who shall be the Readers of this Compilation, this Letter shall stand for an Instrument to awaken it to the Call of Vengeance against so flagitious an Abuse of Authority, and Reproach of the English Name.

" You desired that a Treasurer and Comptroller might be appointed over the Disbursements of " the * Dowuab, Domestics, &c. of my Household; I rejected, because it would reflect Disgrace " upon me in the Eyes of the whole World, since it would be apparent that I had no longer any " Authority over my own Household, my Dowaub, and my Domestics, &c. at the same Time that " it would be productive of no Advantage whatever to the English Nation.—You insist upon the " Appointments being made from the highest to the lowest; it has still been customary for every " one, whatever Income his Situation afforded him, to manage the Expences of his own Domestics " and Dowaub at his Discretion;—yet, such are the Events which my Fate has brought forwards, " that a new Treasurer and Comptroller are about to be appointed over my Household, Domestics, " and Dowaub.—The Infant that has aught in his Hand, will weep if it is forced from him.—I " also understand what is and what is not for my Advantage; and I now with Humility tell you, " that if for my Satisfaction, and out of Friendship for me, you will desist from this Measure, you " will confer a Favour upon me; but in case it is your Pleasure that it shall be so, I am without " Resource—make the Appointments.—Yet, at least, let thus much of Appearances be preserved, " that the Monies for the Jaidaud Mahals, for the Dowaub, Domestics, and Household Disburse- " ments, and for the Tunkaw of the Toorkshawars, may be transmitted to the Place where I reside, " and separately delivered into the Charge of my People.—The Monies on Account of the Dowaub " and Household Expences shall be issued by Dawaugaudas the Treasurer, and Mahomed Hassan, " Comptroller, and Tahakoordas the Comptroller's Paishkor, under my Directions or Authority; " and the Tuncaw of the Toorkshawars, corresponding to the Regulations and Practices of this " Surcor, shall be issued to them as formerly by Rajah Tippar Chund; and that you will return " the Shookas, which you caused to be written without my Knowledge, concerning the Tuncaw " of the Toorkshawars, directing the Monies to be included in and remitted with the Tuncaw of " the Company; and that you will hereafter, as my Friend, write to the Governor General, and " request his Orders to abolish the Appointments of the new Treasurer and Comptroller which are " about to be made."

* This Word must not be confounded with the Province of the same Name. It means only Cattle of different Kinds.

10th Paragraph.—This contains the 7th Charge; namely the Appointment of Mahommed Beg, a Trooper, to the Sezawlee of Furruckabad, by Mr. Bristow's Order, against the Remonstrance of the Minister, and the Nabob Vizier's Disapproval.—I pass the rest, which is but a Repetition of former Charges.

Mr. Bristow, in Answer, refers the Board to his Address of the 30th January 1783, for Proof " that he always considered the Appointment of a Sezawel to Furruckhabad, as a desperate Alter- " native, but it was the only one; that he therefore acquiesced in it when urgently recommended " by the Minister, and was happy to find that Acquiescence honoured and confirmed by our Ap- " probation."

It is very true that Mr. Bristow did inform the Board of this Appointment, and obtained their Approbation of it; and so he might of any other Transaction, however unexceptionable, by suppressing every Information which could render it such. He represented this Appointment, and his Participation in it, as the Effect of the desperate State of the Company's Assignment on the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, the Oppressions exercised by the former Naib Mahomed Saced Cawn, the Complaints of the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, and the urgent Request of the Nabob Vizier and his Minister. My Instructions to Mr. Bristow were, to abstain entirely from all Interference in the Transactions of the Nabob Vizier and his Minister with the Nabob Muzuffer Jung; but neither could I nor the Board take any reasonable Offence at his Interference, when he apologized for it, grounding it not only on absolute Necessity, but on the united and urgent Wishes of the Nabob Vizier, his Minister, and the Nabob Mozuffur Jung, whom it principally regarded.

The Nabob Vizier and Hyder Beg Cawn both represent it as an Act of Mr. Bristow's own Choice, and executed by his own Authority, and against the Will both of the Nabob Vizier and of his Minister. These are strong Contradictions; but I cannot trace them to any Proof, except the following Passage in a Letter from Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 8th of Seffer, or 13th January 1783, which I think a strong one:—" Considering the bad State of Affairs at " Furrukabad, it is necessary that Mirza Mahomed Beg should receive his Dismission as soon as " possible. He will be introduced to you by this Letter. You will give him his Dismission To- " day, and in such a Manner that it may be unknown to every one."

This Letter, urging the Dispatch of the new Sezawall, giving him his Introduction as of a Stranger to the Minister, and prescribing the Mode of his Appointment, does not very well agree with the passive and reluctant Part which Mr. Bristow ascribes to himself in the Transaction; but is more likely to be understood by an uninformed Reader as the Address of a Principal urging a Point to another less inclined to the Acceptance of it: And with this Construction I must leave it until Mr. Bristow can furnish a better.

11th Paragraph.—This requires no Comment on either Side.

12th Paragraph.—This is not a Charge, but a Prayer to be freed from the Oppressions of the Resident, with the Acceptance of the Nabob's Offer of the Security of creditable Bankers for the punctual

punctual Discharge of the Company's Demands. This, by a most extraordinary Perversion of Reasoning, is seized by Mr. Bristow as a clear Refutation of all the Charges which had been preferred by Hyder Beg Cawn against him; but the Nabob Vizier has himself proposed the Offer, and has complained against Mr. Bristow, in Language expressive of as much keener Sensibility, as his Sufferings exceed the Vexations exercised on his Minister.

It is natural for a Man labouring under any Grievance to wish for the Removal of the Cause of it; and it is proverbial, that even the poor Worm will turn with the Impatience of Anguish on the Foot that crushes it; but it was never before inferred, that a Desire to be delivered from the Power and Presence of an Oppressor, was an Evidence against the Existence of the Oppression.

I shall here close my Observation on Mr. Bristow's Replies to Hyder Beg Cawn's First Letter, and proceed to the Examination of Mr. Bristow's Letter, addressed to the Board, of the 13th May, which contains the Particulars of the 11th Charge, namely, "that he had attempted to carry into "Execution a Plan for the Administration of Justice, and had invested Mr. Cowper with extraor-"dinary and undefined Powers for receiving Complaints from the Subjects of the Nabob Vizier, "and superscribing them with Orders in the Style of Mandates from the Nabob Vizier, for the "Redress of the Complainants."

I have already said, that I considered this Letter as an Anticipation of the Complaints which Mr. Bristow knew had been made against him, but which he had not received, nor indeed were they sent to him till the 29th of the same Month. Whatever Advantage may be derived from the Title of having been the First Complainant, it has certainly some in its Influence on common Judgments, and this perhaps arises from the Construction which every Man instinctively affixes to recriminated Accusations, as being the Effects of a vindictive Principle, and therefore liable at least to Exaggeration. This Letter has very much this Appearance, for it has all the characteristic Forms and Qualities of a systematic Attack. It begins with an accumulated, though general, Reprobation of the Conduct and Character of Hyder Beg Cawn—it proceeds to the circumstantial Detail of a specific Fact, and concludes with a Prayer for his Dismission from Office. Mr. Bristow's Mode of writing renders it an Attempt of Difficulty to reduce the Substance of his unconnected and often unaplied Periods to precise Facts or Propositions, on which I can depend for their certain Relation to them. If, therefore, I shall err in my Construction of them, the Fault is not intentionally mine, but the Effect of the Obscurity of the Text, which I am compelled to explain before I can make the proper Use of it.

Of the Letter, which consists of Four small Sheets of Paper, the Two First, and Part of the Third, contain only general Positions which may be comprised within the Two following Brief Articles:

1st. That Hyder Beg Cawn had rejected all Mr. Bristow's "frankest Offers of Friendship and "Confidence," and 2d, had obstinately and contumaciously opposed all his "Innovations," which he is pleased to call in his first, though not the most respectful Application of my Official Title, the "wise System prescribed by the Honourable the Governor General." The Means by which the Minister is enabled to maintain so powerful an Opposition, are summarily ascribed to "the Influence "of his Power, his Talents, and his Wealth," and in a more large Detail to his Ascendency over the Mind of the Nabob Vizier his Master. His Account of this Effect is curious, and contradicts every physical as well as moral Principle, which is supposed to regulate the Actions or stimulate the Passions of Mankind. The Nabob, he says, detests this Minister from a declared Conviction that the Minister has reduced his Provinces to Desolation, and his Court to a "speaking Picture "of Penury, Nakedness, and Famine." Yet that the Nabob supports his Minister against all Mr. Bristow's Endeavours to free him from so abject a Thraldom, to give Peace, Order, and Plenty to his Country, and to administer an Abundance for the Relief of all his personal Wants —because the Minister is yet in Possession of his Finances, and by dealing them to his Master with a sparing and artful Œconomy, which Mr. Bristow calls "alternately exerting his Hopes and "Fears," he "prevents the Nabob from adopting any firm and dignified Resolution;" and this philosophical Solution he concludes in the following Words: "These Passions (i. e. Hopes and "Fears) whilst in Equilibrium over the Mind, keep it hesitating and undetermined, the Reso-"lutions of Despair alone are unqualified and decisive." I shall leave this Doctrine to work its own Effect, and proceed to the specific Instance, which seems introduced to prove the general Charge of Hyder Beg Cawn's Opposition to Mr. Bristow's Innovations.

This, as I with Difficulty collect it from the Letter and its Enclosures, of which the Letter is little more than a Comment, is as follows:

In my Instructions to Mr. Middleton, I directed him to urge the Nabob Vizier to endeavour gradually, if it could not be done at once, to establish Courts of Justice throughout his Districts. Mr. Middleton, who had shewn little Attention to any Article of my Instructions, appears to have taken not the least Notice of this, till a short Time before his Recall, and when he most probably expected. It was then, and not till then, that without any recent Ground assigned for it, or Advice given to me or the Board of the Measure, or of his Intention preceding it, he prevailed upon the Nabob Vizier to appoint a Man named Morolevy Mobein to the Office of Sudder ul Stuck, or Chief Administrator of Justice to the City of Lucknow, and the Dominions of the Nabob of Owd; but without any Assignment of Power, local Office, or Salary; and the poor Man himself seems to have

have felt the humiliating Conſciouſneſs of his own Inſufficiency for ſo elevated a Dignity, to which the laſt Step of his Promotion was the Profeſſion of a Schoolmaſter, which had occupied the greateſt Part of a Life already far ſpent. To this feeble Inſtrument Mr. Briſtow had early Recourſe, for the Eſtabliſhment of a new Regulation for the general Adminiſtration of Juſtice throughout the Nabob's Dominions; although it does not appear, either from the Letters of Mr. Briſtow or of Mr. Cooper, to whom Mr. Briſtow appealed for the Explanation of his Inſtructions, that he had ever formed any preciſe or defined Plan reſpecting it, for both allude to it as intended for the Inſtitution of "proper Courts of Juſtice," yet both ſtyle it "a Fowjdarry Adawlet," which is a Court inſtituted for the Trial of Criminal Offences; and Mr. Briſtow in his Correſpondence generally confounds it with the Office of "Police of the City," which is commonly the Charge of the Cutwall, and never aſſigned to the Court of Juſtice either Civil or Criminal.

The Means uſed by Mr. Briſtow to carry this Plan into Execution mark no great Extenſion of Deſign, or Effort of Invention:—The Account which he himſelf gives of his progreſſive Acts in this Buſineſs is, that very early after his Arrival he deſired the Miniſter to eſtabliſh the Fowjdarry Adawlet upon a reſpectable Footing; that he next applied for the Appointment of a Houſe to hold the Court: That all the Nabob Vizier's Houſes being occupied (for Mr. Briſtow ſays, that the Miniſter had purpoſely filled them with Lumber, to ſerve as an Excuſe for withholding them), the Miniſter allotted a Tent for the Uſe of the Mowlerry. At length a Houſe was allowed him, but he did not like it, becauſe it was "ſituated in the Center of the Palace, where his Proceedings "would be ſubject to Reſtraint," the Place itſelf too confined, and ſome of the Nabob's Effects remaining in it. The Correſpondence encloſed by Mr. Briſtow ſhews that he too thought the Houſe too ſmall, and that the Miniſter maintained a contrary Opinion, but would apply for another; that both concurred in Opinion of the Unfitneſs of the Tent for a Court of Juſtice—the Miniſter praying for Time to get a Houſe: That Mr. Briſtow required the Court to be held in the City—and the Miniſter pleaded the Nabob's Orders for its being held in the Palace, with other Queſtions of the like Moment; but that on a firm Declaration made by Mr. Briſtow, that he would appeal to the Governor General and Council, the Miniſter implicitly ſubmitted, affirming, at the ſame Time, that he had never diſputed Mr. Briſtow's Orders. In the ſame Period of Time another Source of Difference aroſe, which is moſt imperfectly connected with the ſame Subject, and is thus explained by Mr. Cooper, in reply to an Appeal made to him by Mr. Briſtow for that Purpoſe. That Mr. Briſtow "recommended to the Nabob Vizier the immediate Inſtitution of a Fowjdarry Adawlet at Luck-"now;"—that Mr. Briſtow's "ſole Motive in this Recommendation (if Mr. Cooper had not in-"terly miſunderſtood him) was to reſtore Peace and Order to the Capital, and Security to its In-"habitants;"—that as the Governor General had himſelf mentioned the Want of proper Courts of Juſtice, as a Cauſe of great Evils, but adviſed much Caution in their Introduction; and as both Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cooper apprehended "Danger from the abrupt Application of the Remedy, "when the Evil was univerſal," Mr. Briſtow, whoſe "Attention was engaged by Objects of more "immediate Importance," requeſted, "that Mr. Cooper would enquire and endeavour to aſcertain "how far a Reformation, ſo neceſſary to the Proſperity and Happineſs both of the Prince and "People, might be effected with the leaſt poſſible Inconvenience and Delay."—That "in con-"formity to Mr. Briſtow's Wiſhes, he ſent for Mowlerry Mobein, who had received his (Mr. "Briſtow's) Inſtructions to aſſiſt him, propoſing to enter with him into ſuch Explanations as "might afford him an Idea of the Syſtem of Juriſprudence then eſtabliſhed there;" but the Mowlevy aſſured him, that "there was not, nor had been for Years, even the Shadow of a "Police;" that his Appointment was "a Mockery, and himſelf a Pageant,"——After much Diſcuſſion of the Unfitneſs of ſuch a Man as the Mowlavy (a Schoolmaſter) "to diſpenſe Law "to a whole People, and to unite, in his Perſon, the Civil and Criminal Juriſdiction of ſuch "extenſive Countries," which he ſays was an Indication of the Diſpoſition of the Miniſter, too plain to be miſtaken, he adds, "I muſt confeſs, I drew a Concluſion from it that at once in-"duced me to augur very ill of our Undertaking, and determined me to proceed in it with all "Warineſs and Circumſpection." The Iſſue was, that after very mature Deliberation, he adviſed Mr. Briſtow "to confine his Views for the preſent to the Inſtitution of a Fowjdarry Court for the "Capital only" (which I muſt obſerve he had before mentioned as the original Inſtitution, and actually formed)—that Mr. Briſtow took his Advice, and obtained the Nabob's Aſſent, and his Appointment of Mowlavy Mobein to preſide in the Court, now limited to the Capital; "and "here," ſays he, "the Matter ſtill reſts to this Hour; and to this Hour the Inhabitants of "Lucknow are left in a Condition of Licentiouſneſs, very near approaching to a State of "Nature."

I have recapitulated Mr. Cooper's Account of his Commiſſion, but I profeſs that I do not underſtand the Drift either of the Appointment, or of his Explanation of it. What gave Occaſion for the latter was this:—Mr. Cooper, by ſome Commiſſion from Mr. Briſtow, received Petitions from the Inhabitants, to which he affixed Orders, in the formal Style of Mandates from the Nabob Vizier, for the Redreſs of the Petitioners. This, Mr. Briſtow ſaid, had been miſrepreſented as a Superintendance of the Court of Adawlut, and an Uſurpation of his Excellency's Right of Sovereignty;—and he therefore called upon Mr. Cooper, in Writing, to ſtate the Inſtructions which he had received from Mr. Briſtow on this Occaſion, and his Proceedings in conſequence; and explain his Conduct relative to ſuch Petitions as Mr. Briſtow might have referred to him. The

Sum of Mr. Cooper's Explanation is, if I conceive it rightly, that he received from Mr. Briſtow neither Appointment nor Inſtructions, nor performed any Act relative to either.

With reſpect to the Petitions, he ſays, and prefaces what he ſays with calling it the undiſguiſed State of the Caſe, that as the Petitions were referred to him he had them read, and directed Hoſſein Ali Cawn to write upon the Face of them ſeverally an Order, ſuch as, had it finally reſted with him to ſettle them, he ſhould have iſſued upon the Occaſion, and then bid him carry them to the Miniſter: "Not," he adds, "that the Vizier's Seal ſhould be affixed," but that the Miniſter ſhould decide upon the Propriety of his Ideas, and ultimately reject or adopt them, as he ſaw fit. This the Miniſter was to know inſtinctively, as it appears from what immediately follows: "And I choſe this Mode of communicating them rather than by Letter, "becauſe it was the ſimpleſt and readieſt, &c." He then refers to one of the Petitions, which he incloſes; and I will inſert it here, with Two others furniſhed by Hyder Beg Cawn, for their Curioſity.

Mr. Cooper's Superſcription.

Sheik Durgauhee,
Naib of Rodurmun Sokul,
having made himſelf acquainted
with the Contents of the Arzee, muſt
enquire into the ſame; in caſe
the Grievance is founded in Fact,
let him redreſs it, and ſend a Rau-
zee Naumeh to the Preſence.

The renowned Nabob, the Diſpenſer of Juſtice to the Age.

Arzee. Buddim Sing is Kannoongo of the Purgunnah of Durreaabad, Munſa Sing, Jemadar of the Mouza of Shahpoor, has confined the Brother of your Slaves for theſe Eleven Months paſt unjuſtly, and without Cauſe, and will not ſet him at Liberty; the Reaſon is this, that during the Aumildaree of Seetul Chund, the diſmiſſed Aumil of the Jagheers, he entered into an Agreement for the above Mouza or Diſtrict, under the Security of the ſaid Cauongoe: He has moreover plundered our Property, and razed our Habitations. We hope from your Goodneſs and Favour that our Brother may obtain his Liberty, and that we may, agreeably to Juſtice, receive back the Property, Goods, and Grain, &c. which he has plundered.

Concludes as uſual.

A.

Arzee of Lelik Sing
and Derbaud Sing

Mr. Cooper's Superſcription, in the Hand Writing of his Moonſhy.

Let Orders
be iſſued to Jauny
Beg not to moleſt the
Habitations of the Widows,
but to make good the Inju-
ry he has done them.

Arzee to the Nabob, the Diſpenſer of Juſtice, &c.

Sets forth, That Jauny Beg unjuſtly, and by Force and Violence, hath ſeized upon the Dwellings of certain Widows. You are the Protector of the Poor. Whatever may be your Determination in behalf of the Widows, be pleaſed to declare it. We have no other Refuge but you, &c.

He formerly pulled down Four or Five Houſes, and he has now prohibited Water from being carried to Four or Five others.

Signed, Arzee of the Widows.

he Hand Writ- of Mr. Cooper's onche.

Let Orders
be iſſued to Fuckeer
Chund not to injure and
oppreſs without Cauſe, but ſet
the Sons in Law of Hawjee
Aukah Mahomed at Liberty,
and write an Account of the
Circumſtances reſpecting them
to the Preſence.

zee.

Sets forth, That the Two Sons in Law to Hawjee Aukau Mahomed have been confined in Priſon during the whole of the laſt Year: From the Time of Fuckeer Chund's Appointment, he has treated them with the utmoſt Severity, even to the prohibiting their Food from being brought to them.—We had rented the Pergunnah of Aally Gunge for Three Years.—Four Months of the Fuſſul of Hurreef remained when we were turned out: All that was received to that Period was paid; and if we had continued through the Hurreef Fuſſul, the Remainder would have been paid. We are in no Shape guilty. We hope from your Favour and Goodneſs, that in your Kindneſs to the Poor and the Helpleſs you will ſet them at Liberty.

Signed, The Arzee of the Family of Hawjee Aukah Mahomed.

Let thoſe who will, comment on this Tranſaction. It was a groſs and moſt indecent Attempt to dictate to the Vizir of the Empire the Words of his own Mandates, which the Vizir was to copy from Mr. Cowper's Draft, and iſſue without a Knowledge of the Subject. It is an Inſult to Common Senſe to impoſe any other Conſtruction upon it.

Mr. Briſtow's Motives for giving theſe extraordinary Authorities, and enforcing them with ſo many angry Movements, is more extraordinary than the Acts themſelves; and I muſt own that I firſt read them with an Idea which no conſequent Act has effaced, that he wrote them under the Conviction that he might write what he pleaſed, in the Aſſurance of its being favourably received.

I have already mentioned the Inſtructions which I gave to Mr. Middleton, relating to the Introduction of Courts of Juſtice in the Nabob Vizir's Dominions, which will be found, on a liberal Examination of them, to have been dictated under Doubts of its Expediency. In my Inſtructions to Mr. Briſtow, written with a fuller and recent Experience, I expreſſed thoſe Doubts in Terms, aſſigning many ſtrong Reaſons for entertaining them, and concluded with recommending the Subject to his Enquiry, but without venturing to give him any Inſtructions concerning it. Mr. Briſtow, in a Letter which he wrote on the 12th December, profeſſedly intended as a Detail of his Tranſactions and Intentions reſpecting the Execution of my Inſtructions, adopts all my Concluſions; and adds to them other Arguments, much ſtronger, againſt the Execution of Adawlets; and ſo much ſtronger, that theſe alone ought to have deterred him from attempting it. He cloſes the Subject with the following Words:

" I would, however, propoſe, that Mowlerry Mobein, the Man recommended by Mr. Mid-
" dleton, ſhould continue with the Name of Sudder ul Huck; and when Regularity ſhall be
" introduced into other Branches of the Government, the Extenſion of his Power will form
" Part of the Plan."

Theſe are the Authorities which Mr. Briſtow quotes from his Attempt to introduce the Eſtabliſhment of his Plan, whatever it was, for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; and they are inſerted at full Length in the Third Number of the Appendix to his Letter. I appeal to the ſame Authorities, for Proof that I gave him no Inſtructions to inſtitute Courts of Juſtice; that he had

had therefore no Authority to attempt it; that he himſelf declared it to be improper; and by his own Interpretation of my Inſtructions, gave them the Force of Orders prohibiting any ſuch Attempt; that by ſuch a Declaration, concluding with a Recommendation to ſuffer the nominal Appointment to ſubſiſt, without any ſubſtantial Application of it, he certainly intended to convey to me the Aſſurance inevitably implied by it, that he would himſelf attempt nothing beyond the Appointment; and that, by attempting it, he has conſequently been guilty of the double Charge of Diſobedience of Orders and Deception.

I have now gone through the Examination of the Charges againſt Mr. Briſtow, and of his Anſwers to them, according to the Order in which he has himſelf arranged them. I ſhall not attempt, by any Recapitulation of them, to point out the Strength of the former, or the Inſufficiency of the latter. I ſhall leave both to make their own Impreſſion; and doubt not that they will neceſſarily produce, in the Minds of others, a Conviction which they have produced in my own, that the Truth of every Charge againſt Mr. Briſtow is either poſitively or preſumptively eſtabliſhed, even by the Authorities which he has himſelf produced to refute them.

I myſelf am perſonally aggrieved by Mr. Briſtow's Conduct and Pretenſions. Every Accumulation of his Guilt is doubled by the Attempt to fix the original Charge of it upon me. In his Declarations to the Nabob Vizir, to the Miniſter, and even in his Addreſſes to the Board, he appeals to my Inſtructions, as the Rule and Warrant of his Actions. To diſprove this, I need only to appeal to my Inſtructions themſelves: Theſe had one eſſential Object,—the Diſcharge of the Arrears due from the Nabob Vizir to the Company, with his growing Debt; and every Article of them had a Regard either to the Means of rendering this Point effectual, or to the Cautions requiſite in the Exerciſe of an unavowed Influence, in the place of a lawful Authority. ☞ (*a*) [The Means by which our Government acquired this Influence, and its Right to exerciſe it, will require a previous Explanation: Both originated in our Connection with the Nabob Suja Dowla. I found him a Dependent on the Company, or rather on the Commander in Chief of the Army. Under the Authority of the Council, of which I was the Preſident, in the Year 1773, I concluded a Treaty with him, which left him optionally free, but virtually dependant on our Government, by the reciprocal Obligations of it, which on our Part conſiſted in Military Aſſiſtance whenever he demanded it; and on his, the Payment of a fixed Monthly Subſidy for the Expences attending it. He remained the abſolute Sovereign of his own Dominions; and whenever he found the Preſence of our Army, or the Aſcendant of our Alliance, too powerful for his Eaſe or Dignity, he might free himſelf from both, by the Diſmiſſion of the former. But the Neceſſity of his Affairs rendered it unſafe or inconvenient to part with it, as was evinced by the Experiment of a few Months, in which the Army was remanded to our Frontier, and again recalled for his Service; and thus its Attachment to him, and the Kind of Tribute which he paid for the Uſe of it, were rendered permanent, but in ſuch a Mode, as conduced to his Intereſt and Safety, without a Diminution of perſonal Conſequence. He was himſelf the Inſtrument of forming this Relation; he felt the Advantages of it; he experienced nothing humiliating in the Superiority of the Part aſſigned to our Government in it; and in the ſhort Interval which followed the Conſtruction of it, Two rich and extenſive Members were added to his paternal Dominions, beſides that which he acquired with it. Let me add, without the Imputation of aſſuming too much Self-conſequence, that my perſonal Behaviour to him was invariably marked by a ſtudied Reſpect. In public, I addreſſed him as my acknowledged Superior; in private, for only One Perſon was ever privy to our Conferences, I made my Demands in firm but decent Language; exacted his Compliance, by ſtating the Grounds of our mutual Neceſſities, without either Concealment or Exaggeration; and obtained, with his cheerful and moſt willing Conceſſion, the beſt Acceſſion of a new Dominion, of Portion of the Wealth of a valuable and remote Territory, without the Burthen of its Adminiſtration. He parted from me contented; and if I may truſt to thoſe Aſſurances which my Station may be ſuſpected to have extorted from private Adulation, he publicly and frequently acknowledged the Obligations which he owed to me; and even in his laſt Moments recurred to them, in the Line of Conduct which he recommended to his Son and Succeſſor, the preſent Nabob Aſſof ul Dowlah.

With his Death a new political Syſtem commenced, and Mr. Briſtow was conſtituted the Inſtrument of its Formation, and Truſtee for the Management of it. The Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah was deprived of a large Portion of his Inheritance, I mean the Province of Benares, attached by a very feeble and precarious Tenure to our Dominions; the Army fixed to a permanent Station in a remote Line of his Frontier, with an augmented and perpetual Subſidy; a new Army, amphibiouſly compoſed of Troops in his Service and Pay, commanded by Engliſh Officers of our own Nomination, for the Defence of his new Conqueſts; and his own natural Troops annihilated or alienated by the Inſufficiency of his Revenue for all his Diſburſements, and the prior Claims of thoſe which our Authority or Influence commanded; in a Word, he became the Vaſſal of this Government: But he ſtill poſſeſſed an oſtenſible Sovereignty, his titular Rank of Vizir of the Empire rendered him a conſpicuous Object of View to all the States and Chiefs of India; and on the Moderation and Juſtice with which the Britiſh Government in Bengal ex-

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 760.

erciſed

erciſed its Influence over him, many Points moſt eſſential to its political Strength, and to the Honour of the Britiſh Name, depended.

This is not a Place, nor have I Room, to prove in it what I ſhall here content myſelf with affirming, that by a ſacred and undeviating Obſervance of every Principle of Public Faith, the Britiſh Dominion might have by this Time acquired the Means of its Extenſion, through a virtual Submiſſion to its Authority, to every Region of Indoſtan and Decan. I am not ſure that I ſhould adviſe ſuch a Deſign, were it practicable, which at this Time it certainly is not; and I very much fear that the limited Formation of ſuch equal Alliances as might be uſeful to our preſent Condition, and conduce to its Improvement, is become liable to almoſt unſurmountable Difficulties. Every Power in India muſt wiſh for the Support of ours, but they all dread the Connection.

The Subjection of Bengal, and the Deprivation of the Family of Jaffier Ally Cawn, though an Effect of inevitable Neceſſity, the Uſurpation of the Rights of the Nabob Wallah Jah, in the Carnatic, and the licentious Violations of the Treaty exiſting between the Company and the Nabob Nizam ul Dowla, though checked by the remedial Interpoſition of this Government, ſtand as terrible Precedents againſt us. The Effects of our Connection with the Nabob Aſſof ud Dowlah had a rapid Tendency to the ſame Conſequences, and it has been my invariable Study to prevent it, by the Removal or Reſtriction of every Authority or Influence derived from our Government which interfered with his, and by the Promiſe of whatever Means I might poſſeſs for withdrawing that Interpoſition of it in the internal Management of his Affairs, which we exerciſed in the Aſſignments made of Portions of his Revenue for the Payment of the Company's Debts, whenever he ſhould either have diſcharged them, or could afford a Security for their Payment. It is not unknown to the Members of the Board, who compoſed it in the Beginning of the Year 1781, how much it was my Wiſh, even then, to return on a new Commiſſion to the Reſidence of the Nabob of Oude, provided I could be entruſted with Powers to make ſuch an Accommodation, for his Finances were daily diminiſhing; the Preſence of the Repreſentative of our Government enfeebled that of the Nabob in its executive Acts, and all the Provinces of his Dominions were gradually ſinking into Decline, the Reproach of which, even from our own Countrymen, was caſt upon our Government as the Cauſe of it.]

Unfortunately, the Nabob Vizir wanted the requiſite Talents for Buſineſs. His Underſtanding, though far under-rated in the common Opinion of it, was deficient in many other requiſite Qualities of Government; but it was united with a Gentleneſs of Manners, a Suſceptibility of Kindneſs, and a Pliancy of Will, which might, in proper Hands, conſtitute an Equivalent to them. It was in my Reliance on the Effect of theſe Qualities that I ſolicited, and in their Effect obtained from him, in Return for my Conceſſions, his Agreement to the Admiſſion of the Aſſiſtance of the Reſident, in the Charge then ſpecially given to his Miniſter, of his Finances and public Diſburſements. Diſſatisfied with the Conduct of Mr. Middleton, the Reſident to whom this Charge was firſt committed, and of his Deputy, Mr. Johnſon, to whom he delegated it, I formed the Reſolution of nominating Mr. Briſtow to it in their Stead. To this I had various and powerful Inducements. The firſt and principal was, the reiterated Order of the Court of Directors for his Appointment: Secondly, the Wiſh of the other Members of the Council urging it: Thirdly, their Declarations of uniting to ſupport my Authority, and other concurrent Circumſtances removing the Objections which had hitherto oppoſed it: Fourthly, a Reliance on the perſonal Gratitude of Mr. Briſtow, for my optional Nomination of him to ſo important a Truſt: And, Fifthly, his Aſſurances, and a Pledge given me for the Performance of them, in which I then repoſed a religious Confidence:—I propoſed, and the Board agreed to his Appointment, leaving it to me to give his Inſtructions. Theſe were accordingly delivered, firſt verbally, but accompanied with Heads in Writing for his Remembrance, in a Diſcourſe which occupied Four Hours of my Time, when I was yet too ill to write; and they were afterwards dictated, for I continued unable to write them; and having received the Approbation of the Board, they were tranſmitted to him on the 24th of October. I have detailed the Proceſs of this Affair to ſhew, at leaſt, the Improbability of Mr. Briſtow's miſunderſtanding my Intentions reſpecting the Line of Conduct which he was to purſue, if theſe were really contrary to that which he did adopt. Hitherto the Reſident had never interfered beyond Advice and Perſuaſion. I myſelf never affected a higher Claim; nor had I a Suſpicion that Mr. Briſtow would go beyond it; it therefore never occurred to me to guard againſt it. On the contrary, I will freely confeſs, and I am aſhamed of it, I yielded to him an implicit Confidence. As to my Inſtructions, and their real Objects, I affirm, that they have been wholly neglected; nor has any Uſe been made of them but to pervert them to Deſigns of which I know not the Authority, nor can deviſe any other End but private *Rapacity*. In One Inſtance, indeed, he may appear to conform to them, which is in his Diſagreements with the Miniſter, with whoſe Conduct I was certainly much offended on the Occaſions which had afforded me ſo much Offence againſt Mr. Middleton; and I therefore warned him to keep a watchful Eye on Hyder Beg Cawn, and I ſpoke of him in Terms which marked great Diſtruſt of his Principles and Diſlike of his Character. Whether I was right or wrong in my Judgment, I will not now attempt to determine: I certainly erred in the unreſerved Manner in which I communicated it, ſince it has been ſo frequently and powerfully retorted upon me: But Hyder Beg Cawn is not the Object of this Diſcuſſion. Let his former Conduct have been what it would, it will not juſtify Mr. Briſtow in Acts done conſequent to it, and independent of it,

it. Let his preſent Conduct be what it will, it will not warrant Mr. Briſtow's Uſurpation of an Authority which was never entruſted to him, and in the Commiſſion of Inſults and Indignities to a Sovereign Prince, united by Treaty to the Company and to the Britiſh Nation. There is not a Syllable of my Inſtructions which will admit of a Conſtruction of a Power to aſſume any Authority whatever in the Adminiſtration of the Nabob Vizir. The only Paſſage which I find, in a recent Search, to bear any thing like a Tendency to it, is the Cloſe of the 13th Article; in which, ſpeaking of the dangerous Abuſe which the Begums had made of their Jagheers, I direct him to remonſtrate in the ſtrongeſt Terms againſt their Reſtoration; and I add, that he "muſt "not permit it until this Government ſhall have Information of it;" but how far even this Expreſſion was from conveying the Idea of his exerciſing an Authority over the Nabob, will be demonſtrated by the expreſſed Purpoſe of the Communication, in the Words immediately following; viz. "and ſhall have had Time to *interfere its Influence* for the Prevention of it." This Extract will ſhew, that in a Caſe which I deemed of the utmoſt Conſequence to the Safety of the Nabob's Dominions, and of our political Intereſts, in this Inſtance more nearly than any other connected with it, I did not conceive that even the Governor General and Council, in their collective Capacity, had a Right to interfere with Authority; but could only make uſe of the Means of Perſuaſion, or, as it is expreſſed, "to interpoſe their Influence," for preventing the Evils which we ſuppoſed; and can it be believed that I ſhould inveſt Mr. Briſtow with Powers of which I diſavowed the Uſe myſelf, and denied the Exerciſe of them to the Adminiſtration of which I was the Firſt Member?

The Article reſpecting the Nabob Vizier begins with an Injunction "to ſtudy, on every Oc-"caſion, to conciliate his Good-will, and to ſhew him every oſtenſible and external Mark of "Reſpect." I expreſſed "my Hope, that he would not find it difficult to make the Nabob "himſelf the Mover of every Act neceſſary, whether for the Advancement of his own Intereſts, "or the Diſcharge of his Debt to the Company." I recommended to him to endeavour to win the Nabob's Confidence from Hyder Beg Cawn; and I remember uſing this, or a very like Expreſſion, in my verbal Inſtructions:—"Be you his Miniſter, and make yourſelf his Ad-"vocate, and the Vindicator of his Rights, if his preſent Miniſter ſhall injure them." And I ſtrictly enjoined a Preference of the Nabob's Claim to the Sum allotted to his perſonal Expences before any other, little imagining that this Clauſe would be perverted to a virtual but effectual Deprivation of the Uſe of it.

The Advice which I thus pointedly recommended to Mr. Briſtow was ſuch as I ſhould have purſued myſelf, had I been in his Situation, and with a well-grounded Expectation of ſucceeding in attaining the preſcribed Objects of it; for I have myſelf experienced what might be effected by Conciliation in Situations the ſame as his, and in others not diſſimilar from it, and on Minds more difficult than the meek Spirit of the Nabob Aſoph u Dowlah; for I never found either the acute Apprehenſions and quick Suſceptibility of Meer Coſſim, nor the Pride and manly Senſe of the Nabob Suja Dowla, impenetrable to Arguments applied to their Intereſts, and delivered with Truth and plain Dealing, which were all the Arts I ever uſed in my political Negociations.

But I have a further Proof, and an unanſwerable one, that I neither had, nor could have had, any Deſign in any Commiſſion given to Mr. Briſtow, either hoſtile to the Nabob Vizir, or offenſive to his Feelings, without ſuch a Profligacy of Character as muſt have been marked by the whole Tenor of my Life according with it. When I mentioned to Mr. Briſtow my Intention of appointing him to the Reſidency of Lucknow, I at the ſame Time informed him, that I could not yet effect it, until I had an Aſſurance that it would be acceptable to the Nabob Vizir, not knowing whether, from former Tranſactions, the Nabob might not have a perſonal Exception to him; and I therefore directed him to apply by Letter to the Nabob himſelf for his Conſent. Mr. Briſtow did write to him accordingly. I alſo cauſed Rajah Govind Ram, the Nabob's Vakeel, to apprize his Maſter that the Application was made with my Knowledge, and with my Wiſh that it might prove effectual, if the Nabob had not the Objection which I had apprehended; and leſt he might be induced, by his Remembrance of the Intereſt by which Mr. Briſtow's former Appointment had been before made, to object to it on a Principle of Delicacy to myſelf, I deſired Rajah Govind Ram to aſſure him, that Mr. Briſtow ſhould receive his Appointment from my own Choice, not by the Impoſition of any Authority contrary to it: But I abſtained from any direct Communication of theſe Sentiments, that the Nabob might be the freer in his Deciſion upon the Propoſition ſubmitted to him. I have already alluded to this Tranſaction in a Minute, dated the Seventh of March 1783, and dictated on a different Occaſion, and with other Particulars, which are here omitted.—Mr. Briſtow will not deny the Fact, as I have related it; and Mr. Macpherſon will poſſibly recollect it.

Is it poſſible that I could have uſed ſo much Delicacy, and affected ſuch a Tenderneſs towards the Nabob, if I meant to ſend a Tyrant to rule over him?

I ſhall forbear to ſpeak my Apprehenſions of the Conſequences, if it ſhall be finally reſolved by the Members of this Board, that Mr. Briſtow ſhall be formally veſted with the Power of ruling the Dominions appertaining to the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, and guaranteed to him againſt all Invaders, by a ſacred Treaty, by which the Faith and Honour of the Britiſh Nation, and not the Company alone, are pledged to maintain it. A Syſtem of ſuch Controul cannot ſubſiſt on conſtructive Powers; and if the Board do not notify to Mr. Briſtow the Declaration which I have made,

made, of the Revocation of thoſe which he received from me, and which he has groſsly abuſed, I ſhall; and at his Peril let him dare hereafter to quote them, as containing the Authority for his Actions. Thoſe who abet him in his Conduct ought to preſcribe to him the Rule of it. When I am made acquainted with that Rule, I will record my Opinion of it.—Would to God I could prevent it, and the dreadful Conſequences which, however qualified, muſt attend the Exerciſe of any Dominion built on ſuch a Foundation, and committed to ſuch a Ruler!

(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

A true Copy.

E. Hay,
Aſſt Secr to the Secret Dept.

APPENDIX, N° LXV.

Book 3. Page 516.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 4th October 1773.

Fort William, the 4th October 1773.

At a Conſultation; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, being returned, now reſumes his Seat at the Board, as Preſident.

William Alderſey,
Philip M. Dacres,
Henry Goodwin,
John Graham,
} Eſquires.
and
George Vanſittart Eſquire, who is alſo returned with the Governor, and takes his Seat accordingly.

READ and approved the Proceedings of the 27th Ultimo.

The Inſtructions given to the Governor before his Departure for Benaras, which the Board at that Time thought proper to ſeal up, and depoſit in the Cuſtody of Mr. Alderſey, are now opened and recorded as follows, with the Letters written in conſequence.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Preſident and Governor of Fort William, &c. &c.

Honourable Sir,

At our Conſultation of the 19th April, we expreſſed our Approbation of the Reſolution of the Select Committee, for your obtaining a perſonal Interview with the Vizir, and as, in conſequence of the Vizir's repeated Deſire, you have now determined on proceeding for that Purpoſe to Banaras, we ſhall beg leave to lay before you ſuch Points in the political Intereſts of the Company, as from the Orders of the Court of Directors, and the preſent State of Affairs in this Government, are the more immediate Objects of our Wiſhes: At the ſame Time, the Circumſtances of our Situation and Connections with the King and the Vizir, are liable to ſo many Variations, that we find it difficult to mark out any preciſe Line for your Conduct; nor, indeed, do we judge it neceſſary, as we repoſe an entire Confidence in your Experience and Abilities to improve to the utmoſt, for the Company's Benefit, the different Events which may occur.

It is evident, that the Treaties which at preſent ſubſiſt between the Company and the Vizir are ſettled upon an unequal Footing. We are called on every Occaſion to his Aſſiſtance, without any immediate Advantage to our Employers, or even any regular and adequate Adjuſtment of the Stipulation in the Treaty for the Payment of our Expences, while, on his Part, the Aid which he is bound to afford us is left looſe and undefined, and in all Probability, from the Nature and Conſtitution of his Army, in caſe of real Danger, would prove uſeleſs and ineffectual. It is therefore adviſeable to effect an Alliance with him on Grounds of reciprocal Advantage and Support.

Of ſuch an Alliance, One of the moſt eſſential Articles will be to ſecure the regular Payment of ſufficient Subſidies for the Charge of ſuch Bodies of our Troops as may march at the Requiſition of the Vizir; and although, in our former Treaty, the Stipulation is made only for our extraordinary Expences; yet, when we conſider that, whilſt removed at ſuch a Diſtance from our Territories, they are in Effect loſt to our own Service, we think it reaſonable that the whole Expence ſhould be borne by him; but this can only be effected by your Addreſs and judicious Management, as the Engagements now ſubſiſting between us, from which we do not mean to depart, do not entitle us to claim it as a Right.

While

While the King continues at Delhi, whither he proceeded in oppoſition to our moſt ſtrenuous Remonſtrances, we ſhall certainly conſider the Engagements between him and the Company as diſſolved by his Alienation from them and their Intereſts. The Province of Korah, in this Caſe, will revert to them as to the original Proprietors, by his Inability to hold it on the Terms and for the Purpoſes for which it was ceded to him. As the Poſſeſſion of ſo remote a Country can never be expected to yield any Profit to the Company, and the Defence of it muſt require a perpetual Aid of their Forces, and prove a Source of much Jealouſy to the neighbouring Powers, it muſt be our earneſt Wiſh to be freed from ſo inconvenient a Poſſeſſion on the beſt Terms which can be obtained for the Diſpoſal of it. If the King's Pretenſions are removed, the Claim of the Vizir to this Diſtrict will come next in Preference, both on account of our Alliance with him, its Contiguity and Relation to his Dominions, and this Preference being conſonant to the Company's Orders. In that Caſe, it would undoubtedly be our firſt Wiſh to obtain from him the Diſtricts of Chunar and Gauzipore in Exchange for it. The Honourable Company have earneſtly enjoined us to endeavour to effect this for the ſole Purpoſe of placing the King in the Poſſeſſion of a Territory ſituated ſo near to our Borders, and would, no doubt, be well pleaſed with the Acquiſition of it to their own Poſſeſſions; yet we are aware of the Repugnance of the Vizir to part with ſo valuable and important a Territory; and as we cannot, either in Juſtice, or in obedience to the Commands of our Superiors, which recommend the ſtricteſt Delicacy in our Negociations with their Ally, uſe any peremptory Requiſition with him to engage his Acquieſcence in ſuch an Accommodation; we content ourſelves with intimating the utmoſt Extent of our Deſires on this Head, leaving the Accompliſhment of them to your Management and Diſcretion in ſuch a Mode, and to ſuch a Degree, as you ſhall find yourſelf enabled to effect it.

If, however, as is moſt probable, the King ſhould make Overtures to renew his former Connections, we are of opinion, that his Right to reclaim the Diſtricts of Cora and Illahabad cannot with Propriety be diſputed, and we authoriſe you to reſtore them to him, on the Condition of his granting to the Company a ſolemn Renunciation of the Tribute which has been allowed him from the Provinces of Bengal and Bahar, both of the Arrears which may be due, and of all future Payments for ever. While we require this as a juſt Retribution for the Service afforded him in maintaining the Poſſeſſion of theſe Diſtricts againſt the Marattas, to whom his Weakneſs had abandoned them, we are juſtified by the ſtronger Plea of abſolute Neceſſity, in inſiſting upon it, as our Revenues are utterly unable to ſupport any longer ſo ruinous an Expence.

It is probable, that the ſevere Proof which he has recently experienced of his utter Inability to ſupport his Pretenſions to the Power and Dominions of his Anceſtors, and the diſgraceful Treatment which he has received from his falſe Protectors, will exempt him from the Hazard of the like Deluſion hereafter, and induce him to remain contented with his former Reſidence, in a State more ſuited to the moderate Compaſs of his Genius, and the reduced Influence of his Family; in that Caſe, it will be his beſt Policy to connect himſelf again with the Vizir, and to entruſt him with the Adminiſtration of his Affairs, as we do not ſee how it is poſſible for him to ſubſiſt by his own Strength, and the State of our Finances rendering it inconvenient to us to burthen ourſelves with ſo unprofitable a Charge. The Pride of the Vizir may be gratified with ſuch a Connection, and his Authority may derive ſome Degree of Support from the Veneration which is yet paid to the Royal Name. This Point, therefore, we heartily recommend to your Attention. The Power of the King and the Vizir being thus united, and the Object for which the Preſence of the King near the Borders of Bahar was deſired by the Company, being removed by the Renunciation of the Tribute, it will then become an immaterial Conſideration in what Part of the Territories of the Vizir he ſhall hereafter reſide.

We refer to you to adjuſt the Claim of the Vizir on the Company, for the Tuncaw granted him by the King on the Treaſury of Moorſhidabad, and herewith furniſh you with the Extracts from our Conſultation of 13th May, containing the only Information which we have hitherto received concerning that Tranſaction; and you will, no doubt, be furniſhed with the reſt from the Select Committee.

We empower you to renew, in behalf of Raja Cheyt Sing, the Stipulation which was formerly made with the Vizir in favour of his Father Raja Bulwand Sing, in conſideration of his Services to the Company in the Year 1764.

In a Treaty of firm Alliance with the Vizir, a free Intercourſe of Commerce with his Dominions ought to form an Article; and as you are acquainted with the earneſt Wiſhes of the Company on this Head, you will no doubt pay the greateſt Regard to them. The Regulation of this Commerce with reſpect to the Mode of carrying it on, and the Duties to be paid, will be an Object of your Attention, and we rely on your Care and Judgment for adjuſting theſe to the Satisfaction of our Employers. A ſimilar Regulation to that which we have lately adopted with reſpect to Duties in our own Territories, would be the moſt deſirable if the Vizir's Conſent can be obtained.

Mr. Laurell will have our Orders to meet you at Benaris, and furniſh you with ſuch Informations as he may have collected regarding the Diſtricts of Corah and Illahabad; he will alſo be directed to conform to any Meaſure or Stipulation which you may engage in for the Ceſſion of theſe Diſtricts.

We have found it neceſſary this Seaſon, for the more effectual Protection of the Vizir's Dominions, to extend our Operations to the Country of the Rohillas, on the North of the Ganges:

We,

We approve of your concerting with the Vizir any Plan which may be neceſſary for his future Security on that Side, conſiſtently with the Spirit of the Company's Orders.

In conſequence of the Meaſures which you may adopt, it will reſt with you to determine whether or not any Troops ſhall be ſtationed in the Vizir's Dominions: If there ſhould, we recommend that the Second Brigade do relieve the Firſt and take its Tour of that Duty.

We have already obſerved, that we mean rather to intimate our Wiſhes than lay down any abſolute Rules for your Conduct on this Occaſion. For your more particular Guidance, we furniſh you with Copies of the Public Treaties and the Company's Orders, extracted from their ſeveral Letters ſince the Firſt Treaty that was entered into with the Vizir.

(Signed at the End of the Letter)
Warren Haſtings.
W. Alderſey.
P. M. Dacres.
Thomas Lane.
Rich[d] Barwell.
H. Goodwin.
J. Graham.
W. Lambert.

Fort William,
the 23d June 1773.

P. 522. The Governor delivers in to the Board the following Report of his Negociations with the Nabob Suja ul Dowla at Benaras, and of his other Proceedings during his Abſence from the Preſidency, with all the Papers referred to in the Report.

To William Alderſey, Eſq. &c. Council at Fort William.

Gentlemen,

I have already adviſed you, in my Letter of the 7th September from Benaris, of the Iſſue of my Negociations, and the Sum of the Treaty concluded with the Vizir. I now lay before you N° 1. the Treaty itſelf, a Counterpart of which remains in his Poſſeſſion. The other Papers which accompany this I ſhall refer to, numbering them in the Order in which they may occur.

In the Courſe of my Journey to Benaris, I repeatedly addreſſed the King, adviſing him to ſend ſome Perſon of Confidence to meet me there with full Powers to treat upon his Affairs; he did not comply with my Advice, but contented himſelf with writing to the Vizir and to Munneer o' Dowlah, to demand the Balance of the Tribute of Bengal, the regular Payment of it in future, and the Reſtitution of Corah and Allahabad to Munneer o' Dowlah on his Behalf, but without impowering them to deviate from thoſe Demands. Under ſuch Circumſtances your Inſtructions directed me to treat for the Ceſſion of thoſe Countries with the Vizir. I propoſed to him the Exchange of the Territory of Rajah Cheyt Sing for them, but I found him inflexibly averſe to it. He replied, that if I inſiſted upon it, he had not the Power to diſpute it, and muſt of Neceſſity ſubmit, but that he would never willingly conſent to part with a Span of his Territory; that his principal Inducement to wiſh for the Diſtricts of Corah and Illahabad was that he might have the Credit of repoſſeſſing all the Territory which he before enjoyed, and had inherited from his Father; that an Exchange would defeat his Purpoſe; that he could have no Reaſon to give up a valuable Part of his Country, with a certain Revenue, for a Diſtrict which, even in Time of Peace, would not yield him near ſo large net Revenue as was paid him by Rajah Cheyt Sing; and in War, or even the Alarm of War, nothing, beſides being continually expoſed to the Invaſions of the Marattas. Theſe Arguments were certainly juſt, and as my View was to confirm and ſtrengthen the Alliance between him and the Company, and this Propoſal, if inſiſted upon, would have been productive of a contrary Effect, I thought it adviſable to drop it. Indeed I mentioned it but ſlightly, knowing his Repugnance to it; and I flatter myſelf that the Sum of 50 Lacks of Rupees, and the Stipulation of 210000 Rupees per Month for the Payment of an incomplete Brigade whenever required for his Service, will appear to you, Gentlemen, and to our Honourable Maſters, a very advantageous Compenſation for a Territory which perhaps ought in Policy to have been given to him, even though no Return had been made for it.

To have kept it ourſelves would have been inconſiſtent with the repeated and peremptory Commands of the Company. The 7th, 8th, and 10th Paragraphs of their General Letter, dated the 11th May 1769, are ſo directly in Point, and mark ſo forcibly their Sentiments concerning the Impropriety of holding Territories beyond the Boundary of their own Provinces, and ſeparate from them, that this Adminiſtration would have been culpable in the higheſt Degree in retaining Poſſeſſion of Corah and Illahabad for any other Purpoſe than that of making an Advantage by the Diſpoſal of them. It would have impoſed on us the Neceſſity of ſending our Troops continually out of the Provinces of Bengal, not at the Requiſition of the Vizier and at his Charge, but at our own Expence, and for the Protection of the diſtant Acquiſitions; and as the Marattas muſt unavoidably paſs either through theſe Diſtricts, or near them, to invade the Vizier, this would furniſh him with a perpetual Excuſe for refuſing to bear his Proportion of the Expence of the Forces which ſhould be employed in his Protection; nor indeed would it ever be neceſſary for him to call for their Aid, ſince the Preſence of our Army for the Protection of the Lands lying on his Frontier would make them a ſecure Barrier to him, and thus leave us the whole Burthen and immediate Hazard of the War, although he would be the greateſt, and

and in the End would probably appear the only Gainer by it. Nor is their Contiguity less exceptionable on account of the Tendency which our Poſſeſſion of them would have to deſtroy the Harmony and good Underſtanding which our Honourable Maſters ſo earneſtly enjoin us to maintain with the Vizier their Ally, ſince, as he himſelf obſerved to me upon it, they do not form a compact and detached Space, which would admit of an eaſy Defence from One central Station, with its Bounds clearly defined, but conſiſt in a narrow Line without Breadth extending along the Weſtern Frontier of his Dominions, and ſo intermixed with them (many Parts lying on the Eaſtern Bank of the River) that his Aumils and ours would be for ever engaged in mutual Quarrels, which could not fail to weaken the Friendſhip between him and the Company, as it would be impoſſible to examine on which Side the Right lay at ſo great a Diſtance from our Obſervation; nor (to uſe the Words of our Honourable Maſters) could we ſend a Man or a Gun for the Defence "of theſe new Acquiſitions, without paſſing through his Country, which would "be a perpetual Source of Diſpute and Complaint."

Had we reſtored theſe Diſtricts to the King, who ſo lately abandoned them, and who is confeſſedly unable by his own Strength to maintain them, we ſhould ſtill have been burthened with the Care of their Defence, or we ſhould have given them only nominally to the King, but in reality to the Marattas; the evil Conſequences of which it is needleſs to enumerate.

By ceding them to the Vizier, we ſtrengthen our Alliance with him; we make him more dependent upon us, as he is more expoſed to the Hoſtilities of the Marattas; we render a Junction between him and them, which has been ſometimes apprehended, morally impoſſible, ſince the Pretenſions to Corah will be a conſtant Source of Animoſity between them; we free ourſelves from the Expence and all the Dangers attending either a remote Property or a remote Connection; we adhere literally to the limited Syſtem laid down by the Honourable Court of Directors; we are no longer under the Neceſſity of exhauſting the Wealth of our own Provinces in the Pay and Diſburſements of our Brigades employed at a Diſtance beyond them; but, by fixing the Sum to be paid by the Vizier for their Services at their whole Expence, and by removing every poſſible Cauſe for their paſſing our own Borders, but at his Requiſition and for his Defence, we provide effectually for the Protection of our Frontier, and reduce the Expences of our Army even in employing it; and, laſtly, we acquire a net Sum of 50 Lacks of Rupees, moſt ſeaſonably obtained for the Relief of the Company's Neceſſities and the deficient Circulation of the Currency of the Provinces.

P. 530. The Vizier was at firſt very deſirous of the Aſſiſtance of an Engliſh Force to put him in Poſſeſſion of the Rohilla Country, lying North of his Dominions and Eaſt of the Ganges. This has long been a favourite Object of his Wiſhes; and you will recollect that the firſt Occaſion of my late Viſit was furniſhed by a Propoſal of this Kind. He had certainly juſt Grounds of Reſentment againſt the Chiefs of this Nation, who had not only failed in their Engagements to pay him 40 Lacks of Rupees for his Protection againſt the Marattas, but had actually ſupplied them with Money when they appeared in Arms againſt him. He offered to make the Company a Conſideration for this Service of 40 Lacks of Rupees, beſides the ſtipulated Sum for the Expences of our Troops; but he afterwards laid aſide this Deſign, fearing that it would diſable him from fulfilling his Engagements for Corah and Illahabad.

P. 531. The Vizier having no Occaſion for the Services of the Firſt Brigade, I have directed it to return within the Provinces, and I have ordered Lieutenant Colonel Muir, with a Battalion of Sepoys from the Second Brigade, to relieve Lieutenant Colonel Wilding in the Fort of Chunar.

P. 532. The Vizier inſiſted very ſtrongly on his Right to the Balance of the King's Tuncaws on the Treaſury of Moorſhedabad; he ſaid that he advanced the Money for which they were granted to him on the Faith of Lord Clive's Agreements at Illahabad before there was the ſmalleſt Intimation that the Tribute would be diſcontinued; and that Mr. Cartier had both promiſed him Payment and accepted his Aſſignments on them. As theſe Arguments appear to be well grounded, and the Amount of the Tuncaws was actually due to the King before he ſeparated himſelf from our Protection, I thought our Credit required that this Demand ſhould be complied with, and I accordingly agreed to it.

His Engagements for the extra Expence of the Firſt Brigade during the laſt Campaign have been adjuſted, and the Account cloſed to the 15th of this Month. The Balance being 4,52,834:13:3, is to be paid by an Aſſignment; 3,23,000 on the King's Tuncaw, and the remaining 1,29,834:13:3, in ready Money at Fyzabad. No. 14 is a Copy of the Account.

In the Courſe of our Conferences he made a Demand upon me for the Pay of the Nineteenth Battalion of Sepoys from the Time it was firſt ſtationed with him, and was very urgent for the Payment. I told him I was not then furniſhed with the neceſſary Papers to enable me to adjuſt the Account at Benaris, this being the firſt Intimation that I had ever received of his having ſuch a Claim, but promiſed to ſettle it equitably after my Return to Calcutta. The Vehemence with which he inſiſted on the immediate Concluſion of this Buſineſs, notwithſtanding the Length of Time in which it had remained unnoticed, proved an Interruption to the other more important Affairs which were depending. The incloſed Tranſlation of our Correſpondence on the Subject, No. 15, will

will explain the Circumſtances of this Demand. You will obſerve that the Vizier denies his having agreed to pay 15,000 R' a Month for his Half of the extra Expences of the Brigade at Illahabad: But this Circumſtance ſeems to be very well atteſted; and he at length acquieſced to refer it to our Records, and if theſe ſhould eſtabliſh the Claim, to allow it to ſtand againſt his Advances for the Nineteenth Battalion.

I had much Converſation with the Vizir concerning a free Intercourſe of Commerce with his Dominions, and recommended to him an Eſtabliſhment of Cuſtoms ſimilar to that which we have lately adopted in Bengal, of which I gave him a Plan and Explanation in Writing, but I found it impoſſible to convince him of the Utility of either. He ſeemed confirmed in the Perſuaſion that the current Specie of his Country would be drained by a free Trade with ours; that if the Engliſh Gomaſtahs were authorized to reſide there, they would exerciſe an Authority prejudicial to his Revenue, notwithſtanding any Regulations or Reſtrictions of our Government, and involve him in Diſputes which perhaps might end in the Ruin of his Connections with the Company. I promiſed that no Engliſh Gentleman ſhould reſide in his Country, and that I would never interfere in any Diſputes between Engliſh Gomaſtahs and his People, which I left to be decided by his Officers, who might exerciſe the ſame Authority over them as over his own Subjects. As I found it impoſſible to overcome his Objections, and I learnt that Myrzapoor was the Mart from which not only his Dominions, but all the interior Parts of Indoſtan were ſupplied with Goods from Bengal, I judged it improper to preſs him any further to agree to Innovations ſo much againſt his Will, when I could effect the ſame Purpoſes by an Agreement with Rajah Cheyt Sing, to whom the Town of Myrzapoor belongs, as well as all the intermediate Country from the Borders of Bahar. I informed him of my Intention, to which he ſaid he had no Objection. I accordingly ſettled with Raja Cheyt Sing, that the Articles of Broad Cloth, Copper, and Lead bought at the Company's Sales ſhould paſs Duty free through his Territories at Myrzapoor, and that on all other Goods he ſhall collect an equal Rate of Duties from all Merchants, European or Native, or others indiſcriminately.

P. 536. I applied to the Vizir for the Diſmiſſion of Mr. Gentil, uſing ſuch Arguments as I thought moſt likely to induce him to make it his voluntary Act, but not inſiſting on it. He promiſed that he would diſmiſs him; but I confeſs I much doubt whether he will. As the peremptory Injunctions of the Company in the 52d and 53d Paragraphs of their Letter to the Commiſſioners, dated the 23d March 1770, required my Endeavours to obtain this Point, ſo I have literally obſerved their Orders in the Mode in which I ſolicited his Compliance with it. At the ſame Time I muſt declare my Opinion, that the Man has acquired his Importance only from the Notice with which he has been thus repeatedly honoured, having neither Abilities nor Influence which are likely to affect our Intereſt.

☞ *(a)* " [In the Courſe of our Converſation, the Vizier frequently expreſſed the Satisfaction which he had received from our Meeting, and from the friendly and confidential Intercourſe which had taken place between us. Though ſuch Profeſſions are not always to be received in their literal Senſe, I took Occaſion from them to aſk him, whether it would be agreeable to him that a Perſon in whom I confide ſhould be appointed by me to reſide near his Perſon, for the ſake of perpetuating and ſtrengthening the good Underſtanding ſo happily begun, as well as for the Tranſaction of ſuch ordinary Affairs as might not ſuit the Formality of a Correſpondence by Letter, but which, in their Amount, are always found to be productive of important Effects? That I deſired it myſelf; but unleſs it was equally his Wiſh, I would neither propoſe nor conſent to it, as it would not, in ſuch a Caſe, be productive of the good Effects which I meant to derive from it. He declared to me, that it would be entirely pleaſing to him. I told him, that I would again addreſs him after my Return to Calcutta on the ſame Subject, when I ſhould have made choice of a Perſon duly qualified for ſo important a Truſt. It now reſts with you, Gentlemen, to determine on the Propriety of this Appointment. I will offer it frankly as my Opinion, that if you ſhall think it proper to entruſt with me the ſole Nomination of ſuch a Reſident, and the Power of recalling him whenever I ſhall judge his Preſence to be no longer neceſſary, it may be attended with good Effects. In any other Mode, I fear the Appointment would exclude me from being any longer the Channel of Connection between this Government and the Vizier, and prevent me from availing myſelf of that Influence with him, which I have taken much Pains to eſtabliſh, and I hope not altogether unſucceſsfully."]

(Signed at the End) Warren Haſtings.

P. 540. Treaty with Sujah ul Dowlah. No. 1.

The Vizir of the Empire Aſiph jah Shujah ul Mulk, the Nabob Shujah ul Dowlah, Aboul Munſoor Cawn Bahader, Sifdar Jung Sippah Salah on the one Part, and Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Preſident of the Council, Governor of Fort William, and Commander in Chief of the Forces of the Engliſh Company, in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, for and in the Name of the Engliſh Company, on the other Part, do agree on the following Articles:

1ſt. Whereas in the Treaty concluded at Allahabad, the 16th Auguſt 1765, between the Vizir and the Company, it is expreſſed that the Diſtricts of Corah and Allahabad were given to his

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 763.

Majeſty for his Expences; and whereas his Majeſty has abandoned the Poſſeſſion of the aforeſaid Diſtricts, and even given a Sunnud for Corah and Currah to the Marattas, to the great Prejudice of the Intereſts both of the Vizir and of the Engliſh Company, and contrary to the Meaning of the ſaid Treaty, and hath thereby forfeited his Right to the ſaid Diſtricts, which has reverted to the Company, from whom he received it; it is therefore agreed, that the aforeſaid Diſtricts ſhall be put into the Poſſeſſion of the Vizier on the following Conditions; and that in the ſame Manner as the Province of Owd and the other Dominions of the Vizir are poſſeſſed by him, ſo ſhall he poſſeſs Corah, and Curray, and Allahabad, for ever; he ſhall by no Means, and under no Pretence, be liable to any Obſtructions in the aforeſaid Countries from the Company and Engliſh Chiefs; and excluſive of the Money now ſtipulated, no Mention or Requiſition ſhall by any Means be made to him for any Thing elſe on this Account. This Argument ſhall be obſerved by all the Engliſh Chiefs, Gentlemen of the Council, and by the Company, nor ſhall it ever be broke or deviated from.

CONDITIONS: viz.

He ſhall pay to the Company Fifty Lacks (50,00000) of Sicca Rupees, according to the Currency of the Province of Owd, as follows, viz.

In ready Money, - -		20,00,000
In Two Years after the Date hereof; viz.		
The Firſt Year, - -	15,00,000	
The Second Year, - -	15,00,000	
		30,00,000
Sicca Rupees		50,00,000

2d. To prevent any Diſpute ariſing concerning the Payments which ſhall be made by the Vizir, for the Expences of the Company's Troops that may march to his Aſſiſtance, it is agreed, that the Expence of a Brigade ſhall be computed at Two Lacks Ten Thouſand (2,10,000) Sicca Rupees per Month, according to the Currency of the Province of Owd.—By a Brigade is meant as follows; viz.

2 Battalions of Europeans.
6 Battalions of Sepoys.
1 Company of Artillery.

The Expence of the ſaid Troops ſhall be defrayed by the Vizir, from the Time that they ſhall have paſſed the Borders of his Dominions, till they return within the Borders of the Province of Bahar; and excluſive of the abovementioned Sum, no more ſhall on any Account be demanded from him. Should the Company and the Engliſh Chiefs have occaſion to ſend for the Troops of the Vizir, the Company and Engliſh Chiefs ſhall alſo pay their Expences in the like Manner.

Signed, ſealed, and ſolemnly ſworn to, by the contracting Parties, at Benares, this Seventh Day of September in the Year of our Lord One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Seventy-three, in the Preſence of us

John Stewart.
Wm Redfearn.

P. 546. From the King to the Governor. N° 8.

We are informed, by our loyal Servant Manneer ul Dowlah, that you, the Strength of our Empire, have ſent your own Aumils into the Diſtricts of Allahabad and Corah. My choſen Servant! it is now Two Years ſince we have received any Money from Bengal, Allahabad, or Corah, and our Diſtreſs for Money is in the greateſt Degree. The Engliſh Chiefs are bound by a Treaty of Allegiance to our ſacred Perſon, to pay our Tribute from Bengal, and at what Place ſoever we may reſide, to let Corah and Allahabad remain in the Hands of our own Servants. From this Treaty we are aſſured there will be no Deviation, conſidering the Loyalty and Rectitude of you our loyal Servant. We have full Confidence that you will remit to our Preſence the Balance of our Tribute from Bengal, and continue the monthly Payments in future; and that you will deliver up Corah and Allahabad into the Hands of Munneer ul Dowlah, and at the ſame Time enforce Payment of our Revenue from thence, regularly Month by Month. Do you our loyal Servant, in concert with our Brother as dear as Life, the Vizir of the Empire, come to our Royal Preſence. Should it happen that you cannot yourſelf come, let General Barker be ſent, and after their Arrival we ſhall aſſent to whatſoever they may propoſe. We had Intentions of ſending to you our noble Kinſman Mujad ul Dowlah, to communicate to you our Commands, and to reconcile you to our Royal Perſon, of which we informed you in a former Shuleha: Afterwards this Counſel occurred to our enlightened Mind; that if we were informed that you had Intentions of ſettling the Affairs of our Empire, we would then ſend our noble Kinſman to you, that after learning from him our Royal Commands, you might diſpatch the General with the Vizier to our Preſence; and we could then be aſſured, that when we had Two ſuch Supports with us as the Vizir and the General, your Emulation would not ſuffer you to permit the Uſurpers, and Diſturbers of the Peace of our Empire, ſuch as the Jauts and the Rohillas, to hold Poſſeſſions ſo near our Capital. As for the reſt, know that our Royal Favour attends you. Remit our

Tribute from Bengal, and give up Corah and Allahabad, which will give the utmoſt Satisfaction to our ſacred Perſon.

Poſtſcript in the King's own Hand.

Do you, our loyal Servants, come with Cheerfulneſs to our Preſence. After ſettling Affairs here, we ſhall give our Royal Aſſent to whatever you may repreſent.

A true Tranſlation.

(Signed) W. Redfearn,
Perſian Tranſlator.

From the Governor to His Majeſty Shah Allum. N° 9.

Written the 13th September 1773.

I have had the Honour to receive your Majeſty's Commands by the Hands of Mahomed Jacob Cawn, which I have thoroughly underſtood.

Long before my Arrival at Benaras, I repeatedly addreſſed your Majeſty with a Requeſt, that ſome Perſon of Confidence, and impowered to treat upon your Majeſty's Affairs, might be appointed to meet me at that Place: And I was happy when you intimated to me your Pleaſure, that Mugid ul Dowlah was deputed for this Buſineſs, becauſe I had no Doubt, that with the Aſſiſtance of ſo capable a Perſon every Thing would be adjuſted to your Majeſty's Satisfaction, as I repreſented in the Addreſſes which I ſent on this Subject. But upon my Arrival at Benaras, I underſtood that the Orders for his Departure were repealed, and that your Majeſty's Attention was engaged in other Affairs. In this Caſe I was remedileſs. The Vizir having afforded me a Meeting at the abovementioned Place, after many Conferences, I judged it moſt expedient, for the Security of the Peace and Tranquillity of theſe Parts, and even for the Benefit of your Majeſty's Affairs, that the Chucklahs of Corah and Allahabad ſhould be reſtored to his Poſſeſſion, and I have accordingly aſſigned them to him. I think it incumbent on me to explain to your Majeſty fully my Motives for this Tranſaction. While the Union between yourſelf and the Company ſubſiſted, your Majeſty is Witneſs, and all the World have ſeen, that, poſtponing the Conſideration of every other Concern, the Wealth and Forces of the Engliſh Company were continually employed in promoting your Proſperity, and in the Care of your Safety the ſame Deſire and Attachment ſtill prevail; but the Neceſſity of the Times requires other Meaſures and other Counſels. When your Majeſty ſeparated yourſelf from the Engliſh and the Vizir, and gave your Preference to, and conferred your royal Favours on others, whoſe Views have ever been hoſtile to your former Friends and Allies. Whatever Power your Majeſty poſſeſſed inſtantly became theirs, and preſuming upon it, they oppoſed their Taxes to the Vizir and the Forces of the Engliſh Company, and even proceeded to Acts of Violence againſt both, which we forbore to repel, from Reſpect to your Perſon, which authorized their Proceedings. What Return of Loyalty and Services your Majeſty received for the Grace which you thus beſtowed upon them, your Majeſty beſt knows. In Addition to your other Bounties, you were pleaſed to grant them Sunnuds for the Diſtricts of Corah and Currah, which in effect would have alſo given them the Command of Allahabad. By whatever Means the Sunnuds were obtained, it is evident that your Majeſty either wanted Power to retain theſe Diſtricts, or that you abandoned them of your own free Will to Strangers, whoſe Deſigns and Intereſts were ever contrary to the Deſigns and Intereſts of the Company. As theſe Diſtricts were originally aſſigned by the Company for the Purpoſe of paying your Expences, when they ceaſed to be your Property, by the univerſal Principles of Juſtice they reverted to the Company, from whom you firſt received them; and I accordingly cauſed Poſſeſſion to be taken of them in the Name of the Company, both for the Security of their Rights, and to prevent an Enemy from uſurping them: And I have given them to the Vizir for theſe Reaſons; firſt, becauſe as his Intereſts and the Company's were the ſame, and this Country lay contiguous to his, the Defence of it would be more eaſy, and our mutual Alliance become ſtronger by this Addition to his Dominions. Secondly, Becauſe the Vizir being your Firſt Servant, and the only Repreſentative of your Perſon, it would enable him hereafter more effectually to ſerve your Majeſty, and to retrieve your Affairs. It was certainly my Intention to have put theſe Diſtricts again into your Hands, and it was with this View that I ſo repeatedly entreated your Majeſty to ſend a Perſon of your Confidence, to ſettle with me the Means of effecting this, and the other Arrangements dependent on the Company. But as no one came, and being informed that nobody would come, and I knew, that without ſome well-concerted Plan of Defence, to reſtore them to your Hands would in effect be to give them up to the Marattas, and prove a certain Means of arming their Hands againſt us, I was therefore compelled to change my firſt Deſign, and act as the Neceſſity of the Seaſon adviſed.

Upon the Affairs of Bengal, I have before, in my Letters, repreſented the diſtreſſed Conditions of the People, and the Poverty of the Country, which are ſolely owing to the heavy Drafts which have been made of its current Specie for your Majeſty's Remittances. As it is the Will of God, and agreeable to the Commands of the Engliſh Company, my Maſters, that I am entruſted with the Care and Protection of the People of theſe Provinces, and as their Condition, which is at this Time on the Edge of Miſery, would be ruined paſt Remedy, by draining the Country of the little Wealth which remains in it, I muſt plainly declare, that until the Safety and Welfare of theſe Provinces will admit of it, I cannot conſent that a ſingle Rupee be ſent out of them, which

it is in my Power to detain. This Declaration I make from the Integrity of my Heart, and a real Attachment to your Majesty, which will not suffer me to deceive you by doubtful Promises, while I am certain that they can have but one Effect. For the Arrest, I pray to the Almighty for a more favourable Season, to enable me to shew my Zeal for your Majesty's Service, and shall continually communicate with the Vizir on the Means of exerting our Endeavours in Conjunction for this Purpose; which, God willing, may be speedily and happily accomplished.

(A true Translation.)

(Signed) W^m Redfearn,
Persian Translator.

(Signed at the End of the Consultation)

Warren Hastings.
P. M. Dacres.

APPENDIX, N° LXVI.

Book 109, Page 326.

To the Nabob Vizier.—Written 21st May 1777.

THE Alliance which has so long subsisted, and is now so firmly established, between your Excellency and the Company, has happily been productive of the greatest Advantages to both, and it is evident that no Benefit or Misfortune can attend either, of which the other will not essentially participate. This Union of inseparable Interests renders it my indispensable Duty, as the Representative of the English Nation and of the East India Company, not only to advise, but to urge in the most earnest Terms, every Expedient that may promote the Prosperity of your Dominions and the Increase of your Reputation, but more especially such as are required for your Safety from impending Danger.

It is now Two Years since, at your Request, I assented to the Appointment of British Officers, for the command and disciplining of your Troops. The Deference which I always pay to your Wishes would alone have been Motive sufficient to engage my Compliance with them on that Occasion, but a more forcible Reason subsisted in the Danger to which your Person and Dominions were exposed, from the licentious Outrage of your Sepoys. These were Considerations of too alarming a Nature to admit of Delay, although I plainly perceived the Defects of the System then adopted, and which have in fact since attended it: They are many, but I shall content myself with mentioning only the principal ones.

1st. The Officers employed in your Excellency's Service are released from the Company's Authority, without being subject to yours in such a Degree, as is necessary for establishing a proper Dependance on you, and due Obedience to your Commands.

2dly. The Expence of your Army being uncontrouled by the Authority of this Government, cannot be regulated by that Œconomy which in Reason and Justice ought to be observed for your Excellency's Advantage.

The Abuses arising from these Defects are daily accumulating, and unless immediately remedied must terminate in the most fatal Consequences, from a total Relaxation in the Discipline of the Troops, and an Increase of Expence too enormous for your Excellency to bear.

The sincere Friendship which I entertain for your Excellency, and the anxious Concern which I feel for your Welfare, have excited my utmost Attention, and engaged a considerable Portion of my Time, in devising Means for obviating the Effects which must follow the Continuation of so faulty a System.

After revolving many Plans in my Mind, I have at length adopted the following, which on the maturest Deliberation is, I am convinced, the best that can at present be formed for our mutual Advantage, and absolutely necessary to be carried into immediate Execution—It is this:

☞ *(a)* [That of the Troops now belonging to your Excellency, and commanded by British Officers, the following Corps be transferred to the Service of the Company, viz. Nine Battalions of Sepoys, Three Companies of Artillery, and Two Regiments of Horse,—One more to be added for that Purpose, to complete the Establishment.

2dly. That these Corps be formed into a Brigade, for the Service of your Excellency entirely; but, for the sake of maintaining Discipline and Subordination, be immediately subjected to the Authority of this Government, by which their Pay is to be issued, their Accounts regulated, their Expence controuled, and their Conduct ultimately directed; but they shall act solely under your Orders, in all their military Operations, for the Defence of every Part of your Dominions, whilst you retain them in your Service.

(a) Vide supra, P. 763.

3dly. That an Eſtimate be formed of the Expence of this Eſtabliſhment, on the Trial of One or Two Months, which your Excellency will defray; and after that, the ſame ſhall remain a fixed Charge for ſo long a Time as you ſhall require the Corps for your Service.]

Your Excellency will perceive by this Plan, that no ſubſtantial Charge is made by it, either in the Strength or Service of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, but that it is formally converted to the Service of the Company, for the ſole Purpoſes of rendering it more effectual to yours, and the leaſt burthenſome to your Finances.

If you approve of this Meaſure, as this is the Seaſon for executing it, I hope that you will be pleaſed to iſſue immediate Orders to Colonel Goddard to that Effect: I have written to him accordingly.

APPENDIX, N° LXVII.

Book 132. Page 348.

From the Vizier.—Received 17th June.

AFTER recapitulating the Contents of the Governor's Letter of the 21ſt of May, he proceeds thus:

The Defects which you point out in the Syſtem on which the Forces under Britiſh Officers are now eſtabliſhed, do in fact exiſt, and the Plan which you have formed to remedy theſe Defects is of the wiſeſt Nature, and calculated to promote the Advantage of my Government: Convinced that in the Eſtabliſhment of this Syſtem you heartily wiſh the Proſperity of my Government, which in the Eye of Friendſhip is that of the Company's alſo, I have therefore given my Approbation to the Plan.

It is well known that the Engliſh Chiefs, keeping the Intereſt and Proſperity of my Government conſtantly in View, have exerted themſelves on all Occaſions to promote theſe Ends, and having never been deficient in affording me their Aid and Aſſiſtance, have been the Supporters of my Honour and Dignity, and they will continue ſuch.—It is needleſs to mention this.

(a) [It is alſo equally certain, that I regard it as an indiſpenſable Obligation on me to preſerve the warmeſt Friendſhip for the illuſtrious Engliſh Chiefs from that Day, when, by the Means of the Engliſh Friendſhip, I aſcended, by hereditary Right, the Muſnud of my Anceſtors. It has been my moſt earneſt Deſire deeply engraved on my Mind, by every Means to preſerve a ſtrict Friendſhip and Union with them, and to cultivate and improve it to the utmoſt, which would be the Means of inſuring my Stability and Intereſt. Actuated by theſe Sentiments, I intruſted my Intereſts to the Engliſh Chiefs, and have, on every Occaſion, regulated my Conduct by their Opinion and Advice, and have never in any one Inſtance acted contrary to their Pleaſure.]

I have accordingly found the Affairs of my Government improving daily, and it is morally certain, that I ſhall ever preſerve the ſtricteſt Friendſhip for them, and always keep in View the Duties which ſuch Friendſhip and Union require at my Hands, and on no Account deviate therefrom.

The new Forces which you wiſh to raiſe to complete the preſent Syſtem, I entirely approve of and agree to: Of the Troops now commanded by Britiſh Officers, I have transferred to the Company 9 Battalions of Sepoys, 3 Companies of Artillery, 2 Regiments of Horſe, and One more Regiment of Horſe to be raiſed in the Room of 3 Battalions which ſhall be diſmiſſed from the 12 Battalions now on Foot. I have accordingly given Colonel Goddard Information of this. It now depends on you and the Gentlemen of Council to diſcipline and direct theſe Forces, which I have transferred to the Company, in ſuch Manner as you may think the Circumſtances of the Times require.

APPENDIX, N° LXVIII.

Book 132.

From the Vizier.—Received 9th Auguſt 1777.

I HAVE had the Pleaſure to receive your agreeable Letter. (Vide N° 36.*)

Actuated by Sentiments of the warmeſt Friendſhip and Regard towards me, you write that you conſider yourſelf as under an Obligation to point out to me every Circumſtance by which my Intereſt and the Proſperity of my Affairs may be affected, and that it is equally incumbent on me, both in Conſideration of our Friendſhip and of the Succeſs of my own Affairs, to pay Attention to

* Reference to the Letter in the Original.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 763.

your

your Advice; and in the first Place you observe, it is highly expedient that all Men of mean Extraction and unworthy Characters, such as Imaum Buksh, whose Society reflects Dishonour on my Government, and is fraught with Detriment to my Affairs, be banished for ever from my Presence and Dominions. 2d. That I should chuse a Naib of Capacity for the Exercise of my Authority in the Management of my Affairs, and of approved Attachment and Integrity, such as Hussein Reza Khan. 3dly. That having invested the said Khan with the Management of all my Affairs, especial Orders should be given that all the Officers of my Government act under his immediate Direction, and that he should be directed to retrench all my superfluous Expences.

All these Particulars I clearly comprehend, and feel the utmost Pleasure and Gratitude from the Consideration of these Instances of your Affection and Regard.

☞ (a) [My Friend! My Nature revolts at all base and unworthy Characters. Before the Arrival of your friendly Letter, I had expressed my Displeasure against Imaum Buksh, and driven him from my Counsels; nor did I admit any Person of such a Character in my Presence. I had long before that Period given the sole Direction of all my Affairs, Civil and Military, into the Hands of Hussein Reza Khan. It is true, that he is a Man of old and proved Attachment to my Family, and of great Capacity, Experience, and Discernment; and I am fully convinced of, and highly satisfied with, his Integrity and Fidelity; and since you, my Friend, have judged it advisable that he should be entrusted with the Management of the Affairs of my Government, and have given it me as your Advice accordingly, requiring no further Inducement, I have invested him with the Charge thereof, and given express Injunctions to all my Officers implicitly to obey all my Orders issued by the said Khan. You may rely with the utmost Confidence on these Declarations which I have made. My Desire to comply with your Advice on every Occasion is without Bounds.]

I regard the said Khan in the Light of a true and hearty Friend, and approve of all his Measures. You may rest assured of this. Let me request that you will continue to favour me with your Advice on every Occasion in which my Interest is concerned. I know you to be a warm Friend, ever attentive to my Happiness. In your Friendship is my Strength and Security.

Regarding me as ever anxious to hear of your Welfare, I flatter myself you will frequently let me enjoy that Pleasure.

APPENDIX, N° LXIX.

Book 133. Page 548.

Secret Dep. Thursday.

Extract of a Consultation of the 4th September 1777.

Fort William, the 4th September 1777.

☞ (b) [At a Council; Present,

The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President;
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, } Esquires.

THE Proceedings of the 1st Instant read and approved. Read the following Letter from Mr. Middleton:

Mr. Middleton, 18th August.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Not being favoured with your Commands, in Reply to my Address of the 26th June, and being moreover apprehensive, that with the very large Claims which the Company now have on his Excellency, the Mode I there proposed, of taking, in every Instance, Assignments of whole Districts, where the Vizier's Power of Controul over the Aumils, on the Troops stationed with them, should in no Respect be exerted, would almost annihilate every Appearance of his Excellency's retaining any Authority in his own Dominions; I thought it better to consent to what the Nabob himself appeared willing to allow, and what, I flatter myself, will be deemed by the Honourable Board as adequate a Security for the Claims of the ensuing Year, as the present State of Affairs in this Country would admit of. His Excellency has agreed to assign over the Rents of the Provinces of Rohilcund and the Doaub, after deducting the Charges of Collection, the usual stationary Troops there, and the Claims for recoverable Balances of last Year, exclusively, to the Payment of the Company's Demands; the Aumils to be either of my Appointment, or such as I shall approve; and with whom I am at Liberty to expressly stipulate, that, except on the Accounts above mentioned, they shall not pay any Drafts whatever but mine, on Pain of their immediate Removal. The Districts of Allahabad, Corah, Sharah, Jugdrispoor, &c. are to be assigned over to me in the same Manner, after deducting such Part of the Jagheers of Sallar Jung and Mirsa Allee, as have always been upon those Districts. For the Remainders of the Company's

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(a) Vide supra, P. 765.

(b) Vide supra, P. 765.

Claims,

Claims, his Excellency has ordered his Miniſters to lay before me ſuch a State of Aſſignments as ſhall, in Amount and Security, appear to me fully ſufficient, and gave me a ſolemn Aſſurance, that he would not make a Grant of a ſingle Tuncaw upon any of his Diſtricts until this be done. As the making the Bundobuſt of the Country, with the ſingle Stipulation in favour of Bow Anny Sing, has been committed to the Miniſtry, I hope, with their Aſſiſtance, to have ſuch Aumils appointed, and ſuch an Influence over them, that I need be under no Apprehenſions, where I have even only partial Drafts on them, of their paying the Claims of others in Preference, or to the Injury of the Company's. The Nabob's Orderlies, from whom I ſhould have moſt to dread, will be excluded, unleſs it may, perhaps, be judged expedient to give ſome ſmall Diſtricts to one or two of them, who have ſome Claim to Favour, from having paid the Aſſignments on them this Year entirely, or nearly, without Balance. For a further Security to the realizing the Aſſignments given in favour of the Honourable Company, and to obviate one of the moſt ordinary and principal Cauſes of Balances this Year, the diſorderly Behaviour of the Troops ſtationed for the Defence of the Provinces, or quartered on them for Subſiſtence, I have obtained his Excellency's Conſent to Three of his Battalions being delivered over to me, for the Purpoſe of aſſiſting the Aumils in the Maintenance of their Authority, both over the Zemindars, and againſt any Troops who may diſtreſs the Province by riotous Behaviour or oppreſſive Exactions; and alſo to ſecure the realizing of my Claims, when and wherever I may think them in Danger of being invaded or violated.]

I have this Day encloſed to the Governor General a Letter from his Excellency, requeſting that a commanding Officer, and Three others under him, may be appointed by the Honourable Board to theſe Troops. With this Force, which is to be paid by me in the ſame Manner as his other Troops under Britiſh Officers, I think it will be eaſy to prevent any Alienations of the Company's Rights from the Violence of the Nabob's lawleſs Troops, and alſo that Devaſtation to the Country itſelf, and real Injury to its Revenues, which was ſo generally occaſioned from the ſame Cauſe. As it will take ſome Time to adjuſt exactly this Year's Balance and Receipts Account, the Army's Subſidy, the Company's Account Current, and the Vizier's Troops under Britiſh Officers, as well as to ſettle the Aumils Account for this Year, and to make the Settlement with them for the next, I muſt defer the drawing out a general Statement to an After-period. In the mean while I have the Pleaſure to inform you that the Doaub has been already aſſigned over to me, and an Aumil appointed thereto of the beſt and moſt eſtabliſhed Reputation in the Country, and that I am ſtudiouſly and unremittingly endeavouring, in conjunction with the Miniſters, to ſettle the whole Claims on his Excellency in a Manner which I flatter myſelf will meet with your Approbation. As ſoon as ever Matters may be finally adjuſted, I ſhall not fail to forward you the moſt particular Account both of the Balances of this Year, and the Nature of the Aſſignment for the Liquidation of them, and the Demand for the next Year.

I have, &c.

Lucknow, 18th Auguſt 1777. (Signed) Nath. Middleton, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Minutes of the Board on Mr. Middleton's Letters.

The Governor General.—Although the Continuance of the Three remaining Battalions of the Nabob's diſciplined Sepoys on their original Footing, is liable to the ſame Objections in Part as thoſe which I have ſtated againſt the entire Corps to which they formerly belonged; yet as the Nabob's Aſſignments have hitherto proved ſo defective, and as I know that no Part of his Revenues can be realized without a ſtrong military Force, as well to enforce Payment from the Zemindars, as to oppoſe the Competitions of others, on whom the Nabob may laviſh Grants on the ſame Lands; and as the Meaſure has come recommended both by the Vizier and the Reſident, I muſt propoſe that it be confirmed, that the Board do permit ſuch of their Officers to command them as may be required for that Purpoſe, but that the Term of their Service be limited to One Year, or a leſs Time, if other Means can be deviſed in the intermediate Time, for the Security of the Tuncaw Collections. I would further propoſe, that Mr. Middleton be directed to tranſmit to us a particular Account of the aſſigned Lands, ſpecifying the particular Services to which each is appropriated, and their eſtimated Amount.

☞ (*a*) [Mr. Francis.—By the foregoing Letter from Mr. Middleton, it appears, that he has taken the Government of the Nabob's Dominions directly upon himſelf. I was not a Party to the Reſolutions which preceded that Meaſure, and will not be anſwerable for the Conſequences of it.]

Mr. Barwell acquieſces in the Governor General's Motion.

Agreed to the Governor General's Motion, and reſolved, That Mr. Middleton be informed accordingly, when an Anſwer ſhall be written to his other Letters now before the Board.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 767.

APPENDIX, N° LXX.

Book 138. Page 703.

Extract of a Conſultation, of the 19th May 1777.

Fort William, the 19th May 1777.

At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,
Lieutenant General John Clavering.
Richard Barwell, and } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

RECONSIDERED the Governor General's Plan for regulating the Troops under Britiſh Officers in the Service of the Nabob of Oude, which ſtands recorded in Conſultation of the 5th Inſtant.

Mr. Francis delivers his Opinion in the following Minute.

A Plan for a great military Arrangement, which has not been concerted with the Commander in Chief, nor communicated to him, comes before me without that Authority which his Recommendation would give to any Meaſure properly belonging to his Department. The Views of the Legiſlature in General Clavering's Appointment are well known. The Company concurred in them, by appointing him Commander in Chief of all their Forces in India. The Tenor of their Inſtructions, and the Approbation they have ſince given him, ſhew plainly how much they originally depended on his Knowledge and Experience in military Affairs, and how much they ſtill expect from his Services. Our Inſtructions evidently draw a Line between the Civil and Military Departments, which had not been preſcribed to any former Government, and give Powers to the Commander in Chief, which had hereforore been exerciſed by the Preſident of the Council, yet without limiting any of thoſe which belong to the former as a Member of the Adminiſtration. A Diſtribution of Power eſtabliſhed by ſuch Authority, ought to be inviolably preſerved, and every Evaſion of it oppoſed. On theſe Principles I object, in the firſt Inſtance, to the Introduction of a Plan for a new military Eſtabliſhment to which the Commander in Chief is not a Party; and ſuppoſing the Meaſure to be reſolved on without his Concurrence, ſhall deem the Governor General and Mr. Barwell particularly reſponſible for all the Conſequences that may attend it.

My Objections to the Meaſure itſelf are partly to the Propriety of the Plan in its Detail, without a Reference to its main Object, but principally to its general Purpoſe and Operation. The laſt are fundamental, and not to be removed by any Arguments by which the firſt might be anſwered. I mean, that if the Plan within itſelf were unexceptionable, as a military Arrangement; that alone would not be to me a ſufficient Motive for adopting it.

1ſt. I underſtand it is propoſed to augment the Company's preſent Force with Nine Battalions of Sepoys, Three Companies of Artillery, and Six Regiments of Cavalry. Theſe, whether paid by the Nabob or not, are to conſtitute Part of our ſtanding Army, though not for the Defence of Bengal. Three of the above Regiments of Cavalry are, however, not to be raiſed without the Company's Orders, out of whoſe Treaſury this Part of the Expence is to be provided for. The preſent Eſtabliſhment of the Company's Army has been deemed adequate to the ordinary Defence of their Territories; and as this Force has been found ſufficient, not only for that Purpoſe, but to ſpare One whole Brigade for the Defence of the Nabob of Oude's Dominions, I muſt ſuppoſe any Augmentation to be inconſiſtent with the Views of the Court of Directors; nor can I conceive it to be neceſſary on any Suppoſition, but that of an Invaſion by the French. But according to the Governor's Plan, no additional Force will be kept up within the Provinces; at the ſame Time that the Number of the Nabob's Troops under Britiſh Officers will be conſiderably diminiſhed.

Far from conſidering an Augmentation to the Company's Eſtabliſhment in this Form, and ſo diſpoſed, as a Meaſure which muſt conduce to Safety and Succeſs, I think it uſeleſs in point of Safety, and as for Succeſs, I know not in what Deſigns we are to ſucceed, unleſs it be in depriving the Nabob of the Government of his Country, or in Schemes of Conqueſt, in which I never ſhall concur. With reſpect to the Nabob, the Injuſtice is manifeſt, if he is to pay an Army without being allowed any Share in the Command, or any Judgment in the Diſpoſition of it, for the Defence of his Dominions, a conſiderable Part of which cannot be defended by the Company's Army, without a Breach of their Orders; I mean the Doab and Rohilchund. If this Arrangement is to be impoſed on the Nabob, by means of the actual Power we have over him, it is a Violation of Juſtice, and a Breach of ſpecific Treaty with him, for which this Government can have no Excuſe.

2dly. I cannot agree that the actual Exiſtence of a Sum of Money in our Treaſury will authoriſe this Government to laviſh it in raiſing Regiments of Cavalry not neceſſary to the Defence of Bengal, much leſs that the general Circulation of the Country (ſo much diſtreſſed as the Governor obſerves, by its lying uſeleſs in our Coffers) will be benefited either by the Purchaſe of Horſes (the whole of which will be ſpent out of the Provinces), or by an Encreaſe of Military

Eſtabliſhment, for the conſtant Support of which the Country muſt hereafter be taxed. Augmenting the ſtanding Force of a Country, in order to promote Circulation, is a new Idea, and plainly ſhews the Inutility of racking theſe Provinces in the Manner they have been. When it is conſidered, however, that our Treaſury has been ſupplied, and that the preſent Surplus created by Reſources which do not properly belong to Bengal, and on which we have no Right to place a conſtant Dependance, I mean by the Subſidy of the Brigade and direct Payments from the Nabob of Oude, I think there is no Reaſon to apprehend that it will remain long unemployed. If my Judgment of the Decline of our own Revenues, on which alone we can ſafely depend, be not much miſtaken, the Time is not very diſtant when the Supply of the Inveſtment and the Support of our preſent Eſtabliſhment will gradually ſink and appropriate the exiſting Surplus. At all Events, inſtead of ſquandering Money becauſe we have it, I conceive that a more beneficial and benevolent Uſe might be made of it, by applying it to Current Services, and by granting a proportionate Remiſſion for a few Years in the Taxation of the Country. In this Way, whatever we ſow we ſhould reap; whereas an Increaſe of the ſtanding Army in the Firſt Inſtance abſorbs the Saving in hand, and leaves the Country burthened with an additional Eſtabliſhment. This Argument I deem to be valid againſt any Augmentation which has not for its Object the direct Security of Bengal.

3dly. It is admitted, that the Eſtabliſhment of the Troops under Britiſh Officers has anſwered the Ends of Diſcipline and Subordination to a certain Degree. The Defects therefore which may ſtill attend it might eaſily be removed or corrected by Savings and Reductions, in which I ſhould readily concur with the Governor General, without ſo violent an Alteration as that which the Plan propoſes. 1ſt. The extraordinary Pay of the Officers may be reduced, as I believe the double Batta, which all the Troops enjoy out of the Provinces, would be a ſufficient Inducement to our Officers to continue in that Service. 2d. I never heard that there has been any Difficulty in recruiting our Battalions of Sepoys; on the contrary, the Regularity of our Payment, and the Credit of our Diſcipline, makes the Company's a favourite Service.

If effectual Checks on the Expences of theſe Troops are not yet provided, the Office of Audit and Control has been to no Purpoſe. I believe the Governor is miſtaken in affirming that the Paymaſters and Officers are allowed to draw for Advances from the Nabob's Treaſury, and that they conſider themſelves as reſponſible to him alone for the Application of them. I underſtand the eſtabliſhed Pay and Contingencies are iſſued according to Abſtracts, taken from actual Muſters, ſigned by the commanding Officers, and by the Commiſſaries. The ſame Form is obſerved in the Company's Troops. As for extra contingent Bills, not one was paid before Colonel Goddard's Appointment, nor can be now without his Sanction. Where fixed Rules can be ſtated, the Auditor's Check over this Branch of Expence will be ſufficient. In extraordinary Caſes, ſome Degree of Truſt muſt be repoſed in Colonel Goddard's Diſcretion; and if this be an Inconvenience, it is one of thoſe which cannot in its Nature be avoided, without incurring a greater.

4th. If the Services be too remote for the Government to remove and reſtrain all Abuſes in it, it ſhews, that our Dependance muſt ultimately reſt with the Officers whom we think fit to appoint to high Stations in that Service. The mere Transfer of the ſame Troops from one Eſtabliſhment to another will not alter the Nature of the Service itſelf, nor leſſen the Abuſes which attend it.

5th. I believe the Governor is not founded in aſſerting, that the Officers now employed in the Nabob's Troops are exempt from the Articles of War. They hold their Rank in the Company's Service, and receive their Pay and Batta directly from the Company, through the Hands of their Reſident.

6th. The Idea of annexing Two Regiments of Cavalry to each Brigade ſeems to me to defeat any uſeful Purpoſe of entertaining a Body of Horſe in the Company's Pay. Six Regiments, when united, are but an inconſiderable Force againſt the numerous Bodies of Horſe to which they muſt be oppoſed, if they acted at all. If Two Regiments are to be ſeparately ſtationed with each Brigade, it does not appear to me that they can be of any Service whatſoever. I ſpeak with Diffidence on a Subject in which I do not pretend to be converſant; but I have always underſtood that the true and only Defence of Bengal depends on our Infantry.

7th. Suppoſing the Utility of entertaining a Body of Horſe to be admitted, I ſhould ſtill object to the Men furniſhing their own Horſes. The additional Pay of Men who ride their Horſes, and the Indemnification for all Coſt on Service, will ſoon exceed the firſt Coſt. On the other Hand, it is not probable that many Horſemen ſhould be found, who are in a Condition to mount themſelves in a proper Manner; nor will it be the commanding Officer's Intereſt to find ſuch Men. The Horſes will be in fact his Property, as a conſiderable Part of them are at preſent in the Nabob's own Cavalry. The ſame Perſon, then, who owns the Horſe will fix his Value, and either caſt him as unfit for Service, or continue him, as may beſt ſuit his own Intereſt. As I am convinced that this will be the Caſe, I think it is more to be apprehended that there will be a conſtant Mortality among the Horſes, than that they will not be expoſed to Labour or Danger.

From the concluding Words of the Plan, I collect, that, when a Horſe dies, or is caſt, the Trooper is diſmiſſed, and not re-admitted until he is provided with another. Such a Man has it in

in his Option to quit the Regiment entirely, and carry the Diſcipline he may have learnt with us into another Service, or return, if he thinks proper.

On the whole I obſerve, that the total Saving propoſed by the immediate Change of Eſtabliſhment is to be 6,88,188 Rupees. If this Saving of Expence could have been accompliſhed without a Reduction of Numbers, it would undoubtedly have proved an Objection to the preſent Syſtem, and a Merit in removing it; but I obſerve, that it is intended to reduce the Nabob's Body Guard, and three other Battalions of Sepoys, amounting to above 3,200 Men: I can neither admit that there is any real Œconomy in the Meaſure, nor am I ſatisfied that the Numbers to be kept up will be equal to the Defence of the Nabob's Dominions. The Body Guard is not only a uſeful Corps, but very neceſſary to the Nabob's perſonal Dignity and Safety; a Propoſal to diſband it can never be freely conſented to by him, nor effected without an abſolute Force over him.

Mr. Barwell.—It is long ſince I have conſidered the Neceſſity of rendering the Military Eſtabliſhment formed for the Defence of the Vizier's Dominions of Uſe to this Government. Upon its firſt Formation I ſuggeſted the Propriety of having theſe Troops our own; I am ſtill of that Opinion; and having fully weighed the Advantages that will probably reſult from the Plan offered by the Governor General, I ſhall give my Approbation of it, unleſs any Arguments that I am not aware of ſhall be advanced by General Clavering. I confeſs that none occur to me in oppoſition to the Meaſure propoſed; however, I reſerve to myſelf to alter my Opinion, ſhould I be convinced that it is formed upon wrong Grounds.

General Clavering.—Mr. Barwell has mentioned, that when the Military Eſtabliſhment was formed for the Defence of the Vizier's Dominions, he ſuggeſted the Propriety of rendering that Eſtabliſhment uſeful to this Government.—If it would not be too much Trouble to him, I would beg leave to deſire that he would ſtate the Conſultation where that Suggeſtion is in.

Mr. Barwell.—It is in Conſultation 14th December 1775; I beg that a Copy of it may be recorded in this Place.

Extract Conſultation, 14th December 1775.

"I receive the General's Plan for forming a Body of Troops for the Service of the Nabob of "Oude, but at the ſame Time I think it ſhould be conſidered, whether in diſciplining a Body of "Infantry, and regulating a Corps of Artillery, we may not arm him againſt ourſelves? This "Government, I conceive, can well ſpare a ſufficient Body of Black Troops for the Service of "the Nabob. A proper Body of Cavalry, diſciplined and commanded by our Officers, may, I "apprehend, be of great Utility both to his Government and ours. I have no Objection to the "General's Plan, upon the Principle that we cannot ſpare ſuch a Body of Sepoys and Artillery "from our own Forces as is now propoſed to be kept up for the Nabob's Service."

General Clavering delivers in the following Minute.

Although I might be diſcouraged by the fruitleſs Endeavours I have hitherto made to avert the Miſchiefs which former Projects ſeemed to me calculated to produce; yet in whatever Light the Plan now under the Conſideration of the Board is regarded, whether as political, military, or œconomical, I am equally called upon in my Capacity as a Counſellor of this Government, or Commander in Chief of the Company's Armies in India, to deliver my Sentiments freely upon a Meaſure connected with each of theſe Situations, however unavailing I am apprehenſive my Arguments may prove on this Occaſion. In delivering my Sentiments therefore on the Plan before me, I am ſorry I muſt be obliged to declare, that I cannot receive it in the Light which Mr. Haſtings offers it, as a Scheme of diſintereſted Utility, but as a Meaſure without an Object, not prompted by Neceſſity or any adequate Motive, poſitively infringing the Orders of the Court of Directors, and laviſhing the Treaſure of the Company; nor yet can I agree with him in looking upon it as no Innovation, or no Stricture upon paſt Meaſures: Becauſe, in the firſt Place, I cannot conſider a total Subverſion of an Eſtabliſhment, new-modelling Corps, altering the Rank of Officers, otherwiſe than as an Innovation: Becauſe in the ſecond Place, I cannot regard the five Objections he has endeavoured to eſtabliſh, and the Invective and Aſperſions (deſtitute of all Proofs) with which he has branded the Service of the Nabob, in any other Light than a partial Cenſure of paſt Meaſures. For my own Part, I hold myſelf always open to the Conſequences of any Act in which I have concurred; but in the preſent Inſtance, the Governor General ſhould have foreſeen, that in blaming the Meaſure he condemns himſelf; as in fact, I only gave the official Courſe to a Plan that he himſelf propoſed, accompanied with his moſt hearty Concurrence; and upon this Occaſion, as upon many others, I would moſt earneſtly have wiſhed that the Governor General had abided by his Declaration on the 28th November laſt, in the following Words: "I had de-"termined to avoid all Kind of Innovations, and to confine the Influence which had thus unex-"pectedly devolved upon me to the current and ordinary Occurrences of Government." Indeed, upon a due Conſideration of the Diſapprobation with which his previous Conduct had been received in England, Prudence might have ſuggeſted to him not to engage in new Plans until he was informed of the Succeſs of his old ones.

I ſhall

I ſhall now proceed to an Examination of the Governor General's Objections to the old Eſtabliſhment; but firſt muſt expreſs my Surpriſe at his Humility in relinquiſhing the Honour of this Plan in favour of Mr. Barwell; as upon referring to the Proceedings of the 29th November 1775, I find the Credit is entirely due to himſelf. Vide his Note of 20th November, and Mr. Barwell's Aſſent. And again, on the 14th December Mr. Barwell's Recommendation of the Company's Sepoys being employed in his Service; a Meaſure that could not be adopted by the Board, becauſe of the Limitation to the Operation of our Troops within the Bounds of the guaranteed Provinces, by which they would have been rendered totally uſeleſs to the Nabob in reſpect to the Defence of his other Provinces.

Extract of the Governor's Note, 20th November 1775.

"As the Diſorders which have prevailed in the Nabob's Troops require an inſtantaneous and "effectual Remedy; and that the Propoſal in this Letter promiſes the ſureſt Succeſs, I heartily "ſubſcribe to it. If the other Members of the Board join in this Opinion, they will alſo ſee "with me the Neceſſity of ſignifying it immediately to Mr. Briſtow, and of forming the Ar-"rangement required for its Reſolution."

To this Mr. Barwell aſſents, as a Meaſure of Security and Œconomy to the Company.

Extract of the 14th December 1775.

Mr. Barwell apprehends we ſhall hereby arm him againſt ourſelves, and adds, "This Go-"vernment, I conceive, can well ſpare a ſufficient Body of Black Troops for the Service of the "Nabob; a proper Body of Cavalry, diſciplined and commanded by our Officers, may, I ap-"prehend, be of great Utility, both to his Government and to ours. I have no Objections to "the General's Plan, upon the Principle that we cannot ſpare ſuch a Body of Sepoys and Artil-"lery from our own Forces as is now propoſed to be kept up for the Nabob's Service."

From theſe Extracts it plainly appears, that if any Cenſure is due for the Conſequences of the above Plan, it muſt fall upon the Governor General, who propoſed it; and if any Merit can be claimed for the Innovation now attempted, it cannot be aſcribed to Mr. Barwell, whoſe Views evidently had a very different Tendency from that which is now under Conſideration; viz. of the Thirteen Battalions actually in the Service of the Nabob, taking Nine, Three Companies of Artillery, Two Regiments of Horſe now exiſting, and a new one to be immediately raiſed into the Company's Service, and to add Three more to them when the Company's Inſtructions are received.

N. B. The firſt mentioned Three are to be paid by the Nabob.

The Governor General ſeems to ſuppoſe, that there have been Two Plans, of which the latter has not removed the bad Effects of the former. The Fact is, there has been only One Plan; the Eſtabliſhment has been the ſame from the Beginning. The Regiments that had been eſtabliſhed by the late Nabob having been made over to European Officers, they mutinied and were broke, and were raiſed again with other Men, preciſely in the ſame Form with the original Conſtitution of the Officers.

I will now proceed to the Objections offered by the Governor General to this Eſtabliſhment.

1ſt, The ſuperior Pay and Emoluments enjoyed by the Officers in that Service, excite Murmurings and Diſſatisfaction in thoſe who remain in our own, and by diſcouraging their Zeal and Attention to their Duty, tend to the general Relaxation of Diſcipline.

1ſt, The Reaſons for which the Board unanimouſly agreed to the Allowance of ſuch ſuperior Pay were, becauſe the Officers were to enjoy ſuperior Commands: viz. Lieutenants to command Battalions, and Captains Regiments of Two Battalions; therefore their Pay was made adequate to their Commands, not to their Ranks in the Company's Service. But if it be true, that this Regulation has occaſioned the Murmurings mentioned by the Governor General, and has, in any Manner, tended to relax the Diſcipline of the Army; I am as ready now to aſſent to the Reduction of Pay propoſed by the Governor General, equal to the Company's Officers of the ſame Rank, as I was before to concur in the former Propoſal.

2dly, The Pay of the Nabob's Sepoys being made equal, at all Times, to the increaſed Allowance of thoſe of the Company, when on Service in the Field, is a great Detriment to our own Service, by diſcouraging Recruits from engaging in it, while they can obtain ſuperior Advantages from the Nabob's.

2dly, The Pay of the Nabob's Sepoys, before they were put under the Command of European Officers, was Nine Rupees per Month; it has ſince been reduced to the Level of our Service, which is, after deducting the Off-reckonings, 8 : 10 : 8 for the Sepoys in the Field. If no Inconveniency was felt to the Company's Recruiting, while the Pay was ſuperior, how can the Objection be valid now that the Pay is reduced?

Yet,

3dly, The Want of effectual Checks. That Principle of Moderation which ſhould actuate the Conduct of the Officers in their public Diſburſements, loſes much of its Influence when the Expence is defrayed by a State on which they have not a natural and permanent Dependance; and hence, the Burthen becoming too enormous for the Nabob to bear, it muſt ultimately fall upon the Company. To guard againſt this Conſequence, an Officer of Audit and Controul has been lately appointed by the Board, but with what Succeſs Time muſt ſhew, as we are not yet adviſed of his having entered on his Office; but there are too ſtrong Grounds for the Preſumption, that his Authority will avail but little while the Paymaſters are allowed to draw for Advances from the Nabob's Treaſury, and they conſider themſelves as reſponſible to him alone for the Application of them. The Board have a recent and ſtriking Inſtance either of the Indifference or Licentiouſneſs of thoſe who have been thus intruſted with Sums in Advance by the Nabob, in the Difficulties which they have experienced in obtaining from Lieutenant Colonel Goddard, notwithſtanding their repeated and peremptory Commands, the Accounts of the paſt Expenditures, after waiting for thoſe Accounts for Seven Months, in which Time we were told that he had been unable to collect them, that ſome had been delivered which he had returned, becauſe they were defective, and others withheld on pretence that no Accounts had been kept, or that having been paſſed, they had been torn; at length a parcel of Abſtracts were tranſmitted, not of the whole, but only of a Part of the Accounts, expreſſing in groſs Sums the Advances and Diſburſements, but without a Voucher, without any Specification of Time, or of Numbers, or of Ranks, or of the Circumſtances, under which Contingencies were incurred, or any Document whatever that could ſhew the Propriety or Truth of the Charges. Such however muſt be the Practice while the Temptation and Means conduce to it; nor can it perhaps be ſo juſtly imputed to thoſe whom the Provocation of preſent Profit, aided by the Concurrence of Example, and the too liberal Conſtruction which is commonly Yet, if the Objection could be true, the Governor's new Plan offers no Remedy to it.

3dly, If the Governor General is convinced, as he ſeems here to ſet forth, that the Checks he has eſtabliſhed by the Appointment of a Commiſſary of Audit and Controul will be of no Avail; I am ſorry he has taken the Trouble of ſo uſeleſs a Meaſure.

But if Reference be made to the Directions originally given to Mr. Briſtow, it will be ſeen that no Precautions were omitted that could be taken, to prevent even the Poſſibility of any Overcharge; for he was prohibited diſcharging any Bills for contingent Expences, but to ſend them down to the Board. Vide Letter of 5th February 1776, which Order remained in force till Col. Goddard was appointed, whoſe Inſtructions, reſpecting this Matter, were drawn up by the Governor General, as may be ſeen by his own Handwriting in the foul Draught *(a)*, altering the former Mode to the allowing Col. Goddard to counterſign them himſelf; the Governor's Words were, "We leave it to you to counterſign ſuch Bills as "you ſhall approve, and we confide in your "Zeal and Attention to the Service, for prevent-"ing any improper and unreaſonable Charges." If Col. Goddard has abuſed his Truſt, or Capt. Webber (to criminate whom was the profeſſed Object in calling for this Account) has raiſed the large Fortune the Governor General once aſcribed to him, let each of them anſwer for it. But the Governor General's Silence upon Capt. Webber's particular Account, at a Time when he not only poſſeſſes the Accounts, but is Maſter of the whole Country, to come at every poſſible Information againſt him, and now running into general Invective, affords a ſtrong Preſumption that his Intelligence is too void of Foundation to be produced as a Charge.

By a Reference to the only poſitive Fact which he advances, that the Board were Seven Months in obtaining theſe Accounts, it will appear, that the Letter, requiring the Accounts, was dated the 2d December, and the Anſwer, returning the Accounts, was of the 22d March. As that Letter was received here the 4th April, or Thirteen Days after its Date, the ſame Time muſt be allowed for the Letter, which ordered the Account, reaching Col. Goddard, which will bring it to the 15th December, leaving Three Months and Seven Days for what the Governor calls Seven Months.

I have ſubjoined theſe Extracts *(b)*, which is all that Colonel Goddard wrote upon the Subject, becauſe

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(a) Extract Letter 5th February 1776.

"It is a material Object with us to prevent the Nabob from being burthened with unreaſonable Demands "from theſe Officers on the Head of Contingencies, or extraordinary Allowances; and we think it will be "expedient to fix a monthly Sum to be allowed for each Corps when in Cantonments, and in Proportion "employed on actual Service, in lieu of all Contingencies; we therefore deſire you will recommend this Meaſure "to the Nabob, and when you have conſulted him upon the Subject, tranſmit for our Approbation any Plan "of this kind, which he may agree to adopt; in the mean Time we direct, that you pay no Bills for Con-"tingent Charges of any Kind until further Orders, but that you refer to us all that ſhall be preſented."

(b) Extract of a Letter from Colonel Goddard, dated 17th February 1777.

"I beg leave to apologize for having ſo long delayed Compliance with the Orders you were pleaſed to ſend "me of the 2d December laſt, which has been occaſioned by many of the Gentlemen not keeping themſelves "an exact Account of the Money they have received, and being obliged to make a Reference to the Pay-"maſter's

monly given to the Latitude of contingent Bills, may have led to commit it, as to the natural Effects of a defective Syſtem; but it will be the Fault of Government if it knowingly ſuffers ſuch Defects to remain, and they are capable of a Remedy.

becauſe they not only ſhew how invidiouſly the Fact is ſtated of the Time that the Board waited for the Accounts, but alſo the Miſrepreſentation, "That others (Accounts) had been withheld, on "Pretence that no Accounts had been kept, or "that having been paſſed, they had been torn."

The latter Word, or Circumſtance, is not even inſinuated in either Letter; and as to the former, if not keeping correct Accounts is to be deemed keeping no Accounts, I much fear the Company have never had any yet.

Colonel Goddard, by a Reference to the original Bills in the Paymaſter's Hands, did every Thing that could be required to make them regular, and to authenticate them.

When the Extent of the Country in which thoſe Troops are ſtationed is conſidered; and that Applications were to be made to a Variety of Officers little verſed in the official Forms of keeping Accounts, as alſo to the Deputy Paymaſters, and to compare the one with the other, to aſcertain their Exactitude;—when theſe Circumſtances are conſidered, and weighed with the Difficulties we daily find in obtaining Accounts from our Deputy Paymaſters, who were lately Four Months in Arrear, even at the Preſidency and at Berhampore, and that the general Army Accounts of Two Years ſtanding 74-5, are only now gone home, with immenſe Sums upon them unadjuſted; when we ſee Claims for large Sums made upon Captain Brooke and Toone, gone home, as far back as the Year 1773; when we obſerve that full Batta has been paid, ſince the Year 1772, to the Troops ſtationed at Chunar, according to the Governor General's own Confeſſion, contrary to Orders, and that the Battalion ſtationed there is ſtill permitted to draw the ſame Batta, notwithſtanding the Acknowledgm nt of the Abuſe; when we know that the Governor General's own Troop had never been muſtered ſince it was raiſed; that the Commanding Officers have been drawing Pay for Men and Horſes without a Check; and that though the Allowance regulated by Government for the Purchaſe of the Horſes be limited to 500 Rupees, yet it appears, upon the whole Number purchaſed, that there has been an Exceſs of 142 Rupees per Horſe, making upon the whole Amount 20649 Rupees; when we further conſider the Diſcovery that was made, of no leſs a Sum than 15 Lack of Rupees overpaid the Nabob Mobareck ul Dowlah in the Year 1772; and when it will be apparent to the Court of Directors, that, contrary to their expreſs and peremptory Commands for limiting the Sum on account of Fortifications and Buildings to 100,000 l. that ſo careleſs has this Preſidency been, as to ad-

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"maſter's Office for the original Bills lodged in his Hands; as I wiſh to tranſmit you the ſeveral Accounts at "One Time, I ſhall collect them with all poſſible Expedition, and immediately forward them for your Satiſ-"faction."

Extract of another Letter of the 13th March 1777.

"In my Letter of the 17th ult. I ſolicited your Indulgence, on account of the Delay in tranſmitting you "the Vouchers for Money received by the ſeveral Gentlemen ſince their Appointment to the Vizier's Ser-"vice. I am concerned to be obliged to trouble you a ſecond Time with Apologies on this Head; but be-"ſides the Neceſſity moſt of the Officers were under, of referring to the Paymaſter's Office, I have been "compelled to return many of the Accounts when ſent me, in order to the rectifying ſome Miſtakes that ap-"peared in them. This Circumſtance has cauſed a further Delay, which I hope you will excuſe; and in a "very few Days I ſhall moſt certainly collect the whole, and immediately forward them for your Inſpection."

mit

4thly, The Service being too remote for this Government to obſerve and reſtrain all the Abuſes in it, and being in its preſent Nature incapable of Relief, local Intereſts are acquired, and Opportunities of making undue Advantages afforded.

5thly, Our Officers employed on this Service being exempt from the Articles of War, we have no further Influence over their Conduct, than ſuch as the Dread of loſing their Profits may create; and this alone will never reſtrain the Exceſſes ariſing from the ſame Principle.

mit of the Expenditure of 45,000 Rupees at Chunar above that Sum in the laſt Year, although ſpecially enforced in the 25th Paragraph of the general Letter of the 15th December 1775? Making, I ſay, due Allowance for ſuch Irregularities in Accounts under immediate Controul and Check at the Preſidency, can any Surprize remain, that the collecting and forming Accounts of a new Eſtabliſhment ſhould have taken up Three Months and Seven Days?

4thly, Upon the Fourth Objection I have only to aſk, Will the Governor's Plan diminiſh the Diſtance between the Seat of our Government and the Province of Owde?

5thly, It is impoſſible for me to diſcover upon what Grounds the Governor General makes this Aſſertion.

The Orders ſay, "In caſe any of the Officers "ſhall be guilty of Diſobedience to the Nabob's "Orders, or of any other Offences againſt his Au- "thority, he will be at Liberty to diſmiſs (*a*) them "from his Service; but if their Offences be ſuch "as ſhall appear to him to deſerve a more ſevere "Puniſhment, he muſt apply to the commanding "Officer of the Brigade, and obtain a proper "Warrant for their being tried by a General "Court Martial."

But whilſt diſplaying the Difficulties of controuling Perſons in the Service at ſuch a Diſtance, who, as it has been ſhewn, are ſubjected to Martial Law, let me aſk, what Precautions he has taken to controul the Commiſſary General and his Train of Dependants, all Perſons out of the Service, and not ſubject to the Martial Law.

Theſe Five are the Objections that the preſent Syſtem is ſaid to be ſo fraught with; and to remove which, the Governor General thinks it neceſſary to introduce his new Plan, which in fact is making an Augmentation of the Company's Troops, and (as he ſagaciouſly obſerves) employing the Company's Treaſures, now loſt to Circulation, all in order to correct the Nabob's Accounts.

If it ſhall be found that the Objections upon which the Governor General eſtabliſhes the Neceſſity of his Plan are removed by the above Obſervations; or if not thereby obviated, that more moderate and applicable Means, or leſs ruinous to the Company, cannot be found to correct them, I will ſtill hope that a maturer Conſideration of the Welfare of the Company will outweigh whatever private Engagements he may have entered into, and induce him to drop a Project ſo variouſly infringing their poſitive Orders, upon the Pretence of Difficulties, which, if true and united, would not juſtify the Infringement of the moſt trifling Order the Company ſends out, much leſs of thoſe Regulations which they lay down as the grand fundamental Principles of their political and commercial Intereſts.

I therefore ſay, I hope his Prudence will make him deſiſt from violently enforcing this; as in the Caſe of continuing his Negociations with Nudjiff Cawn, although the Motives alleged by himſelf for making a Subſidiary Treaty with him have long ſince diſappeared, and Nudjiff Cawn's Refuſal to accept of our ſupplicating Propoſitions, have humiliated us in the Eyes of every Potentate in Indoſtan.

Although the general Arguments urged by me againſt the Plan ought to be more than ſufficient to prevent its Adoption, yet that nothing may be left undone on my Part, in endeavouring to deter its Execution, I will conſider the Detail of it.

It propoſes that the Nabob's Army, commanded by Britiſh Officers, compoſed of 13 Battalions, ſhould be reduced to Nine, and taken into the Company's Service, and annexed to the Brigades, together with Three Companies of Artillery and Six Regiments of Cavalry, Four of which are to be raiſed in Addition to the Two now exiſting; ſo that each Brigade will conſiſt of Ten Battalions, Two Companies of Artillery, and Two Regiments of Cavalry of 480 Privates each; and by the 5th Article, if I underſtand it right, Nine Battalions of Infantry of One of theſe Brigades, Two Companies of Artillery, and Two Regiments of Horſe, are to be em-

(*a*) N.B. Captain Showers was diſmiſſed that Service on this Order.

ployed

ployed for his Service, while he may require them. In conſequence of this Diſpoſition, I ſuppoſe it is intended that the 10th Battalion ſhall garriſon the Fortreſs of Chunar, as the 7th Battalion belonging to the Brigade in the Field now does; and that Twenty Battalions, Four Companies of Artillery (excluſive of the Two for the Garriſon of Fort William), and Four Regiments of Cavalry, ſhall remain for the Defence of the Provinces. Of theſe, according to the 6th Article, a complete Brigade ſhall, at the Expiration of Two Years, relieve that in the Field. If this Statement be not erroneous, the Forces of the Nabob for the Defence of his Country, conſiſting, as I ſaid before, of 13 Battalions, Three Companies of Artillery, and Two Regiments of Cavalry, with the Addition of our Brigade, conſiſting of Six Battalions and One Company of Artillery, in all making Nineteen Battalions, Four Companies of Artillery, and Two Regiments of Cavalry, will be reduced to Nine Battalions, Two Companies of Artillery, and Two Regiments of Horſe; of courſe his Defence is leſſened by Ten Battalions of Infantry. However, it is to be remarked, that only One of thoſe Regiments is to be raiſed, in Addition to the Two now eſtabliſhed, in the ſhort Interval remaining of the fair Seaſon, and the Three others are not to be levied till after the Receipt of the Company's Orders; conſequently, until that Period, we ſhall have, for the Defence of theſe Provinces, only One Regiment of Cavalry, and that at the Charge of the Nabob.

Upon this Statement, the Three Regiments of Cavalry are to be in the Service of the Company, but in the Pay of the Nabob.

Quere, Will not theſe Three Regiments be liable to all the Evils enumerated as the Cauſe for transferring them to the Pay of the Company, not having a natural and permanent Dependance on us, while in the Pay of a foreign Prince? The ambiguous Terms in which the whole is couched, I confeſs, makes me diffident of deciding upon the poſitive Meaning of every Part of it; if therefore I have committed any Error, the Governor will be pleaſed to rectify it by an Explanation.

It may be ſeen that I have all along taken it for granted, that the Company are to bear the Expence of this new Plan, excepting the Three Regiments particularly allotted to the Nabob, becauſe no Mention is made of the Payment of the Remainder of the Army by him; on the contrary, the Objection lays * againſt the preſent Eſtabliſhment, on account of the Troops being in the Pay of a foreign Prince, which the Plan under Conſideration profeſſes to obviate, by making them Part of our own Eſtabliſhment; that becauſe it is propoſed, that Part of theſe Troops are to ſerve in the Company's Provinces, where it would be highly abſurd to ſuppoſe that the Nabob is to pay them; and becauſe the Plan ſets forth the great Ability of the Company to bear the Expence, and the Neceſſity of circulating their Treaſure: That, finally, becauſe Arms and Accoutrements are to be ſupplied to the Cavalry out of the Company's Stores: Therefore, on the Suppoſition that I have not miſtaken Mr. Haſtings's real Intentions, it is neceſſary to ſtate the Expence taken from the comparative Eſtimate accompanying the Plan.

* Sic in Orig.

It would be miſ-ſpending Time to ſtate all the Objections that occur againſt the comparative Eſtimate; as for Inſtance, the Saving ariſing from a Compariſon of diſſimilar Numbers (which can only deceive thoſe who look no further than Sums total), or by ſtating impracticable Eſtabliſhments, which, when attempted to be realized, would be made up by contingent Bills.

In the Year 1773, the European Regiments, which conſiſted of 20 Companies of 50 Men each, were reduced to 10 Companies of 100 each; a Saving certainly aroſe of the Pay of One Half of the Officers; but, according to the Opinion of every Officer of Eminence, the Service has been much injured and weakened by it; for if Three Officers are only thought ſufficient for 50 Men in Europe, much leſs can they be thought ſufficient for 100 Men in this Climate, where the Men require more Diſcipline and the Officers more Relief.

In the preſent Inſtance he compares the full annual Charge of maintaining 14,787 Men for R' 33,95,028 with the full annual Charge of maintaining only 11,254 for R' 27,06,840, and ſtates the Difference of R' 688,188 as a Saving; although, according to the Statement, the only Difference in the Rate of the Expence is, that in the latter Number is included 480 Horſe more than in the former.

	Preſent Eſtabliſhment.	New Propoſal.
Commiſſioned Officers	51	61
Warrant Staff	29	21
Native Officers and Private	12,066	9,148 (a)
Staff Effective	292	223
Artillery	1,424	1,158
Artificers, if marching	925	643
Men	14,787	11,254
Bullocks	3,422	1,686
Hackeries	56	48

These

(a) "9,148. This Number appears erroneouſly ſtated with regard to the Plan, as it includes under the "Head of Cavalry 2,192 Men, inſtead of 1,639, the Amount of Three new Regiments expreſſed in the "Plan in the 2d Par. of the 4th Article, That the Corps be compoſed of the Two Regiments already in "the Service of the Nabob, and of which the Horſes are his Property; the Numbers to be reduced to "the propoſed Complement of the new Regiments; that it be immediately increaſed by a Third, &c." This

These Numbers are exclusive of the Three additional new Regiments of Cavalry proposed to be levied; when they are added, the smallest Number of Troops will cost most; the Difference might then be reckoned an Excess, with as much Justice as the present Alteration is called Saving.

However, according to his own Statement of the Expence of the Troops to be transferred to the Company, the Estimate amounts to

Infantry — —	12,86,970	
Extra Allowance when marching —	14,244	13,01,214
Artillery — —	2,43,672	
Marching — — —	19,872	2,63,544
Staff — — —		1,37,028
	Rupees	17,01,786
And Cavalry, including One new Regiment of Cavalry, when raised		10,39,170 (†)
		27,40,956

This Sum does not include the additional Three new Regiments of Cavalry to be raised hereafter.

Daily Experience evinces, that the correctest Estimates are always exceeded in the Fact; but this Estimate makes no Allowances even for the very Proposals contained in the Plan to which it is annexed, and which it professes to be calculated for; nor has the Governor General chosen to avail himself of his own Experience upon Record, to endeavour to bring it in some rational Degree near the Truth.

1st. Arms, Accoutrements, Ammunition, and an excessive Number of various other Contingencies, are left unexpressed.

2d. No Account is made of the Seventy-two Officers which the Nine Battalions will require, agreeable to his Remark upon the Second Article, when they come to be relieved, to make them equal to the Brigade Establishment, though the Plan, with profound Wisdom, declares, that as the Want of them will not be materially felt while upon Service, it follows that the Troops that go up to relieve must leave Seventy-two of the Officers behind, to be transferred to the returning Troop upon the Peace Establishment, while the Remainder carry the Men into the Field.

3d. The Expence of the Cavalry does not seem to include the Effect, in any Degree, of the Fourth Regulation of the Plan for the Establishment of the new Cavalry.

It makes no Allowance for the 1st Article of the 4th Regulation for Horses killed in Battle, or by Marches exceeding 15 Cos: Either Circumstance entitles the Rider (and, if he dies, most probably his Estate) to the full Price of his Horse, estimated at 600 Rupees.

Nor does it make Allowance for the 2d Article of the 4th Regulation, providing for the Loss of Horses that die, or become unfit for Service without extraordinary Accidents. A Horse is to be received at Six Years Service, and indeed it is rational to suppose that they will not be fit for Service after that Period; consequently that the whole will be paid for during that Term. Each Regiment will at the least possess 545 Horses; allowing but One for Officers and Men indiscriminately, and rating both at 600 Rupees per Horse, without Distinction between Officers and Private (though doubtless a sufficient one will be made), each Regiment in the Course of Six Years will receive 3,27,000, which, for Six Regiments, makes Rupees 19,62,000.

But had this Capital been added to the Estimate of Cavalry, even erroneously as that now stands, it would not near amount to what the Governor General's Experience might have pointed out to him as the actual Charge of this Mode of raising Cavalry. To evince this, I will only quote his own Proceedings (*a*) of the 23d May 1772, from which it will be evident, that a Corps of 480 Men should with more Accuracy be rated at 4,80,000 annual Expence than 2,63,508; for if the Body of Cavalry then in Pay, consisting of 300 Men, cost 3,01,000, it may safely be advanced, that 480 will cost 4,80,000, consequently for the Six Regiments 28,80,000.

As the Governor General declares the chief Objection against his Plan is, that it is in direct Opposition to the Orders of the Court of Directors, and therefore defers levying the Cavalry, it may be hoped, now that it has been pointed out to him, that every Article of it is in the same Predicament, that out of Deference to their Authority, and his Wish to act immediately from it, he will equally defer the whole.

This then falsifies the Number of Men by 553 Men; and the Sum of (†) Rs. 10,39,170 by 3,21,774; as the Three new Regiments should only amount, according to No. 6. to Rupees 7,17,396.

(*a*) Extract of Consultations, 23d May 1772.

The Board deliberating on the little Service the small Body of Cavalry in the Company's Pay can ever be of; and that in Time of actual Service it would be either exposed to the perpetual Hazard of being cut off at any Distance from the Infantry, or prove an Embarrassment if joined to it; reflecting also, that the Expence of a Body of Horse capable of doing real Service would exceed our Means, since the annual Cost of so inconsiderable a Number as we now maintain is not less than Rupees 3,01,678;

Resolve, The whole Cavalry, both European and Indostan, be directly disbanded, &c.

In

In waiting for ſome Inſtructions that may be applicable to the Subject, I cannot ſuppoſe he means ſuch as can only be applied by ſtraining the Expreſſions and perverting the Meaning, as in the Caſe of the Orders upon which he undertook the Rohillah War; but that he means poſitive and clear Injunctions, that muſt, in Subſtance and Spirit, direct as follows:

1ſt. That the Nabob of Oude be reduced, with reſpect to his real Power, to the State and Situation of the Nabob of Bengal.

The depriving a Prince of his Army is in other Words to dethrone him; his Conſent can never be voluntarily obtained for it, though he may be under ſuch Circumſtances as to be obliged to ſay ſo.

The Reduction of Mobareck ul Dowlah's Penſion from 32 Lacks to 16, and the Eſtabliſhment of Courts of Juſtice in this Country, have been aſſigned by the moſt ſolemn Acts in the Court of Judicature as Reaſons for his not being an independent Prince; though it is well known, that a Treaty was ſigned with him as one, and that he remonſtrated very ſtrongly againſt the Reduction of his Penſion. If Mr. Haſtings takes the Vizier's Troops from him, in whatever Terms his Conſent to it may be expreſſed, he may afterwards inſult his Condition, by calling him a mere Pageant and Phantom of Power (*a*).

2d. That the Reſtrictions laid on the Company's Troops paſſing the guaranteed Provinces, be annulled.

When the Nabob's Army is transferred to the Service of the Company, they can be of no Uſe to him in defending a very large Part of his Dominions, as the Duab and Rohilchund, unleſs the Reſtrictions, which by the moſt poſitive and preciſe Orders have been laid on this Government, be removed.

(*a*) Vide Minute 25th November 1776.

These Orders are numerous, and ſome of them very recent. Whether the Reaſons aſſigned of inaccurate Accounts can amount to that urgent Neceſſity that can juſtify Mr. Haſtings in taking upon him to increaſe the military Expences 27 Lacks, without reckoning Contingencies of all Kinds, he beſt knows; for this Part of his Plan I refer him to the General Letter 15th December 1775, Para. 23d, declaring, "That whatever "Number of Troops may be then entertained by "the Subah of Oude, we muſt again repeat, "that the whole Expence muſt be borne by him." He thinks the Company would be indemnified, in caſe of a defenſive War, for the Expence of Nine or even Twelve Regiments of Cavalry.

3dly. That all the Orders formerly given by the Court of Directors, prohibiting an Augmentation of the Company's Troops without urgent Neceſſity, be annulled.

The taking theſe Companies of Artillery, compoſed entirely of Natives, into the Company's Service, would be a poſitive Infraction of the * Paragraph of the general Letter, dated

* Sic in Orig.

4thly. That the Orders forbidding the Natives to be employed in the Artillery be annulled.

5thly. That the Orders reſtricting the Numbers of the Cavalry to One Troop be annulled.

Of all the prohibitory Orders that will be violated by the Adoption of this Plan, this is the only one at which Mr. Haſtings ſtarts; yet far from ſtopping or going back, he only turns round the Object and proceeds in his Career: The Reſpect he bears for the Commands of his Honourable Maſters, makes him, he ſays, deſirous of waiting for their Approbation (*b*) or Diſapprobation of the Meaſure taken, to appoint Britiſh Officers to the Nabob's Troops. But, inſtead of adhering to that Reſolution, he actually propoſes that the Two Regiments of Cavalry now in the Nabob's Service, and One other to be raiſed, ſhould be taken into the Company's Service to be paid by the Nabob. Reſpecting the Meaſure of the appointing Officers to the Nabob's Troops, the Court of Directors have anticipated their Sentiments

(*b*) Vide his Plan.

6th. That the reiterated Orders enforced in every Letter tranſmitted to this Government, to reduce the Expences, civil and military, and to make Œconomy our chief Aims, be all annulled.

Sentiments on the Subject, by directing us in their Letter of the 15th December 1775, Para. 20, to make thoſe Appointments for the Nabob's Cavalry, but not a Word of taking the Nabob's Cavalry into the Company's Service.

It is a demonſtrable Truth, of which the Court of Directors as well as Mr. Haſtings cannot but be convinced, that our preſent Abundance of Treaſure has entirely ariſen from extraordinary and unnatural Reſources. We have no Reaſon to expect any further Supplies from our Ally, Aſoph ul Dowlah; that Source, whence our Treaſury has been repleniſhed, ſeems now quite exhauſted; his Debt to the Company, which on the 28th September laſt was 28 Lacks, is now encreaſed to 35 Lacks. His Arrears to the Troops under Britiſh Officers have been lately ſeveral Months more in Arrear than before. Finally, by the Eſtimate Mr. Briſtow made of his Receipts and Diſburſements, it appears there is an Exceſs in the latter of 58 Lacks.

What further Mine of Wealth Mr. Haſtings promiſes himſelf, whether by his new Settlement, or by new Conqueſts, it is impoſſible to diſcover. I am afraid to conjecture what his Views are. Should his Neceſſities drive him to poſſeſs himſelf of the Revenues of Aſoph ul Dowlah, under Pretence of reforming his Finances, I leave to Imagination to gueſs what a Scene of Oppreſſion, Rapine and Plunder muſt enſue from ſending Collectors into that Country.

But perhaps the making the Mountains of Thibet and Tartary the Boundaries of our Poſſeſſions may be the political Barrier to this Country, which the Governor General ſo pathetically laments in his Minute of the 25th November, that his Influence and Authority was too circumſcribed to complete.

(Signed) J. Clavering.

Reſolved, That the Plan be adopted.

Governor General.—I recommend that the above Reſolution be communicated to the Nabob in the following Letter:

To the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah.

The Alliance which has ſo long ſubſiſted, and is now ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, between your Excellency and the Company, has happily been productive of the greateſt Advantages to both; and it is evident that no Benefit or Misfortune can attend either, of which the other will not eſſentially participate. This Union of inſeparable Intereſts renders it my indiſpenſable Duty, as the Repreſentative of the Engliſh Nation and of the Eaſt India Company, not only to adviſe, but to urge, in the moſt earneſt Terms, every Expedient that may promote the Proſperity of your Dominions and the Increaſe of your Reputation; but more eſpecially ſuch as are required for your Safety from impending Danger.

It is now Two Years ſince, at your Requeſt, I aſſented to the Appointment of Britiſh Officers for the Command and Diſcipline of your Troops: The Deference which I always pay to your Wiſhes would alone have been Motive ſufficient to engage my Compliance with them on that Occaſion; but a more forcible Reaſon ſubſiſted, in the Danger to which your Perſon and Dominions were expoſed from the licentious Outrage of your Sepoys. Theſe were Conſiderations of too alarming a Nature to admit of a Delay, although I plainly perceived the Defects of the Syſtem then adopted, and which have, in fact, ſince attended it: They are many, but I ſhall content myſelf with mentioning only the principles Ones.

1ſt. The Officers employed in your Excellency's Service are releaſed from the Company's Authority, without being ſubject to yours in ſuch a Degree as is neceſſary for eſtabliſhing a proper Dependance on you, and due Obedience to your Commands.

2d. The Expence of your Army being uncontrouled by the Authority of this Government, cannot be regulated by that Œconomy which in Reaſon and Juſtice ought to be obſerved for your Excellency's Advantage.

The Abuſes ariſing from theſe Defects are daily accumulating, and unleſs immediately remedied muſt terminate in the moſt fatal Conſequences, from a total Relaxation in the Diſcipline of the Troops, and an Increaſe of Expence too enormous for your Excellency to bear.

The ſincere Friendſhip which I entertain for your Excellency, and the anxious Concern which I feel for your Welfare, have excited my utmoſt Attention, and engaged a conſiderable Portion of my Time, in deviſing Means for obviating the Effects which muſt follow the Continuation of ſo faulty a Syſtem.

After revolving many Plans in my Mind, I have at length adopted the following; which, on the matureſt Deliberation, is, I am convinced, the beſt that can at preſent be formed for our mutual Advantage, and abſolutely neceſſary to be carried into immediate Execution. It is this:

1ſt. That of the Troops now belonging to your Excellency, and commanded by Britiſh Officers, the following Corps be transferred to the Service of the Company; viz. Nine Battalions of Sepoys, Three Companies of Artillery, and Two Regiments of Horſe, One more to be added for that Purpoſe to complete the Eſtabliſhment.

2d. That theſe Corps be formed into a Brigade for the Service of your Excellency entirely; but, for the ſake of maintaining Diſcipline and Subordination, be immediately ſubjected to the Authority of this Government, by which their Pay is to be iſſued, their Accounts regulated, their Expence controuled, and their Conduct ultimately directed; but they ſhall act ſolely under your Orders in all their Military Operations for the Defence of every Part of your Dominions, whilſt you retain them in your Service.

3dly. That an Eſtimate be formed of this Eſtabliſhment, on the Trial of One or Two Months, which your Excellency will defray, and after that the ſame ſhall remain a fixed Charge, for ſo long a Time as you ſhall require the Corps for your Service.

Your Excellency will perceive by this Plan, that no ſubſtantial Change is made by it, either in the Strength or Service of the preſent Eſtabliſhment; but that it is formally converted to the Service of the Company, for the ſole Purpoſes of rendering it more effectual to yours, and the leaſt burthenſome to your Finances.

If you approve of this Meaſure, as this is the Seaſon for executing it, I hope that you will be pleaſed to iſſue immediate Orders to Colonel Goddard to that Effect. I have written to him accordingly.

☞ *(a)* [Mr. Francis.—I conceive it to be impoſſible that the Nabob, or any Prince whoſe Underſtanding is capable of forming the Idea of Independence, can give a voluntary Conſent to a Meaſure which dethrones him. Nothing is left for me, however, but to proteſt againſt it.] ☜

Mr. Barwell—I entirely approve of the Letter propoſed to be written to the Nabob.

☞ *(b)* [General Clavering—I proteſt againſt the Letter and all the Conſequences of it.] ☜

Reſolved that the Letter be approved, and the Governor General is requeſted to write it accordingly.

Reſolved, That Letters be written to the Reſident at Oude, and to Colonel Goddard, informing them of the Reſolution of the Board, and tranſmitting Copies of the Plan and of the above Letter to them.

Sir,

The preſent Eſtabliſhment of the Vizier's Troops, under the Command of Britiſh Officers, being found liable to many Inconveniences and Objections, we have thought it adviſeable to propoſe a new Mode for the Defence of his Country, conformably to the encloſed Plan, which we have recommended to the Vizier in a Letter whereof we alſo tranſmit a Copy for your Information.

You will be pleaſed to conſult the Nabob's Sentiments on the Subject of this Propoſal, and communicate his Determination to us as ſoon as you ſhall be acquainted with it.

We are, &c.

Sir,

The preſent Eſtabliſhment of the Vizier's Troops, under the Command of Britiſh Officers, being found liable to many Inconveniences and Objections, we have thought it adviſeable to propoſe a new Mode for the Defence of his Country, conformably to the encloſed Plan, which we have recommended to the Vizier in a Letter whereof we alſo tranſmit a Copy for your Information.

You will obſerve that the Nabob has been informed that we have directed you to pay immediate Obedience to the Orders which he may think fit to iſſue to you in conſequence of his Approval of this Plan; you will therefore expect ſuch Orders and prepare for the due Execution of them in the Manner which you may judge moſt conſiſtent and with our Inclinations.

We are, &c.

Fort William,
19th May, 1777.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 766.

(b) Vide ſupra, P. 766.

APPENDIX, N° LXXI.

Book 110. Page 379.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 11th Auguſt 1777.

Secret Department, Monday.

Fort William, the 11th Auguſt 1777.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,
Lieutenant General Sir John Clavering,
Richard Barwell, and
Philip Francis, } Eſquires.

THE Proceedings of the 7th Inſtant read and approved.

☞ *(a)* [The Commander in Chief, agreeably to the Intention which he before expreſſed, now ☜ delivers in the following Proteſt to the Plan for the new Brigade, propoſed by the Governor General, and agreed to by the Board on the 7th Inſtant:

Sir John Clavering.—Perceiving that my Minute of the 19th May, while remaining in every Point unanſwered, has in no Shape altered or cauſed any Amendment in any one Article of the Plan propoſed by Mr. Haſtings on the Fifth of that Month, for transferring a Part of the Nabob's Army to the Company's Service, but on the contrary ſeveral of the Evils pointed out by me in it have encreaſed and are otherwiſe brought on with aggravating Acts, in violation of the Company's moſt poſitive Orders, and all without any well-founded Reaſons, the only one urged by Mr. Haſtings being becauſe I had oppoſed his Plan in Council, and becauſe, having already propoſed it, it became prudent in him to enforce it. But this is brought on, as Mr. Haſtings himſelf acknowledges, without any preſſing Neceſſity, although in daily Expectation of deciſive Orders from England.

The Fortieth and Forty-ſeventh Paragraphs of the Company's Military Inſtructions fully and clearly draw the Line between the Powers to be exerciſed by the Governor General and the Commander in Chief, limiting the Firſt to Fort William and the Town of Calcutta, and particularly entitling the latter to recommend all Officers for the Staff, and thoſe who ſhall be appointed to fill all Vacancies in the Sepoy Corps. But this ſolemn Act has been entirely ſet aſide and violated by Mr. Haſtings, and only becauſe I have oppoſed the Meaſure in Council; conſequently it follows that it would be adviſable for the Court of Directors not hereafter to allow their Commander in Chief a Seat in the Council, if he is either to concur in all Meaſures, however detrimental, which the Governor may propoſe, or if he is to be entirely ſilent, under Pain of having the Powers in his Commiſſion ſuperſeded.

Notwithſtanding the Line drawn ſo prudently by the Company between the Governor General and Commander in Chief of the Forces, in order to prevent, as they declare, the great Injury occaſioned to the Service by the Diſputes which had ariſen in India on account of the Power claimed by each, has been broken down and trampled on by Mr. Haſtings, and that he is aſſumed the Powers of which he was abſolutely deprived, and reduced my Office to be nothing more than a Channel to convey the Reſolutions of the Council to the Army; ſtill as long as I am permitted to have a Seat at this Board I will uſe the only Privilege which is yet left me of delivering my Sentiments on Meaſures which I do not approve, how unavailing ſoever they may prove, in deſpight of the Conſequences which may yet attend to deprive me of the Shadow of Authority of which it has been thought proper not to diſpoſſeſs me. I ſhall therefore take the Liberty of making ſome Obſervations on the Variations from the Plan as it was firſt offered, and as it has been finally reſolved on; and, accompanied with ſome Remarks which I before omitted, I ſhall conclude the whole with a ſolemn Proteſt againſt the Meaſure.

Finding by the Eſtabliſhment of Artillery now reſolved on for the new Brigade, that there is an Exceſs in the Number of Officers, upon the Eſtabliſhment propoſed in the Minute of the 5th May, I am willing to hope that this is a Miſtake; becauſe in caſe of any Exigency whereby the Service of our Artillery ſhould be wanted, I apprehend that even their preſent Strength of Officers would not be ſufficient for the Duty. The Vacancies which will be made by the Removal of ſo many Officers, may be nominally filled up by others, but not by Officers of Experience, which the Service of the Artillery ſo eſſentially requires. The actual Number of Officers now in the Service of the Nabob's Artillery is only Three. The Number reſolved upon on the 5th May was Nine. The Number now reſolved upon is Twelve; though the Number of Men which they are to command is not encreaſed.

In my Anxiouſneſs for the Safety of Bengal I can admit of no Competition between the Security of our own Poſſeſſions, and the Defence of the Nabob's Dominions; the Tranquillity of which might probably remain undiſturbed, did not the preſent Meaſure of taking the Nabob's Army from him, and occupying the conquered unguaranteed Provinces with the Company's Troops, demonſtrate a Deſign to ſeize his Country (to effect which nothing is wanting but to take the

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 766.

Collections thereof into our own Hands), and thereby render an Union of the Northern Powers againſt us a common Intereſt, and an Act of Policy for their Self-preſervation.

In the Eſtabliſhment of the Staff, Artillery, and Cavalry, I find ſeveral Variations from the Firſt to the Second Reſolution as follows:

	More.	Leſs.
Staff.	Colonel, 1 Aid de Camp, Auditor of Accounts, Deputy Judge-advocate, 2 Surgeons.	Quartermaſter-General, A Commiſſary, and Superintendant of Stores.
Artillery.	1 Major, 2 Lieutenants.	
Cavalry.		2 Lieutenants.

Not having ſeen Mr. Haſtings's Minute of the 6th January 1774, at the Time that I wrote mine in the Month of May laſt, wherein I proved, by Calculation, that allowing the Men to purchaſe their own Horſes would be more expenſive than if the Horſes were purchaſed by Government, I am glad now to find that my Opinion is therein ſupported by the Authority of Mr. Haſtings himſelf, who then declared it a great Saving, in the following Words:—"The Difference between this Plan and a Troop on the old Eſtabliſhment, is Rupees 16,936:12:6 per Annum. I propoſe the Purchaſe of the Horſe on the Company's Account; becauſe it is the only Method by which the Cavalry can be formed on an uniform Plan of Diſcipline, or the Conduct of the Men ſecured." It is true that Opinion has been ſince overſet by a very oppoſite one delivered by him in May laſt, when he ſays, "There are other eſſential Objections to this Mode; their current Expence is too great; their Contingencies indefinite; and every Caſualty proves an immediate Loſs, and becomes the heavier by the Want of an Intereſt in thoſe who have the Charge of the Horſes to prevent it." But from what Lights he has adopted an Opinion ſo very different from his Firſt, cannot be conjectured, unleſs the Expence of his Troop of Cavalry, which has appeared to have exceeded the Eſtimate very conſiderably, though the Eſtimate was declared ſo high as to afford Room for a Reduction, has made Mr. Haſtings miſtake an Abuſe that ought immediately to have been reformed by the Commiſſary General, for an Error of Calculation.

N. B. The Purchaſe of the Horſes amounted, in the Three Firſt Years, to R^s 97,145; whereas Mr. Haſtings's Eſtimate for Seven Years amounts only to R^s 60,100; and the whole Expences of Three Years, deducting Money paid to Cheyt Sing, and other extra Charges, as follows:

Total Diſburſement	—	—	—	3,07,736
Deduct Extra Charges		—	—	51,705
				2,56,031

This divided by Three makes one Year 85,343, which, inſtead of a Saving of 16,936, makes the Expence greater by 5,000 per Annum, making a Difference of R^s 22,000 per Annum from what he promiſed.

(a) [PROTEST.

Becauſe taking the Army from the Nabob is an Infringement of the Rights of an independant Prince, leaving him only the Name and Title of it, without the Power.

It is taking his Subjects from him, againſt every Law of Nature and of Nations.]

Becauſe it is a moſt direct and wanton Breach of the Company's repeated and ſpecial Orders, without the leaſt Shadow of Neceſſity:

1ſt, By encreaſing the Army.

2d, By ſtationing the Company's Troops, and making them act beyond the guaranteed Line, forming a new Guarantee Line for the Company; ſince this Government muſt neceſſarily ſupport, with the Remains of its Army, the Engliſh Flag, whenever this Brigade may require Aſſiſtance.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 766.

3d, By

This Day Balance,	R°	77,18,633
War Fund depoſited in the New Fort	—	34,80,000
		42,38,633
Private Property	—	12,09,097
		30,29,536

3d, By rendering the Company liable to the whole Expence, while our Treaſuries (the Fulneſs of which Mr. Haſtings had advanced as a Reaſon for this impolitic Expence) are daily decreaſing. The preſent Sum unappropriated, and ready for the Purpoſes of Government, amounting only to Thirty Lacs.

Becauſe taking the Nabob's Troops into our Service leaves the Engliſh Nation the open and declared Enemy to all thoſe with whom the Nabob may become at Variance, drawing upon the Engliſh Nation the Odium of every Act of Tyranny and Cruelty that may be committed under his Government; making us Principals where we ſhould only be Allies.

Could any of theſe Acts admit of Aggravation, the taking them up at a Time when Mr. Haſtings cannot fail being ſenſible that he is not ſuppoſed, in England, to hold the principal Seat in this Government; when he himſelf avows that he expects, in the courſe of this Seaſon, clear, decisive, and abſolute Orders, in * whoſe Hands the Government of theſe Provinces ſhall be committed; when he muſt be convinced that a Syſtem of ſuch Magnitude, of which the forming the New Brigade is, as he declares, but a Part, cannot be annulled without a Loſs of National Reputation, and great Expence: Theſe Conſiderations, inſtead of ſimply aggravating them, ſhould of themſelves, in good Policy, and Reſpect for the Company, have formed an inſuperable Bar to the undertaking them, at leaſt until he had been aſſured of being enabled to ſupport them, by ſeeing, as he is pleaſed to ſay, that our Superiors have rectified the paſt Errors, and left the Chief Adminiſtration of Affairs in his Hands.

* Sic in Orig.

APPENDIX, N° LXXII.

Book 133. Page 577.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 8th September 1777.

Fort William, the 8th September 1777.

At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,
Richard Barwell, } Eſquires.
Philip Francis, }

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I HAVE now, in obedience to your Orders of the 12th May, the Pleaſure to forward you the Nabob's Account Current with the Company to the End of May laſt; his Account Current with the Army under Britiſh Officers to the End of February laſt, Wanſil Bankees, on Kiſt Bundees of the Tunkaws, granted in favour of the Company, the above-mentioned Army, and the Rohillas, to the End of Ihait Jumma Wanſil Bankee of the ſame Tunkaws, to the ſame Periods, in the Form required by the Honourable Board; as alſo Accounts Caſh in the Hands of the Reſident for April and May. My Caſh Account for April, as well as an Account Current to that Period, have been delayed to this Time, merely from the Hopes I entertained of being able to tranſmit the Army Account with them long ere this: Such, however, was the Intricacy of the Military Accounts, in conſequence of the State of Arrears, the Troops were delivered over to the Britiſh Officers in the total Want of Funds. At firſt, the ſlow and inadequate realizing of thoſe Funds when they were aſſigned, and afterwards the Confuſion created by the Mutinies, the few Aſſiſtants there were for that Employment, and the Want of having been furniſhed with the Regulations prevailing in the other Paymaſter's Offices, that I have utterly been unable to collect theſe Accounts before into any Form or Order, and them only to the Month of February laſt. A regular Office having been eſtabliſhed from that Time under the Deputy Paymaſter General, the preparing the Accounts to a very late Period will be attended with little Trouble; and I therefore hope to tranſmit the Honourable Board the military Accounts to the ſame Period to which I have drawn out the others, in a few Days. The Balance of the Company's Account Current amounts to Rupees 26,64,697 : 3 : 2; that of the Company's Tuncaws unreceived to only about a Lack of Rupees more. As there are Four Months of the Year remaining, during which the Nabob's Debts will increaſe by 2,60,000 Rupees a Month, or 10,40,000; it follows, that, ſhould even every Rupee remaining due on the Tuncaws be received, the Aſſets would ſtill be inſufficient to the Liquidation of the Nabob's Debt to the Company by above Nine Lacks of Rupees. Sorry I am, however, to be obliged to obſerve, that, ſo far from there being a Probability of the

Balances on the Tuncaws being nearly realized, I have little Expectation of realizing Ten Lacks of Rupees more on that Account. The Season of the Collections may now be looked upon as over, and what further Monies may be received will be chiefly raised on the Credit of next Year's Collections.

On the Account Current of Military Receipts and Disbursements, there appears Balance of 21,39,138 : 6 : 1 Rupees. This Account I believe I may venture to offer to the Honourable Board as correct, unless some very trifling Sums may be due, which the Officers may have neglected to draw for, and the Deputy Paymasters to charge, in consequence of Monies having been at first, when the Funds came in, in no Degree proportionate to the Expences advanced them on Account: Such Differences, however, must be exceedingly trifling, if any, and shall be immediately rectified if they exist. This Account being only drawn out to the End of February last, it is necessary to observe, that full Twenty Lacks of Rupees have been received since that Time; and as the Military Expences for March, April, May, and June, can scarcely exceed Fourteen Lacks of Rupees, at 3,50,000 per Month, it will follow, that this Balance must now be reduced to about Fifteen Lacks of Rupees. It appears from the Wansil Bâkee of the Military Tuncaws, that the Balance remaining to be received on these Tuncaws is Rupees 20,78,034 : 6 : 2; estimating the Debits of the remaining Two Months at 3,50,000 R^{s} per Month, the Amount thereof, being 7,00,000, added to the before-mentioned Balance due to the Troops, will make the Sum of 22,00,000 R^{s}, or about a Lack more than the Amount remaining due on the Tuncaws, were this to be realized: But there is little Reason to think that these Monies, any more than the Company's, will be nearly realized. The Prospect of such large Balances accruing in both the Company's and Military Funds, the absolute Necessity of providing for the Disbursements of the Brigade, and the almost equal Necessity of providing for those of the Troops under British Officers, important as I conceive the Honourable Board would consider their being kept upon a regular Footing to the Company's Interests, were the Reasons which induced me to forbear sending down the Company's Cash in Hand, till I could present just Statements to the Board of the Sums likely to be realized on the Company's and Military Tuncaws, and obtain their Orders in consequence, as to the Propriety of remitting the Money, or detaining it for the Use of the Brigade, and in case of Necessity appropriating Part to the Disbursements of the Troops under British Officers. The Balances have by no means increased, since my taking charge of this Station, more than in proportion to the additional Kists which have become due: In Truth, the Evils, which have occasioned these Balances, have originated from the Time of the Tuncaws being granted, have continued to the present Period, and have been such as neither my Predecessor or myself could possibly remedy; nor can indeed any Remedy be applied in future but by the Adoption of a new System. It is my Duty to represent, in short, what these Evils are, and to propose what appears to me the only effectual Remedy; that the Honourable Board may take the Matter into their serious Consideration, and either adopt the Mode proposed by me, or such other as they may deem most expedient. The Causes of such Balances having accrued are, first, the Revenues having been injured by the Lands having been given in Farm to improper People, particularly the Orderlies and Favourites about the Nabob; Men, as I have already observed, of the lowest Extraction, most of them raised from common Sepoys, of Dispositions as mean as their Extractions, and who, from Want of Education, must be totally ignorant of the farming Business. Thus elevated, and, as most Men suddenly raised to Posts of Power and Station are, rapacious, they have plundered the Ryots wherever they have had Charge of Provinces, and of course made them desert, desolated the Country, and ruined its Revenues. Secondly, the Vizier's Desire to raise his Revenues, which will scarcely in any Instance bear such an Increase, without certain ensuing Loss. This has not only been the Case in making a new Bundabust, but often Two Months after Engagements entered into by Government with Aumils, when an Increase on the Revenues has been offered by any Adventurer, without any Charge of Delinquency, or even a Failure on the old Aumil's Part—the Vizier, from his idle Extravagancies ever distressed for ready Money, and allured by Paishgee, usually paid here on the first Instalment of an Aumil, has accepted the new Offer, disgraced the old Aumil, though an unexceptionable one, and put in a needy Adventurer, who, if he does any way realize his Increase, must do it by plundering the Country, and sucking the Blood of the Inhabitants. It is evident, that Proceedings like these must destroy all Confidence in Government, and effectually deter any creditable Men, solicitous of performing their public Engagements, and to improve the Country, from taking the Lands. Lastly and principally, in Addition to the foregoing Circumstances, his Excellency's public and private Expences are so inordinate and disproportioned to his Revenues, so ill calculated for any useful Ends, and the Conduct of them entrusted in such improper Hands, his Parasites, and the Ministers of his unworthy Pleasures, that he is perpetually surrounded with clamorous Creditors; and, to get rid of their Importunities, he grants fresh Tuncaws on the Lands, although those he may formerly have given exceed the utmost Amount of their Rents. A great Part of these Creditors consisting of his Excellency's undisciplined Troops, it is but too evident how much an Evil so great in itself must be encreased by so lawless a Rabble being let loose in the Country, who will naturally plunder as they may be able, neither paying any Regard to what may be their just Demand, nor the Mode in which they levy it; hence it has, within my Knowledge,

ledge, frequently happened, that the Troops, which have been ſtationed with an Aumil for his Protection and Aſſiſtance, have put him in Confinement, and not ſuffered either him or his Officers to meddle with the Collections, until he has ſatisfied their exorbitant Demands. Theſe united Cauſes have occaſioned the Balances which have fallen ſo heavily on the Company's and Military Tuncaws; Cauſes which it has been impoſſible to obviate, theſe Tuncaws having been partial Drafts on the Revenues of particular Provinces, where the Vizier's Authority remained in full Force, and where the Reſident had no Troops to oppoſe the Nabob's lawleſs Rabble. I have been continually repreſenting to his Excellency the Impoſſibility of the Company's and Military Tuncaws being realized, while he continued granting others, exceeding the actual Revenue of the Provinces. My Remonſtrances have, however, proved ineffectual; and as I had no Authority over the Aumils, in oppoſition to his, the Evils have continued increaſing inſtead of diminiſhing. Plunged irretrievably, as the Nabob is, in Idleneſs, Extravagance, and Luxury, it is in vain to expect that he ſhould act, or indeed be able to act, another Year, in a Manner leſs injurious to the realizing the Engliſh Tuncaws, unleſs I am impowered by the Honourable Board to demand from his Excellency the excluſive Aſſignments of the whole Revenues of certain Provinces, to an Amount equal to the Demands upon him; with an expreſs Stipulation that the Rents ſhould be wholly paid into my Hands, without any Interference on the Part of his Excellency's Government; ſo that it ſhall by no means be allowed to diſmiſs the Aumils on whom ſuch Aſſignments are given, unleſs on a Repreſentation from me that they have failed in their Payments, or that from their Conduct I have Reaſon to expect ſuch Failure; alſo that the Troops ſtationed for the Service of the Collections ſhall by no means be changed, but at my Inſtance, in conſequence of any Complaints from the Aumils of their Miſbehaviour. If the Honourable Board think proper to inveſt me with Authority to make the above Demands from his Excellency, I think I may venture to aſſure them, that whatever Balances may be due on the Honourable Company's and the Military Accounts, at the Cloſe of this Year, may be very nearly if not wholly realized in the Courſe of the next Year; eſpecially if the Honourable Board ſhould alſo judge proper to authorize me to demand from his Excellency, that only ſuch Troops as may really aſſiſt the Collections be ſtationed in the Provinces aſſigned me, to the Excluſion of Cavalry, which is not only an uſeleſs but a moſt pernicious Charge on the Country.

In noticing the Accounts which accompany this Letter, I omitted to mention an Abſtract of Diſburſements to the Vizier's Troops under Britiſh Officers, under their reſpective Heads, from the Beginning of the Eſtabliſhment to the 28th February 1777, which I have alſo incloſed for the Information of the Honourable Board.

As the Seaſon for forming the new Settlement is now near at hand, I entreat to be favoured with the Honourable Board's Sentiments and Determination upon the above Subjects as ſoon as poſſible, that my Meaſures may be taken accordingly.

Lucknow,
the 28th June 1777.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

P. 616. 28th June. Ordered, That the Reſident be directed to make the neceſſary Advances to the Military Paymaſter of the Troops in the Field, and retain the Amount of One Month's Pay in Advance for the new Brigade; that he remit the Balance of Caſh, which may then remain in his Poſſeſſion, to the Preſidency, according to the ſtanding Orders for that Purpoſe.

Mr. Barwell.—I am of Opinion, that this Government has nothing at all to do with any Debts contracted with by Nabob, but with the Company. I have not the leaſt Objection to any of the Officers, or other Individuals, belonging to the Company, lending their Money to the Nabob; but I object to any Kind of Interpoſition whatever, in this Government, to force the Nabob to the Payment of ſuch Loans. I move that Mr. Middleton be ordered to ſtrike theſe Loans out of his Accounts, and to order the Deputy Paymaſters to do the ſame; unleſs there is ſome poſitive Engagement, authorized by the public Miniſter who is or has been at the Vizier's Court, to take up ſuch Loans on Account of the Nabob, and to paſs them in Account between the Company and him.

Mr. Francis.—The Title of the Account in queſtion deſcribes it to be an Account Current between the Nabob and his Troops under Britiſh Officers. The Charges, which I ſuppoſe are conformable to the Eſtabliſhment, are ſtated on One Side; the Receipts, or Means out of which thoſe Charges are defrayed, are ſtated on the other; among the latter are ſtated certain Sums ſuppoſed to have been lent to the Nabob by Britiſh Officers and others, and applied to the Diſcharge of the Expences of the Military Eſtabliſhment on the other Side: This cannot properly be called an Account of the Nabob's private Debts. If it can be proved that ſuch Sums were really lent and applied to the Pay of the Troops, it is a public Debt, for which his Treaſury muſt be anſwerable. I agree with the Governor General in the Enquiries he propoſes to make, and in the Order to be given to Mr. Middleton until we are ſatisfied with the Reſult of thoſe Enquiries; but I cannot agree with Mr. Barwell, that theſe Loans ought to be ſtruck out of the Account, if they were borrowed and applied for the Purpoſe expreſſed; they belong to this Account, and cannot be ſtruck out of it without Injuſtice to the Creditors. When we have obtained a Liſt of all the ſuppoſed Creditors, with the reſpective Sums due to them, and the Rate

of Intereſt at which the Debts ſtand, I think we ſhould tranſmit it to the Court of Directors, that they may ſee how their Servants have profited in that Service; but I cannot conſent that any Money, really lent for public Service, ſhould not be repaid: And, ſince we have taken the Government of the Country, in Effect, from the Nabob, an Attempt to ſhift the Debt perſonally upon him would be the ſame Thing with not paying it at all.

Mr. Barwell.—I muſt ſpeak a few Words by way of Obſervation to Mr. Francis's Reply. Upon the preſent Occaſion, and upon a very late Inſtance, Mr. Francis affects noticing, that we have taken the Government of Oude from the Nabob: I know of no particular Change that this Government has undergone ſince the Nomination of Reſident at the Court of Oude of Mr. Briſtow was made by Mr. Francis; nor do I know of any Act of the preſent Reſident's, countenanced or not countenanced by this Government, of a Nature ſo exceptionable and ſo derogatory of the Authority of the Nabob, as the humiliating Conceſſion the Nabob was forced to ſign by Mr. Briſtow, touching the Execution of Ragonaut Metre Sircar, his own Subject, and the Manner in which that was inſiſted upon; but I eſteem it the Unhappineſs of Mr. Middleton to have held this Office under the Appointment of the Governor General, as it ſubjected him to the Removal from his Station on the Commencement of the new Government, and may poſſibly to many Difficulties hereafter, eſpecially as his Reſtoration is marked by the Recall of Mr. Briſtow. I cannot ſuppoſe that on the Commencement of the Nabob's Government, when Mr. Briſtow was Reſident, and when all the Officers of the Nabob's Houſehold were appointed under his Influence; when the Sum of near Fifty Lacs of Rupees was claimed from the Bhegum, and compromiſed for Thirty; ſurely at this Time, with the leaſt Attention to the Finances of the Nabob, a Plan might have been ſtruck out and executed which would have amply provided an Eſtabliſhment for the Civil and Military of his Government; but as the greater the Degree of Irregularity, and the greater the Treaſures left to his Diſſipation, the greater would be his Means to gratify the Dependants of the Court. The Military Eſtabliſhment has been left unfounded, his Wealth ſwallowed up by greedy Dependants, and a Sum of 21 Lacks of Sicca Rupees accumulated, with which the Government will be burthened, if theſe Loans are not ſtruck out of the Public Accounts, and thrown entirely upon the Nabob. The Revenues of the Suba of Oude are above Crores of Rupees, as ſtated by Mr. Briſtow himſelf; out of this the Subſidy and the new Eſtabliſhment, which he is to pay into the Hands of our Reſident, may amount to 70 Lacks per Annum; there will then remain for him to diſpoſe at his Pleaſure One Crore odd Lacks. It could not, therefore, have ſubjected him to any Difficulty, had the Reſident at his Court inſiſted on his ſupporting an Eſtabliſhment he applied for himſelf, inſtead of burthening the Government with a Debt to many Individuals, under the Pretext of enabling the Nabob to defray the Charge incurred by their Troops.

Mr. Francis.—As I have not mentioned Mr. Middleton's Name, nor alluded, either directly or remotely, to any Act of his, I preſume Mr. Barwell will explain, in proper Time, for what Purpoſe the preſent Strictures on Mr. Briſtow's Conduct, and the Compariſon between his Situation and that of Mr. Middleton, are introduced. The Fact referred to by Mr. Barwell, I muſt aſſert, is not candidly ſtated; Mr. Briſtow, at the earneſt perſonal Solicitation of the Nabob, took upon him the Office of Mediator between him and ſome Battalions of his mutinous Troops, and, at the ſame Solicitation, pledged his Faith to the Men that their Offence ſhould be forgiven; the Nabob afterwards cauſed One of them to be executed, without any Form of Trial, or previous Notice to Mr. Briſtow.—Mr. Briſtow conſidered himſelf as aggrieved and diſhonoured by this Act. He foreſaw, that many bad Conſequences might follow, if the Interpoſition of the Engliſh Name, and of the Authority of the Company's Repreſentative, were ſuffered to be a Maſk of Deception; he therefore inſiſted on an Acknowledgment from the Nabob, that he had violated his perſonal Faith pledged to him, and that he, Mr. Briſtow, was not a Party to it. This is the Fact; whether he did right or not is another Queſtion: If it deſerved Cenſure, it ſhould have received it at the ſame Time when it happened. I believe myſelf that it was a juſt and proper Act, and that it will bear the Teſt of the ſtricteſt Examination.—(*a*) [Mr. Barwell is pleaſed to ſay, that he knows of no particular Change that the Government of Oude has undergone ſince the Nomination of Reſident at the Court of Oude of Mr. Briſtow by Mr. Francis.—I ſaid, that we had in Effect taken the Government from the Nabob: I will not put it upon Mr. Barwell to affirm the contrary. The Nabob is a Cypher, and known to be ſo to all Hindoſtan. Within theſe very few Months we have taken his Army from him; we have inſiſted on his committing the Civil Adminiſtration to one particular Perſon; we have inſiſted on his diſmiſſing his Favourites; and now Mr. Middleton tells us, that he has taken the Collection of the Revenues of the Doaub and Rohilchund under his own Direction, or to that Effect. I refer to his Letter of the 18th Auguſt. I ſhould be glad to know what Branch of the Sovereign Power is really left to the Nabob. As for the reſt, I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that all the foregoing Acts are ſubſequent to Mr. Briſtow's Recall. Before this happened, he neither had nor could have the Power which Mr. Barwell attributes to him.] I do not mean, however, to enter into a Diſcuſſion of his Merits, or thoſe of Mr. Middleton; I conſider them as the Inſtruments of the Board, and not reſponſible for the Orders they obey.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 767.

Mr.

Mr. Barwell.—My Reaſon for mentioning Mr. Middleton's Name, is warranted by the concluding Words of Mr. Francis's Reply to my Minute. My contraſting the Conduct of Mr. Briſtow, was to ſhew in the ſtrongeſt Light how Gentlemen may regard Actions of different Men in different Points of View. Mr. Middleton appears treated under the ſame Circumſtances under which Mr. Briſtow acted as Nabob of Oude; and Mr. Briſtow, who ſubjected the Nabob to the moſt humiliating Condition, and exerciſed the moſt arbitrary and deſpotic Influence over the Nabob, was regarded as the ſimple Agent of this Government. I deſire Mr. Francis will recollect, whether the Army, the Treaſures, and the Civil Government, were not much more within the Power of the Reſident, to do what he pleaſed with, during the Time that Mr. Briſtow acted, than in the preſent. It is true that the Civil, Military, and Financiering Department, carried a different Form, which did indeed ſubject our Reſident to very little Reſponſibility in the Acts of the Nabob, while they allowed his private Influence the utmoſt Sway. I deny that the Power of the Reſident at the Court of Oude is encreaſed; ſo far from it, that in the Meaſures I have approved, I approved them under a Conviction of ſhackling his Authority, and ſecuring to this Government its juſt Rights; the more our Reſident ſtands forth entruſted with Securities for the Payment of the Public Money, the leſs Means he has of perverting thoſe Securities to any other Purpoſe. For my own Part, I diſclaim all Kind of Interference in the Government of Oude, declare I have no Kind of Correſpondence with any of the leading Men in the Government, or even any private Gentlemen, who from Station or Truſt could be of Uſe to me in that Light. The Sovereignty of Oude is left unimpaired with the Nabob. If the Recovery of the Debts due to this Government, and the Means of ſecuring ſo great a Part of the Company's Property, is a Crime, by its being inſinuated to take from the Nabob's Sovereignty, it is a Crime which the little Care and Attention of the former Adminiſtration in this Country has forced upon the preſent;—it is a Crime that I ſhall always regard as a great Happineſs to the Company, if it could but procure to them the Payment of the monſtrous Debt that is at this Moment outſtanding. The Alluſion I made to the Interpoſition of Mr. Briſtow, upon a certain Occaſion, upon an Examination of the Fact, I am certain will be found to be candid. If I miſtake not, Mr. Briſtow was deceived, and the Perſon on whoſe Behalf he interpoſed was puniſhed for the Crime of cheating the Sepoys of their Pay—a Crime totally independent of the Mutiny, and I believe it happened Three Months after it.

Mr. Francis.—It is admitted that the Form at leaſt is changed, though the Power is ſaid to be the ſame with that exerciſed by Mr. Briſtow. He undoubtedly had conſiderable Influence at the Court of Oude, as the Company's Reſident always muſt have; but it was an Influence obtained by Negociation, not by direct Power. The Facts are before our Superiors, to whoſe Judgment I ſubmit. I ſhall give the Board no further Trouble on this Queſtion, nor perhaps on any other—I am too ſenſible that it is giving both them and myſelf a very uſeleſs Trouble.

Mr. Barwell.—I muſt beg leave to be underſtood by the Word Form, ſimply the Manner or Mode of conducting the Buſineſs, not any Thing relative to the Fundamentals of the Government. I have often heard Mr. Francis's Opinions with much Deference, and ſhall with Pleaſure give that Weight to his Reaſonings upon all Occaſions, when they are not partially directed in Support or Condemnation of a particular Set of Meaſures or Men. This is not a ſimple Profeſſion, I feel what I expreſs.

Reſolved, That the following Letter be written to Mr. Middleton.

(EXTRACT.)

Sir,

P. 632. In the Incloſure, N° 2, which is titled, An Account Current of the Nabob with his Army under Britiſh Officers, we obſerve with Aſtoniſhment the enormous Sum of Sicca Rupees 21,76,327 : 14 : 3 ſtanding as a Balance due to the Officers, Paymaſters, and others, for Money lent to the Nabob. We cannot paſs ſo vaſt and irregular a Charge without Examination. In the Firſt Place we do not underſtand with what Propriety the Nabob's Debts are brought into a public Account of his Military Diſburſements. In the Second Place we totally diſapprove of Money being lent to the Nabob by any Individuals in the Service of the Company, nor will we ſuffer the Company's Influence to be miſuſed for the Recovery of ſuch Debts.

We deſire you will tranſmit to us a fair State of the Money actually lent by each of the Perſons whoſe Names are inſerted in the above Account of Balances, the Rates of Intereſt charged on their reſpective Loans, and the Names of thoſe for whom we ſuppoſe Mr. O'Donnel is an Agent; as it appears morally impoſſible that he could have been poſſeſſed of Property to the Amount which ſtands in his Name, being Sicca Rupees 7,32,205 : 11 : 8.

We alſo forbid you to make any Payments in diſcharge of theſe Bonds, from your Office, without ſpecial Orders from us for that Purpoſe.

(At the End)

We are, &c. &c.

(At the End of the Conſultation)

Warren Haſtings.
Rich^d Barwell.
P. Francis.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, N° LXXIII.

Book 112. Page 966.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 23d December 1779.

Fort William, 23d December 1779. Secret Department. Thurſday.

☞ (a) [At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,
Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.
Sir Eyre Coote abſent on a Viſit to the different Stations of the Army.

RECEIVED the following Letter from the Commander in Chief.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

The Day before Yeſterday I encamped near Allahabad, where the Vizier did me the Honour of a Viſit; and Yeſterday Morning, in my Way hither, I returned it, and was received by his Excellency with every Mark of Reſpect and Diſtinction.

This Morning he called here, and we had ſome general Converſation, which principally turned upon the Subject of his Attachment to the Engliſh, and his Readineſs to ſhew the Sincerity of it upon all Occaſions.

It is to be wiſhed we had employed the Influence which ſuch favourable Sentiments muſt have given us more to the Benefit of the Country and ourſelves; but I fear the Diſtreſſes which evidently appear on the Face of the one, and the Failure of Revenues to the other, are not to be wholly aſcribed to the Vizier's Management.] ☞

Captain Popham has juſt informed me that his Party is ready to move except the Candahar Horſe, which were not arrived. I ſpoke to the Nabob concerning them this Morning, who aſſures me they are ready to join him whenever they are demanded; and though he is a Lack and an Half of Rupees in Arrears to them, they make no Objections to marching and receiving the current Pay from us, provided they have Security that the Nabob will diſcharge this Debt in future; ſo that you will now, Gentlemen, pleaſe to give your final Orders reſpecting the Movement of this Detachment, which ſhall be followed by ſuch Military Inſtructions as I may find neceſſary to give. However, I wiſh ſome further Accounts may com * from General Goddard relative to his Situation before thoſe Orders are put in Execution: For if all the flying Reports I hear be true, it may be true †, it may be neceſſary to move a great Part of the Troops here in order to ſecure the Junction we meditate, as Captain Popham ſeems ſenſible that from Delay occaſioned by Lateneſs of the Seaſon the Deſign is too well known through the Country.

* Sic in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

Indeed if War is to be continued with the Marattas, others and more conſequential Steps muſt be taken than merely the ſupplying General Goddard's Army from hence. And I ſhould hope the Gentlemen at Madras have taken into Conſideration before this Time the Letter we addreſſed to them upon that Subject.

I incloſe the Copy of a Return I have received from Brigadier General Stibbert, as a convincing Proof that the Golandawze have no Objection to enter into other Corps, either as Sepoys or Laſcars, and that you have conſequently a Right to expect they will enliſt with equal Facility at Calcutta, unleſs Obſtructions are thrown in the Way of my Orders.

Upon a careful Survey of Chunar Ghur, I find myſelf exceedingly diſappointed in it as a Place of Strength; it is by no means ſuch, as in its preſent State it can only be defended by Muſketry; and that to ſo little Purpoſe, that I will venture to ſay, an Army well conducted would not be ſtopped Four and Twenty Hours by it; but if its natural Advantages are properly attended to, it may at a very moderate Expence be made a Poſt of great Conſequence, where Magazines of all Kinds of Military Stores, ſo neceſſary for the ſupplying of all different Stations, or to anſwer any Exigencies in theſe diſtant Provinces, might be laid up in Security. Captain Gardiner has already laid a Plan before you, which I have inſpected, and would recommend to the Board as anſwering (with ſome ſmall Alterations, which I mentioned to him and he approved of) every Purpoſe deſired.

The little Fort at Buxar will become entirely uſeleſs unleſs it is kept in repair; and as I think it a Poſt of great Advantage in many Reſpects, I ſhould adviſe its being attended to immediately.

The Eſtimate is made at Ten Thouſand Rupees, but the Sum of Five Thouſand would, I ſhould imagine, anſwer the Purpoſe at preſent, and an Allowance of One Hundred Rupees per

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 767.

Month be sufficient to keep it up afterwards. By what I have seen of Captain Eaton, who commands there, I think he might very properly be entrusted with the Management of this Business, as his Attention to it has already been such as to induce him to be at the Expence of several little Matters himself rather than see them run entirely to Ruin.

I have the Honour to be, &c. &c.

Poppa Mow, near Allahabad,
the 11th December 1779.

(Signed) Eyre Coote.

Resolved, That the following Reply be written to the Commander in Chief.

To Lieut. General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. Commander in Chief.

Sir,

We have been favoured with your Letter of the 11th Instant.

We beg leave to inclose, for your Information, Copy of a Letter which we have just received from General Goddard, under Date the 28th October; and that you may be apprized as early as possible of his further Proceedings, we have directed the Secretary to furnish you with Copies of all the Letters which we may receive from him immediately on their Arrival. With respect to the Expediency of sending Captain Popham's Detachment to reinforce General Goddard's Army, as you will be the best Judge whether it can now reach him in Time to render any effectual Service to the Cause in which he will be engaged, we request that you will order it or not as you shall see necessary.

We are, &c. &c.
Warren Hastings.
P. Francis.
Edward Wheler.

Fort William,
23d December 1779.

APPENDIX, N° LXXIV.

Book 132. Page 6.

TRANSLATION of a Newspaper, giving an Account of the Transactions of the Royal Durbar, dated 26 Shawaul. Received 1st January, 1777.

Intelligence arrived that Timur Shah had sent Simput Shawer, at the Head of a good Army, with Directions to throw a Bridge, with all possible Expedition, over the River Atuk, and that Timur Shah himself was already in the Field, intending to begin his March towards the said River as soon as the Bridge should be finished.

An Arzee from Zabitta Khan, accompanying a Letter from Timur Shah, was presented for his Majesty's Perusal within the Mahul. Five Subahs of Hindostan are under the Dominion of the English; on one Side are the Infidel Sykes; Nijuff Khan, whom you, my Brother, raised from the Dust, has also possessed himself of another Soubah. A Remnant of Mahometanism was left in Rohilcund; Sujah Dowlah, an Heretic, made himself Master of that Country, and expelled all the Mussulmen; yet you, my dear Brother, remained an idle Spectator in the Fort of Dehli. God willing, set your Heart at rest; notwithstanding the Connection which Zabita Khan has formed with the Infidel Syks, and they transmit Arzies to me, I place no Confidence in these Infidels; I proposed to you a Plan for settling the Affairs of Cashmere, that you should cross the River Atuck, and enter Cashmere by the Mountains, and reduce it under your Authority; and I wrote to the Inhabitants of Futtah and Buckrah, and to the Balochies in the Neighbourhood of Sinda, praising them in the highest Terms for their good Conduct in not suffering the Infidel Sykes to make themselves Masters in their Country, and telling them that they might expect to see me very shortly in that Quarter, at the Head of a brave Army, to punish the Infidel Sykes, and that it was my Intention to pass from thence into Hindostan, through the Country of the Rajahs; that they should be ready with an Army of Mussulmen to accompany me, and that we would jointly with my Brother Shah Allum bring to condign Punishment the rebellious in every Part of Hind †.

† Sic in Orig.

☞ Indeed our Dignity and Honour are one; set your Mind at Ease, and consider me as absolutely arrived. *(a)* [It is well known that the Dominions of Asoph ul Dowlah extend to within Three Days Journey of Dehli, and that the English are Masters of his Country, and he himself a mere Spectator of what is acted therein.] Why do you not, my Brother, support Cossim Ally Khan? ☞ It is said that he resides within Three Days Journey of Dehli, and nevertheless has not yet been admitted to your Presence. He is a Victim of the English Arms, and it would be political to keep him at your Court; he is, moreover, a Man of Abilities. By the Favour of God, now

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(a) Vide supra, P. 768.

that I am coming to Dehli, I ſhall continue there ſome Years and completely regulate the Affairs of all Sides of Hind *.

* Sic in Orig.

Copy of the Anſwer which His Majeſty returned to Timur Shah.

This is your Fifth Letter, but it is Matter of Surprize that you have ſo repeatedly written your Intention of coming into theſe Parts, and that we are nevertheleſs ſtill kept in the greateſt Anxiety for your Arrival: You truly obſerve that our Dignity and Honour are as one, and that our Dominions are in the Hands of our Servants.

The Want of an Army and the Diſagreement amongſt our own Nobles, have obliged us to retire to Dehli, having no Hope but in the Aſſiſtance which we look for from you, our Brother. The Soubah of Dhakah, the Soubah of Behar, and the whole of Bengal, are in the Poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.—Moreover, by the Perſuaſions of Sujah ul Dowlah, they have traiterouſly with-held from us, ever ſince our Arrival at the Capital, the Trifle which they ſtipulated for the Support of our Houſehold, viz. Illahabad, and alſo the Tribute they engaged to pay us.

☞ (a) [Sujah ul Dowlah, by the Influence of the Engliſh, even took poſſeſſion for himſelf of the Province of Illahabad; and his Son the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah being immerſed in Voluptuouſneſs, the Soubah of Illahabad, and even of Oude, are in Reality under the Dominion of the Engliſh.

A ſmall Remnant of Mahometaniſm was left in Rohilcund; their Country alſo, which is not leſs than a Soubah, is apparently under Aſoph ul Doulah, but the Engliſh are in fact the Maſters of it, for Aſoph ul Doulah is abſolutely incapable of Buſineſs; thus undoubtedly there are Five Soubahs under the Engliſh Government.] ☜

With reſpect to your Recommendation of Meer Caſſim Ally Khan, many Difficulties would ariſe from our inviting him at this Seaſon to our Preſence; we have not however ſent him away; he now reſides within Three Days Journey of our Capital.—By the Favour of God, when you our Brother ſhall honour Dehli with your Royal Preſence, he ſhall moſt undoubtedly be ſent for. There is indeed no Dependance to be placed on the Engagements of the Infidel Syks. In whatever Manner you can effect it, come with an Army of Belouchies by the way of the Hills, about Futtah and Bhakrah, and paſſing Mulſana proceed through the Country of the Rajahs; if by any Accident you cannot come in Perſon, ſend a veteran Army under the Command of ſome Nobleman of Diſtinction, into theſe Parts, with the utmoſt Expedition: On no Account neglect or delay this. We are prevented ſending you any of the Productions of this Country, on account of thoſe lawleſs Banditti, the Infidel Syks; but where ſo ſincere and perfect a Friendſhip is eſtabliſhed in our Hearts there is the leſs Neceſſity for Preſents to prove it.

Abdulaid Khan ſent his Majeſty's Letter in an Arzee from himſelf, and ſent it by Shah Abdul Ullah to Timur Shah.

The Subſtance of his Arzee was as follows:

His Majeſty is anxiouſly deſirous of your Arrival—I am alſo your Servant, and cannot expreſs the Earneſtneſs of my Deſire to pay you my Reſpects. Since I firſt heard of your advancing your Standard towards theſe Parts, I have been employed Night and Day in Prayers that you may ſpeedily arrive victorious in Hindoſtan. It cauſes me the greateſt Regret that I cannot pay my Reſpects to you in Perſon at the River Atuck, but the unſettled State of Affairs in Hindoſtan prevents the Poſſibility of it. Enemies have ſprung up in every Quarter and ſeized on the Dominions of the Empire; Rebellion prevails in every Part, all Allegiance is thrown off: Doubtleſs you have learnt this from the Public Papers, and there is no Hope of reſtoring the Affairs of the Empire except by your Preſence.

Abdulaid Khan ordered 500 R[s] to the Meer Bahur for the Purpoſe of erecting the Bridge, and gave ſtrict Orders that the greateſt Expedition ſhould be employed to get it finiſhed.

Abdulaid Khan ordered Bahram Kooly Khan to ſend his Tents on Camels to the other Side of the River Jummun.

Yeſterday Afternoon the Nabob Abdulaid Khan received Letters from Bow Niamut Sing, alſo an Arzee from Roy Moochcram, from the Army of Nijuff Khan, mentioning that the Nabob Nijuff Khan came before the Fort of Biſwa, and demanded that whatever Tribute they had been accuſtomed to pay to Sooruje Mull Jaut, and others of that Nation, they ſhould transfer to him, and that he would make no further Demand on them.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 768.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, N° LXXV.

Book 102. Page 44.

From Fize Ullah Khan. Received 13th February.

I TRANSMITTED to my truſty Vackeel Roy Buktawur Sing, an Account of the Calumnies of my Enemies, reſpecting the Extent of this ſmall Tract of Country, the Gift of the Engliſh, and many other falſe Aſſertions and Accuſations which they brought againſt me, to be by him related to you; and it is with the moſt ſincere Pleaſure and Satisfaction of Mind I learn from him, that on his repreſenting theſe Matters to you, you were graciouſly pleaſed to ſpeak to him in Terms of Encouragement, telling him, that I muſt religiouſly adhere to my Engagements, and that no one ſhould give me Trouble on account of the pretended Extent of my Country, or the other Charges alleged againſt me; and further, deſiring that I would tranſmit particular Accounts of the Affairs of this Quarter, which would be conſidered as a Proof of my Attachment to yourſelf and the Company. I am truly grateful for theſe kind Aſſurances, and offer up my Prayers to the Almighty, that he will reward you by long preſerving you under his Protection, in the Enjoyment of the Dignity you now hold, and of every Bleſſing.

In a ſteady Adherence to my Word and Engagements, I view my own Advantage both here and hereafter, it being a Duty ſtrictly inculcated by the Precepts of my holy Religion. By the Bleſſing of God, whilſt I live, I will never deviate in any Degree from them, and will ever continue obedient to your Will. Being firmly aſſured of this, let not your Excellency regard my Repreſentations in the Light of a Man influenced by worldly Motives, for I have no View but that of acting in a Manner ſatisfactory to your Excellency and the Company; and will purſue ſuch a Line of Conduct as ſhall gain me your utmoſt Confidence. My Fidelity ſhall be worthy of Praiſe and Applauſe.

I am hopeful that your Excellency will regard me as a Dependant of the Company, and one who is, on every Occaſion, ſubmiſſive to your Pleaſure.

Encloſure in the above.

Zabita Khan, defeated by his Majeſty and the Nabob Nejif Khan, retired to the Diſtrict of Sahrun, under the Dominion of the Seiks, and having got together a Body of 5 or 6000 Cavalry, returned and ravaged the Villages in the Neighbourhood of Delhi, and is now ſhifting from Place to Place in the Diſtricts of Sahruppore, Merut, &c. within the Doaub.

Nejiff Cooley Khan has put the Fort of Sahrunpore in a State of complete Defence, and retired within it.

Nejiff Khan has ſurrounded the Fort of Cumhare, and opened his Batteries againſt it.

Row Pertaub Sing, the Chief of Majhares, has revolted from Nejiff Khan, and ſtrengthened himſelf in the Fort of Aloor.

The Forces of the South, or Deccan, are engaged in Hoſtilities with Ranna Chatter Sing.

☞ (a) [This Country of Cutthar, which formerly depended on the Rohilla States, and which I conſider as now appertaining to the Company, was very populous and flouriſhing; but ſince the Commencement of the Nabob Vizier's Government, the Farmers appointed by his Miniſters have deſolated the Country; its Situation is at preſent very ruinous; Thouſands of Villages, formerly populous, are now utterly deſerted, and no Trace is left of them. I have already written to Roy Buktawur Sing, a full Account of the Tyranny and Oppreſſion exerciſed by the Farmers, to be communicated to you. The conſtant Revenue of a Country depends on the Care of its Rulers to preſerve it in a flouriſhing State.

I have been induced to make the Repreſentation by my Attachment to the Intereſt of the Company, for otherwiſe it is no Concern of mine.

Should theſe Oppreſſions continue One or Two Years longer, and the Rulers take no Meaſures to put a ſtop to them, the whole Country will be a Deſert.]

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 768.

APPENDIX, Nº LXXVI.

Book 80. Page 321.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 21ſt April 1783.

Fort William, 21ſt April 1783.

At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,

Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.
John Stables,

Sir Eyre Coote gone to Fort Saint George.

From Hyder Beg Khawn to the Honourable the Govarnor General: Received March 28th, 1783.

Uſual Introduction.

AT the Beginning I was raiſed by the Hand of your Favour, and from that Period to the preſent, you have uniformly protected my Honour, and by your Countenance conferred Reſpectability upon me. Aſſiſted by ſuch Patronage and Support. and deeming my Fidelity and Attachment to the Company, and to the Nabob Vizier, as Duties which admitted of no Diſtinction or Separation, I have, as is well known to you, unremittingly perſevered in exerting my Services for the Benefit of both Sarcars.

At this Period, and for ſome Time paſt, various Circumſtances and Events have come to paſs, which, in conſequence of ſtrict Injunctions, that no one ſhall preſume to inform you of the State of Affairs here, my Apprehenſions have hitherto deterred me from communicating; hoping at the ſame Time, that you might learn them from public Report, and that the neceſſary Remedies would be applied; or that Mr. Briſtow would himſelf adopt more favourable Diſpoſitions.—As neither of theſe Events has happened, I ſee no Remedy or Expedient whatever, except in a Repreſentation to you of all that has paſſed; and am therefore neceſſitated to make this Communication.

In conſequence of the Receipt of your frequent and iterated Informations and Declarations, both to his Highneſs and to me, by Letters immediately from yourſelf, and alſo through the Medium of Major Palmer, who returning from Cawnpore did perſonally, at various Interviews, and repeatedly through the Medium of others, communicate your Sentiments reſpecting Obedience to the Directions, and Attention to the Satisfaction, of Mr. Briſtow; declaring that in the firmeſt Reliance on his Conduct, you had veſted him with ample Powers in the Arrangement and Regulation of the Nuvvaub's Affairs, and as your choſen and ſelect Friend had appointed him to the Execution of this Office; that we ſhould not deviate in the minuteſt Degree from his Directions, or in the ſmalleſt Point neglect or diſregard his Pleaſure; and that we ſhould pay the ſame Attention to his Satisfaction as we would to yours. In conſequence of the foregoing, as his Highneſs and myſelf regard an implicit Reſpect and Obedience to your Advice and Directions as the firſt and only Objects of our Attention; therefore, agreeably to your Commands communicated by Letter, and by Major Palmer, I have in every Particular obeyed the Directions of Mr. Briſtow, from the Hour of his Arrival down to the preſent Moment.

Papers which he demanded I have delivered, contrary to the Pleaſure of the Vizier; in no Point whatever have I been deficient in Obedience and Submiſſion. Whatever he has directed, on whatever Subject, I have conſidered a Compliance with his Directions as Obedience to your Commands, and without Difficulty or Heſitation have fulfilled them. Volumes would be inſufficient to contain the Particulars on this Ground; to relate them circumſtantially is therefore impracticable; and you muſt already be well and fully informed on the Subject, as many of the Gentlemen reſiding here are perfectly acquainted with moſt of the Circumſtances. Notwithſtanding this entire and implicit Obedience and Attendance on his Will, every Mark of Attention, and every Inſtance of Support, which you, in your Solicitude for the Happineſs and Well-being of his Highneſs, and from your Regard for the Honour and Reſpectability of his Miniſters, have always and uniformly ſhewn, and which the Gentlemen heretofore appointed to this Office, in Obedience to your Pleaſure, were wont to exhibit, have been totally neglected and diſregarded by Mr. Briſtow. The firſt Order that he gave on his Arrival was, that I ſhould deliver up my Papers to him. He examined them, and after an Interval of ſome Days, declared that he was to take all the Affairs of this Country, all the Officers, Houſehold Eſtabliſhments, &c. &c. and all the Troops in the Service of his Highneſs, under his own immediate Management, and make the Diſburſements to each with his own Hand; that as the Military Expences, thoſe of the Houſehold, of the Jagheerdars and Tunkawdars, appeared to be very conſiderable, an Addition to the Ways and Means would be wanting

wanting, and therefore I muſt give 25 Lacks of Rupees from my own private Property, to enable him to pay the Troops, the Houſehold Eſtabliſhments, Jagheerdars, &c. I repreſented to him, that from the moderate Ruſſoom granted and confirmed to us, under the Sign Manual of his Highneſs, I had annually advanced more or leſs to the Nuvvaub Vizier, in Proportion to his Neceſſities; and that what remained had been diſburſed in defraying my own neceſſary Expences; that the Accounts reſpecting the Ruſſoom, from my firſt Appointment to the Neabut, were forthcoming, which he might examine. He replied, that Accounts were uſeleſs; that I had accumulated great Wealth; if I would give the Sum he had mentioned, it was well; if not, he would, by a Change in the Office of Neabut, find Means to procure the Money. I aſked him, Whether the Money could be procured by making that Change? He replied in the Affirmative; and I retired from his Preſence.

By One of his Friends I afterwards ſent him the following Meſſage:—That the Neabut, and the Reſpectability which I poſſeſſed, were the Gifts of the Governor General; that his Highneſs, with his uſual Benevolence towards his Servants, had ſhewn me Favour; and that to the preſent Time I had not been wanting or deficient in my Duty to either Sircar; that as he, Mr. Briſtow, had been induced, at the Inſtigations of my Enemies, to make the preceding Declarations, if he was really and poſitively determined, in conſequence of ſuch Advice, to diſmiſs me from my Office, it was well, I would retire with my Family to Calcutta. His Friend replied by Meſſage, that what he, Mr. Briſtow, had ſaid, had proceeded from the Impulſe of a violent Temper, worked upon by the Advice of ſeveral miſchievouſly-diſpoſed Perſons; and that it would in the End ſubſide. I returned for Anſwer, that I would wait upon Mr. Briſtow the next Day, and never quit him, Day or Night, until I had ſucceeded in removing the Idea which he entertained reſpecting my Wealth. With this Intention I waited upon him on the following Morning: What Converſation had paſſed between him and his Friend I know not; but immediately on my Arrival at his Houſe, he ſent me a Meſſage, adjuring me to lay aſide all Appearances of Anger, as inconſiſtent and improper; and propoſing that we ſhould meet, and confer together upon Affairs as uſual.

Deeming it in every Reſpect neceſſary to obey, I conducted myſelf as he had deſired; and, without entering upon the Subject, delivered to him the Accounts, written at large, of the Receipts of Ruſſoom for the laſt Six Years; obſerving that the Country and the Aumils, both thoſe in and thoſe out of Employment, were forthcoming, and that he might oppoſe and compare theſe with their Accounts. He replied, that at all events Money muſt be raiſed. I anſwered, that I ſhould not have been backward, if the Means had been in my Poſſeſſion.

After the preceding Affair, he brought forward the Buſineſs reſpecting the ſtationing of the Regiments, ſaying, that I muſt procure a Shoccah to be written by his Highneſs on that Subject. I obſerved, that it would be neceſſary to communicate the Matter to the Navaub Vizier, and obtain his Conſent. At firſt he agreed, and ſaid he would ſpeak to his Highneſs on the Subject. After ſome Days employed in Conferences on this Buſineſs, deeming it improper to mention it to the Navaub, he told me that it was altogether unneceſſary; complained at the ſame Time, that on all Occaſions I was wont to introduce the Name of the Vizier, demanding my Reaſons for ſo doing. I replied, that every Meaſure which was carried into Execution without the Vizier's Knowledge muſt ultimately draw the Diſpleaſure of both Parties upon me. He aſſerted the contrary, ſaying, he had it in Command from the Governor and Gentlemen of the Council, to act as he ſhould deem proper, without waiting to inform the Nabob, or allowing his Meaſures to depend on his Highneſs's Pleaſure or Diſpleaſure, and ordered me to cauſe the Shoccah to be written.

As I conſider his Highneſs's Well-being and Proſperity to be promoted by my Attachment to the Company, and eſteeming it a Duty, in obedience to your Commands, to obey Mr. Briſtow, I thought it improper to ſay any Thing further to him on the Subject; and therefore I did as he had directed, and without the Vizier's Knowledge cauſed the Shoccah to be written, and I delivered it to Mr. Briſtow. In the ſame Manner, from the Apprehenſion of ſuffering Diſgrace, I was induced to write and deliver to him, by his Orders, ſeveral other Shoccahs, without his Highneſs's Knowledge. At length the Vizier obtained Information of theſe Particulars, and I fell under his Diſpleaſure. Still conſidering my Duty to the Company's Sircar, and my Duty to his Highneſs as inſeparable from each other, and looking up to you for Favour and Protection, I continued to exert myſelf as uſual.

The preceding was followed by an Order from Mr. Briſtow, to make out and deliver to him an Account of the Expences of the Nuvvaub's Kitchen, Horſes, Elephants, Camels, &c^a. &c^a. I repreſented that he had never, during his former Reſidency, demanded theſe Papers, nor had they ever been demanded by either of the Gentlemen who ſucceeded him; and that if I ſhould now preſume to deliver them without his Highneſs's Conſent, he would certainly reſent it. To which Mr. Briſtow replied, In every Buſineſs you ſtill introduce the Name of his Highneſs—it will not be well for you; I have Orders to take poſſeſſion of all Papers. Without Remedy I delivered to him the Accounts above-mentioned. He then demanded the Military Accounts; and thoſe alſo I delivered. This was followed by an Order to write, and ſend to him, Muſter Rolls of the Troops, both the Mootaiya-neh and thoſe attending the Preſence. I repreſented to him, that he had already taken from me the whole of the Revenue Accounts; that a full Statement of the Mootaiya-neh was included therein. He replied, that I muſt write and deliver ſeparate Muſter Rolls of the Troops to him.

I requeſted a Reſpite of a few Days for this Purpoſe. He anſwered, No—that would be improper, that the Mootaſudees muſt be ſent to his Houſe, and write there. Accordingly, he gave Orders to Mr. Cooper to aſſemble them there, and there they continued, in the Style of Priſoners, writing from Sun-riſe till Nine at Night, for the Space of Seven or Eight Days. When the Regiſter or Muſter Roll was finiſhed, Mr. Briſtow ordered Four thouſand Horſe and Seven thouſand Foot of the Mootaiyaneh to be diſcharged; ſaying, that if the Aumils ſhould have Occaſion for more Troops, he had ſent for Fifteen thouſand Stands of Arms from Calcutta—he would raiſe Sepoys; and in lieu of the Troops, he would ſend thoſe Sepoys entertained by himſelf to the Aumils. I replied, that he was Maſter, and poſſeſſed of ſupreme Power—he was to act as he thought proper. Some * after he told me, that the Arms which he had ſent for from Calcutta were not arrived; that on the Commencement of the Year he ſhould ſet on Foot an Eſtabliſhment here for the repairing and making of Arms, and raiſe Troops, as he had ſaid before. It was now become neceſſary for me to approve and acquieſce, with entire Submiſſion, in every Thing which he was pleaſed to ſay or direct.

* Sic in Orig.

Mr. Briſtow now declared, that a Treaſurer and Comptroller muſt be appointed to the Navaub's Houſehold. This Meaſure he at firſt propoſed to his Highneſs through the Medium of other Perſons: At laſt he himſelf viſited the Navaub, and on this Occaſion communicated to his Highneſs certain Arrangements, implying Advice or Propoſals for my utter Expulſion from Office. To which the Navaub replied, "On a former Occaſion I was prevailed upon by your Counſels to "adopt a Conduct ſimilar to that which you now recommend towards Mochtaur-u-Dowlah, and "afterwards you yourſelf ſtood forth to aid and protect him—What are your real Intentions now?" Mr. Briſtow replied, that his Highneſs might ſet his Heart at Eaſe with reſpect to him; that he would be a Surety, and would give an Engagement in Writing, under his Seal, that on this Occaſion no Protection or Aſſiſtance ſhould be afforded to his Highneſs's Miniſters on the Part of the Engliſh; that his Highneſs, in changing the ſaid Miniſters, and ſubſtituting others, might take whatever Steps he thought proper.

As the Navvaub did not acquieſce in this Meaſure, but on the contrary made Objections to the Appointments of Treaſurer and Comptroller, Mr. Briſtow applied to and directed me to prevail upon his Highneſs to make thoſe Appointments. Agreeably to his Orders, I waited upon and made the neceſſary Repreſentations to the Navvaub, who in Reply ſaid, "Mr. Briſtow, the Day "before Yeſterday, declared to me, that Hyder Beg Khawn ſhould have nothing to do in theſe "Affairs—after what Manner was it poſſible to him to communicate this Meſſage to you?" I anſwered, that, except by the Directions of Mr. Briſtow, I could not have brought the Meſſage. His Highneſs commanded me to return to Mr. Briſtow, and to repreſent to him, in Terms the moſt forcible, that he Mr. Briſtow could obtain no Benefit by the Appointments of Treaſurer and Comptroller; but that thoſe Appointments would reflect Diſgrace and Contempt upon his Highneſs, ſince it would become apparent that the Vizier poſſeſſed no Authority whatever, even over his Houſehold Eſtabliſhments, Domeſtics, and Beaſts of Carriage and Burden; to aſk him why he thus perſecuted and diſtreſſed him—adding, "The little which falls to my Lot, even that he will "not allow me to eat in Peace and Quietneſs." This Declaration was accompanied with Tears of Anguiſh.

I delivered his Highneſs's Meſſage to Mr. Briſtow, and repreſented to him all that had paſſed, and the State of Mind in which he was. Mr. Briſtow replied, that with reſpect to the Navaub's crying, ſuch Tricks and Artifices were of no Avail with him. That the Navaub knew him well—knew him to be that Mr. Briſtow who always did that which he had ſaid and declared he would do; that he ſhould do ſo on the preſent Occaſion: That he had laboured hard for Six Years; that the Gentlemen in Europe would have appointed him to a Seat in the Supreme Council, but he had refuſed it, he had been labouring to obtain this Office—the Government of this Country; that all People, and all his Friends, had told him he would never obtain it. Yet at laſt he was come, and he had poſitive Orders to act in every Reſpect as he ſhould think beſt; that he was poſſeſſed of full and complete Authority; that he ſhould cauſe the Treaſurer and Comptroller to be appointed this Year, and from the Beginning of the next he would take the total Revenue or Treaſury of the whole Country into his own Hands, and would himſelf iſſue in Specie ſuch Sums as ſhould be neceſſary; that ſuch Expences for Elephants, Horſes, &c. were extravagant Expences; the Number of Domeſtics was immoderate; and that there was more Victuals than was neceſſary dreſſed in the Navvaub's Kitchen; that he would not permit or ſuffer ſuch Expences. I aſked Mr. Briſtow, if I was to communicate what he had ſaid to the Navvaub? Yes, he replied, and that I ſhould tell his Highneſs what he had ſaid in plain Terms; that he alſo would go Face to Face, and tell him ſo. Accordingly, at the End of Two Days, he came to the Navaub, and deſired him to make the Appointments of Treaſurer and Comptroller; adding, that they were Points which he never would give up, that his Orders from the Gentlemen of the Council were peremptory.

His Highneſs replied, "If you have peremptory Orders on this Subject, give to me a written "Copy of thoſe Orders; my Seal is forthcoming, take it, and do by Force whatever you think "proper. I will ſhut up the Doors of my Houſe, and there I will ſit, and ſeclude myſelf from "all Society."

Mr. Briſtow replied, that he would give him a written Copy of the Orders from the Gentlemen of the Council; and with regard to his Seal, which he offered to ſend, he might ſend it.

For

For Two Days after the preceding Converſation, the Navvaub ſent his Seal by the Molavy along with me, to Mr. Briſtow; in conſequence of which, Mr. Briſtow ſaid, that if the Navvaub thought proper, he would act as he (Mr. Briſtow) had deſired, and in that Caſe himſelf affix his Seal to the Shoccahs; if not, he would not allow the Buſineſs to depend upon the Navvaub's Seal; he would ſend Letters under his own Seal to the Aumils, directing them to tranſmit the Money to him, and would keep the Treaſury in his own Hands.

The having wrote thoſe Letters is mentioned by Mr. Briſtow in his Letter to me (vide Copy, N° 4); to ſuch a Degree has he depreſſed and degraded the Nuvvaub! The Converſations which have paſſed, and an Account of the Oppreſſions exerciſed towards his Highneſs, will be made known to you by his Letter. When the Nuvvaub made Objections to the Appointments of Treaſurer and Comptroller, grounded on the Indignity and Contempt which thoſe Appointments would bring upon him, Mr. Briſtow directed his Suſpicions towards me, and wrote me a Letter, to which I replied. Copies of both Letters are ſubmitted to your Inſpection (vide Copies, N° 4 and 5); thence my Culpability or Innocence, together with Mr. Briſtow's Declarations reſpecting my Diſmiſſion from Office, and other Particulars, will be made known to you. As my Letter in Reply contained a Matter of Fact Recapitulation of all that had paſſed, Mr. Briſtow did not reply to or contradict it.

The next Time I waited upon him, he propoſed that we ſhould be reconciled to each other. I ſaid that I was obedient to his Pleaſure; that I had not hitherto been wanting in Obedience, and that in future I ſhould not; but that Kindneſs on his Part was alſo neceſſary. He replied, that Reconciliation on his Part would depend upon my not having wrote to the Governor General any Information of what was paſſing here. I replied, that I had nothing to do with writing Accounts of what paſſed here; but that thoſe Things which he had done, and thoſe which he intended to do, were known to People of all Deſcriptions in this City. That Mirza Iſmael Beg, who was his Counſellor and Manager, had publiſhed them to every one, and that People ſpoke of them without Reſerve to each other. Mr. Briſtow anſwered, that he had never mentioned any Thing on theſe Subjects to Iſmael Beg. I ſaid, "If that be the Caſe, why does he preſume to tell the People that you will turn out the Navvaub's Aumils, and appoint Aumils of your own? Many to whom he has made this Declaration are ready to bear witneſs to the Truth of it." On hearing this, he coldly replied, that he had never ſaid ſo; for as Iſmael Beg had propagated theſe Reports agreeable to Mr. Briſtow's Inclinations, he did not think it proper to call him to any Account for them.

Such is Mr. Briſtow's Diſpoſition, that he outwardly profeſſes and careſſes, while in Reality he is endeavouring to expel me from my Office, and then frequently denies or contradicts his own Declarations. In the Repreſentation which I have made, I have not, in any One Inſtance, deviated from the Truth; and it is a poſitive Proof of the Reality of many of the Particulars, that Mr. Briſtow did not reply to thoſe which are ſtated in my Anſwer to his Letter; but at our next Interview aſſumed Appearances of Affability and Good-will. All Perſons of Rank and Condition in this City are fully acquainted with the foregoing Circumſtances. The abſolute Power aſſumed by Mr. Briſtow in the Affairs of this Surcar is arrived at ſuch a Pitch, that to conſult the Pleaſure of the Navvaub, or to adviſe with me in the Conduct of Affairs, are Circumſtances which he totally diſregards. Thus the Appointment of Mahommed Beg, a Trooper under Mirza Aboo Tulib, the Intimate of Mr. Johnſon, to the Sezawully of Furruckabad, by the Removal of Mahomud Syed Kawn, and through the Interpoſition of Iſmael Beg, which ſome Time ſince took place, is a Circumſtance known to all Mankind. I repreſented to Mr. Briſtow, that his Highneſs did not approve of the Appointment; but my Repreſentation was diſregarded, and he poſitively obliged me to write and deliver to him a Shoccah appointing Mahomud Beg. In the ſame Manner he has reſolved, and intends to ſend out Sezawuls from himſelf to all the Mhalauts. He moreover, on all Occaſions, both in private and in public, declares, and has repeatedly ſaid the ſame to me, that at the Commencement of the enſuing Year he will turn out all the Navvaub Vizier's Aumils, and appoint Aumils of his own; that he will order the whole of the Revenues to be paid in to him; and that he will iſſue to the Navvaub in Specie, with his own Hand, what he himſelf may think neceſſary for his Highneſs's Expences; and that he will not ſuffer the Authority of this Sircar to remain in a ſingle Mahaul. He frequently ſays, "Why does the Navvaub keep ſo many Elephants and Horſes? Why are ſuch Quantities of "Proviſions dreſſed in his Kitchen? Such Numbers of Domeſtics are unneceſſary; I will curtail "the whole."

With reſpect to us, who are your Dependents, and the Miniſters of his Highneſs, our Credit and executive Authority in all Affairs is utterly annihilated. Like the Houſehold Servants of Mr. Briſtow, who are Day and Night attending his Commands; yet even by this Conduct he will not be prevailed upon to govern with Candour and Complacency: Notwithſtanding all that we do, our Hours are filled with unremitting Alarms for the Safety of our Honour. We have no Reſource, but in your Benevolence; no Proſpect of Redreſs, but from your Equity and Juſtice. Impelled by the moſt urgent Neceſſity, his Highneſs has written to you a Narrative of his Situation; and I, your devoted Servant, have thus repreſented all that has paſſed under my Obſervation, to the preſent Time, without Addition or Diminution, that we, the Miniſters, may not hereafter be deemed guilty of Neglect, in withholding the neceſſary Information of the preſent State of Things here. The Happineſs and Proſperity of the Navvaub depend upon your

Favour

Favour and Kindneſs; our Honour and Stability on your Bounty and Support. Whatever may be your Determination in behalf of the Surcar, it will be received with Joy and Reſpect. Deeming it a Duty to make this Repreſentation, I have thus laid it before you. It was heretofore the eſtabliſhed Cuſtom with the Gentlemen appointed to ſuperintend the Company's Affairs at this Court, to take Jauedauds to the Amount of the Company's Demand, and to leave the Balance of Revenue, ariſing from the Remainder of the Country, at the Diſpoſal of his Highneſs; in conſequence of which, more or leſs was forthcoming to the Tunkawdars, Jagheerdars, and Huzzoory Troops, and for the Expences of the Navvaub's Houſehold Eſtabliſhments, Elephants, Horſes, Camels, &c. In the preſent Year, Mr. Briſtow, after taking the Company's Jauedaud, gave Orders, that from the Remainder of the Revenues of this Country, no Money ſhould be iſſued to any Perſon whatever: That, having appointed a Treaſurer and Comptroller, he would call in the Monies, and direct the Diſburſements himſelf; in conſequence of which, to the preſent Period, no Subſiſtence whatever has been received by the Tunkawdars, Jagheerdars, Hindoſtan Troops, or People employed in the Offices of Government, and they are one and all calling out for Redreſs and Juſtice. Such is the Situation of Things here, that all Mankind are reduced to a State of Deſpair by the Hand of Mr. Briſtow.

☞ *(a)* [We, the Miniſters, owe our preſent Stations to your Bounty. His Highneſs alſo is devoted to your Pleaſure in all Reſpects; and from the Interchange of Turbans between you and the late Nabob, he conſiders you as the Brother of his Father. Whatever may be your Pleaſure in Behalf of his Highneſs, and with reſpect to the Well-government of this Country, which in a peculiar Manner appertains to you, his Highneſs does in no Reſpect whatever object; whatever Directions you may give, thoſe Directions he will obey.] ☜

I, from the Kindneſs and Affection which you bear towards his Highneſs, you ſhall pleaſe to confer upon him diſcretionary Powers for the Diſcharge of the Company's Demands, whatever may be the Sum ſtated by Mr. Briſtow to you as payable and to be paid in the Courſe of the current Year, his Highneſs, on receiving Information of the Amount, is ready and willing, with ſuch Powers, to diſcharge the ſame; and we, the Miniſters, in obedience to your Pleaſure, and ſtrengthened and ſupported by you, will at all Events raiſe the neceſſary Supplies for the Payment thereof: And for the enſuing Year, agreeably to ſuch Plan or Syſtem as you may determine upon for the Payment of the current Demand, with diſcretionary Powers to his Highneſs, we will take Meaſures for the Payment of the ſame in ſuch Manner, that under the Favour of God, and under your Protection, the Sums payable to the Company's Sircar ſhall be punctually received. By ſuch a Syſtem, your Fame and the Fame of the Engliſh People ſhall extend throughout this Empire; and due Regard to your controlling Power, Submiſſion and Obedience to your Orders, though ſecretly operating, ſhall be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, as ſhall afford you ample Cauſe for Satisfaction. The Succeſs of theſe Propoſals depends upon your Favour: With you it muſt reſt to form ſuch a Plan for the Payment of the Company's Demands, as may be conſiſtent with the Honour and the Dignity of the Nabob Vizier; and whatever Mode you may pleaſe to point out, with the Bleſſing of God, agreeably thereto your Pleaſure ſhall be fulfilled, without the ſmalleſt Deviation. Through God's Favour, your Knowledge and Experience are celebrated among Men; you are the Support and Protector of your Friends, and Affairs of every Deſcription are familiar to your Penetration. It is apparent, that in caſe his Highneſs's Authority ſhall be reſtored, Bankers, Merchants, Friends, and Connexions—all will be filled with Confidence. Looking forward to future Benefits, every one will conſider his Difficulties as Objects of Indifference or Satisfaction. The Payment of the Company's Demands, and the Fulfilment of your Pleaſure, will be the Firſt Objects of their Views and Wiſhes. No Man will complain of Hardſhips; but in the Expectation of future Proſperity, one and all with Gratitude acknowledge your Goodneſs, and cheerfully ſubmit to every poſſible Saving, for the Purpoſe of diſcharging the Debt to the Company. With reſpect to theſe Arrangements, whatever may be your Pleaſure will be proper and juſt, and our Obedience is unlimited. Redreſs and Protection in Behalf of his Highneſs, from the Hand of Mr. Briſtow, under whom the moſt unbounded Oppreſſion is experienced, peculiarly depend upon your Benevolence. Whatever may appear to you moſt proper, let us be favoured with your Orders, and they ſhall be obeyed.

Concludes as uſual.

Memorandum. The Navvaub Vizier and Hyder Beg Khaun declare, that diſgraceful as it is held amongſt Mahommudans of their Rank to prove Facts upon Oath, they will ſubmit to it, with reſpect to the Contents of the preceding Narratives, if the Governor General and Council require it.

Extract from a Letter from the Governor General to Hyder Beg.

The Firſt is this, to ſhow how thin the Veil is by which you attempt to cover this Policy, and of courſe to convince you that I ſhall receive and conſtrue every Declaration, however made to me from the Navvaub, and every Letter written in his Name, tending to deſtroy or leſſen the Friendſhip ſubſiſting between us, as your Declaration, as your Letter: The 2d is, That as I do not ſo much aſcribe theſe Artifices to you as to the evil Counſels and Encouragements

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 770.

which you have lately received from other Perſons, whoſe Names I need not mention, you may ſee and know on what Terms you may expect hereafter to retain that Friendſhip and Support which I have hitherto given you. For the reſt I refer you to Mr. Briſtow, to whom, both verbally and in Writing, I have communicated every Tittle of my Sentiments, Intentions, and Expectations upon this Subject.

Anſwer from Hyder Beg Khan to Mr. Briſtow.

I have received your Favour; agreeably to your Commands I will make the Repreſentation what he may pleaſe to ſay in Reply. The Letters to the Aumils I will write and deliver to you, agreeably to your Orders. You are pleaſed to ſay, "That from your Reliance on me you have refrained hitherto. That if, poſſeſſing an entire Authority and Power in the Surcar of the Vizier, I declare that he refuſes to attend to my Repreſentations, the worſt Conſequences are to be apprehended therefrom to me, inaſmuch as I am the Deputy of the Nuvvaub, poſſeſſing unlimited Authority,—yet repreſent and lay before him Meaſures of Importance, and am unable to obtain his Aſſent to them. That whenever the Confidence of the Vizier is withdrawn from me, and neceſſary Meaſures can no longer be carried into Execution, the Buſineſs is at an End."—Although to reply to theſe Particulars of your Pleaſure is to deviate from the Reſpect due from the Obedient; yet when, without Cauſe and without Fault, the Hour of Crimination arrives, to repreſent the real State of Things becomes unavoidable. *(a)* [My Power and Authority in the Surcar of his Highneſs is the Gift of the Governor General. And I have hitherto received the Support and Aſſiſtance of the Gentlemen in Power here; regardleſs of the Enmity of People at this Court, and contemning their Animoſity, I have continued to do my Duty; and in Return for faithful Services I have been included in the Objects of the Governor General's Favour. From you I hoped for an Increaſe of Support and Aſſiſtance, of Credit and of Power. It muſt have proceeded from a Change in my own Fortune, and not from any Deficiency of Favour on your Part, that my Repreſentations, by the Efforts of Enemies, have been rendered ineffectual.

From the Moment of your Arrival, I have not in any Manner whatever been deficient in Obedience; but have in every Buſineſs, and without Heſitation, fulfilled your Commands, of whatever Nature they might be; as in the important Buſineſs reſpecting the Regiments at Futty Gurr, the Execution of which you were pleaſed to direct ſhould not be ſuſpended by Attention to the Nabob's Permiſſion, or by the Neceſſity of informing him thereof: In the ſame Manner in every Buſineſs whatever, on which I have received your Orders, at whatever Time received, and whatever the Nature of them, I have paid the moſt implicit Obedience to thoſe Orders, on the Inſtant. From my firſt Appointment to the Neabut, I have been enabled to conduct the Affairs of both Surcars, which I have ever conſidered as one and the ſame, by the Aſſiſtance and Support of the Gentlemen here, and have on all Occaſions acted in Obedience to their Directions. And thus I have repeatedly repeatedly repreſented to you, that on Condition of Support and Aſſiſtance, I would execute all your Commands; and that in the Affairs of the Company I was ready to fulfil the Commands of the Governor General, thoſe of the Gentlemen of the Council, and your Pleaſure, without Heſitation or Evaſion, at the Hazard of my Life, inaſmuch as I conſider my own Intereſt and Proſperity as depending thereon.

When you formerly ſpoke to me reſpecting the Toorkſuwaurs, and the Houſehold Eſtabliſhments of the Nuvvaub Vizier, I then informed you, that I never had any Concern in the Management of thoſe Eſtabliſhments—that this Circumſtance was known to the whole World, that they were under the Direction of the Vizier's own People—and that he never would voluntarily conſent to the Meaſure. You told me in Reply, "That the Governor General's Orders were to "be obeyed, and ſo I muſt inform the Nabob."

I, on my Part, told his Highneſs, in the moſt pointed Terms, that there was a Neceſſity for his Compliance with whatever Propoſals you ſhould make by the Governor's Order for the Improvement of his Affairs. But other People, at the ſame Time, carried Meſſages from you to the Nabob, importing that whatever his Pleaſure might be, you would act agreeably thereto; nay, you even went ſo far as to recommend in Perſon to the Nabob, that I ſhould not be employed in theſe Affairs, but that he ſhould conduct them as he thought proper himſelf. Other Expreſſions dropt from you with reſpect to me, which I know not how to repeat, for ſuch I never could have expected from you. This being the Caſe, in Juſtice conſider, that having expreſſed yourſelf as you did expreſs yourſelf, what Authority, or Influence, or Reſpectability can remain with me? The Conduct of this Buſineſs did not depend upon me, and therefore the Delay cannot have ariſen from Neglect on my Part. Several People have been employed in Conferences on this Subject with the Nabob Vizier, by your Orders. Now that, from Motives of Kindneſs and Favour, you have directed me to forward this Buſineſs, and added Declarations reſpecting Support and Aſſiſtance, I am, as I have always declared, ready to obey; to whatever you ſhall pleaſe to Command, I ſhall never object; and every way ready to obey your Orders in the Execution of Affairs, independent of the Inclinations of the Nabob Vizier, if you will aſſure me of Support and Protection in caſe of his Diſpleaſure: I have never yet objected, nor will I now object. Devoted and powerleſs as I am, the Increaſe of my Reſpectability and Influence depends upon

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 771.

your Favour towards me, and their Diminution proceeds from oppoſite Cauſes. Thus I have ever acted; and this I have repeatedly declared, and I now repeat, that in the Affairs of both Surcors I am ready to obey the Orders of the Governor General, and the Gentlemen of the Council, and yours, at the Hazard of my Life, and without Evaſion or Excuſe.] The Delay which has hitherto come to paſs in this Buſineſs has not in any Manner proceeded from Neglect on my Part; the Negotiation of this Affair did not depend upon me; whenever I ſpoke to his Highneſs on the Subject, he always replied, "Mr. Briſtow has told me that you muſt have no-"thing to do in theſe Affairs; why then do you talk to me on the Subject? leave it to me and "Mr. Briſtow." This Particular I have heretofore fully and repeatedly mentioned to you. Now that, from Motives of Kindneſs, you have favoured me with your Commands, I am ready to obey them, I will act agreeably to your Directions; if you had favoured me with them formerly, they would have been inſtantly executed, no Delays would have intervened.

I wiſhed the Day before Yeſterday to lay this Repreſentation of the State of Things before you, but was deterred by my Apprehenſions of your Aptneſs to Anger. As I entertain the fulleſt Hopes from your Favour, I have at length ventured on this Communication of my Situation.

Concludes as uſual.

(A true Copy of the Tranſlation,)
E. Hay,
Actg Secy to the Secret Dept.

(a) ["From Hyder Beg Khan to the Honourable the Governor General. Received April 7, 1783.

Uſual Introduction.

I formerly repreſented to you the Particulars of the Perſecutions exerciſed towards his Highneſs by Mr. Briſtow, and the Unhappineſs and Diſtreſs of Mind under which his Highneſs laboured. A Repetition of the ſame Circumſtances muſt alſo have reached your Ears through other Channels, in as much as they have come to paſs in ſo publick a Manner as to be known almoſt to every Body.

Relying on your Goodneſs, his Highneſs has requeſted the Removal of Mr. Briſtow, and the Grant of diſcretional Authority to him in the Management of his Country, and for the Payment of the Company's Monies: If you ſhould be graciouſly diſpoſed to comply with his Requeſt, and at the ſame Time ſo far to favour me as to appoint me from yourſelf to the Management of Affairs here, agreeably to the Propoſals here made to you by his Highneſs, both reſpecting the Sums remaining due on Teep, and on Mahajujun's Bills, and with Regard to the preſent Year 1190 Fuſily, and for the enſuing Year Fuſily 1191, in any Manner you ſhall pleaſe to direct, I will engage, in Obedience to your Orders, to remit the ſame to you Kiſt by Kiſt in Bills, and as much thereof as ſhall be neceſſary for the Payment of the Company's Troops in this Quarter.]

So much on Receipt of your Orders I will pay on the Spot to ſuch commanding Officer of Troops as you ſhall pleaſe to direct. As I was originally raiſed from your Hand, and am Debtor to you for the Rank and Reputation, ſo now, alſo aided by your Favour and Protection, by your Patronage and Support, I ſhall be enabled to effect theſe Objects. If you ſhall pleaſe to honour me with this Appointment, as your particular and immediate Dependant, with God's Aſſiſtance, I will not be deficient in conducting the Affairs of the Company's Sircar, or in Obedience to your Commands.

Concludes as uſual.

APPENDIX, N° LXXVII.

Book 148.

From the Nawab Vizier. Received 14th December 1784.

92. JUST now an honouring Shokeh from his Majeſty forwarded by Major Brown, has made its honouring Deſcent, a Copy of which is incloſed in this for your Information. A Shokeh from the ſacred Sahebeh Mhal, and an Arzee from a Domeſtic of his Highneſs to him, have alſo arrived, Copies of which given to me by his Highneſs will reach you. The Circumſtances of the Diſorders among the Chiefs in the glorious Preſence muſt have been fully made known to you from the News and other Writings.

(b) [Important Events are on the Tapis, his Royal Highneſs is here and all my Affairs are dependant upon yourſelf. Nothing can be reſolved or undertaken, without your Advice, by me. The Care of this Government is in every way incumbent upon you, for my Government and that of the Engliſh are one; great Events are probable, and there is no Dependance on the Conduct of

(a) Vide ſupra. P. 770.

(b) Vide ſupra, P. 773.

the

the Chiefs of this Time. The Charge of all Affairs depends perſonally on you my Friend, ſo that your coming here is every way adviſeable. When you are here all Affairs can be ſettled in the Manner you ſhall judge adviſeable. I hope that out of Friendſhip to me and for the Welfare of our Government you will ſpeedily come.]

(ENCLOSURE.)

His Majeſty's Firmaan to the Nawab Vizier.

May the Light of our Eyes, dearer than Life, our deſerving Son favoured by Proſperity, being under the divine Care and Protection, always be bleſſed with his Deſires in both Worlds. The Affairs of theſe Parts you will have learnt fully from the News and the Letters of Major Browne. At this Time, having marched with Glory and Proſperity from Akbarabad, we have arrived at our Tents, and ſhall proceed by regular Marches to our Army bleſſed with Victory. Juſt now Two or Three Lacks of Rupees for the Expences of the Sepoys and Battalions of the Sublime Preſence are wanted; therefore it is written with the Pen ſhedding Jewels, that on the Deſcent of the ſacred Shokeh, having collected the Sum, you ſend it, or write to Major Browne that he may obtain it and convey it to the Sublime Preſence. The late Nawab Vizier ul Momalic paid us many Lacks, and we beſtowed them upon him again, and we will now give you Tuncaws on the Diſtricts for the Sum, ſo that it may be paid; at this Time whatever Duty and Service you ſhall perform will gain you much Merit. Further Particulars will be made known to you from the Letters of Major Browne. Eſteem us mindful of you.

APPENDIX, N° LXXVIII.

Book 148.

☞ (a) [From the Vizier. Received 23 December 1784.

N° 95. YOUR Excellency's Letter, in Reply to mine, arrived. I ſhall ſuch an Anſwer to his Majeſty's Shokeh, commanding me to the Sublime Preſence, as you ſignified; but the Raſhneſs of the Chiefs who are now in the Royal Preſence, and the Change of Times, are ſuch, that there is no Opportunity for Addreſſes to be conveyed, in Anſwer to the Orders and Shokehs of his Majeſty; till a Plan be formed how will Rivals, confuſing Affairs, give Leiſure? From the News, and other Circumſtances, you will have heard of the State of Affairs. Shokehs to his Royal Highneſs, according to the Pleaſure of the Pateel Mahajee Sindia, and an Arzie from him, are arrived; Copies of which will reach you, incloſed in this. From the Contents of Mahajee Sindia's Letter, his Sentiments and Intentions concerning his Royal Highneſs will be explained. I can give no Anſwer to ſuch Points without your Directions; ſo that I beg you will communicate your Pleaſure. My Friend, now that you are at ſuch a Diſtance, much Diſtreſs affects my Mind; for all my Affairs depend on your Perſon.]

Such a Revolution is now happening, that what has never yet occurred is now on the Point of Appearance.—This is an Affair of Government, and you muſt not regard the State of Affairs in the Royal Preſence as of little Moment; for in a ſhort Time much Conſideration will be required. Although you have but little Leiſure, yet in Affairs of Policy Rulers muſt attend to every Point. If you do not attend to theſe important Matters, great Inconveniencies will enſue. Whatever your Pleaſure ſhall direct muſt be proper, and without you, my Friend kind to Brothers, nothing can be determined.

APPENDIX, N° LXXIX.

Book 115.

69. From the Vizier. Received 21ſt April 1785.

WHATEVER you ſaid to Raja Gobind Ram upon every Point, the ſaid Raja has fully written it to me. My Friend, from the Beginning of the Friendſhip between the noble Chiefs of the Company and the exalted Gentlemen of Council, and my deceaſed Father and myſelf, no Deficiency ever appeared; and after the Death of my deceaſed Father I have con-

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 773.

ſtantly

ſtantly remained, and ſtill remain, employed from my Heart and Soul in preſerving this Friendſhip more than formerly, and on the Part of the Gentlemen alſo the Syſtem of Intimacy was preſerved. In many Concerns, the Diſtreſſes which from various Cauſes had happened, the Governor General, Mr. Haſtings, after learning, applied himſelf to relieve my Situation, and ſettled a Plan by which the Company's Money would properly be paid by my Miniſters, and the Company and all the Engliſh Gentlemen would receive Credit.

After his Departure you, from your Kindneſs, were favourable to my Concerns, and preſerved the Plan and Agreement which had been ſettled between him and myſelf, and with the greateſt Friendſhip you wrote to me the completeſt Confirmation; and Major Palmer, in obedience to your Orders, gave repeated Conſolation to me and my Miniſters. I am convinced that the good Situation of my Concerns will be increaſed by your Favour. Conformably to the Agreement to pay the Company's Money, which was ſettled between me and the late Governor General, my Miniſters have to this Time paid the Kiſts, and no Deviation has happened; you may learn this from Mr. Wombwell. And I, conſidering the Diſcharge of the Company's Debt to be the moſt neceſſary of all Affairs, pay it from the Receipts of the Country and the Loans of the Bankers, and I apply myſelf to nothing but the Diſcharge of the Company's Debt and the Preſervation of your Friendſhip. You told Raja Gobind Ram that to this Time the Money had not been regularly paid, according to the Agreement which had fixed Kiſts for the Company's Money: This Order aſtoniſhes and confounds me, becauſe from laſt Year to this Time, whatever Agreement had been made for the Payment of the Company's Money, my Miniſters have paid conformably to the Kiſts, and are in future ready to pay, by the Bleſſing of God, according to the Engagements of Payment; but your Favour and Countenance is requiſite. This Order muſt certainly have been cauſed ſolely by the Repreſentations of intereſted Perſons; and I from this am much afflicted, that notwithſtanding the regular Payment of the Money according to the Kiſts, you ſhould give ſuch an Order upon the Repreſentations of intereſted Perſons, otherwiſe ſuch Orders could not have proceeded from your exalted Mind, becauſe many Days have not elapſed ſince you, in Writing, gave me Confidence on every Point; and whilſt the Money were * regularly paid, you would not give ſuch Orders: At any rate, I hope from your Favour the Obſervance of this Rule, never to liſten to the Repreſentations of intereſted Perſons, becauſe in ſuch Caſes the Affairs are diſgraced, and the Bankers and Miniſters are diſpirited. With reſpect to the Brigade at Futtyghur, you ſay, that you had, agreeably to my Requeſt, ſent Orders for it to march to Behurghurra; but to this Time Hyder Beg Khan has not advanced the Money for their Expences. My Friend, my Requeſt, whatever it be, is known to you. In all Concerns there is One Word upon which I rely, that whatever Agreement was made between me and Mr. Haſtings, and the Plan which was ſettled, and you have repeatedly written that you have approved of and preſerved that Engagement and Plan, in that Engagement, out of Conſideration to my Diſtreſſes, whatever is promiſed with reſpect to the Removal of that Brigade is well known to you; and you alſo have written to Major Palmer, who has given me Confidence that you, from your Kindneſs, for my Relief, do not approve of keeping an increaſed Army in this Country; but that now, until the Doubts from the Weſt are removed, the Futtyghur Brigade muſt remain. I alſo, who deſire only your Satisfaction, approved of this Advice, becauſe, as the Reduction of my Expences, and the Relief of my Concerns, is your Wiſh, it will be done at a proper Opportunity. When your Letter for the Futtyghur Brigade to remain a little Time longer here was received by Major Palmer, and the Major, agreeably to your Orders, told me, that this Year, beſides One Crore and Five Lacks of Rupees, which had been engaged for the Payment of the Company's Money, no more would be demanded; I was entirely ſet at Eaſe by your Kindneſs. You now order, that I ſhould make Advances for the Expences of the Brigade. My Situation is not hidden from you; why ſhould I for ever trouble you, that this Year I pay from the Receipts of the Country, and the Loans of the Bankers, for the Diſcharge of the Company's Money, what has been engaged. Do you yourſelf order from your Favour and Kindneſs, whatever may be adviſeable towards the Relief of my Concerns. The Affairs of my Country and Property, and of the Company's Government, through Friendſhip are the ſame. Such Matters depend upon your Kindneſs. You will learn full Particulars from the Letters of Major Palmer. With reſpect to the Expences of the Gentlemen who are here, I have before written in a covered Manner; I now write plainly, that I have no Ability to give Money to the Gentlemen, becauſe I am indebted many Lacks of Rupees to the Bankers for the Payment of the Company's Debt. At the Time of Mr. Haſtings's Departure I repreſented to him, that I had no Reſources for the Expences of the Gentlemen. Mr. Haſtings, having aſcertained my diſtreſſed Situation, told me, that after his Arrival in Calcutta he would conſult with the Council, and remove from hence the Expences of the Gentlemen, and recall every Perſon except the Gentlemen in Office here. At this Time that all the Concerns are dependent upon you, and you have in every Point given Eaſe to my Mind, according to Mr. Haſtings's Agreement, I hope that the Expences of the Gentlemen may be removed from me, and that you may recall every Perſon reſiding here beyond the Gentlemen in Office. Although Major Palmer does not at this Time demand any Thing for the Gentlemen, and I have no Ability to give them any Thing, yet the Cuſtom of the Engliſh Gentlemen is, when they remain here they will in the End aſk for ſomething. This is beſt, that they ſhould be recalled. Mr. Haſtings wrote to me for the Abolition of Captain Frith's Battalion. At that Time the Diſturbances of the Seiks exiſted in the Neighbourhood of Berelly, and my Army was ſtationed on the Ghauts of the River, at thoſe Places, which at this Seaſon are always fordable. This Year many other Ghauts were fordable, and the Seiks croſſed

* Sic in Orig.

croſſed over to plunder, which is their Cuſtom. My Army, which was already there, came upon them, and puniſhed them, and they, finding no Strength to remain, croſſed back again, and returned; but it became neceſſary to guard all Ghauts, and I therefore ſtationed for the Defence of the Berelly Ghauts, my old Battalions, which were fixed at Kerrabad, and the other Mahuls; and I ſent the Battalions of Captain Frith, which were newly raiſed for the Settlement of the Mahuls of Kherrabad, &c. Thoſe Battalions went under the Command of a Commandant belonging to me, and no Engliſh Gentlemen went there. In theſe 4 Battalions, according to the Rule of all my Battalions, there are Three thouſand Men, and the Expence of them, including the Artillery, is 25,000 Rupees in each Month. For a little Time I thought this Expence adviſeable, for the Execution of Two important Objects, the Settlement of the Country, and the Expulſion of the Seiks, which by the Bleſſing of God have both been effected I have now determined to diſband them after ſatisfying them; but I conſider it proper to guard the Ghauts until Chyte; till when the Fords continue, after that, when the River be full, ſo large an Army will not be wanted at the Ghauts. In this Caſe I requeſt your Advice, that as the Army is on a reduced and ſaving Eſtabliſhment, if you chuſe I will keep the Battalions until Chyte; or if you order, I will diſmiſs them immediately. Captain Frith will have no Concern in the Battalions; Commandants belonging to me will command them. With reſpect to Lieutenant Polhill's Battalion, which, with other Gentlemen, is in Attendance on the Prince, you ordered me to learn his Royal Highneſs's Wiſh, and that if he ſhould be deſirous to keep them they might remain a little Time with him. Upon learning his Deſire, I, conformably to your Inſtructions, have conſented to retain the Battalion a little Time, but I did not ſpeak about retaining Lieutenant Polhill, and the other Gentlemen, nor does he continue with me in this Command; I merely wrote to you in obedience to his Royal Highneſs's Deſire, requeſting that Lieutenant Polhill alone might remain; the Approbation and Refuſal of which depend entirely upon your Pleaſure; ☞ I have no Ability to maintain the Battalion with the Gentlemen: (*a*) [I deſire nothing but your Satisfaction, and hope that ſuch Orders as relate to the Friendſhip between the Company and me, and as may be your Pleaſure, may be written in your own private Letters to me, through Major Palmer, or in your Letters to the Major, that he may, in obedience to your Orders, properly explain them to me; and whatever may be ſettled, he may firſt in ſecret inform you of it, and afterwards I may write to you, having learnt your Pleaſure: In this Way the Secrets will be known to your Mind alone, and the Advice upon all the Concerns will be given in a proper Manner.] For further Security, I trouble you again with my Requeſt, that you will not liſten ☞ to the Repreſentations of intereſted Perſons with reſpect to my Concerns; for in this Caſe, my Affairs are diſgraced, and the Bankers, from whom I have borrowed many Lacks towards paying the Kiſts to the Company, are alarmed.—I labour from my Heart and Soul to preſerve your Satisfaction, and you from your Kindneſs are inclined to maintain the Plan and Agreement which has taken place; therefore to give Entrance to intereſted Perſons, is laying the Baſis of Diſagreement. I hope from your Favour that in the Concerns between me and you, no intereſted Perſon may be admitted to hear the Secrets between the Company and myſelf, and your Orders.

APPENDIX, N° LXXX.

Book 115.

A Letter from Hyder Beg Khan to the Governor General.

Fom Hyder Beg Khan. Received 21ſt April 1785.

71. FROM your Favour, and Kindneſs, and Sincerity of Heart, whatever Doubt had ariſen in your Mind from my Neglect, you informed Raja Gobind Ram of it; Iam for this Reaſon grateful for your Kindneſs, that you have plainly declared the Diſpleaſure which you had conceived towards me. My Protector, I am obedient to you, and under your Orders; and I am the Well-wiſher and faithful Servant to the Government of the Company and of his Highneſs, which in every Reſpect are the ſame; and on this I know to be founded my Good and Advantage. Till this Time I have never to my own Knowledge been guilty of any Deficiency in the Duties of Attachment to both Governments, and of Allegiance and Obedience to your Commands. An Arzie of Rajah Gobind Ram, containing all your Orders, was received by his Highneſs, from whom a Letter in Anſwer to every Point will be preſented to you, and from it you will learn all Particulars: I do not therefore write the Circumſtances explicitly and at large; but I repreſent the Affairs conciſely. Conformably to the Agreement which was entered into between his Highneſs and Mr. Haſtings for the Diſcharge of the Company's Money, and the Plan and Syſtem which was ſettled, to this Time the Kiſts have been regularly paid to Mr. Wombwell, who is at your Preſence, and from him you may learn it: And in future alſo, in caſe of your Favour, Countenance, Aſſiſtance, and Protection, the Company's Money will according to the

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 798.

Kiſts and to the Agreement be, by the Bleſſing of God, regularly paid. No Deviation from it ſhall happen in the Concerns of the Agreement and Plan which was made between his Highneſs and Mr. Haſtings, and by approving which you have given the greateſt Eaſe to his Highneſs, and have repeatedly written to give him Confidence; and Major Palmer by your Orders has comforted his Highneſs: It is certain that you preſerve the ſame Favour towards his Highneſs, which will be a Cauſe of Glory to you in all Hindoſtan. His Highneſs, for the Preſervation of your Friendſhip, is and will be from his Heart fixed in Obedience and Readineſs to execute your Orders, which is a moſt neceſſary Matter—and I, who am your Servant, know my Happineſs and Advantage to depend upon my Obedience and Allegiance to you—no Deviation ſhall ever happen. I hope that in every Concern which his Highneſs has written, you will attend to the Rights of his Highneſs with the Eye of Favour and Benevolence, and will order whatever may be the Will of your Mind. His Highneſs, from his Regard to Friendſhip, can make no Excuſes againſt your Pleaſure: He hopes for Relief to his Situation from your Kindneſs, and accordingly you alſo have repeatedly given him Confidence.

☞ *(a)* [I hope that ſuch Orders and Commands as relate to the Friendſhip between his Highneſs's and the Company's Governments, and to your Will, may be ſent through Major Palmer in your own private Letters, or in your Letters to the Major, who is appointed from you at the Preſence of his Highneſs, that, in obedience to your Orders, he may properly explain your Commands, and whatever Affair may be ſettled, he may firſt ſecretly inform you of it, and afterwards his Highneſs may, conformably thereto, write an Anſwer, and I alſo may repreſent it. By this Syſtem, your Pleaſure will always be fully made known to his Highneſs, and his Highneſs and we will execute whatever may be your Orders, without deviating a Hair's Breadth; and let not the Repreſentations of intereſted Perſons be approved of, becauſe his Highneſs makes no Oppoſition to your Will; and I your Servant am ready in Obedience and Service; and I make no Excuſes.] ☜

In caſe you attend to the Repreſentations of intereſted Perſons, it will cauſe Diſcredit to his Highneſs's Concerns, and Injury to the Tranſactions with the Bankers. The good State of his Highneſs's Affairs depends upon your Favour and Kindneſs, that the Servants of his Highneſs's Government, and the Bankers, being confident in your Protection and Countenance, may tranſact Buſineſs as uſual.

APPENDIX, N° LXXXI.

Book 83. Page 263.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 5th February 1782.

Fort William, the 5th February 1782.

☞ *(b)* [At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, who being returned to the Preſidency takes his Seat at the Board. — Secret Dep. Tueſday.

Edward Wheler, John Macpherſon, } Eſquires.

Sir Eyre Coote on Service in the Carnatic.

THE Governor General delivers in the following Minute, in conſequence of that of the Board, entered on the Proceedings of the 14th * ultimo. — Extract Secret Dep. Conſ. 5 Feb. 1782.

* In the Original, the Figures 14 are in Red Ink.

The Governor General acknowledges his Obligations to the Board, for this repeated Inſtance of the liberal Manner in which they have been pleaſed to record their Judgment on his Conduct. Had it been expreſſed in the ſimple Terms of official Approbation, he ſhould have been pleaſed, and ſatisfied that it had received ſo reſpectable a Sanction; but by tracing the Sources of it, in the Motives which he has avowed; by their Examination of thoſe Motives with their relative Facts and Circumſtances; and by the Doubts which they have anticipated and ſolved, on the Propriety of ſuch Parts of his Conduct as might moſt obviouſly ſuggeſt them; they have juſtified their own Approval, and entitled him to expect the ſame favourable Sentiments in their common Superiors.

Nor is he leſs pleaſed with the Reſerve with which the Board have declared their Satisfaction in the Arrangement concluded by him with the Nabob Vizier; becauſe he thinks it will be received as an Evidence of the Deliberation and Sincerity of their former Approval. He is willing to ſubmit the Propriety of the Meaſure to the Teſt of its Succeſs. The Reſident has already informed the Board, that he had received of the Treaſures of the late Vizier, left in the Charge of

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(a) Vide ſupra, P. 799. *(b)* Vide ſupra, P. 835.

his

his Widow, and lately reclaimed by his Son, the Amount of the Bond granted by the latter for
* Sic in Orig. the Balance of the Year 1178, which ends in September 1780 of our Era *; and was in the actual Receipt of as much as would discharge the Balance of the last Year, that is, of the Year 1179. The first of these Balances is 32,68,613: 11, the last 12,09,876: 9: 8. The Sum of both is R^{s} 44,78,490: 4: 8. Owd Siccas. The Resident seems to have understood this to be the whole of the Nabob's Debt. There is a further Balance of 26 Lacks, which appears to have been by some means overlooked, or withheld from Mr. Middleton on the Transfer of his Office from Mr. Purling. A rectified Account, drawn to the latest Period, has been transmitted to Mr. Middleton, by the Accomptant General, which it is hoped will arrive in Time to prevent his stopping at the Receipt of the supposed Balance; and at all Events, the Profits of the resumed Jagheers ought to yield a Fund, more than sufficient both for the complete Liquidation of what may remain of the Nabob's present Debt, and to make up the Deficiency of the Assignments granted on his Revenue for the current Year, within the Course of it.

The Governor General expects this Service from the Resident, and relies upon his Fidelity for the Performance of it. But in the Supposition of the Possibility of a Disappointment, he again offers his personal Services to proceed to Lucknow, on the first Symptom of such a Failure; and, with the Confidence which he feels in his own Influence, aided by the powerful Support of the Board, he will venture to promise, that he will not return with their Object unaccomplished.]

He hopes and believes that there will be no Necessity for this Extremity; but adds it as a
† Sic in Orig. Ground for the Assurance which he ventures to propose; and wishes the Board to give † to the Honourable the Court of Directors, in the Advices to them now under Dispatch, that there is the fairest Prospect, amounting as near to a Certainty as can be affirmed, of an Event not in Expectation, that the Debt due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, and even that of the Rohilla Donation, will be completely paid off in the Course of the present Year, and a Supply added to our ordinary Resources, which will fully answer all our own Wants for that Period, and enable us to contribute still further, and we hope effectual Aids to those of the Carnatic.

(At the End)

(Signed) Warren Hastings.

☞ (a) [The following Letter from the Governor General, received on the 2d Instant, is now recorded.

Gentlemen,

I left Benares on the 7th of this Month; the slow Progress which I have made thus far, has been occasioned as much by purposed Delays, as by natural Impediments. I am now decided in my Journey, and compute to be at the Presidency very early in the next Month.

Since the Suppression of the late Revolt of the Zemeendary of Benaris, three distinct Objects have engaged my Attention and Residence in that Quarter, not so much for the Purpose of executing any determinate Measures requiring my Presence, as for that of being at hand, and ready for any immediate Occasion which might eventually demand my personal Interposition. These Objects are as follow:

1st. The Negotiation with Madajee Scindia. You are already acquainted with my first Instructions to Mr. Anderson, and with the subsequent Orders which I thought it proper to send to him, on the Advice of Mhadagee Scindia's having expressed a Disinclination to admit Mr. Anderson's Deputation, until he should be authorized by Answers to the Letters which he had written to Poonah for that Purpose; and of his having received Cheit Sing into his Protection, with some apparent Marks of Encouragement. A few Days after, I received Letters from both Colonel Muir and Mr. Anderson, advising me, that Mhadagee Scindia had pressingly invited Mr. Anderson to proceed to him, and that he had rejected the Solicitations of Cheit Sing: On this Occasion, I wrote to Mr. Anderson to prosecute his Journey, and to pay no regard to my former Letter, requiring only the Removal of Cheit Sing from the Presence of Mhadagee Scindia, while Mr. Anderson was with him. In the mean time, that Gentleman having conformed to the Substance of my first Orders, had obtained from Mhadagee Scindia a formal Assurance, that he would neither accept the Solicitations of Cheit Sing, nor assist him in any Way whatever, and that he would even prohibit him and his Attendants from his Durbar and Cutchirry. Mr. Anderson, satisfied with this Concession, had resolved to proceed to his Camp immediately; his last Letter upon the Subject was private, and dated the 3d Instant, from Bandere, which was about Sixteen Cos's from Scindia's Camp. It contains Expressions of much Satisfaction, and so firm a Conviction of the Sincerity of that Chief, that he was preparing to send the Notification, directed in my Instructions of the 12th ultimo, to Colonel Muir, for the Removal of the Troops to the Stations allotted them by the late Arrangements, with a Promise, that he would soon address me publicly on the same Subject.

I have long since relinquished the Design, which I first entertained, of visiting Scindia myself, and, indeed, I see so fair and earnest a Disposition in him to become the Instrument of terminating the War yet subsisting between his Principals and our Government; his Interest is so evidently connected with it, and I have so well-grounded a Confidence in the Ability of Mr. Anderson, to con-

(a) Vide supra, P. 723.

tribute

tribute whatever may be required on his Part to forward this Iſſue of the Negociation, that I doubt whether my Interference might not rather impede than promote it, by the Loſs of Time which it would neceſſarily occaſion in tranſmitting the ultimate Propoſals to Poonee.

2dly. The Zemeendary of Benaris has hitherto engaged my principal Attention. I had juſt Grounds to apprehend, that the ſlighteſt Cauſes might occaſion freſh Diſturbances in that Country from the Novelty and Weakneſs of the new Adminiſtration, and could not therefore venture to leave it until I had ſeen that Adminiſtration firmly eſtabliſhed, and until I had formed ſome Experience of the Ability of the Naib for conducting it. I have the Satisfaction to inform you, that his Authority is everywhere completely eſtabliſhed, and that I have every Reaſon to hope for the full Performance of his Engagements. The Diſpoſition which I have made of the Forces allotted for the Peace of this Zemeedary is ſufficient to anſwer, with Certainty, every Purpoſe of internal Defence, and, at the ſame Time, to prove a Check on the Zemendars of the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier which border upon it, this being the moſt likely Scene of new Diſturbances, from the natural Turbulency of the Nabob's Subjects, and their Colluſion with their Neighbours in this Zemeendary. Copies of theſe Orders, with the other military Orders, which I have thought proper to iſſue for the Diſtribution of the Troops of that Station, will be forwarded to you as ſoon as they can be tranſcribed, after the Diſpatch of this Letter.]

The new Naib appears to have conducted himſelf in his Office with great Diligence and Aſſiduity; and as he poſſeſſed a good Underſtanding, I have no Doubt of his Succeſs.

As I found it difficult to accommodate the Claims of the ſeveral Zemendars, to whom a Promiſe had been made of reſtoring to them, in conſequence of their late Attachment, the Rights which they poſſeſſed in the Lands, from which they were formerly excluded by Rajah Cheit Sing, with the Influence and Intereſt of the preſent Adminiſtration, I have granted to them Sunnuds; which at the ſame Time eſtabliſhed their Rights, and intitled them to a Maulk kunah, or Proportion of the Revenue, to be paid them by the Reſident, inſtead of preſent Poſſeſſion, which I have thought it more prudent to reſerve to the Rajah. Copies of theſe Sunnuds, and of other Orders, which have been iſſued to the Reſident, ſhall alſo be tranſmitted after this Letter.

3dly. The Engagements concluded on the 19th September with the Nabob of Oude, I did hope, that on his Return to his Capital, which I had urged for that Purpoſe, he would immediately have entered upon the Execution of the Meaſures neceſſary for the Accompliſhment of the Plan which we had mutually agreed upon, and particularly the Reſumption of the Jagheers; an Act equally neceſſary to the Reſtoration of the Peace of his Country, and to the Diſcharge of his Debt to the Company.

After having long waited with much Impatience for this Effect, I was appriſed by the Reſident's Letters, that the Nabob, from what Cauſe I know not, had ſhewn a great Reluctance to enter on this Buſineſs, notwithſtanding the Warmth with which he himſelf originally ſolicited my Acquieſcence in it; that he at length did reſolve to carry it into Execution, and accordingly appointed an Aumil to take poſſeſſion of the ſequeſtered Jagheers; but that a powerful Oppoſition had been prepared by the Begums, which had obliged him to apply for the Aſſiſtance of our Troops; and that the Reſident had accordingly written to Colonel Morgan to ſend a Regiment of Sepoys for that Service. As the Reſident at the ſame Time expreſſed to me his Opinion, that a larger Force would be requiſite to ſurmount the intended Oppoſition, I judged it improper to expoſe a Service of ſuch Importance, either to the Hazard of a Defeat, or to the Chance of a Delay, and therefore immediately iſſued Orders, of which you have already been adviſed, for the March of Colonel Sir John Cumming, with his entire Detachment, for the Performance of it, adviſing the Reſident of it. He in Reply expreſſed an Apprehenſion, that the Nabob Vizier would object to the Movement of ſo large a Force into the Heart of his Dominions, without what he would deem an adequate Occaſion for it, to other Motives, which might be productive of Conſequences hurtful to our Connection with him, and intreated that the Order might be revoked, aſſuring me, that there was no preſſing Occaſion for it.

I accordingly ordered it to be ſuſpended. In the mean Time, as I had conceived ſome Alarm from the Delays and Difficulties which had attended this Buſineſs, which did not appear to me of a Nature ſuſceptible of them, I wrote to the Reſident, requeſting him ſolemnly to declare to me whether, with the Powers with which he had been inveſted, he was competent to carry into Execution this and the other Meaſures directed in my Inſtructions; that if he were not, I would myſelf proceed to Lucknow, and afford the Nabob my perſonal Aſſiſtance for carrying them into Execution; but that if in his Anſwer he ſhould aſſure me that he was capable of accompliſhing this Service, I would leave the Charge and Reſponſibility of it to him, and depart for the Preſidency. I wrote a Letter to the Nabob in ſimilar Terms. I received the Reſident's Anſwer on the 2d of January; it contained a Declaration that my Preſence was in no Shape neceſſary in that Quarter, and that he was fully competent to undertake and to effect the Accompliſhment of all the Meaſures required by my Inſtructions, and that he ſhould immediately march with the Nabob to Fyzabad for the Purpoſe of enforcing his Claims on the Begums.

On the Receipt of this Letter, concluding that the Nabob's Anſwer would be to the ſame Effect, and that I ſhould be ſufficiently warranted by them to leave the Buſineſs in their Hands, I prepared for my Departure, allowing a ſufficient Time only for the Receipt of the Nabob's Letter,

Letter, which I expected at the lateſt to receive on the 7th. On that Day I left Benaris, but proceeded only to a ſhort Diſtance below the Town. At the ſame Time I cauſed an Intimation to be given to the Nabob, that although, to prevent a further Loſs of Time, I had thought it proper to begin my Journey towards Bengal, yet I ſhould proceed by ſhort Stages, and ſuſpend my final Reſolution until I had received his Letter in anſwer to mine, ſtill retaining the Reſolution of conforming to the Contents of it. If theſe ſhould require me to proceed to his Preſence, according to the Tenor of the Proffer, and that if I did not receive it before my Arrival at Patna, I would wait for it there. It was not till my Arrival at Patna, which was on the 19th Inſtant, that I did receive his Anſwer, a Tranſlation of which ſhall accompany this. As it contained only a complimentary Invitation, accompanied with an Aſſurance ſimilar to that given me by the Reſident, in relation to the impending Buſineſs, I conſidered it as intended to leave me the free Option either to accept of his Invitation on the Footing he had expreſſed it, or to return to the Preſidency. After much Heſitation, and I will confeſs with ſome Reluctance, I have reſolved on the latter. I dread the Imbecillity and Irreſolution which too much prevail in the Nabob's Council, and muſt influence in ſome Degree both the Conduct of the Reſident and the Miniſters; and I conſider the impending Meaſure of too much Conſequence to be expoſed to the Riſk of a Diſappointment; yet the preſſing Letters which I have written to the Nabob, the ſtrong Injunctions which I have repeated to the Reſident, and the poſitive Aſſurances which I have received from both, afford me every Reaſon to hope that they will be carried into Execution, without further Difficulty or Delay; and I am further confirmed in this Concluſion, by the ſubſequent Advices which I have received ſince my Departure: Theſe amount to the following Subſtance—that the Nabob Vizier arrived at Fyzabad on the 8th, the Reſident accompanying him; that on the 12th he found it neceſſary to employ a Military Force to take poſſeſſion of the Kellah, which was effected without any Effuſion of Blood. The Two Eunuchs, Bahar and Jowarhur Ally Cawn, who were the prime Movers of the late Troubles, and the active Leaders of the preſent Oppoſition, were taken into Cuſtody, and their Followers, amounting to about Three or Four Thouſand armed Men, expelled from the Town and diſperſed. I think it proper to tranſmit to you a Copy of the Reſident's Letter, and to refer you to it for the Particulars of this Event.

It may be neceſſary in this Place to inform you, that in Addition to the former Reſolution of reſuming the Begum's Jagheers, the Nabob had declared his Reſolution of reclaiming all the Treaſures of his Family, which were in their Poſſeſſion, and to which, by the Mahometan Laws, he was entitled. This Reſolution I have ſtrenuouſly encouraged and ſupported; not ſo much for the Reaſons aſſigned by the Nabob, as becauſe I think it equally unjuſt and impolitic that they ſhould be allowed to retain the Means of which they have already made ſo pernicious a Uſe, by exciting Diſturbances in the Country, and a Revolt againſt the Nabob, their Sovereign. I am not ſanguine in my Expectations of the Reſult of theſe Proceedings, but have required and received the Nabob's Promiſe that whatever Acquiſitions ſhall be obtained from the Iſſue of them, it ſhall be primarly * applied to the Diſcharge of the Balance actually due from him to the Company.

*Sic in Orig.

Notwithſtanding the Reſolution which I have taken to return to the Preſidency, I yet foreſee that many Events may happen which may again require my perſonal Attendance in this Quarter, but even theſe will require that I ſhould firſt concert with you the Plan of my future Conduct reſpecting them. Though the Powers which I poſſeſs are ample and ſufficient for every Purpoſe which may occur, yet as they were granted in a very different State of Affairs, it is become abſolutely neceſſary that I ſhould avail myſelf of a free and full Communication with you upon every probable Contingency, which may proceed from the Effects of the late Changes, before I can venture again if it ſhall be at all neceſſary to interfere with my own Authority in any of the Affairs of this Quarter.

I have made ſuch a Proviſion for this Event that I ſhall at any Time have it in my Power to arrive at Lucknow within at leaſt Three Weeks from my Departure from the Preſidency, and there is little Cauſe to apprehend any material Change of Affairs in the ſhort Interval which muſt neceſſarily precede my Arrival there.

†Sic In Orig.

I have the Honour † be, &c.
(Signed) Warren Haſtings.

On the Ganges, near Sunagegunah,
January 23, 1782.

Sir,

I was this Day honoured with your Commands of the 10th Inſtant, informing me of the Military Station you have formed at Jaunpore, with the Liberty you grant the Nabob Vizier of claiming their Aid to quiet any Diſturbances in the adjacent Parts of his Province.

I have accordingly communicated it to his Excellency, who, with great Juſtice, was highly pleaſed with the Diſpoſition, as in truth the Diſtricts bordering upon the Zemendary of Benares have, for a long Period of Time, been of all others the moſt turbulent and diſaffected; and nothing leſs than the Arrangements you have now formed, could effectually ſecure the Peace and Tranquillity of that Neighbourhood, ſo eſſential to the Proſperity of the Nabob's Government and Revenues.

With reſpect to the Buſineſs here, I have the Honour to inform you, that Yeſterday finding that the temporizing and indeciſive Conduct of the Nabob ſeemed to promiſe an Iſſue very differ-

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ent from that expected in your Commands of the 26th of December laſt, and that the only Uſe the Two leading Eunuchs under the Bow Begum made of the Delay, was to aſſemble and call in armed Men from all Quarters; which, when united with the large Force already in Town under their Direction, would in all Probability have brought the Matter to a much more ſevere and arduous Teſt than it at preſent could admit of. I found myſelf neceſſitated to take the moſt immediate and deciſive Interference which the Force with me was capable of; and accordingly, having the Nabob's written Requiſition, marched the Twenty-third Regiment, under the Command of Major Naylor, with a Detachment of his Excellency's own Troops, againſt the Kella, and hath the Happineſs to ſucceed in putting the Nabob's Party in poſſeſſion of it without any Effuſion of Blood; the armed Men retiring from it on the Approach of our Troops, and drawing up with their Guns in a large broad Street before the Houſe of the old Beegum, to which the Bhow Beegum and her Two principal Eunuchs had retired the preceding Evening. This effected, the Nabob iſſued his peremptory Orders for the immediate Departure of all armed Men, excepting his own Troops, beyond the Precincts of the Town, threatening them with * inſtant Attack if they diſobeyed. This Order, after many Evaſions, was promiſed to be complied with; and the Two Eunuchs, Bahr and Jowar Ally Cawn, at the ſame Time coming in and delivering themſelves into the Nabob's Cuſtody, the armed Men, amounting to between Three and Four Thouſand, evacuated the Town and diſperſed. I have ſince learnt, that had the Nabob's Troops alone attempted the Seizure of the Killer, a very deſperate Reſiſtance was reſolved upon; which appeared very probable from the State in which the armed Men were found, being the preceding Evening furniſhed with a very large Store of Ammunition, and now drawn up in regular Order with loaded Pieces and their Matches lighted; but they were prudent enough to think themſelves unequal to the united Efforts of his Excellency's Troops ſupported by an Engliſh Regiment, and by this Conviction much Miſchief has been happily been † prevented.

* Sic in Orig.

† Sic in Orig.

To-morrow I hope to be able to inform you of the Effect of the preſent advantageous Situation, and in the mean time have the Honour to remain, with the greateſt Reſpect,

Sir, &c.

Fyzabad,
13th January 1782.

(Signed) Nath. Middleton,
Reſident at the Court of the Vizier.

P. S. I have the Honour to incloſe you a Letter from the Vizier, in Reply to your laſt to his Excellency.

From the Vizier to the Governor.

Your Letter of the 16th Mohunum arrived on the 25th of that Month. I am greatly obliged by your friendly Advice.

I have not, to my Knowledge, been deficient in any Thing, nor will I be deficient. Whatever I agreed to do, and whatever Mr. Middleton ſhall adviſe for the Advantage of my Affairs, I will do. I have, to confirm and increaſe our Friendſhip, even done that which was not thought of or reſolved on. You will be informed of the whole by the Letters of Mr. Middleton. I wiſh much to ſee you and Mrs. Haſtings, and have come to complain, that you have allowed ſo much Time to elapſe at Banaris without coming here, notwithſtanding I had requeſted you ſo to do. Refuſing to conſider my Houſe as yours, as is apparent from your not coming, I had Cauſe to complain of your Want of Friendſhip.

(Signed at the End of the Conſultation,)

Warren Haſtings.
Ed. Wheler.
John Macpherſon.

APPENDIX, N° LXXXII.

Book 120.

Letter from the Governor General to Hyder Beg Khan. Written the 15th Auguſt 1782.

26. WHEN I prevailed upon the Nawab Vizier to commit the entire Charge of the Revenues and the Adminiſtration of his Finances to his Miniſters, of whom you are the acting and reſponſible Perſon, with the Concurrence of the Reſident, Mr. Middleton, I had ſo firm a Reliance on your Integrity, Diligence, and Abilities, which are univerſally known, and no leſs on the ſame Qualities of Mr. Middleton, that I departed with a Mind perfectly at Eaſe, expecting that Order would be reſtored to the Nawab's Affairs, capable and truſt-worthy Aumils appointed to the Superintendance of the Diſtricts, the Forces duly ſtationed for the Security of Peace and the Confirmation of the Authority of the Sircar, and that the paſt and growing Debt of the Company would be completely diſcharged in the Courſe of the Year, and that I ſhould receive the Thanks of the Nawab your Maſter for the Effects of my Solicitude for the Support of his Dgnity and Eaſe. The Event has proved the Reverſe of theſe Hopes, an Accumulation of Diſtreſs,

Diſtreſs, Debaſement, and Diſſatisfaction to the Nawab, and of Diſappointment and Diſgrace to me. Every Meaſure which he had himſelf propoſed, and to which he had ſolicited my Aſſiſtance, has been ſo conducted as to give him Cauſe of Diſpleaſure; there are no Offices eſtabliſhed by which his Affairs could be regularly conducted; mean, incapable, and indigent Men have been appointed Aumils of the Diſtricts, without Authority, and without the Means of perſonal Protection; ſome of them have been murdered by the Zemindars, and thoſe
* Sic in Orig. Zemindars, inſtead of Puniſhment, have * have been permitted to retain their Zemindaries with independent Authority; all the other Zemindars ſuffered to riſe in Rebellion, and to inſult the Authority of the Sircar, without any Attempt made to ſuppreſs them; and the Company's Debt, inſtead of being diſcharged by the Aſſignments and extraordinary Sources of Money reſerved for that Purpoſe, is likely to exceed even the Amount at which it ſtood at the Time in which the Arrangements with his Excellency were concluded. The Growth of theſe Evils was early made known to me, and their Effects foreboded in the ſame Order and Manner as they have come to paſs.

Added to theſe, I this Inſtant learn that Almas Alli Cawn, to whom you have entruſted the greateſt Portion of theſe Collections, without any Pledge or Security for his Fidelity, has thrown off his Allegiance, and quitted the Nawab's Dominions, taking with him an immenſe Treaſure, the Fruits of his Embezzlement and Oppreſſions, and an Army raiſed for its Protection; this too was long ſince foretold, and ought to have been ſuſpected.

In ſuch a State of Calamity and Diſgrace no longer remain a paſſive Spectator; nor would it be becoming to conceal my Sentiments, or qualify the Expreſſion of them. I have hitherto forborne to interfere, that I might not weaken your Influence, and thereby diſable you from fulfilling the Reſponſibility of the great Truſt which had been aſſigned to you. I now plainly tell you, that you are anſwerable for every Misfortune and Defeat of the Nawab Vizier's Government; you poſſeſs Abilities and the Means of retrieving them; nor is it yet too late, for the Reſources of the Country ſtill remain. I expect it, and immediately; and as the firſt Effect of your Exertions, I require that the Balance that is due to the Company be fully cleared by the End of the Year; ſo that not an Anna ſhall remain in Arrears. I have a Right to exact this Return to the Confidence which the World has ſeen me place in you, and to the good Offices which the Friendſhip of the Nawab Vizier has enabled me to afford you. If I am diſappointed, you will impoſe on me the painful and humiliating Neceſſity of acknowledging to him that I have been deceived, and of recommending the Examination of your Conduct to his Juſtice, both for the Redreſs of his own and the Company's Grievances, and for the Injury ſuſtained by both in their natural Connection.

Do not reply to me, that what I have written is from the Suggeſtion of your Enemies; nor imagine that I have induced myſelf to write in ſuch plain and declaratory Terms, without a clear Inſight into all the Conſequences of it, and a fixed Determination upon them.

APPENDIX, N° LXXXIII.

Mr. Middleton's Letter Book, D.

Page 46.

Letter from Mr. Middleton to Captain Jaques.

To Captain Leonard Jaques, commanding at Fayzabad.

Sir,

I Have had the Honour to receive your Letters of the 13th, 17th, and 18th Inſtant. I am very ſorry your Bills have been rejected by the Commiſſary General, which muſt proceed from an Omiſſion of the proper Officers of Government, in not furniſhing him with neceſſary Inſtructions. I have addreſſed the Honourable the Governor General and Council on this Subject, and hope by that Means to effect the Removal of any Impediments of this Sort in future; in the mean Time, I make myſelf perſonally reſponſible to you for the Reimburſement of ſuch Charges as you have incurred, although I am unable to prevail on the Nabob to paſs them without the Sanction and Authority before deſcribed. You will be pleaſed to recall the Company of your Battalion from Nabob Gunge, whenever it may have performed the Service for which it was detached thither. I have mentioned to the Nabob your Propoſal of ſending a Company of your Battalion to ſecure ſome ſtolen Property of which you had obtained Information, in order to reſtore it to the right Owner, to which his Excellency agrees, upon the Condition of your being able previouſly to aſcertain poſitively the Place of Concealment, and enabled to reſcue the Property without diſturbing or alarming the Country.

☞ *(a)* [I am ſorry it is not in my Power to comply with your Propoſal of eaſing the Priſoners for a few Days of their Fetters. Much as my Humanity may be touched by their Sufferings, I ſhould think it inexpedient to afford them any Alleviation while they perſiſt in a Breach of their Contract with me; and indeed no Indulgence could be ſhewn them without the Authority of the Nabob; who, inſtead of conſenting to moderate the Rigours of their Situation, would be moſt willing to multiply them.] ☞

The Accident which has happened to the Phougedar of Bahraich affording too much Reaſon to apprehend Diſturbances in that Country, I have thought it neceſſary to order the Remainder of Major Gilpin's Regiment to unite with your Detachment at Fayzabad, in order to be near a hand to act with Effects * as Emergency may require, either in that Country or in the impending Matters at Fayzabad. You will be pleaſed to deliver over charge of the Kella and Priſoners to Major Gilpin on his Arrival at Fayzabad, and furniſh him with your original Inſtructions, and ſuch ſubſequent Directions as you have received from me for the Guidance of your Conduct in this Service, which I with Pleaſure aſſure you has met with the Nabob's and my own entire Approbation.

* Sic in Orig.

I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt humble ſervant,

(Signed) N. Middleton.
Reſid[t] &c[a].

Lucnow,
the 22d May 1782.

(*a*) Vide ſupra, P. 857.

APPENDIX, N° LXXXIV.

Mr. Middleton's Letter Book, A.

Page 14.

Letter from Captain Jaques to Mr. Middleton.

Nathaniel Middleton Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Sir,

I AM honoured with both your Letters of the 22d Inſtant, and requeſt the Favour of obſerving, that the Commiſſary General has not rejected my Bill. His Words are, "I have no Authority "to audit any Accounts of his Excellency the Vizier, againſt whom the Charges in your Bills are "ſtated." This I preſume does not infer he has rejected them, which would give me ſome Uneaſineſs, as I would ſooner ſuffer in my Property, than make a Charge that had the leaſt Appearance of being exorbitant.

I have ordered Lieutenant Gawen to return with the Two Guns and Company in the Morning, as the Collections are made and Jenour Sing's Authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed.

I have ſent my Hircarrahs to enquire minutely about the ſtolen Goods again. The Information they bring will determine me how far I am to act.

☞ (a) [Hoolaſs Roy went to the Priſoners laſt night immediately after he ſhewed me your Letter,
*Sic in Orig. the Occaſion for which I conceive there was no Reaſon *, as he, or any other Perſon ſent by you, or the Nabob, would have been allowed to go to the Priſoners whenever they pleaſed; and as to eaſing the Priſoners of their Fetters, it is a Matter of the greateſt Indifference: I only in conſequence of their repeated Applications acquainted you thereof; as I did not think I ought to do any Thing in the Matter, of courſe thought it my Duty to inform you of their Requeſt.

On the Arrival of Major Gilpin, I ſhall attend minutely to your Inſtructions in delivering up the Charge of the Priſoners, and every Inſtruction I have received.]

†Sic in Orig. From your moſt † anſwering to the different Informations I have wrote you about the Gun ſent with Lieutenant Gowen and the Company to Nabob Gunge, I am afraid it was not agreeable to you. There has been ſome little Expence attending it, probably you may think it unneceſſary;
‡Sic in Orig. if ‡ the Caſe, it muſt fall on myſelf: I ſent it from knowing its uſe if Occaſion required; and though not a Shot has been fired from it at any Enemy yet, I am well convinced its being ready
¶Sic in Orig. has had its Effect; and do me the Favour, Sir, of your Attention, when you ¶ I aſſure you, I would not enter into any Expence whatever, either in the Company's or Nabob's Account, did I not think it was abſolutely neceſſary.

Excuſe me, Sir, for obſerving you have given me no Reply to the Paragraph in my Letter to you of the 18th Inſtant, reſpecting Hoolaſs Roy, whoſe Behaviour to me would have met with a Rebuff, had it not been out of Conſideration of his being a Servant of yours.

I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servt.

Fyzabad,
May 25th 1782.

(Signed) Leod Jaques, Captain,
Commanding at Fyzabad.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 858.

APPENDIX, N° LXXXV.

Book 73. Page 26.

Extract of a Consultation of the 17th February 1784.

Fort William, the 17th February 1784.

At a Council; Present,

The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President,

Edward Wheler, and John Stables, } Esquires.

Mr. Macpherson absent from the Presidency for the Benefit of his Health.

☞ [The following Letter, and its Enclosures, were received from Mr. Bristow on the 8th instant, and circulated.] ☜

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

THE frequent Robberies and Murders perpetrated in his Excellency the Vizier's Dominions have too often been the Subject of my Representations to your Honourable Board. From the total Want of Police, hardly a Day elapses but I am informed of some tragical Event, whereof the bare Recital is shocking to Humanity. About Two Months since an Attempt was made to assassinate Raja Ticket Roy, the acting Minister's confidential Agent, but he happily escaped unhurt: Nabob Bahadre, his Highness's Brother, has not been so fortunate, as will appear from Translations of Two of his Letters to me, N° 1, which I have the Honour to enclose for your Information. Although my Feelings are sensibly hurt, and my Compassion strongly excited, by the disgraceful and miserable State of Poverty to which his Excellency's Brothers are reduced; yet, situated as I am, it is not in my Power to interfere with Effect. My Efforts on a former Occasion failed of Success, and my Interposition now would only excite the Resentment of the Minister towards the unhappy Sufferers, in consequence of their Application to me; from whom alone, however, they hope for Relief from their present Distress, which, their near Connection with the Vizier considered, is both shameful and unprecedented.

That no regular Courts of Justice have been established in this Country, is particularly pointed at in my Instructions, as "the most disreputable Defect in his Highness's Government;" yet the Minister seems determined on abolishing even the Shadow of so necessary an Institution. The Office of Sudder ul Huck, as held by Molovy Moubine, was ever nugatory, but now it is sunk into the lowest Contempt. The original Establishment, inadequate as it was, is mouldering away, and the Officers now attached to it are literally starving, as no Part of their Allowances has been paid for above Six Months past: He himself has proposed to resign his Appointment, being every Way precluded from a Possibility of exercising the Duties of it.

☞ [I have the Honour to forward, for your further Information, the Enclosure, N° 3.—It contains a Relation of the Hardships endured by the Ladies of the late Vizier's Zenana.

I have the Honour, &c.

(Signed) John Bristow,
Resident at the Vizier's Court.] ☜

Lucknow,
29th Jan^ry 1784.

Translation of a Letter from Nabob Behadre, his Highness the Vizier's Brother, to Mr. Bristow; dated 28th December 1783.

Your own Servant carried you the Account of what he himself was an Eye Witness to after the Affair of last Night. These are the Particulars:—About Midnight my Aunt received Twelve Stabs from a Man, of which she died: I also received Six successive Stabs, which alarmed the People of the House, who set up a Shouting, whereupon the Assassin ran off. Besides being without Food, or the Means of providing any, this Misfortune has befallen me. I am desirous of sending the Coffin to your Door. It is your Duty, both for the Sake of God and of Christ, to execute Justice, and to enquire what Harm I have done to the Murderer, sufficient to deserve Assassination, or even Injury.—You now stand in the Place of his Excellency the Vizier: I request you will do me Justice. What can I say more?

P. S. I am also desirous to shew you my Wounds.

From the ſame.

7th January 1784.

You have been duly informed of all the Circumſtances relative both to the Murder of the Innocent, and my being wounded, as well by my former Letter, as by the Meſſenger whom you ſent to enquire into the State of my Health; and I have every Reaſon to hope, from your known Kindneſs, that you will not be deficient in ſeeking out the Aſſaſſin. I am at this Moment overwhelmed in Misfortune; whilſt the Blood is flowing from my Wounds, neither I, nor my Children, nor my Servants, have wherewithal to procure Suſtenance, nor have I it in my Power either to purchaſe Remedy, or to reward the Phyſician; 'tis for the Sake of God alone that he attends me. Thus loaded with Calamity upon Calamity, I am unable to ſupport Life; for I find no Relief from my Affliction, either Day or Night. Do you (now ſtanding in the Place of my Father) grant me freſh Life by ſpeedy Acts of Benevolence.

For theſe Two laſt Years his Excellency eſtabliſhed a Penſion for me of Twenty Thouſand Rupees, but I never received the full Amount of it, either laſt Year or the Year before; ſhould it however be paid me, though inadequate to my Deſires, I ſhall ſtill be enabled to ſupport myſelf. From the Beginning of this Year to the preſent Time I have not received a Farthing, nor do I expect any; though if you afford Protection to the Oppreſſed all my Wiſhes will be accompliſhed. I was deſirous of waiting on you with my Family, that you might be an Eye Witneſs to their Condition; but I was adviſed not to ſtir out, on Account of my Wounds. What more can I ſay?

(A true Tranſlation.)

(Signed) Rob[t] Holt,
Aſſiſt[t] to the Reſident.

Tranſlation of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier's Brothers, Myrza Hyder Ally, Myrza Imayut Ally, and Myrza Syfe Ally, to Mr. Briſtow, Reſident at the Vizier's Court; received 9th March 1783.

The manly and generous Conduct of the Engliſh Gentlemen towards all Nations is as clear as the Sun at Noon Day; ſo well known is the Favour ſhewn by the Company, the Governor and you, to our late Father, and our whole Houſe, that it is unneceſſary to write the Particulars.—We before this communicated to you, through Myrza Iſhmael Beg, ſome general Circumſtances concerning our Diſtreſs, to which you returned for anſwer, that you would cauſe 2,000 Rupees a Month to be paid to each of us, and aſk us to viſit you. It is ſome Time ſince we received this Meſſage, and we go on without any Means of Subſiſtence, and in the utmoſt Miſery, entirely upon the Hopes of your Friendſhip. Apparently, from the Multiplicity of Buſineſs on your Hands, you have forgot your Promiſe. Our Situation is not fit to be repreſented; for Two Years we have not received a Hubba on Account of our Tuncaw, though the Miniſters have annually charged a Lack of Rupees, and never paid us any Thing.—After all, we are the Sons of Sujah ul Dowlah.—It is ſurpriſing, having ſuch a Friend as you, our Situation is arrived at that Paſs, that we ſhould be in Diſtreſs for dry Bread and Cloaths. Whereas, as you have done many generous Acts, be pleaſed ſo to ſhew us your Favour, that by ſome Means we may receive our Allowances from the Company's Treaſury, and not be obliged to depend upon and ſolicit others for it. We hope you will grant us a favourable Anſwer through Mr. Cowper.

From Myrza Hyder Ally, Myrza Emayut Ally, and Myrza Syfe Ally, to Mr. Cowper: Received 10th March 1783.

We have, through your Favour, received Mr. Briſtow's Anſwer; it has been Thouſands of a Thouſand Cauſes of Satisfaction to us.—May the everlaſting God, in the Purity of his Glory, preſerve Health to you, who have ſhewn us all this Favour.—Our Pens fail in expreſſing our Gratitude.—We are now perfectly ſatisfied that from your Favour we ſhall receive our Allowances Month by Month: For Inſtance, the Gomaſtah of Rajah Ticket Roy ſent us an Order on the Houſe of Lalla Buchagie for the Sums of 2,000 Rupees each.—We hope you will apply in our Names to the Reſident, that our Penſions may be granted us from the Company's Treaſury, in the ſame Manner as that of our Brother Saadut Ally: We alſo repreſented this Matter to the Reſident.—Whereas the Perſon who brought your Letter to us was a Burgally, and Hircarrahs from the Preſence watch us; likewiſe we are under great Fear of the Nabob Vizier, and the People in his Court, leſt they ſhould be informed of our having any Dependance of * the Engliſh Gentlemen, whereby an Injury might be done us: We therefore requeſt, that if you have any Indoſtan Moonſhy, as undoubtedly will be the Caſe, he may be employed in our Negociations. Hindoſtannies paſſing will not be regarded, and nobody will be informed thereby.—As you have favoured us with your Friendſhip, you will ſhew it by not diſcloſing our Secret, until we have an Interview with the Reſident, and oblige us by delivering the encloſed Letter to him.

* Sic in Orig.

(True Copies.)

(Signed) J. Neave,
Aſſiſt[t] to the Reſident.

[Tranſlation of a Paper of Intelligence from Fyzabad.

The Ladies, their Attendants, and Servants, were ſtill as clamorous as laſt Night. Latafut the Daroga went to them, and remonſtrated with them on the Impropriety of their Conduct, at the ſame time aſſuring them, that in a few Days all their Allowances would be paid; and ſhould that not be the Caſe, he would advance them Ten Days Subſiſtence, upon Condition that they returned to their Habitations: None of them however conſented to his Propoſals, but were ſtill intent upon making their eſcape through the Bazar; and in conſequence formed themſelves in the following Order:—The Children in the Front, behind them the Ladies of the Seraglio, and behind them again their Attendants; but their Intentions were fruſtrated by the Oppoſition which they met with from Latafut's Sepoys.

The next Day Latafut went twice to the Women, and uſed his endeavours to make them return into the Zamâna, promiſing to advance them 10,000 Rupees, which, upon the Money being paid down, they agreed to comply with; but Night coming on, nothing tranſpired.

On the Day following their Clamours were more violent than uſual.—Latafut went to confer with them on the Buſineſs of Yeſterday, offering the ſame Terms; depending upon the Fidelity of his Promiſes, they conſented to return to their Apartments, which they accordingly did, except Two or Three of the Ladies, and moſt of their Attendants.—Latafut then went to Hoſhmund Ally Cawn to conſult with him about what Means they ſhould take; they came to a Reſolution of driving them in by Force, and gave Orders to their Sepoys to beat any one of the Women who ſhould attempt to move forward.—The Sepoys accordingly aſſembled, and each one being provided with a Bludgeon, they drove them by dint of Beating into the Zennana. The Women ſeeing the Treachery of Latafut, proceeded to throw Stones and Bricks at the Sepoys, and again attempted to get out; but finding that impoſſible from the Gates being ſhut, they kept up a continual Diſcharge till about Twelve o'Clock, when, finding their Situation deſperate, they retired into the Rung Mahal, and forced their Way from thence into the Palace, and diſperſed themſelves about the Houſe and Gardens: After this they were deſirous of getting into the Begum's Apartments, but ſhe, being apprized of their Intentions, ordered the Doors to be ſhut. In the mean Time Latafut and Hoſhmund Ally Khan poſted Centuries to ſecure the Gates of the leſſer Mahal. During the whole of this Conflict, the Ladies and Women remained expoſed to the View of the Sepoys. The Begum then ſent for Latafut and Hoſhmund Ally Khan, whom ſhe ſeverely reprimanded, and inſiſted upon knowing the Cauſe of this infamous Behaviour. They pleaded, in their Defence, the Impoſſibility of helping it, as the Treatment the Women had met with had only been conformably to his Excellency the Vizier's Orders. The Begum alleged, that, even admitting that the Nabob had given theſe Orders, they were by no Means authoriſed in this Manner to diſgrace the Family of Sujah Dowlah; and, ſhould they not receive their Allowances for a Day or Two, it could be of no great Moment: What had paſſed was now at an end, but that the Vizier ſhould certainly be acquainted with the whole of the Affair, and that whatever he directed ſhe ſhould implicitly comply with. The Begum then ſent for Two of the Children who were wounded in the Affray of laſt Night, and, after endeavouring to ſooth them, ſhe ſent again for Latafut and Huſmund * Ally Khan, and in the Preſence of the Children again expreſſed her Diſapprobation of their Conduct, and the Improbability of Aſoph ul Dowlah's ſuffering the Ladies and Children of Sujah Dowlah to be diſgraced, by being expoſed to the View of the Rabble: Upon which Latafut produced the Letter from the Nabob, repreſenting that he was amenable only to the Order of his Excellency, and that whatever he ordered it was his Duty to obey; and that had the Ladies thought proper to have retired quietly into their Apartments, he would not have uſed the Means he had taken to compel them.—The Begum again obſerved, that what had paſſed was now over;—ſhe then gave the Children 4,00 Rupees and diſmiſſed them, and ſent Word by Sumrud and the other Eunuchs, that if the Ladies would peaceably retire to their Apartments, Latafut would ſupply them with 3 or 4,000 Rupees for their preſent Expences, and recommended to them not to incur any further Diſgrace; and that if they did not think proper to act agreeable to her Directions they would do wrong. The Ladies followed her Advice, and about 10 at Night went back into the Zennana.—The next Morning the Begum waited upon the Mother of Sujah Dowlah, and related to her all the Circumſtances of the Diſturbance. The Mother of Sujah Dowlah returned for Anſwer, that after there being no Accounts kept of Crores of Revenue, ſhe was not ſurprized that the Family of Sujah Dowlah, in their Endeavours to procure Subſiſtence, ſhould be obliged to expoſe themſelves to the meaneſt of People. After bewailing their Misfortunes, and ſhedding many Tears, the Begum took her Leave and returned Home.

* Sic in Orig.

A true Tranſlation.
(Signed) Robert Holt,
Aſſiſt[t] to the Reſid[t].]

APPENDIX, N° LXXXVI.

Book 85. Page 215.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 3d March 1783.

Secret Dep. Monday 3d March.

Fort William, 3d March 1783.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General.
General Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief.
Edward Wheler, John Macpherſon, John Stables, } Eſquires.

RECEIVED the following Letter from the Collector of Sircar Saurun:

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I have the Honour to incloſe a Copy of a Letter which I have received from Mr. Briſtow the Reſident at the Court of the Vizier Aſuph ul Dowla. Of the Perſons he claims, only One has yet been diſcovered in the Pergunnah Cowaree; and I requeſt to be favoured with your Orders relative to his being delivered up, and that you will alſo be pleaſed to inſtruct me in regard to others who may be in the ſame Predicament. Within the Company's Dominions in the Province of Bahar, in all Caſes of Tallookdars or Ryots abſconding from the Payment of the juſt Demands of Government, the Liquidation of the Sum due is all that is required, or ever complied with; but no Reſtraint whatever is exerciſed on the Perſon of the Defaulter to oblige him to reſide in any particular Diſtrict contrary to his Inclination; and I beg leave to remark on the preſent Inſtance, that Rajah Soorut Sing, the Aumil of Goruckpore (a Copy of whoſe Repreſentation has been tranſmitted to * by Mr. Briſtow), does not charge the Perſons he ſolicits for with any Crimes, but merely with withholding their Rents.

* Sic in Orig.

I have acquainted Mr. Briſtow, in reply to his Letter, that my Endeavours ſhall not be wanting to cauſe Payment of any Balances of Revenue that may be due by Tallookdars or others who take refuge in the Diſtricts under my Superintendance, and that I have addreſſed you for Orders relative to the Requiſition for their being delivered up.

I have the Honour to be with, &c.

Chuprah, the 8th January 1783.

(Signed) Cha^{s} Græme.
Coll^{r} of S^{r} Sarun, &c.

To Charles Græme Eſquire, Collector of Sircar Sarun.

Sir,

Beny Madoo and Dukeel Roy, the Tallookdars of Suddoah Choba, in the Diſtrict of Goruckpore, have fled the Vizier's Dominions and taken refuge in Cowany. Application has been made to me by the Aumil Raja Soorut Sing to requeſt your Aſſiſtance in apprehending the aboveſaid Perſons, and delivering them over to his Charge. I trouble you with a Copy of the Repreſentation.

The Honourable the Governor and Council have directed me to obtain Orders from the Vizier to his Aumils, ordering them to prevent Futty Saw and other refractory Zemindars from finding an Aſylum in his Dominions. Major Lucas has informed me of the particular Perſons under this Deſcription, and I have ſucceeded in obtaining the neceſſary Orders. The Application I now make you being of a ſimilar Nature, I beg Leave to inform you it is his Excellency's the Nabob Vizier's Wiſh, to unite with the Board in putting an entire ſtop to the Depredations of Zemindars on the frontier Provinces. I have addreſſed the Governor General and Council upon this Subject, and if you ſhould not think yourſelf authorized to apprehend the Offenders until you may receive a regular Order to do it, you will oblige me by aſcertaining their Places of Reſort.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Lucknow, the 8th December 1782.

(Signed) John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Agreed that the following Reply be written to the Collector of Sircar Sauran.

To

To Mr. Charles Græme, Collector of Sircar Sauran.

Sir,

We have received your Letter of the 8th ultimo, encloſing Copy of an Application made to you by the Reſident at the Vizier's Court, for apprehending and delivering over to the Vizier's Officers, Beny Madoo and Duckeel Roy, Two of his Talookdars who had abſconded, and deſiring our Authority for the ſame. We direct that you accordingly deliver up either or both of theſe Men if they can be found; and in any future Inſtances when the Nabob's Aumils ſhall attempt to take refuge within the Limits of your Juriſdiction, and the Reſident ſhall apply to you for that Purpoſe, you will order them to be delivered up to the Vizier's Officers.

Fort William,
24th February 1783.

We are, &c.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

P. 236. Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I now beg leave to lay before you a Detail of the Services on which Detachments from the Honourable Company's Troops have been employed in the Vizier's Dominions.

The Inſurrections in Sahlone and its Dependencies were created and ſupported by Rajah Bulbudder Sing, Zemindar of Tellooie, who having been diſpoſſeſſed of his Zemindary during the Government of the late Vizier Suja ul Dowla, thereupon attempting to raiſe Diſturbances, and collected numerous Followers. Suja ul Dowla immediately detached a very large Force to Sahlone, with Orders to ſhew no Mercy. Great Numbers of People, taken in Arms, were put to death in the Courſe of the Campaign, and Bulbudder never again oppoſed the Authority of Government during his Life-time.

When Sahlone was granted in Jaghyr to the Begum, ſhe agreed to give this Rebel an Allowance, in lieu of Land, of 500 Rupees per Month, and a Beit upon the Country, amounting altogether to about 12,000 Rupees annually, and he ſtipulated not to create Diſturbances. When the Jaghyrs were reſumed, that of the Begum fell under the general Regulation, and the Aumil appointed by the Vizier refuſed to continue this Allowance to Bulbudder, who in Conſequence renewed his former Depredations. Since the Month of February laſt, the Majors Gilpin, Scott, and Lumſdaine, have been ſucceſſively employed in endeavouring to reduce him to Obedience; it appears by the Letters of thoſe Officers, that he has met with repeated Defeats; he nevertheleſs conſtantly appeared again after a ſhort Time, followed by as great Numbers as before. The Inhabitants of that Country in general look up to Bulbudder's Family as the Stock from which they have all deſcended; and Zeal for their Chief has united the circumjacent Towns and Villages in a League, to co-operate offenſively and defenſively in his Favour. He is thus enabled to aſſemble, at the ſhorteſt Notice, Bodies of Eight or Ten Thouſand Men; and when attacked, if defeated, he mixes with the Crowd, and all Attempts to apprehend him fail. His uſual Reſort upon theſe Occaſions is to the thick Woods within the Diſtrict of Sahlone and its Dependencies; and unleſs Detachments can be fixed at proper Stations, to oppoſe and intercept his March from Place to Place, and prevent the People from aſſembling, it appears little Succeſs would be likely to follow any military Operations againſt him. When hard preſſed, he flies to ſome other Provinces of the Vizier's Dominions, or takes refuge in the Bundlecund Country.

The Officers who have commanded on this Service accuſe the Aumils and Phouzedars of Negligence, and ſome of them even of conniving at the Rebel's Depredations. I have urgently recommended it to the Vizier to publiſh in their Diſtricts his Determination to puniſh, with the utmoſt Severity, the Adherents and Abettors of refractory Zemindars. The Aumils make a Practice of exaggerating the Miſchief done by theſe Commotions, urging them as a Plea for Balances and Claims of Deductions; and thus, by their Intrigues and Management, much larger Loſſes have accrued to Government on this Account than had been actually ſuſtained.

The Expedients propoſed to reſtore the Peace of the Diſtricts of Sahlone, are, either to ſtation ſo conſiderable a Force on the Spot as would deter the Rebel from any future Attempts to diſturb it; or, which appear * in the preſent Situation of Affairs perhaps more adviſeable, to grant him an Allowance upon the Plan formerly ſettled between him and the Begum. He is at preſent quiet, and has ſent me a Letter, expreſſing in general Terms his Inclination to become a peaceable good Subject. The incloſed Letter from Major Lumſdaine I ſubmit to your Conſideration, as a further Explanation of this Subject. As that Officer appears to agree with me in Opinion, that theſe Commotions are not likely to be quelled by Force, at leaſt not the One he has with him, I propoſe, with your Approbation, to try the other Expedient.

* Sic in Orig.

Since the Beginning of October, Major Nicol has acted with a complete Regiment in the Diſtricts of Khyrabad and Mhaumdy, which have long been remarkable for the refractory and turbulent Spirit of the Inhabitants. Since the Vizier's Acceſſion to the Muſnud, except when Almaſſallee Cawn farmed them, a very great Proportion of the Revenue has been annually loſt to Government, and the Phouzedars in general diſgraced. Alee Reza Cawn, during his Aumildarry,

darry, loſt his Brother, and a Number of his People, in different Engagements with the Zemindars, and has been ſince upwards of Two Years, as I am informed, in Confinement for Balances; his Caſe appears hard, and I have ſolicited his Releaſe. Almaſſallee Cawn collected the Revenue, during his Adminiſtration, by over-running the Country with a numerous Force, and exerciſing great Cruelties. The Miſchiefs ariſing ſometimes from the total Relaxation of Authority, and at others from the too violent Exertion of it, has materially affected the Cultivation. Thoſe Diſtricts however being remarkably fertile, I am in Hopes they may, by good Management, be quickly reſtored. It appears, from the Repreſentations of Major Nicol, that they contain a Number of Forts, but being moſtly in ſuch bad Repair as to be ſcarcely tenable, I have Expectations that his Aſſiſtance will have great Effect in realizing the Revenue. He is at preſent with the Aumil on a Circuit through the Diſtricts, for the Purpoſe of awing and compelling the Appearance of the refractory Zemindars; all of whom, except One, as far as their Circuit has extended, have given their Attendance; and it is with Pleaſure I inform you, the Meaſures adopted by Mahomed Huſſein Cawn, the Aumil, are exceedingly mild, having ſucceeded hitherto more by the Terror of his Force than the actual Exertion of it.

Khyrabad and Mhaumdy were farmed by Almaſs Allee Cawn at the Time of his withdrawing himſelf from the Vizier's Authority: His Naibs in conſequence relinquiſhed their Charge; and they were for a Period of ſome Months in a State of Anarchy, no new Aumil having been appointed to them. The Inhabitants, relieved from the Severities of his Adminiſtration, quickly reſumed their former Habits of Independance; and the Viziers not having made any Proviſion for an Event like that of Almaſs's Seceſſion, and being unable to furniſh a ſufficient Body of Troops to quell the Inſurrections that followed, he was obliged to apply for a Regiment from the Brigade. I hope Peace will ſoon be re-eſtabliſhed; and as the Bankers have an Aſſignment on thoſe Diſtricts, I recommend the Continuance of the Detachment.

Mirza Iſmael Beg, the Soubadar of Allahabad, has always moſt earneſtly ſolicited Support from the Company's Troops, the Force allotted him by the Vizier not being ſufficient for the Subjection of the Country, which is in many Parts filled with Forts, and in Arms the Zemindars are ever ready to create Commotions; Captain Robert Dennis, with a Battalion from Chunar, was therefore detached on this Service in September laſt; he is now on the other Side of the Jumna, quelling ſome Diſturbances which have lately happened in that Quarter.

☞ *(a)* [Major Gilpin, with One Battalion, has been ſtationed at Fyzabad, for the Purpoſe of ſupporting the Vizier's Claim againſt the Begum for the Recovery of his Patrimony depoſited in her Charge. I applied to the Vizier immediately upon my Arrival, for his Conſent to withdraw this Battalion, ſeeing little Probability that violent Meaſures would effect any further Payments. I propoſed to him, to truſt to her Generoſity for the Liquidation of the Balance, which was about Five Lacks. The Vizier would not at that Time acquieſce in my Propoſal, but determined on making one more Effort previous to leaving it in her Diſcretion to prolong the Term of Payment; his Excellency accordingly addreſſed a Letter to the Begum, conveying his Senſe of her evading the Performance of her Engagements, in very harſh Terms; and threatening, in caſe of Non-compliance with them, that her Eunuchs ſhould continue in Confinement, and Means be taken to recover the Money from her, as the Company would never be ſatisfied without it: The Begum in reply repreſented her Inability, having paid away all the Treaſure ever entruſted to her Charge by the late Vizier; but if the Eunuchs were enlarged, ſhe might, with their Aſſiſtance, be enabled to raiſe the Money upon Credit. On his Excellency's receiving this Anſwer, I renewed my Solicitations for Permiſſion to withdraw the Battalion, reſting the Matter upon the Begum's Promiſe of diſcharging the Balance when her Eunuchs ſhould be releaſed: I was induced to this Meaſure by the Repreſentations of Major Gilpin, who had been employed in the Buſineſs from the Commencement; his Opinion, aſſerting that every practicable coercive Exertion had been uſed, I beg leave to ſubmit to you in the encloſed Copy of his Letter to me on the Subject. The Vizier at length acquieſced in the Battalion's being withdrawn; for which I was the more anxious, as your Inſtructions to me diſapprove of Detachments, and the State of Affairs requires the Appearance of a formidable Force on the Frontiers.]

There will now remain on Detachments a compleat Regiment at Khyrabad, another at Sahlone, and a Battalion at Allahabad, making altogether Two Regiments and a Half, which I recommend to be continued for the preſent, as thoſe Countries appear to require their Aſſiſtance.—One of the Battalions at Sahlone, and that of Allahabad, belonging to the Chunar Station *; Colonel Morgan has ſtill with him a Body of Three Regiments and a Battalion, and Colonel Sir John Cumming's Force is compleat. Whenever I may be apprized of the leaſt Danger upon the Frontiers, I ſhall not fail immediately to communicate my Intelligence to the Commanding Officers.

* Sic in Orig.

In my Account of the Troops upon Detachment I have omitted to mention the Regiment at Lucknow, that being authorized by your expreſs Sanction.

I have the Honour to be, with, &c.

(Signed) John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,
the 1ſt December 1782.

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 901.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. Members of the Supreme Council.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Beny Madoo and Dukul Roy, the Talookdars of Suddooah Choba, in the Diſtrict of Goruckpore, have fled the Vizier's Dominions, and taken refuge in Cowarry, in Sircar Sanier. Application had been made to me by the Aumil of Beraitch, Rajah Soorut Sing, through the acting Miniſter, to requeſt Mr. Græme's Aſſiſtance in apprehending the above Perſons, and delivering them over to his Charge. I have accordingly addreſſed Mr. Græme, and in caſe he ſhould not be authorized to apprehend the Offenders without your Inſtructions, I have deſired him to aſcertain their Places of Reſort.

In conſequence of your Commands, under Date the 29th October 1782, I have procured the Vizier's Orders to the Aumil of Goruckpore to apprehend Futty Saw, or any refractory Zemindars (agreeable to the Deſcription furniſhed me by Major Lucas) that may attempt to find an Aſylum in his Dominions; and it is his Excellency's Wiſh to unite with you in preventing their Depredations on the Frontier Provinces.

I have the Honour to be, with, &c.
(Signed) John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,
19th December 1782.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, and the Members of the Supreme Council, Fort William.

Bengal Secret Conſ. 3d March 1783, F° 269.

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I take the liberty to encloſe you Papers and Accounts agreeable to the encloſed Liſt, to which I beg leave to refer for a full Explanation of the Amount of the Claims on the Nabob Vizier.

Immediately after my Arrival I urged the acting Miniſter to deviſe and recommend Arrangements for the complete Diſcharge of the Balance at the Concluſion of the Year; to relieve myſelf from Cenſure, in caſe of Failure in this eſſential Point, it is neceſſary I ſhould explain the Tranſaction with the Bankers. The Balance, at the End of laſt Year, was not, in fact, paid, but tranſferred to the Bankers, and increaſed by the Load of a very high Intereſt.—There were Two diſtinct Engagements,

One for Bills on the Preſidency, for	—	—	22,67,485	2	4
Received in Caſh	—	—	3,82,514	13	8
					26,50,000 — —

Another for Teeps, promiſing Bills, to be delivered by Inſtalments at the following Periods, and in the following Proportions; viz.

Bhaudoun	—	1189	as explained in	6,50,000	
Goaur	—	1190	Mr. Middleton's	6,50,000	
Cautic	—		ſeparate Letter	6,50,000	
Aughun	—		to me, No. 2.	6,50,000	
					26,00,000 — —
					52,50,000 — —
Paid them from the Balances of 1189		—			2,91,166 — —
By this Statement you will obſerve the Revenues of the preſent Year have been anticipated in		—		—	49,58,834 — —

bearing an Intereſt of 2 per Cent. per Menſem.—The whole Demand upon the Vizier, on Account of the Honourable Company and the Bankers, will this Year amount to the Sum of One Crore Forty-one Lacks Two thouſand Five hundred and Seventy-eight Rupees (1,41,02,578); Mr. Middleton gave his Bond to the Bankers, on Account the Firſt Engagement, for Rupees 26,50,000, engaging to ſee them repaid their Money. The Revenues of certain Diſtricts were aſſigned to him on Account of the Bankers, and were, as collected, to be paid to them.

When Almaſs Ally Cawn returned to Lucknow, a Negociation was ſet on foot to transfer the Security from Mr. Middleton to him, and concluded a few Days before my Arrival. The Bond was returned to Mr. Middleton, and Almaſs's granted in lieu of it. The additional Diſtricts propoſed to have been entruſted to Almaſs were Part of thoſe aſſigned to the Bankers, and the Vizier's Order and other Documents had paſſed for putting him in Poſſeſſion a few Days before my Arrival. I was ſo ſoon expected, that Almaſs of his own accord deferred taking Charge, as I have already informed you, until the Meaſure ſhould through me receive your Sanction.

When I conſidered the Power poſſeſſed by Almaſs, I did not heſitate to reject every Idea of extending his Authority. A Difficulty occurred about the Bond he had granted, and a Payment he had made to the Bankers of Three Lacks Seventy-five thouſand (R^{s} 3,75,000), the latter Part was eaſily ſettled by giving him Credit for that Sum, on Account the Revenues of Etawa, Corah, &c^{a}. but the Bankers refuſed any Security except mine, in lieu of the Bond. The Bills of Exchange had actually been tranſmitted to the Board, and were in Courſe of Payment:

Payment: To have annulled the Engagement would have disappointed you of a Resource, and hurt our Credit with the Bankers; it was absolutely necessary that Almas's Bond should be returned to him; I was therefore induced to take the Engagement upon myself, and I am happy to find, by your Commands of the 22d Ultimo, that my Conduct has been approved of.

Although my Attention has been principally directed to the Liquidation of the Balance, I have hitherto found it utterly impossible to procure Assignments equal to the Amount required. Districts have been over-rated to me; and before I can conclude a fair Engagement with any Aumil, I am obliged in every Instance to separate fictitious from just Estimates, which takes up Time, and is the Cause of my not sending the Accounts of the Vizier's Revenues, which are now copying, and will be forwarded in the Course of a very few Days.

The Bankers upon my Arrival claimed my Protection in realizing their Demands; and on maturely considering the Matter, it appeared to me most advisable to blend the Honourable Company's and their Claims under One Head; unless I had done this, there would have been a perpetual Interference in the Collection of the Assignments; and in case the Bankers should have failed in realizing their Monies, they would have fallen proportionably short in their Payments at the Presidency. These were the Reasons which induced me to unite the Two Accounts, and I hope they will meet with your Approbation.

There remains a Sum of Thirteen Lacks on Account of the Teeps, for which Bills of Exchange on the Presidency are now due. I took charge of my Office without any Cash in the Treasury, and a Sum of near 30,09,000 Rupees due to the Bankers. I afterwards, under Date the 2d November, transmitted you Bills of Exchange for 6,50,000 Rupees, which (as my Receipts at that Period were very inconsiderable) accumulated the Debt to near 36,59,000, the whole bearing an Interest of Two per Cent. per Mensem. The Bankers were disinclined to give any more Bills, until Part of this Balance was liquidated. The Season of the heavy Collections being so near at hand, it appeared to me most advisable to delay transmitting you other Bills, until such Time as I might be able to pay the Balance due to them, and I could receive further Monies, and give them Cash for their Bills, by which the Vizier would derive the additional Advantage of saving the Interest; and the Difference to the Company would have been the Delay of perhaps Three Months only in the Receipt of the Remainder to be remitted to the Presidency, on account of the Teeps.

All Sums hitherto collected have been paid to the Bankers. In order to supply the Demands of the Paymasters to the Troops in the Field, I have borrowed a Sum of Fyz^{d} 16 S^{n} S^{s} R^{s} 3,59,670:4:4; for this the Vizier is to pay an Interest of One per Cent. per Mensem only, whereby a Saving of as much more will arise on the Interest, and was the Reason why I preferred a Loan to stopping that Amount from the Receipt of the Bankers.

My Time has of late been principally employed in urging the Minister to supply Funds for the current Disbursement of the Vizier's Government, and the complete Discharge of the Balance due to the Honourable Company; my Endeavours shall not be wanting to accomplish an Object which I know will render such essential Service to the Company's Affairs at the present Juncture. The proposed Retrenchments will be very considerable, and I shall shortly submit them to your Consideration.

I have the Honour to be, with, &c.
(Signed) John Bristow,
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,
2d January 1783.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings Esquire, Governor General, and the Members of the Supreme Council, Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Under Date the 1st Ultimo, I had the Honour to communicate to you a Detail of the Services upon which Detachments had been made from the Honourable Company's Troops. The Vizier has found it necessary to continue the Regiments at Sahlone and Khyrabad, a Battalion at Allahabad, and Six Companies in the Districts of Furickabad.

I have the Pleasure to inform you, Three of the most refractory Zemindars in Khyrabad, named Mohum Sing, Hindoo Sing, and Nayfut Sing, have been apprehended by the Aumil Mahomed Hussein Cawn; owing to this Circumstance, the other Zemindars have been awed, the Peace of that District is in a fair Way of being restored, and I entertain great Hopes the full Amount of the Honourable Company's Assignments will be realized.

The Detachment in Sahlone has been constantly employed on Service against refractory Zemindars in that and the neighbouring District of Pertabgur. The Plan of inducing Bulbudder to return to his Allegiance to the Vizier, by the Grant of a Pension and a Beit upon the Country, was found impracticable. He demanded a Consideration of about Thirty thousand Rupees a Year, and remained in the Country threatening to create Disturbances, if his Demands were not complied with. A Treaty with a Rebel acting upon this Principle was subversive of the Vizier's Authority, and holding forth Impunity to other ill-disposed Zemindars. He was told to quit the Country, or attend at Lucknow, and a submissive obedient Conduct in future might intitle him to the Vizier's Favour; but as he rejected these Propositions, a Reward of Twenty thousand

Rupees has been put upon his Head. The Aumils of Sultanpore, Purtabgur, Sahlone, and the adjacent Diſtricts, were directed to uſe their utmoſt Exertions to expel him the Country, to aſcertain the Zemindars of Villages from which he draws his Support; and that if the Aumils ſhould ever ſuffer him to remain unmoleſted within their Juriſdictions, no Deduction of Revenue would be allowed, and they muſt expect the ſevereſt Puniſhment for their Neglect. They are directed to co-operate, and detach the Troops they may not immediately require for the Collections in conſtant Purſuit of Bulbudder. The Vizier has thought proper to approve a Propoſal of Major Lumſdaine's, for keeping One Battalion for the Protection of Sahlone, and detach the other upon this Service. I have recommended to him to avoid burning or deſtroying Villages, upon the Suppoſition that the Inhabitants aſſiſt Bulbudder. Such Perſons as are found in Arms he is requeſted to uſe his Endeavours to apprehend, that the Vizier may adminiſter Juſtice after a formal and fair Trial.

The Reward put upon Bulbudder's Head, and the ſtrict Injunctions to the Aumils, if they be enforced, ought ultimately to effect the Seizure of Bulbudder, or elſe render his Reſidence, which I hope it has effected, in the Country ſo dangerous, that it at all Events will prevent his creating Diſturbances in future. I have applied to Mr. Markham to endeavour to ſeize him, if he ſhould take refuge in Benares, which he uſed to do whilſt Cheit Sing held the Zemindarry.

I Yeſterday received Intelligence that Bulbudder, Bahadur Sing, and Amrow Sing, had collected a great Force at Norvaijee, a Fort on the Confines of the Diſtricts of Monickpore, Allahabad, Purtabgur, and Sahlone. Captain Jaques, with One Battalion of Sepoys, in conjunction with the Aumils, had ſurrounded and taken the Fort, in which they ſeized between Eight and Nine hundred Perſons. Bulbudder and Behadur Sing had made their Eſcape; but Amrou Sing, and a famous Inſurgent of the Name of Gundcharry, were ſecured, and they and their Families have been detained by the Aumils. The other Priſoners were ſuffered to leave the Fort upon laying down their Arms, to the Number of Five hundred Matchlocks, beſides Swords, Bows, and Arrows. The People with Bulbudder are diſperſed, and I underſtand he has quitted the Country. This Succeſs was attended with the Loſs of very few Lives; and I hope a capital Example of the Two Ringleaders, after a fair Trial, will immediate * other refractory Zemindars.

* Sic in Orig.

I have the Pleaſure to inform you the Kiſts of the Honourable Company's Aſſignment on Sahlone have been regularly paid, entirely owing to the military Aid granted by the Honourable Company.

The ſure Means of rendering the Vizier's Alliance honourable and advantageous, will be to reſtore his Authority, and the Peace of his Dominions. Great Loſſes in the Revenue have unavoidably ariſen, owing to the total Want of Subordination among all Ranks of the Officers of Government, and the perpetual Inſurrections of Zemindars: The Vizier can only look to the Honourable Company for effecting a Change; his own Military is at preſent unequal to the Taſk; and I hope you will aſſent to the Detachments remaining until the Service may be completed, eſpecially as great Advantages are derived by them to the Vizier's Affairs.

A general Order has been iſſued by the Vizier to prevent Zemindars from building or repairing Forts, and that thoſe taken ſhould either be garriſoned by his Excellency's Troops, or deſtroyed, whichever might be moſt adviſable.

I beg leave to ſtate the whole Force now detached; viz.

	Regiments.	Battalions.
From Chunargur.		
In the Province of Allahabad, under the Command of Captain Dennis	—	1
In Sahlone, under the Command of Major Lumſdaine	—	1
From the Detachment under the Command of Colonel Sir John Cumming.		
An Eſcort for Major Palmer's Companies — — — 2		
Do. — Major Browne — — — 2		
Stationed with the Sezawul of Ferockabad — — — 6		
	—	—
From the Second Brigade, ſtationed in Hydrabad under the Command of Major Nicol — — — — —	1	—
In Sahlone, under the Command of Captain Jaques — —	—	1
The Regiment at Lucknow — — — —	1	—
Regiments	4	1

The Force remaining at Cawnpore will be Three Regiments and a Battalion, and at Futty Ghur Four Regiments. The Commanding Officers in the preſent State of Affairs deem theſe to be reſpectable Bodies of Troops, and upon the leaſt Apprehenſion of Danger, I will immediately requeſt the Recall of the Detachment.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Lucknow,
30th Jan. 1783.

(Signed) John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

☞ [Agreed that the following Letter be written to Mr. Briſtow.

To Mr. John Briſtow.

Sir,

Having received and taken into our Conſideration the following Letters from you, we ſhall now tranſmit you our Sentiments and Orders upon them.

23d November.
1ſt December.
11th Ditto.
19th Ditto. Two Letters.
20th Ditto.
30th Ditto.
2d January.
13th Ditto.
24th Ditto.
29th Ditto.
30th Ditto.] ☙

19th December. We have received a Letter from the Collector of Sircar Saurun, informing us that One of the Vizier's Talookdars, ſaid to be fled into that Diſtrict, has been diſcovered, and deſiring our Orders regarding him. We have in conſequence directed the Collectors in this and every other Inſtance in which the Vizier's Talookdars or Aumils ſhall abſcond to avoid Payment of their Balances, and Application be made to him by the Reſident for that Purpoſe, he ſhall cauſe them to be delivered up to the Officers of the Vizier's Government.

1ſt Decemr, 30th Janr. We approve very much of the Conduct which you have obſerved reſpecting the rebellious Zemindars, and the Means which you inform us you had recommended to the Vizier for quieting the Diſorders, and reſtoring the Peace of his Country. On this Occaſion we have only to recommend the ſtricteſt Attention to the Inſtructions which you have received from the Governor General, and to deſire that you will make them your conſtant Guide.

While the diſordered State of the Vizier's Dominions ſhall require the Preſence of the Military Detachments which have been ſtationed for their Defence, we muſt approve of the Continuance of them, and truſt to your Diſcretion and Judgment, poſſeſſed as you are of our Sentiments on this Subject, to prolong or abridge the Period of their Continuance, according to the Nature of the Circumſtances which may preſent themſelves; yet it does not appear to us why ſo many Detachments are neceſſary, while the Army under the Command of Colonel Sir John Cumming remains inactive, and confined to a ſingle Station, ſince the ſame Services which are performed by the other Detachments might be rendered with equal Effect by this Corps. Theſe are our Sentiments, formed upon your Report of the State of the Country, and the Diſtribution of our Forces in it; but we only ſtate them as ſuch, without grounding any Orders upon them, as we cannot depend ſufficiently upon our own Information, and are ſatisfied to rely on your Knowledge, ariſing from a nearer and more complete View of Affairs; but we deſire that you will report to us very minutely any Arrangement which may be finally made after the Receipt of this Letter, for the Defence and Protection of the Vizier's Dominions.

P. 309. We deſire that you will recommend it to the Vizier, to direct and enforce the ſtricteſt Forbearance in all his Officers from collecting Duties on, or otherwiſe moleſting any Perſons who may be poſſeſſed of his Paſſports, granted in conſequence of Recommendations from this Government, for proceeding to any Part of his Dominions to perform their Religious Ceremonies, as the Influence of ſuch Acts might have an evil Tendency over all our Political Connections in India, from the Reports of the Perſons affected by them.

☞ [We deſire you will inform us if any, and what Means have been taken for recovering the Balance

Balance due from the Begum at Fyzabad, and, if neceſſary, that you recommend it to the Vizier to enforce the moſt effectual Means for that Purpoſe.

We are, &c.

(Signed) Warren Haſtings,
Eyre Coote,
Edw^d Wheler,
John Macpherſon,
John Stables.

Fort William,
3d March 1783.

(Signed at the End of the Conſultation,)
Warren Haſtings,
Edw^d Wheler,
John Macpherſon,
John Stables.]

Appendix to Conſultation, 3d March 1783.

To John Briſtow Eſquire, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Sir,

From your having requeſted me in your Letters to uſe my utmoſt Endeavours to reſtore Peace to this diſtracted Country, I take the Liberty of laying before you my Sentiments of the Mode I judge moſt effectual to attain the End you ſeem ſo much to deſire.

To eſtabliſh Peace and Quiet in this Country Two Ways can only be adopted, either quelling the Diſturbances by Force, or by giving the Rajah Bulbudder ſuch Allowances as may be thought adequate to his Rank and Influence in the Country. As an Officer at the Head of a Detachment employed to cruſh the Rebellion, the deciſive Exertions of a Military Force firſt naturally preſent themſelves, and there can be little Doubt entertained but that a Detachment of Artillery, a Regiment of Sepoys, and 500 of his Excellency the Vizier's Horſe, is a ſufficient Force to compel the Rebel to relinquiſh this Country, or even to expel him the Vizier's Dominions: Were the different Fouzedars, under the ſevereſt Penalties, obliged to attack him and his Adherents, wherever they ſhould take refuge in their particular Diſtricts, and to puniſh in a moſt exemplary Manner ſuch of the Zemindars in their Governments, who ſhould conceal, protect, or aſſiſt the Rebel, ſuch a Plan, vigorouſly executed, would no doubt force the Rebel to quit the Vizier's Dominions. The Difficulty of apprehending him is ſo great, that it can ſcarcely be hoped for. It is probable, that when he found himſelf attacked on all Sides, he would retire acroſs the Jumna to Chitterpore, the Place of his Reſidence in the Time of the late Vizier; and that immediately on the Recall of the Detachment from this Country he would again return, and recommence his deſtructive Depredations; nor would it be neceſſary for him to bring a Force with him; no Part of the World abounds ſo much with Soldiers of Fortune as Indoſtan, who in Crowds enliſt under any Standard, encouraged by the Hopes of Plunder or of Pay. The Zemindars are much attached to the Rajah, whom they conſider as their hereditary Prince, and never fail to aſſiſt him; they alſo find their Advantage in fomenting the Diſturbances, as they withhold their Rents from Government under various Pretences, and give but a trifling Conſideration to the Rebel.

From the above Reaſons I am clearly of Opinion, that the allowing the Rajah a Penſion, ſuitable to his Rank and Influence in the Country, is the moſt certain Mode of attaining a permanent Peace; and when it is conſidered in an œconomical View, the Advantages to the Vizier, indeed I may ſay to the Company, their Affairs being ſo connected, are ſo obvious, that it is unneceſſary to remark them. The Vizier will get rid of the Expence of the Detachment, and the Company will have a Force which may be employed elſewhere. The great Difficulty which the Officers of Government at preſent meet with, in realizing the Revenues of the Country, will be removed, as the Inhabitants, on the Diſturbances being quieted, would bring back to their Villages their Families, Cattle, and Effects; of courſe Government would have ſome Security for the Revenue, whereas at preſent they have none.

When I conſider the Matter further in a political View, I ſee alſo ſtrong Reaſons for coming to an Accommodation.—The Rajah Bulbudder is the lineal Deſcendant of the moſt powerful Hindo Family in this Part of Hindoſtan. Connections with him are eagerly ſought after, as they are thought to confer Honour; he is much reſpected himſelf, nor is his Rebellion againſt Government looked on as a Crime; on the contrary, all of the Zemindars in the contiguous Diſtricts are inclined to aſſiſt him, and ſome are even induced to follow his Example.

I have given you my Opinions with Candour, and to the beſt of my Judgment; in delivering them, I have been guided ſolely by a Deſire to promote, to the utmoſt of my Power, the Public Good. They muſt appear to you diſintereſted, for if the Plan I ſubmit to you is followed, the Occaſion for my Services in this Part of the Vizier's Dominions will I hope ſoon ceaſe.

I have the Honour to be, with Reſpect, &c.

(Signed) J. Lumſdaine,
Major Comm^d at Sahlone.

Camp, near Dookah,
the 16th Nov^r 1782.

(A true Copy).
(Signed) W^m Swainſton,
Aſſ^t to the Reſ^t.

(COPY.)

To John Briſtow Eſquire, Reſident at the Court at Lucknow.

Sir,

Before my Return to Fyzabad, the Bow Begum had replied to his Excellency the Nabob Vizier's Letter; the Contents of which I imagine he would communicate to you.

The elder Begum I underſtand (from Report only) never intends to put Pen to Paper to him again.

What Probability there may now be of ever receiving the Balance from the Begum, you (from her Letter to the Nabob) will be beſt able to judge; but I am clearly of Opinion, that whilſt her Eunuchs Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn remain Priſoners, and the Battalion continues here with any Reſtraint on her, that ſhe never will agree to pay a further Sum on the Score required; and indeed it appears to me only recoverable by moderate Means. If the Priſoners were releaſed, and the Troops withdrawn from her, I fancy ſhe would, in a ſhort Period, enter into a Negociation with you; and on certain Terms be induced to pay the Sum wanted.

Encloſed I ſend you the Copy of a Letter which I received this Morning from her. The Circumſtance of her Servants quitting her for Want of Subſiſtance is very certain and public; and whether real or fictitious, I will not take upon me to determine; but I judge it neceſſary to make you acquainted with the Circumſtance.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) Martin Gilpin,
Major commanding.

Fyzabad,
18 Nov. 1782.

A true Copy,
(Signed) William Swainſton,
Aſſiſtant to the Reſident.

Extract from Mr. Middleton's Letter, dated 23d October 1782.

The moſt material Object I have to claim your Attention to, is the collateral Agreement concluded by me, on behalf of the Honourable the Governor General and Council, with the Houſe of Gopaul Doſs Sah and others, for their Security and Reimburſement in the Advance they were prevailed upon to make the Vizier, upon the Credit and Faith of this Office, for the Liquidation of his Excellency's Debts to the Company, and which Subject you will find ſtated in my Addreſs to the Board of the 7th Ultimo.

The Advance for which the Houſe of Gopaul Doſs Sah ſingly and excluſively engaged was 26,00,000 Rupees, which included the Balance of the Vizier's Account Current with the Honourable Company, as it ſtood before the additional Claim lately made out by the Accountant General, at the Preſidency, and ſundry Army Debts of his Excellency, for which as they were an Exceſs upon the original Eſtimate formed at the Commencement of the Year, no Proviſion had been made. The other Sum of 26,00,000, for which Teeps were granted in Partnerſhip by Gopaul Doſs Buch Rauge Fukhar Chund, and Kiſſen Chund, payable by Inſtallments, as expreſſed in the Teeps, were intended as a Depoſit in the Hands of the Governor General and Council, for the Liquidation of ſuch Part of the additional Claim of 26,48,571 : 3 : 8, made out by the Accountant General, and tranſmitted to this Office in October laſt, as the Board, after taking into Conſideration the Counter-claims, and Expectations of the Vizier, ſhould deem equitable. For further Information on this Head, permit me to refer you to the Contents of my Addreſs to the Honourable Board of the 7th September, to which I have received no Reply. For both theſe Sums the Vizier has paſſed his ſeparate Obligations to the reſpective Parties, and has granted Aſſignments upon his Revenue for the Re-payment. But this alone, Sir, would have gone a very little Way towards inducing the Shroffs to hazard ſo large a Property in the Nabob's Funds, had not the Faith of our Government been alſo pledged for their collateral Security, which has been done by the ſtrongeſt verbal Aſſurances it was in my Power to give them in my Official Capacity; and in the Caſe of Gopaul Doſs Sah, who is much deeper concerned than any of the others, a written Engagement to ſupport him to the utmoſt of my Power in the Recovery of his Debts, for which Almaſs Ally Cawn ſtands immediately and excluſively reſponſible. He has already paid him to the Amount of Nine Lacks, promiſing Four more in the Courſe of Fifteen or Twenty Days, and the remaining Thirteen Lacks he agrees to make good in equal Kiſts, in the enſuing Three Months of Aughun, Phoos, and Maug, which I have not a Doubt of his punctually fulfilling, if you think proper to confirm the Aſſurances I have given, and yield your Influence to the Support of them, which I perſuade myſelf you will ſee the Propriety of, as well from a Principle of common Juſtice, as an Inducement to ſimilar future Exertions, ſhould the Exigency of the Honourable Company's Affairs at any Time call for them. The other Advance of Twenty-ſix Lacks being ſecured by Aſſignments upon reputable Aumils, I have little Fear of its being realized, without giving you any farther Trouble, than that of giving your Sanction to the Meaſure, and occaſionally making uſe of the Influence of your Station, to expedite the Payment of the Kiſts, when the Aumils may ſhew a Diſpoſition to be tardy.

I muſt

☞ [I muſt beg leave to refer you to my Correſpondence with the Honourable the Governor General, for a full Account of the Origin and Nature of my Tranſactions with the Begums at Fayzabad; and the Letters which have paſſed between me and the Officers who have ſeverally commanded there, will ſhew you the Progreſs and preſent State of that Buſineſs. The Balance due from the Bow Begum, upon her Agreement, made in January laſt, after allowing her Credit for the trifling Articles lately ſent here by Major Gilpin, will be about Five Lacks, which I apprehend may be realized, if you deem it expedient to continue the Reſtraints which have been impoſed for that Purpoſe: She had, indeed, given Major Gilpin the moſt ſatisfactory Aſſurances of an immediate Liquidation of this long-depending Account, in which, I believe, ſhe was ſincere; but, probably, from an Expectation of a Change of Meaſures, upon my Removal, ſhe has lately retracted thoſe Aſſurances, and now declares her Determination to make no further Payments whatever, but upon the Certainty of her Jaghire's being reſtored to her; which I could give her no Hopes of, as the Propriety of its Reſumption has been ſanctified by the Approbation of the Honourable the Governor General; who further expreſsly enjoins me, in his Inſtructions of the 27th January, to exert my Influence with the Nabob, to prevent the Concluſion of any final Settlement between him and the Begums, until I ſhould be furniſhed with Inſtructions from him or the Board on that Head. Not having, ſince the above Date, received any Directions from the Board, or the Governor General, relative to the Begums, I know not what may be their Wiſhes in regard to them; but I thought it, at all Events, my Duty, conformably to the Spirit of the Orders I had received, to retain poſſeſſion of the Killa at Fayzabad, and the Perſons of the Bow Begum's Two principal Eunuchs, until the Sum ſhe had ſtipulated to pay was fully liquidated, or the Honourable Board ſhould notify their further Pleaſure: And in this State, Sir, I commit the Buſineſs to your future Directions, expreſſing my ſincere Wiſh, that you may find Means to effect the Recovery of this Balance; which, among other Balances, originally conſtituted a Part of the Securities made over to Gopaul Doſs, for the Repayment of his Advance to the Vizier for the Company's Uſe, and ſhould, I apprehend, if poſſible, be realized for Almaſs Ally Cawn, who has employed his own Credit upon the Faith of thoſe Funds for the immediate Satisfaction of Gopaul Doſs's Debt.] ☜

(No Signature at the End.)

APPENDIX, N° LXXXVII.

Book 80. P. 615.

Extract of a Conſultation of the 12th May 1783.

Fort-William, the 12th May 1783.

At a Council; Preſent,

The Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, Preſident,

Edward Wheler, } Eſquires.
John Macpherſon, }

READ the the following Letters from Mr Briſtow.

I beg leave to inform you the Allowances on Account the Jaghyres and Tuncaws were recorded upon the Vizier's Books, at the following annual Amount.

The Jaghyres	—	—	—	39,38,054	4	6
The Tuncaws	—	—	—	17,19,610	—	—
				56,57,665	4	6
The propoſed Allowance on Account the Tuncaws, as per Statement, No. 1	—	10,25,214	12	—		
The propoſed Allowance on Account the Jaghyres, as per Statement, No. 2	—	22,68,671	—	—		
				32,93,885	12	—
Reduction per Ann. Rup[e]				23,63,779	8	6

Even in the preſent reduced State, the Amount is very high; but conſidering the Perſons to whom they are granted, being principally the Vizier's Relations, the old Dependents of his Family, or the Servants of Government, it would be difficult to make further Reductions; particularly as moſt

moſt of them were Perſons living in great Affluence, and now depending ſolely upon the Bounty of the Vizier for Subſiſtence. The Funds for the Payment of theſe Allowances can only be procured by the Savings and Reductions of uſeleſs and unneceſſary Expences. In all Arrangements, however, the Vizier's perſonal Charges, the Army, and the Honourable Company's Claims, will be firſt provided for.

(Signed at the End) John Briſtow,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

(A true Copy,)
E. Hay,
Actg Secy to the Secret Dep.

P. 689. To the Honourable Warren Haſtings Eſquire, Governor General, &c. Fort William.

Honourable Sir,

In Addition to what I have urged in my Addreſs of this Date to the Board, I hope I ſhall meet with your Excuſe for repreſenting ſome further Circumſtances relative to the Begum.

I have experienced great Embarraſſment in treating with her, for, as the Mother of the Vizier, the People look up to her with Reſpect; and any harſh Meaſures practiſed againſt Women of her high Rank create Diſcontent, and affect our national Character. Her Conduct in withholding his Excellency's Patrimony, and during the Troubles at Benares, juſtly loſt her that Attention and Regard to which ſhe would have been otherwiſe entitled: Still ſhe is the Mother of the Prince of the Country; and the religious Prejudices of Muſſulmen prevail too ſtrongly in their Minds for them to forget her Situation. Superior Wiſdom will guide your Meaſures, and I ſhall willingly execute every Order I may receive; but I think it my Duty, and a Tribute I owe to the Confidence you have placed in me, freely and candidly to offer my Sentiments on ſuch Subject as from a near View may preſent Difficulties that would not occur to Perſons at a Diſtance.

I would recommend every perſuaſive Argument might be urged to the Begum to induce her to fulfil her Engagements. I would even endeavour to convince her that it was intended to renew the Reſtraints upon her; but I really think it not adviſeable to carry them into Execution.

I have the Honour to be, with the greateſt Reſpect, &c.

Lucknow,
31ſt March 1783.

(Signed) John Briſtow,
Reſidt at the Vizier's Court.

P. 708. STATEMENT of propoſed Allowances, under the Head of Tuncawdars or Penſioners, for the Fuſſullee Year 1190.

Servants of Government.

Hyder Beg Cawn	—	—	—	18,000 — —	
Molavee Fuzzul Azeem	—	—	—	24,000 — —	
Rajah Jaggernaut	—	—	—	15,966 — —	
Rajah Tickut Roy	—	—	—	822 — —	
Rajah Tipper Chund	—	—	—	8,776 8 —	
Ferumberg Doſs	—	—	—	3,945 — —	
Rajahs Mohanarain and Heedernarrain			—	9,888 — —	
Poorun Chund, &c	— 7 Perſons		—	8,082 — —	
Subkatulla Cawn	—	—	—	9,384 — —	
Rajah Jaggut Naraain	—	—	—	5,916 — —	
Roy Nonid Roy	—	—	—	1,576 — —	
Biſhun Sing, &c.	— 13 Perſons		—	10,188 — —	
Ram Sing	—	—	—	1,483 — —	
Khoſhaul Roy	—	—	—	6,000 — —	
Rajah Anunderam, &c.	— 7 Perſons of		—	33,180 — —	
Mutſuddies of 13 Departments			—	1,16,296 12 —	
					2,73,503 4 —

The following Penſioners.

Meer Neim Cawn	—	—	20,000 — —	
The Sons of Bondee Ally Cawn		—	53,400 — —	
Acbal ul Dowla	—	—	36,000 — —	
Ameer Cawn	—	—	18,000 — —	
Mahommed Buſheer Cawn		—	12,000 — —	
Fuzzul Ally Cawn	—	—	10,800 — —	
Gholam Mahommed Cawn and Mungoo Beg		—	17,500 — —	
Mirza Khaleel	—	—	30,000 — —	
Rajah Bennee Behadre	—	—	18,000 — —	
		Carried forward		2,73,503 4 —

Brought forward, Servants of Government	2,73,503	4 —
Brought forward, Penſioners.		
Mirza Sudder ul Deen	3,000 —	—
Meer Muddaree	9,000 —	—
Shaik Moradulla	10,000 —	—
Seyed Mohurrum Cawn	2,722 —	—
The Family of Meer Huſſun Cawn	13,859 —	—
Bood Ally Cawn	4,000 —	—
Moſul Ally Cawn	7,500 —	—
Rajub Beg	6,000 —	—
Ghalam Ally Cawn	6,000 —	—
Meer Mahommed Seyed Cawn	9,000 —	—
The Family of Bellool Mahommed Cawn	5,760 —	—
Ahmud Ally Cawn	1,200 —	—
Fyzoola Cawn	1,229 —	—
Shah Mauſom	9,000 —	—
Khaujer Huſſun Ally	2,351 4	—
Ahmid Cawn	6,000 —	—
The Family of Khujer Baured	5,250 —	—
Maulije Cawn, &c. — 5 Perſons	10,870 —	—
Mirza Dullair Dill	5,952 —	—
Meer Ally Nackee	4,800 —	—
Meer ul Deen and Huſſun Cawn	4,000 —	—
Meer Cauzim Cawn	3,596 —	—
Meer Mahommed Aukurrum	9,205 —	—
Jewautt Cooly Cawn	1,770 —	—
The Sons of Kullub Ally Cawn	5,280 —	—
Mahommed Ruffee Cawn	6,230 —	—
Meer Currum ulla Cawn	1,200 —	—
Meer Bundee and Zumma Cawn	3,070 —	—
Aſſub Ally Cawn and Ibrahem Ally Cawn	3,000 —	—
Meer Wudjah ul Deen Cawn	4,816 —	—
Zulfekar Ally Cawn	4,650 —	—
Kulleel Ullah Cawn	2,772 —	—
Mirza Muſſeetah	1,840 —	—
Mahommed Reza Murſeah Cawn	3,520 —	—
Mhindy Cawn	920 —	—
Meer Afzul Ally	2,416 —	—
Khuſuc Beg (a Chelah)	1,600 —	—
Goſteen	5,264 —	—
The Family of Shujah Cooley Cawn	1,200 —	—
Ditto of Iſmael Cawn	1,096 —	—
Haffiz Khurſheid	1,070 —	—
Hafiz Noor ullah	1,435 —	—
Mer Khaim Jehan	3,000 —	—
Te Family of Ally Ghuzuffer Cawn	717 8	—
Muzucker Ally Cawn, &c. — 9 Perſons	7,072 —	—
Loll Mahommed Cawn	1,092 —	—
Meer Ally	1,516 —	—
Muzuffer Huſſun Cawn	12,000 —	—
Meer Gholam Huſſun	1,038 —	—
Mirza Bauker	1,008 —	—
Mirza Jaffier Beg	4,000 —	—
Dawk Charges under Poorun Chund	36,000 —	—
Charges of the Kellah at Allahabad	24,000 —	—
Tuſſeen Ally Cawn, &c. (Cojahs)	23,500 —	—
Hur Loll	1,360 —	—
Abdool Ally Cawn, &c. — 11 Perſons	8,620 —	—
Engliſh Dawk, Mr. Taylor	12,000 —	—
Nuſſer Ulla Beg Khan	1,519 6	—
People with the Nawab Sallar Jung	1,767 —	—
Molavees	10,515 —	—
27 Phyſicians	14,808 —	—
Noder Cawn	1,170 —	—
Nuſſer Ally Cawn	1,692 —	—
	2,73,503 4	—

Carried over —

Brought forward, Servants of Government		2,73,503 4 —
Brought forward, Penſioners.		
Mirza Ally Cawn	1,326 — —	
The Sons of Mufucker ul Dowla	4,040 — —	
Hackum Chund	2,022 — —	
Sheik Doſt Mahommed	1,626 — —	
Abdul Huſſun Cawn	1,470 — —	
63 Chelahs	18,660 — —	
Hyder Cooley, &c.	723 — —	
Agha Mirza, &c.	764 4 —	
Moola Moſun	9,445 — —	
Khuſra Beg	656 — —	
Buddun Sing	600 — —	
Mahommed Surreef	800 — —	
Mahommed Ally Muddau	100 — —	
Mahommed Sallah	2,460 — —	
Boat People at Etawa	2,100 — —	
Taije Roy	1,440 — —	
Meer Zyn ul Abdy Cawn	1,608 — —	
Beer Mahommed	460 — —	
Mirzae Saheb, &c.	6,000 — —	
Khealee Ram	650 — —	
Chuney Loll	330 — —	
Huſſun Ally	1,088 — —	
Dowlut Sing	378 — —	
Seedee Umber	492 — —	
Gunga Aperſhaud	240 — —	
Eoſuph Muſſee	1,360 — —	
Diar Kiſhen	510 — —	
Sheoo Doſs	439 8 —	
Koolwunt Roy	2,342 — —	
Soorut Sing	334 — —	
Seer Mull	1,287 — —	
Zeyn ul Abdy Cawn	5,000 — —	
Gardeners at Aſoph Baug, Barilly	1,160 — —	
Roop Chund	1,125 — —	
Sauduck Beg Cawn	2,500 — —	
Khoob Chund	310 — —	
Abdul Wahid Cawn	615 — —	
Loll Mun Shoogul	12,500 — —	
Mughee Beetle, for his Excellency	1,200 — —	
Dauniſh Ally Cawn	2,500 — —	
Ramnaut	2,975 — —	
The Gardeners at Dundeakeary	2,120 — —	
Cummer Ally, &c. Chelaks	2,120 — —	
Roy Begwaun Doſs	1,020 — —	
Hur Buns Roy	2,054 8 —	
Imaum Ottah	3,802 8 —	
Khyaum ul Den Cawn	1,200 — —	
Zumma Cawn	2,760 — —	
Juſwund Roy	750 — —	
Kiſſaum ul Deen	3,720 — —	
Chelahs with Huſſun Reza Cawn	41,590 2 —	
Gardeners at Eau Gunge	1,200 — —	
Meer Gholaum Nuddee	1,200 — —	
		7,51,711 8 —
	Rupees	10,25,214 12 —

Errors excepted.
(Signed) T. Wombwell,
Accot.

STATEMENT of Allowances propoſed to be granted in lieu of the reſumed Jaghyres, for the Fuſſullee Year 1190.

The Nowal Begum	1,00,000 — —
The Vizir's Begum	48,450 — —
Nawab Salar Jung, his Excellency's Uncle	2,00,000 — —
The Family of the late Mirza Ally, Ditto	1,00,000 — —
The Sons of Ditto	85,000 — —
Nawab Mudder ul Dowlah	30,000 — —
Nawab Imaum ul Deen Khan	12,000 — —
Nawab Fyzoola Cawn	15,00,000 — —
Nudjifabad, in Jaguire to Nudjif Khan, now in the Name of his Sifter	14,500 — —
Meer Khyrulla	7,000 — —
Mirza Huſſun	6,000 — —
Tippoo Chund	5,000 — —
Govind Ram	17,000 — —
Amber Ally Khan	15,000 — —
Khûſh Nezer Ally Cawn	6,000 — —
Auffrien Ally Cawn	20,000 — —
Roy Holaſs Roy	3,500 — —
Mirza Fuzzul Ally	6,000 — —
Furhaud Ally Cawn	6,000 — —
Sufder Ally Cawn	1,700 — —
Mirza Huſſun Ally	2,263 — —
Ally Ackber Cawn	6,000 — —
Khaim Khan and Hingan Cawn	18,000 — —
Hubbee Beg	12,000 — —
Mungoo Beg	10,000 — —
Selaum Ulta Cawn	6,000 — —
Nauder Huſſun Cawn	6,000 — —
Meer Umjud	4,000 — —
Eoſuph Cawn, Father of Abdul Rahman Cawn	4,015 — —
Khaujah Neamut Ulla	2,000 — —
Huſſun Atta Khan	5,668 — —
Moonſhee Baſſet	400 — —
The Family of the late Mahommed Ally, who was killed on Service	2,134 — —
Mahommed Wudjee	600 — —
Mahommed Shuffy	500 — —
The Family of the late Rhamutulla	900 — —
Mahommed Ally	1,085 — —
Buſſunt Ally Cawn	2,637 — —
Mudder Buxh	314 — —
Meer Mahooah	605 — —
Mahommed Fazul	400 — —
Rupees	22,68,671 — —

Errors excepted.
(Signed) T. Wombwell,
Acct.

(a) [Tranſlation of a Letter from Mr. Briſtow to the Begum.

I have had the Honour to receive your Letters:—Whereas the Proſperity and Welfare of the Vizier's Affairs are the earneſt Wiſh of the Governor General, I have, in obedience to my Inſtructions, repreſented to his Excellency that I ſhould conform to his Pleaſure in whatever he might think proper to direct. I am happy to convey his Commands, that Major Gilpin ſhall, on the Arrival of Auffrein Ally Cawn, march from Fyzabad, and immediately releaſe Bahar Ally Cawn and Joahur Ally Cawn. This Meaſure affords me the greater Pleaſure, as I am perſuaded, from the kind Expreſſions in your Letters, of the Regard you entertain for the Vizier, being dearer to you than Life, that you will in future conſult and cheriſh his Intereſts.

It is probable the Vizier would have continued the Reſtraints upon your Excellency, if the Governor General had not, out of Reſpect for the Ties which bind you, and from a natural Benevolence of Diſpoſition, given his Aſſent. The ſtrict Alliance ſubſiſting between the Governor

(a) Vide ſupra, P. 901.

General and the Vizier will ever render an Union of Councils and Measures the Line of Conduct of both Governments. And it is a most pleasing Circumstance to me, to convey the Governor General's Approbation of the Restoration of your Excellency to the Dignity and Consequence to which your high Rank and Birth justly entitle you.

I beg leave to return my Thanks for the Sense you express of the becoming Conduct of Major Gilpin in the Execution of his Duty.

Permit me to remind your Excellency, that there is still a Balance of above Five Lacks due, on Account of your Engagements; and as you promised, immediately on the Enlargement of your Eunuchs, to pay that Sum, I hope you will excuse my Solicitations and Assurances, that by a Compliance you will render a Service both to the Vizier and the Company, whose Affairs at present require the Assistance of every pecuniary Aid.

(A true Translation.)

Rob[t] Gregory,

Assistant at the Vizier's Court.] *(a)*.

(a) Vide Appendix, No. LVIII.

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Contd - Hastings Trial

Evid[ce] / urp[n] to p 951 - & appx 761 ff

p 116

Articles of charge

The Articles of Charge for Impeachment the

Lutterworth Arrangement

1774 Hastings

Burnaby's Narration Hastings p. 109. & appx

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Minutes of the evidence taken at the trial of Warren Hastings Esquire, late Governor general of Bengal, at the bar of the House of Lords in Westminster Hall upon an impeachment against him for high crimes and misdemeanors by the knights, citizens and burgesses, in parliament assembled, in the name of themselves, and of all the commons of Great Bd.: 9

(1888)

2 Crim. 100 h-9
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